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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 was 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- The prize is open to all-comers (with the exception of previous winners of the prize) for an original, unpublished (and not submitted for consideration for publication elsewhere) research paper on a human or natural-history topic relating to the geographical area covered by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, or earlier versions, which have been openly published in conventional print or on-line (in e-journals, blogs, etc.) will not be considered. 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*. Copyright in the published paper will be held by the Society, and any other further publication must be approved by the Society.
- 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.

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*.

AN UPDATED BATHYMETRY OF LOCH SKEEN, DUMFRIESSHIRE

Alex A. Lyle¹ and Ian J. Winfield²

A hydroacoustic survey carried out at Loch Skeen in 2007 to assess fish stocks also collected water depth data as a by-product. These data have been used to update knowledge of the loch's bathymetry from that measured in 1905 by Murray and Pullar (1910) and a more detailed and informative bathymetric map is presented here along with revised morphometric parameters.



Figure 1. Loch Skeen looking south. Photograph by Fergus Maitland.

Introduction and Background

Loch Skeen (or Skene) lies in the upper catchment of the River Annan and feeds the Moffat Water by way of the Tail Burn and the Grey Mare's Tail waterfall. The geographic position of the loch is latitude 55°26.1' N, longitude 3°18.7' W, UK National Grid

1 ALP, 18 John Knox Road, Longniddry, East Lothian EH32 0LP, UK.

2 Lake Ecosystem Group, Centre for Ecology & Hydrology, Lancaster Environment Centre, Library Avenue, Bailrigg, Lancaster LA1 4AP, UK.

Reference (NGR) NT 1714 1643, and it lies at an altitude of approximately 512m. Loch Skeen (Figure 1) sits in a rock depression behind a barrier of glacial moraine. The loch is owned by the National Trust for Scotland and is a Site of Special Scientific Interest.

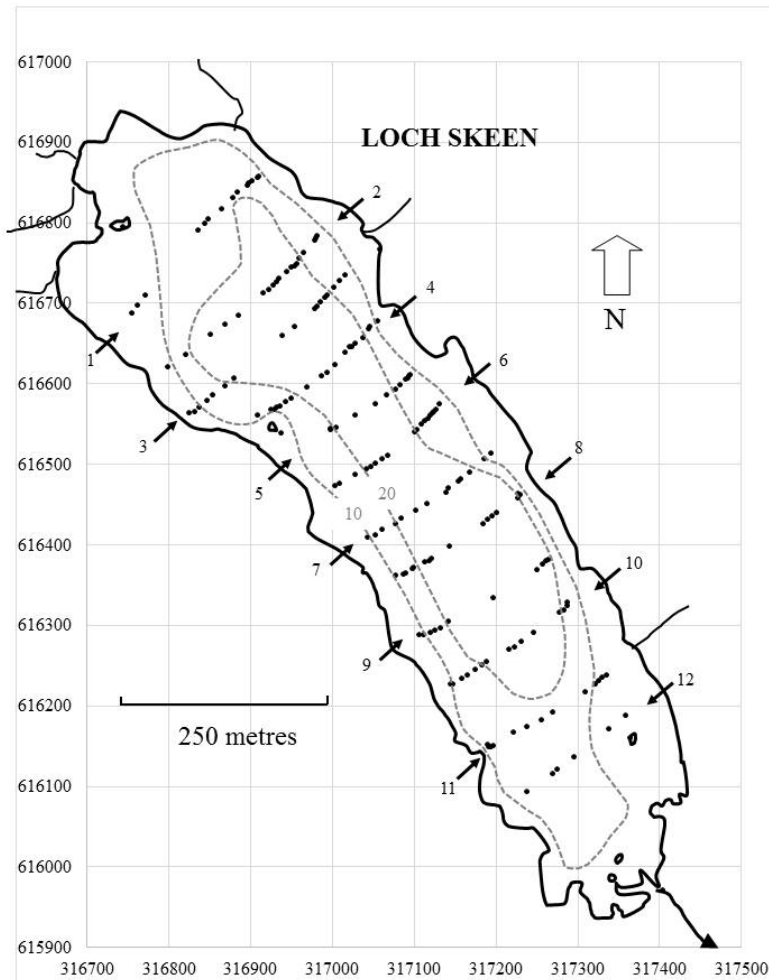


Figure 2. A map of Loch Skeen set over an NGR grid showing bathymetric contours in feet from Murray and Pullar (1910) (grey, broken lines). Also, the 12 hydroacoustic transects (arrows) and the matrix of integer depth locations (dots) from the 2007 survey.

In 1905 the loch was briefly surveyed for depth during the Bathymetrical Survey of the Fresh-Water Lochs of Scotland (Murray and Pullar, 1910). Their Loch Skeen survey was undertaken under somewhat unfortunate circumstances and due to boating and weather difficulties it did not attain the usual high standards achieved elsewhere. Nevertheless,

Murray and Pullar (1910) present an account of the information that was collected, including a basic bathymetric map (Figure 2) and morphometric data (Table 1). Loch level at that time was not obtained.

Surface area	69 acres (27.9 hectares)
Maximum depth	36 feet (10.9 metres)
Mean depth	18 feet (5.49 metres)
Loch volume	53 million cubic feet (1.5 million cubic metres)

Table 1. Morphometric data for Loch Skeen from Murray and Pullar, 1910.

In 1995 Loch Skeen was selected as a host loch for the re-introduction to Scotland of vendace *Coregonus albula* which is currently the rarest indigenous freshwater fish species in Great Britain (Figure 4). The project was undertaken for Scottish Natural Heritage (SNH) under its Species Recovery Programme (Lyle *et al.*, 1996). Introductions of vendace as eyed eggs and fry from the Bassenthwaite Lake (Cumbria) stock were made to Loch Skeen in 1997 and 1999 (Lyle *et al.*, 1998, 1999). In August 2007 SNH funded an assessment of the status of the vendace in Loch Skeen which included netting and hydroacoustics surveys (Winfield *et al.*, 2008). As a by-product of the hydroacoustic fish survey, water depths were recorded and it is these data that have been used to revise the bathymetric structure of Loch Skeen.

Methods

Loch Skeen is conveniently elongate in shape and on 8 August 2007 12 hydroacoustic transects were run across the long axis of the loch (Figure 2) using a small, powered boat at a speed of approximately 1.5 m s^{-1} .

The sonar system used was a BioSonics DT-X echo sounder with a 200 kHz split-beam vertical transducer of beam angle 6.5° and a pulse rate of 5 pulses s^{-1} (Winfield *et al.*, 2008). The transducer was set at 0.5 m below the water surface, therefore all depth data used for bathymetry were the sonar recorded depths plus 0.5 m. Note: no data were recorded from within 2 m below the transducer and absolute loch level was not obtained.

Survey geographical location data, as latitude and longitude, were recorded using a JRC Model DGPS212 Global Positioning System and incorporated directly into the hydroacoustic data files. They included depth and position information along each transect at one-second intervals (Winfield *et al.*, 2008).

The location and depth data were transferred to a computer spreadsheet where the latitude/longitude readings were converted to UK NGR co-ordinates, and depth measurements adjusted as above. The grid co-ordinates of points along each transect that equalled or most closely coincided with integer depth measurements were identified and extracted. These were then plotted as a matrix which included the co-ordinates of five shoreline and island locations so to fit the matrix to scale over an outline map of the loch which had been refined by reference to satellite imagery. This resulted in a map of the loch with points of integer depth positions along transects (Figure 2) from which bathymetric contours of equal depth could be defined.

Contour lines between transects were positioned by interpretation and consideration of shoreline features, adjacent contours and, if necessary, back reference to depth readings between integers. Note: because of the suppression of data recording within 2 m of the transducer, the shallowest complete integer depth contour that could be determined was 4 m.

Loch area and the areas within each of the bathymetric contour lines were measured by planimetry and these results were used to calculate loch volume and mean depth.

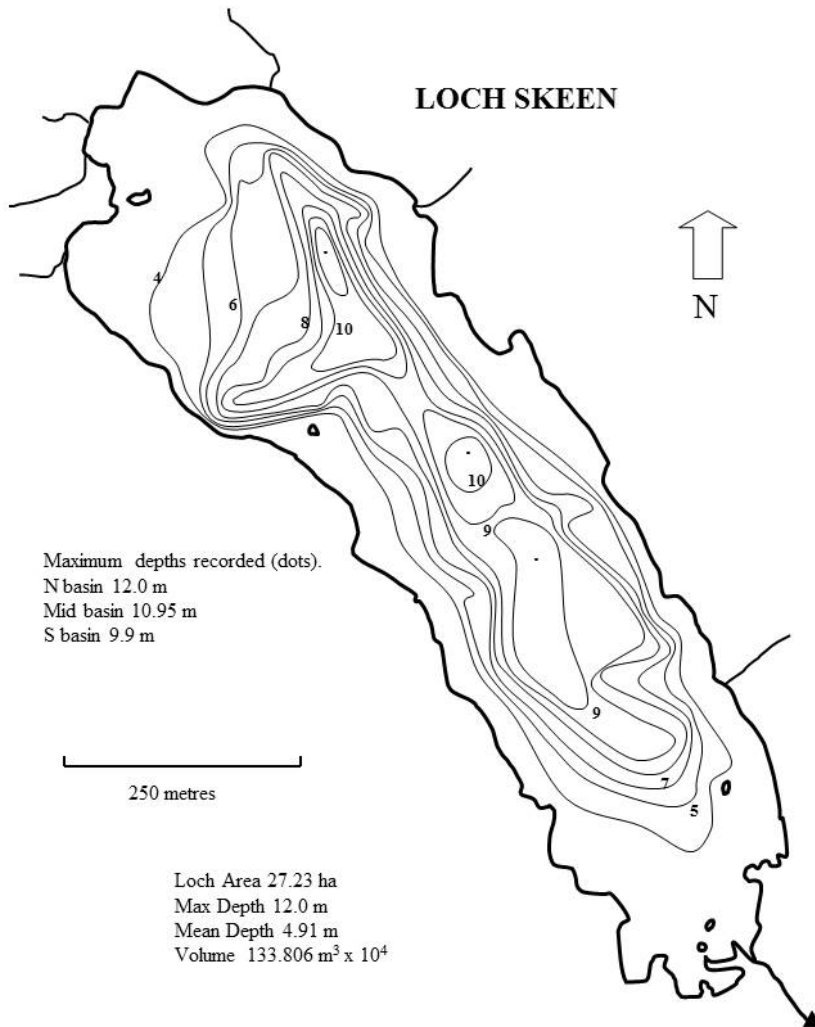


Figure 3. An updated bathymetric map of Loch Skeen from a hydroacoustic survey in August 2007. Bathymetric contours are in metres.

Results

The sonar survey recorded 1513 depth and location points over the 12 transects, of which 179 integer (or nearest) points were used to construct the bathymetric map. The updated bathymetry of Loch Skeen is shown in Figure. 3. Depth contours are shown in 1 m intervals. Updated morphometric data is given in Table 2.

Surface area	27.23 hectares (ha)
Maximum depth	12.0 metres (m)
Mean depth	4.91 metres (m)
Loch volume	1.3386 million cubic metres ($m^3 \times 10^6$)

Table 2. Updated morphometric data for Loch Skeen.

Discussion

The brief 1905 depth survey of Loch Skeen by Murray and Pullar (1910) was unplanned and it took advantage of unexpectedly finding a boat there — but no oars (they used fence posts) so the intensity and methodology of the survey was understandably some way short of their normal practice. Here, we have taken advantage of a hydroacoustic fish survey at Loch Skeen to enhance our knowledge of the loch bathymetry. The hydroacoustic survey was designed for monitoring fish and so was not concerned with shallower waters where sonar detection of fish is not effective. Consequently, there is a lack of detail in waters shallower than 4 m. The surface area of water < 4 m deep is 11.3 ha, or 42% of the loch area. This, of course, will have some effect on the accuracy of calculations of volume and mean depth.

In his *Manual of Lake Morphometry*, Hakanson (1981) offers a method of assessing the quality of bathymetric surveys in terms of their information value I ,

$$I = I' \cdot I'',$$

where I' is an expression of the correctness of contour placement,

$$I' = \frac{1}{A} \left[A - \left(0.14 \cdot L_r \cdot F^2 \cdot \sqrt{\frac{1}{n+2}} \cdot \sum_{i=1}^n \sqrt{a_i} \right) \right]$$

and I'' is a quantitative expression of information,

$$I'' = \frac{e^{0.4n} - 1}{e^{0.4n} + 0.02},$$

both values being between 0 and 1.

Here A = loch area (km^2), L_r = A /total transect length (km), F = shoreline development, n = number of contours, a = the cumulative area within the contours (km^2), and e = the base for natural logarithms 2.718.

The resulting values for I are; 0.51 for the 1905 survey, and 0.92 for the 2007 survey.

Consequently, the latter clearly provides a significantly greater and more reliable amount of information on loch bathymetry and basin morphometry, although the basic morphometric statistics in Table 1 and Table 2 are not greatly at variance. The usefulness of a bathymetric map will of course depend on any study's area of interest and requirements. For example, the physical characteristics assessed for the selection of sites for vendace suitability included the proportion of 'deep' water expressed as volume development (V_d) (Hakanson, 1981) where $V_d = 3D_{mean}/D_{max}$. The values for the 1905 and 2007 surveys are 1.51 and 1.23 respectively, and again they are relatively similar, which demonstrates the potential value that even limited depth information for lochs can provide. So, while the enhanced bathymetry presented here has benefits for fish and physical studies, the lack of shallow water depth detail within the photic zone may not be of such benefit to studies of such as shorezone macrophytes and invertebrates.



Figure 4. A vendace from Loch Skeen. Photograph by Ian J. Winfield.

It may also be of interest that a self-sustaining population of vendace (Figure 4) has been established in Loch Skeen and here the re-introduction to Scotland of this species is considered a success (Winfield *et al.* 2008).

Acknowledgements

We wish to thank Scottish Natural Heritage who funded the survey, and the National Trust for Scotland who own the site and kindly granted access permission.

Staff from the University of Glasgow and the Centre for Ecology & Hydrology provided assistance in the field.

Mr Ian Stevenson is thanked for vital help transporting equipment to Loch Skeen.

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THE PLACE-NAMES OF THE PARISH OF LOCHMABEN —
RECONSTRUCTING THE SETTLEMENT LANDSCAPE OF EARLY
MEDIEVAL DUMFRIESSHIRE, C. AD 600–1000

Christoph Otte¹

In this case-study of the parish of Lochmaben (Dumfriesshire), the author follows a two-fold approach: first, the early medieval (c. AD 600–1000) settlement pattern within the parish boundaries is identified through the use of place-name evidence. The analysis includes eighteen place-names which are ascribed with a rough chronology based on their etymology and comparative place-name types. In cases of uncertainty, archaeological evidence is added, where possible, to aid the dating process. Seven place-names have been found to point to early medieval settlement activity, and another four are considered possible indicators of human occupation in the study period. As a second part of the study, place-name analysis is used to determine the potential age of the parish boundaries. Based on a detailed study of þveit type place-names, the parish boundaries are roughly dated to the period before AD 1000, and may go back to British or Anglian territorial or estate units. It is argued that the parish boundaries, as they are seen on nineteenth-century maps, only received their ecclesiastical function during the twelfth century, when David I of Scots and his successors implemented a structured parochial system. In the course of the case-study, a particular focus has been placed on locating the now lost settlement of ‘Ouseby’. The suggestion is made that this settlement became deserted in the fourteenth century, and was re-settled under the name of either Greenhill or Heck, both of which survive to the present day.

The study of place-names, settlement patterns and parish boundaries is of central relevance to understanding the framework of early medieval economy and society.² The analysis of the relationship between individual settlements as well as the relationship between settlements and their topographical landscape is one of the key elements of understanding the requirements, or constraints, of rural economies. Similarly, parish boundaries are of interest, as they may contain the fossilised remains of secular as well as ecclesiastical economic estates, and could therefore provide information on the administrative or territorial framework within which settlements operated.³

The present article is a case-study on the parish of Lochmaben in eastern Dumfriesshire (see Figure 1). As the centre of the Bruce Lordship of Annandale, the area around Lochmaben provides a comparatively large amount of written evidence from the medieval

1 Helgolaender Str. 33, D-38518 Gifhorn, Germany; chris.otte1539@outlook.com

2 My gratitude goes to Dr William M. Aird (University of Edinburgh), Prof. Dr Ian Ralston (University of Edinburgh), Dr Alan G. James and Tristan Herzogenrath-Amelung for their help in the completion of this article.

3 On the potential connection between parish boundaries and multiple estates, see: Dawn Hadley, *The Northern Danelaw. Its Social Structure, c. 800–1100* (London, 2000), pp.88–90; G.W.S. Barrow, *The Kingdom of the Scots* (London, 1973), pp.60–4.

THE PLACE-NAMES OF THE PARISH OF LOCHMABEN —
 RECONSTRUCTING THE SETTLEMENT LANDSCAPE OF EARLY
 MEDIEVAL DUMFRIESSHIRE, C. AD 600–1000

and immediate post-medieval periods.⁴ A methodology based on place-names, archaeology and later medieval written sources will be proposed which may be used to reconstruct the early medieval (c. AD 600–1000) settlement landscape of Dumfriesshire. It will be argued that this approach does not only reveal the major settlements or the settlement distribution of the time, but can also shed light on the chronology of the parish boundaries and on the early medieval land use patterns in the area.

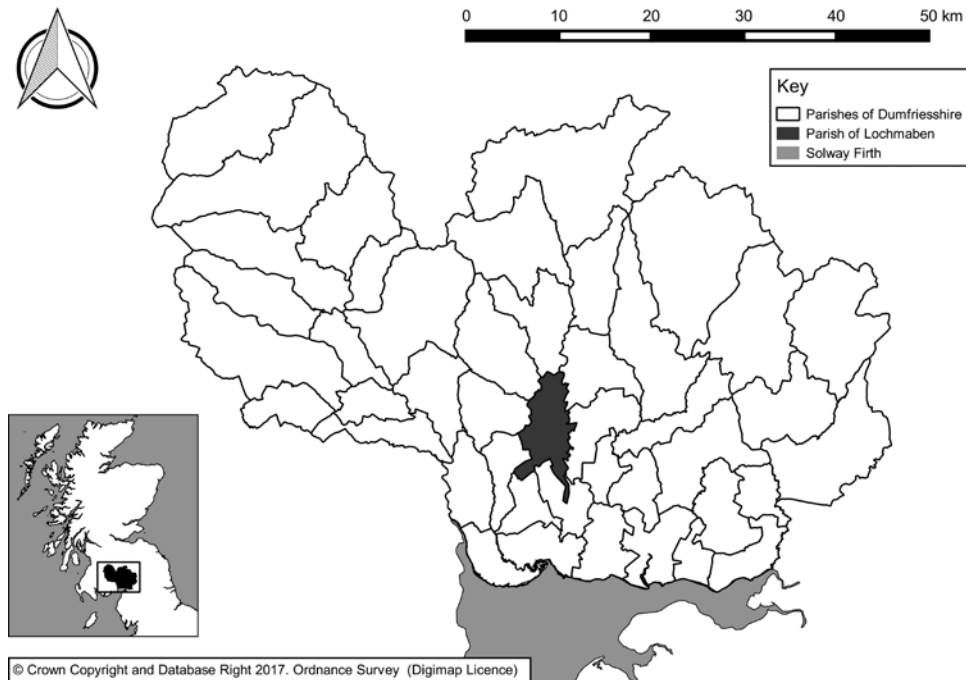


Figure 1. The parish of Lochmaben in Dumfriesshire.

In the absence of any detailed written records for the parish of Lochmaben before the twelfth century, one of the key sources which needs to be utilised for any study of early medieval settlement patterns is the place-name evidence. Place-names can illuminate the chronology of a settlement in a number of ways, although almost all place-name types rely on greater historical narratives for context. Scandinavian place-names in Dumfriesshire are unlikely to pre-date the ninth century AD, while, conversely, we do not expect the formation of Brythonic place-names in this area after the eleventh century AD, that is after the decline of the rulers of Strathclyde.⁵ English place-names could have been productive

4 Ruth Blakely, *The Brus Family in England and Scotland, 1100–1295* (Woodbridge, 2005), p.39.

5 Ian B. Cowan, *The Parishes of Medieval Scotland*. Scottish Record Society Vol. 93 (Edinburgh, 1967) [hereafter Cowan, *Parishes of Medieval Scotland*], pp.135f; Gillian Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavians in Dumfriesshire and Galloway: The Place-Name Evidence', in *Galloway. Land and Lordship*, ed. R. Oram and G. Stell (Edinburgh, 1991) [ed. Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavians in Dumfriesshire'], pp.80–2; Richard Oram, *The Lordship of Galloway* (Edinburgh, 2000)

in this part of Scotland from the seventh century to the modern day.⁶ The relative age of English place-names is often not easy to determine given the longevity of some of their name-forming elements, such as *hyll* (OE ‘hill’).⁷ Commonly, English place-names of topographical type (referring to natural features around the settlement) are identified as relatively speaking earlier than those of habitative type (referring to the settlement status or structures, such as *hām* or *tūn*).⁸ In some cases, the etymological background of certain place-name types can give a hint as to the context of their creation. The *þveit* type place-names which will be discussed at a later stage are one example of this, as they refer to clearings, and may be seen as an indicator of agrarian settlement expansion.

The use of the term *settlement* requires a more precise definition. What is meant here by *settlement* is anything ranging from a single homestead or farmstead to a group of buildings, constructed to permanently accommodate a number of people, as opposed to, for example, a temporary camp or seasonal dwelling. In the present context, a settlement may also be understood as the core of a group of smaller hamlets. Thus, if ten modern villages or towns within the parish boundaries of Lochmaben are identified as early medieval settlements, this does not necessarily mean that there were no farmsteads in between these settlements. The term *village* is avoided where possible, as it evokes the image of a nucleated and sizable settlement of the type which is most commonly associated with the end of the first millennium AD.⁹

There are two major surveys of place-names in Dumfriesshire. One was written by Edward Johnson-Ferguson in 1935, while the other one was authored by May Williamson in her unpublished PhD dissertation at the University of Edinburgh, completed in 1942. Both authors use Ordnance Survey one-inch maps to create a selection of place-names,

[Oram, *Lordship of Galloway*], pp.24–6; Alan Macquarrie, ‘The Kings of Strathclyde, ca. 400–1018’, in *Medieval Scotland. Crown, Lordship and Community*, ed. A. Grant and K.J. Stringer (Edinburgh, 1993), pp.16–8; Kenneth Jackson, ‘The Britons in Southern Scotland’, *Antiquity*, Vol. 29, No. 114 (1955) [Jackson, ‘Britons in Southern Scotland’], p.87; Andrew Breeze, ‘Four Brittonic Place-Names from South-West Scotland’, *TDGNHAS*, ser.III, vol.74 (2000), p.60.

6 The adjective ‘productive’ is used in place-name studies to describe the time periods when place-names could have been formed: W.F.H. Nicolaisen, *Scottish Place-Names. Their Study and Significance* (London, 1986) [Nicolaisen, *Scottish Place-Names*], pp.68–70.

7 Margaret Gelling, *Place-Names in the Landscape* (London, 1984) [Gelling, *Place-Names*], p.169.

8 Margaret Gelling and Ann Cole, *The Landscape of Place-Names* (Stamford, 2000) [Gelling and Cole, *Landscape of Place-Names*], pp.xix–xxi; Gelling, *Place-Names*, p.1.

9 For the continental evidence of mobile or instable settlements predating nucleated villages, cf. Marios Costambeys et al., eds., *The Carolingian World* (Cambridge, 2011), p.238. For Britain, a lot of the relevant discussions focus on England, in part due to the evidence provided by the Domesday Book survey. It is maintained here that the developments from hamlets to nucleated villages, which may be observed in parts of early medieval England, are also applicable to southern Scotland: cf. Pamela Allerston, ‘English Village Development. Findings from the Pickering District of North Yorkshire’, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, vol.51 (1970) [Allerston, ‘English Village Development’], pp.95 and 105–7; cf. Christopher Taylor, *Village and Farmstead. A History of Rural Settlement in England* (London, 1983), p.125.

which are then traced in the written documentation.¹⁰ For the parish of Lochmaben, most of the written material is almost exclusively drawn from late medieval and early modern charters, dating from the twelfth to the seventeenth centuries. The comparatively late nature of the written evidence means that any identification of a particular settlement as ‘early medieval’ has to be approached with care.

The term *place-names* can refer to inhabited places, as well as to landscape features. Since the primary interest in the current investigation is the settlement landscape of the parish of Lochmaben, only those place-names will be analysed which meet either or all of the following criteria: they should demonstrably have referred to settlements at any one point in their history, ideally the closer to the study period (c. AD 600–1000) the better. This would exclude, for example, Conite Moss or Blakebec from the examination as they cannot provide information on local settlements or their dating.¹¹ There are some names which refer to potential settlements, but cannot be located anymore, such as *Greymland/Grenelauch*, where only a rough estimate can be made as to their original location.¹² An exception here is Ouseby, which cannot be located with confidence, but gives enough context in the written record to make a valid attempt at establishing its location, as will be done below.

Another important factor in deciding which names deserve further examination is whether the naming element can help in an attempt at dating the settlement period. Places like Marjoribanks and Kerdis Acre, for example, appear in the medieval written records, but it is almost impossible to narrow down the period of their earliest establishment or even their status as settlement, unlike for example *bý* place-names, which can be reasonably well dated based on their geographical and historical context and distribution.¹³

The next criterion is that the selected place-names should occur at least once in the written documentation before AD 1700, or have a place-name element indicative of early medieval settlements (such as *bý* or *hām*). The date of 1700 is chosen as a limit to take into account the mostly post-1700 changes in the landscape due to the emerging influence of enclosure and agricultural improvement, including potentially new-founded settlements or planned villages.¹⁴ Arguably, by the late 1500s or early 1600s the written

10 Edward Johnson-Ferguson, *The Place-Names of Dumfriesshire* (Dumfries, 1935) [Johnson-Ferguson, *Place-Names of Dumfriesshire*], p.V and May Williamson, *The Non-Celtic Place-Names of the Scottish Border Counties*, unpublished PhD thesis (University of Edinburgh, 1942) [Williamson, *Non-Celtic Place-Names*], p.II. The Ordnance Survey one-inch “popular” edition map was based on surveys taken from 1921–30 <http://maps.nls.uk/os/introduction.html#ospopular_ed> [accessed 30 September 2015]. The six-inch 2nd edition of the Ordnance Survey map of Dumfriesshire was created in 1916–7 with revisions in 1929–30 <<http://maps.nls.uk/os/county-series/dates.html>> [accessed 30 September 2015].

11 Johnson-Ferguson, *Place-Names of Dumfriesshire*, p.88.

12 Johnson-Ferguson, *Place-Names of Dumfriesshire*, p.88; RGS III, pp.607 (no. 2633) and 740 (no. 3148).

13 Johnson-Ferguson, *Place-Names of Dumfriesshire*, p.88; RGS III, p.190 (no. 868), HMC (Jhn), p.10 (no. 4).

14 Lorna J. Philip, ‘Planned Villages in Dumfries and Galloway: Location, form and function’, *TDGNHAS*, ser.III, vol.80 (2006), pp.105–122; Ian Whyte, *Agriculture and Society in Seventeenth-Century Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1979), pp.106f.

documentation in Dumfries and Galloway, of which little survives before AD 1200, has reached a consolidated stage which may be considered representative.

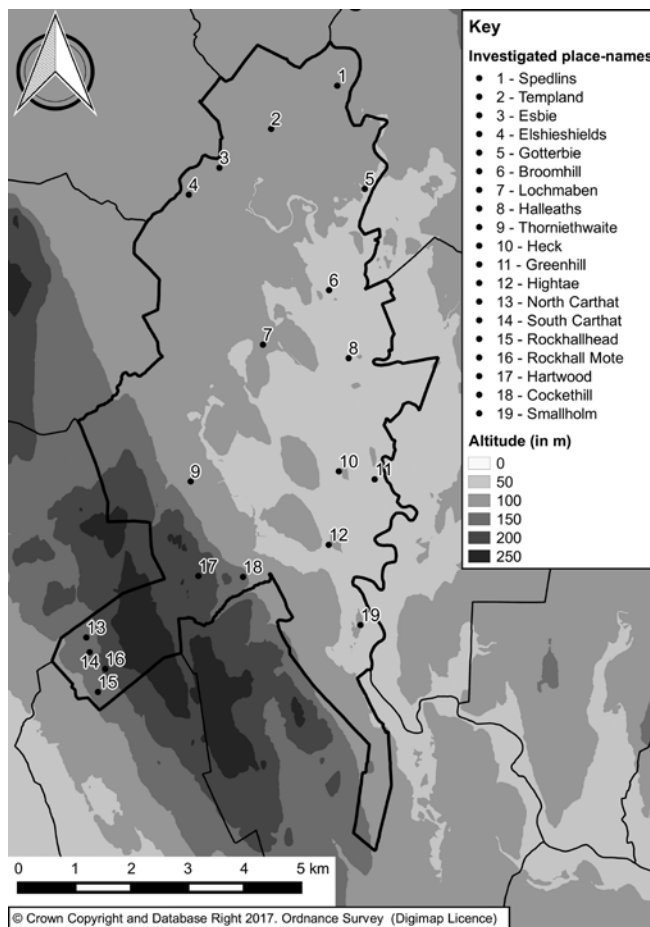


Figure 2. The place-names under investigation.

If all of the above criteria are applied to the place-names of the parish of Lochmaben, the following names need to be examined (see Figure 2): Lochmaben (NGR NY 085 825), Smallholm (NGR NY 095 775), Heck (NGR NY 095 805), Hightae (NGR NY 095 785), Greenhill (NGR NY 105 795), North and South Carthat (NGR NY 055 775 and NY 055 765), Thorniethwaite (NGR NY 075 795), Hartwood (NGR NY 075 785), Esbie (NGR NY 075 855), Gotterbie (NGR NY 105 855), Ouseby (location unknown), Templand (NGR NY 085 865), Rockhall Mote (NGR NY 054 766) and Rockhallhead (NGR NY 055 765), (Old) Broomhill (NGR NY 095 835), Cockethill (NGR NY 075 785), Halleaths (NGR NY 095 825), Elshieshields (NGR NY 065 855), and Spedlins (NGR NY 095 865).

Starting with the settlement from which the parish derives its name, Lochmaben first appears in the written record in the second half of the twelfth century.¹⁵ Lochmaben is well-recorded in the written documentation from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries onward, but there are reasons to assume a far earlier settlement period for the town.¹⁶ The main indicator is its name. Late eighteenth-century sources claim that the name derives from the Scottish Gaelic for ‘Loch of the Maidens’ or ‘Loch of the Fair’ and make a reference to a nunnery which was situated at this location following local tradition.¹⁷ Another explanation is given in the *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, where the name of Lochmaben is traced back to Gaelic *Loch-ma'-ban*, meaning ‘the lake in the white plain’ “because the Castle loch, near which Lochmaben is built, exhibits a white appearance, when contrasted with the black surface of the ridge which bounds it on the west”.¹⁸ Preference will be given here to a different derivation of ‘Lochmaben’.

The *Ravenna Cosmography*, a compilation of place-names dating to the late seventh century AD, makes mention of a place called *locus maponi* in its British section.¹⁹ It has been argued that this place-name may also refer to the Clochmabanestane, a granite erratic near Gretna.²⁰ Whether *locus maponi* refers to the Clochmabanestane or to Lochmaben depends almost entirely on how the *locus* element is interpreted. Some scholars argue that it is a technical term, recurring throughout the *Cosmography* and referring to tribal meeting places, or places of native-Roman interaction.²¹ However, the *loch-* element in ‘Clochmabanestane’ is derived from the Gaelic word for ‘stone’ (the *-stane* element being

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- 15 EYC II, p.4 (no. 651) *Lochmaban* AD 1142x1194; CPG, p.340 (no. MCLXXXVI) *Lochmaban* AD c. 1194x1211/2.
- 16 REG I, p.72 (no. 83) *Lochmaban* AD 1165x1214, p.83 (no. 96) *lochmaß* AD 1202, p.105 (no. 123) *Loumaban* AD 1223, p.106 (no. 124) *Loghmban*, *Logmaban* AD 1218x1230, p.107 (no. 125) *Lochmaban* AD 1218x1230; REG II, p.619 (no. 546) *Logmaban* AD c. 1140x1295; RHM II, p.96 (no. 122) *Louchmabane* AD 1371x1390; HMC (Drml), p.32 (no. 55) *Lowhgmaben* AD 1374, p.42 (no. 77) *Loghmban* AD 1329, p.47 (no. 87) *Lochtmabane* AD 1486, p.56 (no. 110) *Louchmabane* AD 1411, p.62 (no. 125) *Lochmaben* AD 1562; CPB I, p.183 (no. 317) *Lowhgmaben* AD 1585; AFB I, p.2 (no. 2) *Lokmaban* AD c. 1194x1214; LSMM II, p.673 (Appendix, no. 9) *Loghmban* AD c. 1256x1318; RGS I, p.28 (no. 92) *Lochmaban* AD 1315x21.
- 17 OSAS, Vol. 7, p.234; NSAS, Vol. 4, p.377. The *Old Statistical Account of Scotland* was compiled from 1791 to 1799 under the direction of Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster. The *New Statistical Account* was compiled following similar principles in the years 1834 to 1845: cf. R. L. Plackett, ‘The Old Statistical Account’, *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society. Series A (General)*, Vol. 149, No. 3 (1986), pp.247–251; cf. Charles W.J. Withers, ‘Scotland Accounted For: An Introduction to the ‘Old’ (1791–1799) and the New (1834–1845) Statistical Accounts of Scotland’ <<http://edina.ac.uk//stat-acc-scot/intro.html>> [accessed 29 September 2015].
- 18 NSAS, Vol. 4, p.377.
- 19 A.L.F. Rivet and Colin Smith, *The Place-Names of Roman Britain* (London, 1979) [Rivet and Smith, *Roman Britain*], pp.185–7. Regarding the sources of the seventh-century compiler, see: Sheppard Frere, ‘The Ravenna Cosmography and North Britain between the Walls’, *Britannia*, Vol. 32 (2001) [Frere, ‘North Britain between the Walls’], pp.286f.
- 20 Anne Crone, ‘The Clochmabanestane, Gretna’, *TDGNHAS*, ser.III, vol.58 (1983) [Crone, ‘Clochmabanestane’], p.16.
- 21 Robert Conquest, ‘A Note on the Civitas and Polis Names of Scotland: an Alternative Approach’, *Britannia*, vol.31 (2000) [Conquest, ‘Civitas and Polis Names of Scotland’], p.350.

a possible Old English or Scots redundant addition).²² Thus, the only link between *locus maponi* and the granite boulder is their common reference to the deity Maponos, a name which is well-represented on northern British Roman inscriptions.²³ Rivet and Smith argue that the *locus* element may instead be derived from the British word **loc-*, meaning ‘lake, pool’.²⁴ Thus, ‘Lochmaben’ is linguistically more closely linked to *locus maponi*, as it does contain a potential early British element referring to its surrounding lochs, as well as the reference to the British deity. Consequently, Lochmaben was recognised as a place-name at the latest in the seventh century (when the *Ravenna Cosmography* was compiled), or even as early as the first century AD, when the military maps upon which the *Cosmography* is probably based were created.²⁵ Lochmaben may therefore have been an early focal site of the local British tribe of the Selgovae, and although it is difficult to prove that it retained such a central position from the end of the Roman period to the early twelfth century when it re-emerges in the written record, its defensible position amidst various lochs, and the potential crannog site in the Castle Loch suggest that it must have been a place of continued interest for settlers over centuries.²⁶

Four place-names which deserve particular attention are the Royal Four Towns of Lochmaben: Greenhill, Heck, Hightae and Smallholm.²⁷ This ‘barony of Lochmaben’ with its inhabitants also known as the ‘King’s kindly tenants’ is an unusual phenomenon in that the tenants of these four settlements claim a set of privileges purportedly going back to an unwritten agreement with the king (hence ‘Royal’) or the local castle’s garrison in the fourteenth century.²⁸ References to this unit of settlements which caused a number of legal proceedings can be found for the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.²⁹ If these traditions can be believed, all of these settlements can be dated back to at least the time of Robert I’s control of Lochmaben (1314–1329). In the case of Smallholm, it is unlikely that the settlement was founded in that time. Its current spelling and the *-holm* ending is misleading, as the place-name is not a Scandinavian formation. In its earliest documents it appears as *Smalham* or *Smalehame*, showing that it belongs to the early Anglo-Saxon

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- 22 Crone, ‘Clochmabanestane’, p.16. For place-names ending in OE *stān*, Middle Scots *stain* or Modern Scots *stane*, see: Williamson, *Non-Celtic Place-Names*, pp.149f.
- 23 Crone, ‘Clochmabanestane’, p.16; D. Beryl Charlton and Margaret M. Mitcheson, ‘Yardhope. A Shrine to Cocidius?’, *Britannia*, vol.14 (1983), pp.147f; William J. Watson, *The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1993), pp.180f.
- 24 Rivet and Smith, *Roman Britain*, pp.212 and 395f. See also: Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, *Eastern Dumfriesshire. An Archaeological Landscape* (Edinburgh, 1997) [RCAHMS, *Eastern Dumfriesshire*], p.110.
- 25 Frere, ‘North Britain between the Walls’, pp.286f.
- 26 Conquest, ‘Civitas and Polis Names of Scotland’, p.350; John B. Wilson, ‘The Crannog in the Castle Loch, Lochmaben’, *TDGNHAS*, ser.III, vol.57 (1982), pp.88–9.
- 27 Anne Fairn, *Seven Centuries in the Royal Four Towns of Lochmaben* (Dumfries, 1998), pp.8–10.
- 28 OSAS, Vol. 7, pp.239f; NSAS, Vol. 4, pp.387f; J.H., Thomson, ‘The Kindly Tenants of the Four Towns of Lochmaben’, *TDGNHAS*, ser.II, vol.14 (1897–8), pp.73–81.
- 29 RPC Ser. I, Vol. V, p.400 (s.a. 1597); RPS, 1661/1/329 (s. a. 1661) <<http://www.rps.ac.uk/trans/1661/1/329>> [accessed 7 April 2015]. The tenants of the Royal Four Towns have also been known to obstruct estate survey work in the early eighteenth century in a move to defend their privileges, as seen on the *Map of Part of the South Common of Lochmaben* from AD 1734 (NRS Ref. RHP218).

hām place-name type.³⁰ Wilhelm Nicolaisen in his extensive study of Scottish place-names suggests that the Smallholm in Dumfriesshire is an indicator of Anglian settlement in Cumbric territory, and may therefore date back to the seventh century AD.³¹

Unfortunately, the case is not as clear with the remaining three place-names. The earliest written reference to Heck does not pre-date the sixteenth century.³² The etymological origin of its name is uncertain. According to Edward Johnson-Ferguson and the *Dictionary of the Scots Language*, *Heck* or *Hek* was in use during the Old English and Middle English linguistic periods, referring to either a rack for fodder in a stable or a frame similar to a fishing weir or fish trap, obstructing the movement of fish while not hindering the flow of water.³³ This may point to its proximity to Valison Burn, flowing to the west of the modern settlement. When looking for comparative evidence in England, one comes across Great Heck (Northern Yorkshire) and Heckfield (Hampshire). Heckfield is derived from OE *hēah + feld*, meaning ‘high open ground’.³⁴ The derivation of Heck in Dumfriesshire from the OE word for ‘high’ seems unlikely, as the name lacks any additional element which could be qualified by this. It seems more likely that Heck (Dumfriesshire) is similar in etymological origin to Great Heck (Northern Yorkshire). The latter is derived from OE *hæcc* ‘hatch, gate’, which in its northern dialectal form can appear as *heck*.³⁵ While this English place-name can be traced farther back in time than its Scottish equivalent in the parish of Lochmaben, its written documentation does not pre-date AD 1100.³⁶ There is little evidence to suggest that the settlement of Heck pre-dated AD 1000, especially given its meagre documentary evidence.

The place-name of Hightae can be traced as far back as the early fourteenth century, and recurs in the written record several times during the following centuries.³⁷ Its first written appearance dates to the time when Edward I of England was in power at Lochmaben (1298–1307).³⁸ In these records, Hightae appears to be one of the more ancient settlements, along with Lochmaben and Smallholm [Smalham], and there is nothing to suggest it was a recently founded settlement. A pre-fourteenth-century existence for Hightae is plausible. The records contain various spellings of Hightae, such as *Haghtache* or *Heythathe*. Johnson-Ferguson suggests a connection with the Scots word *taith*, denoting a manured field.³⁹ The second element, *hey-* or *hagh-*, might be derived from the Middle English word

30 CDS II, p.426 (no. 1608) *Smalham* AD 1303; RGS II, p.30 (no. 143) *Smalehame* AD 1429x30.

31 Nicolaisen, *Scottish Place-Names*, pp.73–76.

32 RPC Ser. I, Vol. V, p.400 *Hieta*, *Heksmalholme* and *Grenehill* AD 1597.

33 ‘Hek, Heck’, DOST III, p.88; Johnson-Ferguson, *Place-Names of Dumfriesshire*, p.89.

34 Victor Watts et al., eds., *The Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names. Based on the Collections of the English Place-Name Society* (Cambridge, 2004) [Watts et al., *English Place-Names*], p.293.

35 Watts et al., *English Place-Names*, p.293.

36 Watts et al., *English Place-Names*, p.293.

37 CDS II, p.426 (no. 1608) *Heghetache* AD 1303; CDS IV, p.11 (no. 47) *Haghtache* AD 1360, p.28 (no. 127) *Heytache* AD 1366, p.28f (no.128) *Heghetage* AD 1366, p.49 (no. 223) *Hetathe* AD 1374x5, p.51 (no. 231) *Hetathe* AD 1376; RGS II, p.30 (no. 143) *Heythathe* AD 1429x30.

38 RCAHMS, *Eastern Dumfriesshire*, pp.203–5. See also: R.C. Reid, ‘Edward I.’s Pele at Lochmaben’, *TDGNHAS*, ser.III, vol.31 (1954), pp.58–73.

39 Johnson-Ferguson, *Place-Names of Dumfriesshire*, p.89. See also: ‘Tath(e)’, DOST X, pp.367–8.

for ‘high’.⁴⁰ Hightae might therefore refer to a high lying and regularly manured tract of land. Indeed, the modern village of Hightae is situated on a slightly elevated piece of land. However, both naming elements seem to be derived from Middle English or Old Norse roots.⁴¹ It may be suggested, therefore, that the settlement itself only came into being in the period around AD 1000 or even AD 1100. The land of Hightae almost certainly was in use before its formal foundation as a settlement, but during the Middle English period a shift might have taken place in which the ‘regularly manured field’ became a place of settlement.

The last of the Royal Four Towns is Greenhill. Whereas the etymological background of Hightae and Heck proved to be elusive, that of Greenhill seems clearer. The Greenhill in the parish of Lochmaben first appears in the written record in 1597 but examples of this name can already be found in the early fourteenth-century records of the parish of Moffat.⁴² The problem in this case is that the place-name consists of elements which have changed only slightly over the centuries from their Old English origins.⁴³ As mentioned above, the OE place-name element *hyll* was probably productive from the first Anglo-Saxon settlement periods until the modern day.⁴⁴ The name could therefore have been formed throughout several centuries, making a precise dating difficult, if not impossible. There is reason to believe that Greenhill was at least the potential site of earlier settlement activity, as it lies in close proximity (c. 475m) to an undated but possibly prehistoric fort on Greenhillhead (see Figure 3).⁴⁵ It is impossible on the basis of this evidence, however, to place Greenhill into the early medieval period before AD 1000 with any confidence.

40 Williamson, *Non-Celtic Place-Names*, p.255.

41 Williamson, *Non-Celtic Place-Names*, p.255; ‘Tath(e’, DOST X, pp.367–8.

42 RPC Ser. I, Vol. V, p.400 *Grenehill* AD 1597; RGS I, p.10 (no. 34) *Grenhilcotis* AD 1315x21.

43 Williamson, *Non-Celtic Place-Names*, pp.111–118.

44 Gelling, *Place-Names*, p.169.

45 RCAHMS site no. NY18SW 35 <<http://canmore.org.uk/site/66842/greenhillhead>> [accessed 26 September 2015]; RCAHMS, *Eastern Dumfriesshire*, pp.134 and 298. During my visit to the parish on 21 May 2015, a local man from Greenhill suggested that the original Greenhill may have been where the fort is now, on Greenhillhead. According to him, when the River Annan flooded a few years ago, the entire area was turned into marsh land, with Greenhillhead being the only prominent feature unaffected by the water.

THE PLACE-NAMES OF THE PARISH OF LOCHMABEN —
RECONSTRUCTING THE SETTLEMENT LANDSCAPE OF EARLY
MEDIEVAL DUMFRIESSHIRE, C. AD 600–1000

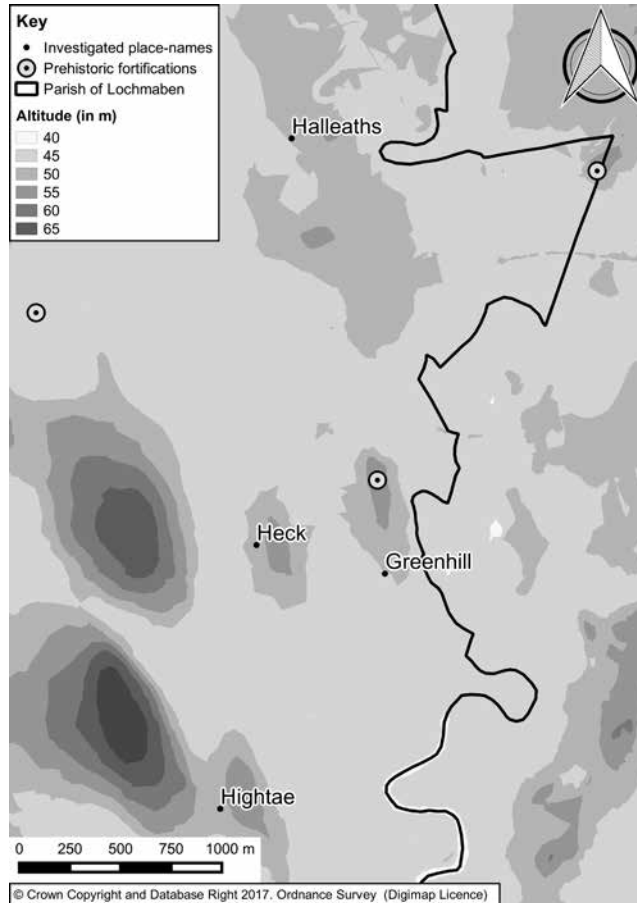


Figure 3. Greenhill and the potential fort to its north.

The Scandinavian place-names containing the elements of *bý* ('farm, hamlet') and *þveit* ('clearing') belong to the most frequent place-name types in Dumfriesshire, and each have three representatives within the parish of Lochmaben alone (see Figure 4).⁴⁶ Generally speaking, the accepted chronology is that *bý* place-names were formed earlier than *þveit* place-names. Of course, in reality it is unlikely that all of the *bý* names were neatly formed before the creation of the first *þveit* settlement. Yet, this broad pattern may be accepted for now, considering the dearth of evidence for more detailed dating.⁴⁷ The underlying narrative is based on two principal arguments. Firstly, as *þveit* names refer to clearings or cleared land, it is possible that they were formed in a period of settlement expansion, probably

46 Place-names in Dumfriesshire ending in *-by* or *-bie* may derive both from Old Norse *-bý* and Danish *-býr*. Both forms are referred to when the text mentions *-bý* type place-names, see also: Margaret Scott, *The Germanic Toponymicon of Southern Scotland: Place-Name Elements and their Contribution to the Lexicon and Onomasticon*, unpublished PhD thesis (University of Glasgow, 2003) [Scott, *Germanic Toponymicon*], p.397.

47 Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavians in Dumfriesshire', pp.86f.

caused by economic or population pressures which could not be satisfied by previous settlements (to which *bý* places may be counted). Aerial photography of the upland area where the *þveit* names of Lochmaben are found shows traces of rig-and-furrow cultivation, and it may be argued that early medieval woodland was cleared in order to open land for agricultural purposes during the warm period in the central Middle Ages.⁴⁸ Secondly, if it is accepted that Scandinavian settlers in the Dumfriesshire region generally stem from northern England, it is striking that *bý* place-names have a more easterly distribution bias when compared to *þveit* names. This fits in well with the narrative of Scandinavian westward expansion (see Figure 4).⁴⁹

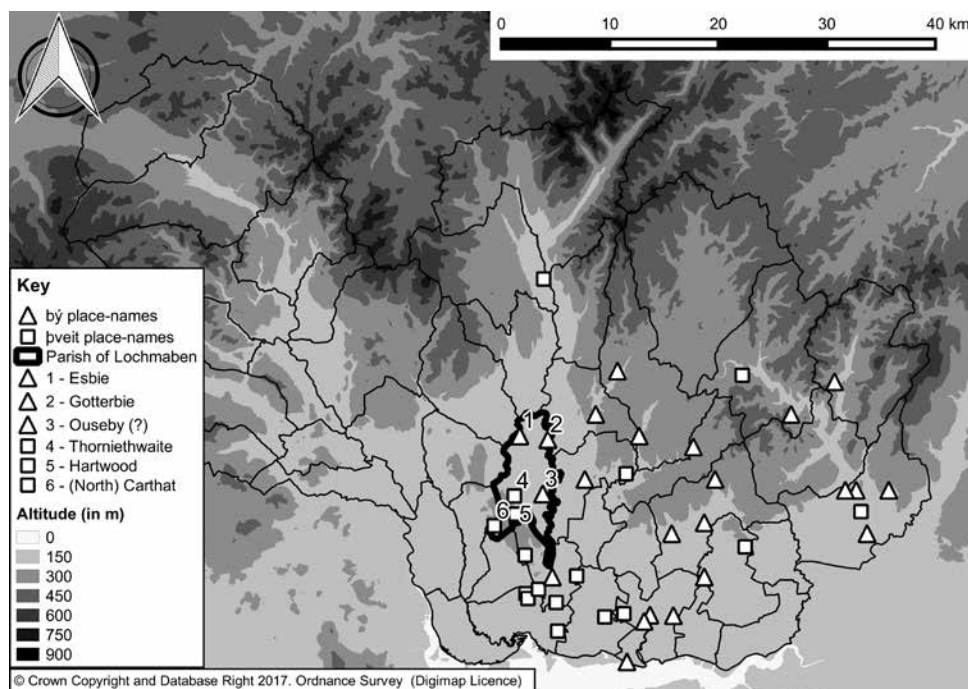


Figure 4. Place-names ending in *-bý* and *-þveit*.

Place-names of the *bý* or *þveit* type were most likely formed between the tenth and eleventh centuries, along with the expansion of Scandinavian political and cultural influence.⁵⁰ Nicolaisen agrees with the relative chronological order of *bý* place-names before *þveit* place-names, but emphasises that certain place-name types can remain productive for centuries, such as *bý*, *beck* or *þveit*, making it difficult to date them to a

48 RCAHMS, *Eastern Dumfriesshire*, pp.17 and 35.

49 Fellows-Jensen, ‘Scandinavians in Dumfriesshire’, pp.86f. See also: Gelling and Cole, *Landscape of Place-Names*, pp.249f: linguistically, *þveit* is derived from a word denoting ‘something cut down’. It is therefore unlikely to have been applied to natural clearings.

50 Oram, *Lordship of Galloway*, pp.32–4.

particular century.⁵¹ The ending in *-thwaite* has retained its meaning of ‘forest clearing’ in northern English local dialects and has remained productive as place-name element in this dialectal form after the eleventh century.⁵² Thus, while such a survival in use of the term in southern Scotland is not known to Nicolaisen, complete certainty cannot be gained from the evidence at hand.⁵³ It is possible that the *bveit* names within the parish of Lochmaben date to the eleventh century, or to the later medieval period. However, as this place-name element will be used in the present paper as evidence of the absence of settlement or land use prior to the place-name formation, the exact date or century, as long as it falls in the period after AD 1000, is of little significance.

In the parish of Lochmaben we have three examples of *bveit* place-names. North and South Carthat, Thorniethwaite and Hartwood. North and South Carthat presumably used to be a single settlement, divided at an unknown point in time. Examples of such farm divisions are known throughout Scotland, for example in the case of Upper and Nether Roxburgh.⁵⁴ These divisions are unlikely to have happened as early as the period before AD 1000, assuming that at that stage the settlements were not substantial enough to warrant this. The other reason for division, agricultural improvement, may equally be discarded with regard to the period around AD 1000. North and South Carthat will therefore be treated as a single place-name instance. Carthat appears on the written record for the first time in 1617, but can still be reliably treated as a *bveit* place-name. The settlement of Howthat (parish Mouswald), for which earlier written documents survive, can be demonstrated to have been *Holthuyt* in the thirteenth century. A similar transformation seems likely for Carthat, even though the early documentation for the latter is severely lacking.⁵⁵ Based on the general chronological framework of *bveit* place-names (see above), Carthat is likely to have been founded in the eleventh century. Its first name element does not help the dating process. It may be derived from ON *kjarr* ‘brushwood’, or from a ME derivative, *ker* ‘a bog, marsh’.⁵⁶

The settlement of Thorniethwaite appears in written documents from the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries, always recognisable as a *bveit* place-name.⁵⁷ Similar to Carthat, this place-name may go back to the eleventh century. Its first element is derived from either OE *þyrne* or ON *þyrnir*, each referring to a ‘thorn-bush’.⁵⁸ Hartwood, the third *bveit* name within the parish, may be dateable to the same period as Thorniethwaite and Carthat, although it can only be found in the written documentation of the sixteenth and seventeenth

51 Nicolaisen, *Scottish Place-Names*, p.105.

52 Nicolaisen, *Scottish Place-Names*, p.105. On potential English, rather than Norse, formations of *thwaite* place-names in the Solway region, see: A. M. Armstrong et al., *The Place-Names of Cumberland*, E. P. S. Vols. XX–XXII (Cambridge, 1950–2), pp.32 and 366.

53 Nicolaisen, *Scottish Place-Names*, p.105.

54 Robert A. Dodgshon, ‘The Nature and Development of Infield-Outfield in Scotland’, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, no.59 (1973), p.13.

55 For Carthat, RGS VII, p.574 (no. 1591) *Carthat* AD 1617. For Howthat, cf. HMC (Drml), p.40 (no. 69) *Holthuyt* AD c. 1218.

56 Scott, *Germanic Toponymicon*, p.498; Nicolaisen, *Scottish Place-Names*, p.104.

57 HMC (Drml), p.40 (no. 69) *Thorntuayt* AD c. 1218; CPB I, p.181 (no. 311) *Thornythwate* AD 1585; RGS III, p.673 (no. 2874) *Thornequhat* AD 1542x3.

58 Scott, *Germanic Toponymicon*, p.584; Williamson, *Non-Celtic Place-Names*, p.295.

centuries.⁵⁹ The modern place-name Hartwood is misleading as the aforementioned documents show its spelling as *Harthweth* or *Harthwart*, suggesting that it belongs in the same group of names as Thorniethwaite and Carthat. Its first element is commonly identified as OE *heorot/heort*, or ON *hjqtr* ‘hart, stag’.⁶⁰

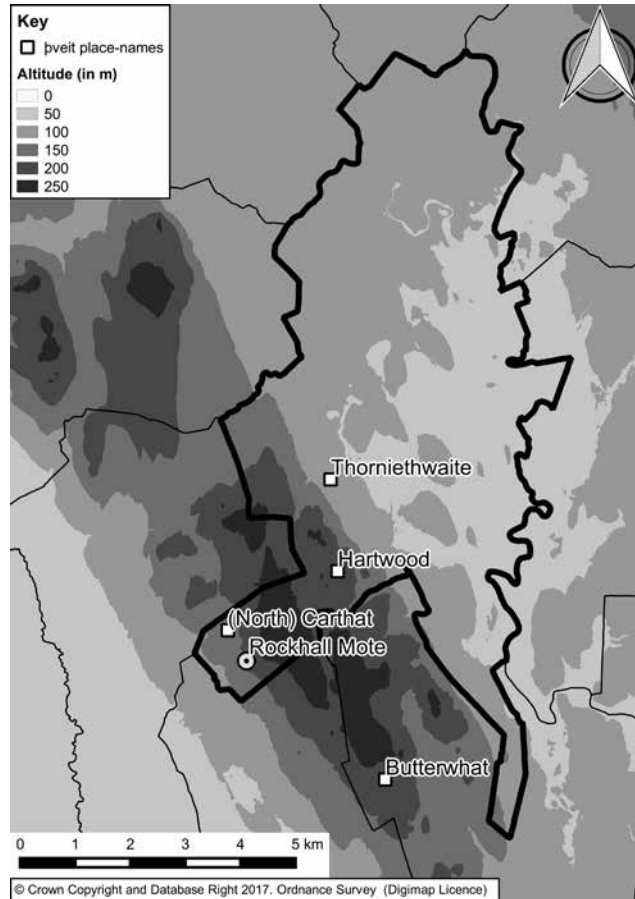


Figure 5. *pveit* names and parish boundaries.

The three *pveit* place-names of Lochmaben all occur in close proximity to, or directly in, the south-western upland area of the parish. This tendency is not necessarily reflected over the entire county of Dumfriesshire. Figure 4 shows that a great concentration of *pveit* type names can actually be located in the less mountainous areas of the county (below 300m). However, it might be significant in the case of Lochmaben parish. When comparing the

59 RGS IV, p.325 (no. 1433) *Harthweth* AD 1562; RGS VII, p.253 (no. 683) *Harthwart* AD 1612.

60 Scott, *Germanic Toponymicon*, p.468; Johnson-Ferguson, *Place-Names of Dumfriesshire*, p.89.

locations of *bveit* place-names in Lochmaben with the outline of the parish boundaries (see Figure 5), it is noticeable that the western boundary, which for the most part follows natural features, has two bulbous extensions towards the south-west, in each case surrounding a *bveit* place-name settlement.

Given the chronological evidence, the following scenario seems likely: places of the *bveit* type were created anew in a settlement wave during the late tenth, or eleventh century. If those names were created at that time, and the relevant areas therefore had to be cleared for agricultural purposes, possibly due to population or other pressures in the already settled zones, then we may infer that there were no pre-existing settlements prior to the foundation of the *bveit* settlements in the eleventh century. Judging by the reference to clearing, these places seem to have not been used in an agricultural manner up to the eleventh century at the latest. William Roy's military survey of the mid-eighteenth century seems to suggest no major agricultural land use at Hartwood or Thorniethwaite, even though there is some indication of arable fields marked around Carthat, and a potential pastoral use cannot be easily discarded.⁶¹ Judging by the rig-and-furrow marks observed on RCAHMS aerial photography mentioned above, this upland area may have seen temporary arable activity between the early medieval period and the eighteenth century, most likely in the warm centuries around AD 1150–1300.⁶² While the upland area was not beyond agricultural use, it stands to argue that this activity only commenced after AD 1000, with the potential increase of population pressures and the amelioration of climate conditions. Of course, this theory relies in part on the assumption that the incoming Scandinavians did not just translate the name of a pre-existing Anglo-Saxon or British clearing or rename a settlement they found there and expanded it through their own clearing. Nicolaisen's demonstration of how the place-name of Falkirk was translated over time through the influence of local linguistic changes from *Egglesbreth* over *Varia Capella* and *la Veire Chapelle* to *Falkirk* (all in the course of 200 years) is a vivid example for these caveats.⁶³ Yet, as argued above, the generally marginal lands on which *bveit* names appear in northern England and southern Scotland, as compared to *bý* place-names, as well as the example of how Roy's military survey portrays the land use around Hartwood and Thorniethwaite, suggest that no major settlement activity can have taken place in those areas prior to Scandinavian settlement.⁶⁴

The case of Lochmaben's *bveit* names may have ramifications for the dating of its parish boundaries. One of the reasons why the parish of Lochmaben has been chosen for the present study is the fact that its boundaries seem to have been fairly stable in the post-medieval and, possibly, the medieval period. Unlike parishes such Meikle and Little Dalton, there appear to have been no major fluctuations in parish boundaries around Lochmaben.⁶⁵ While it is true that the parish boundary outline was first mapped (to our knowledge) in the nineteenth-century OS maps, it is notable that the largest part of the

61 William Roy, *The Great Map. The Military Survey of Scotland 1747–55*, ed. Yolanda Hodson et al. (Edinburgh, 2007) [Roy, *Great Map*], plate 20.

62 RCAHMS, *Eastern Dumfriesshire*, p.17.

63 Nicolaisen, *Scottish Place-Names*, pp.8–16: All of these place-names are commonly translated as 'spotted or speckled church'.

64 Nicolaisen, *Scottish Place-Names*, pp.105f.

65 Cowan, *Parishes of Medieval Scotland*, pp.135f; RCAHMS, *Eastern Dumfriesshire*, p.244.

boundary line follows natural features, and may therefore conceivably date to a time before AD 1800.⁶⁶ If the modern boundaries of the parish of Lochmaben reflect the boundary of its medieval predecessor closely, then the *bveit* place-names above may shed light on the history of these boundaries. Scottish parishes were established in a systematic fashion from the reign of David I King of Scots onward, that is from the early twelfth century.⁶⁷ The only part where the boundaries of Lochmaben parish deviate from the rule of following natural landmarks is the south-west corner, reaching across the upland ridge and taking in both Carthat and Rockhall Mote (see Figure 5). This extension contains all of Lochmaben's *bveit* names, that is Carthat, Thorniethwaite and Hartwood. Previous writers have already commented on the possible nature of this extension, probably representing a small estate based on the motte-and-bailey castle of Rockhall Mote.⁶⁸ In the present investigation, additions will be made to that argument, based on the place-name evidence. If *bveit* place-names may be dated to the tenth or eleventh centuries, and therefore pre-date the generally accepted systematic creation of parishes in the twelfth and later centuries, one may argue that the south-west portion of the parish of Lochmaben was super-imposed during the tenth or eleventh centuries onto a pre-existing boundary in order to take in the presumably newly founded *bveit* places but leaving the traditional route of following natural features. Thus, the south-western appendage surrounding the motte at Rockhallhead may have been a separate land unit before AD 1000. Similarly, the remainder of the Lochmaben parish boundaries may be of an older date than the twelfth century, given that they were probably in place in the eleventh century to be modified. This land unit need not have been a parish boundary originally, but may have been imbued with this function during the establishment of parishes under David I or his successors.

Moving away from the evidence of settlements which did not exist in the pre-AD 1000 period, we see that the other large group of Scandinavian place-names in the parish is formed by those of the *bý* type.⁶⁹ Arguably, the majority of these place-names were formed during one of the earlier waves of Scandinavian westward expansion, originating in Cumbria and other parts of northern England and moving into the southern Scottish lowlands, especially in Dumfriesshire.

66 Ordnance Survey One-Inch Map, *Scotland with coloured parishes*, 2nd Edition, Sheet 10 (1900) <<http://maps.nls.uk/view/74400766>> [accessed 28 September 2015].

67 Ian B. Cowan, 'The Development of the Parochial System in Medieval Scotland', *The Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. 40, No. 129 (1961), pp.44 and 51. There has been a debate on the potential existence of parishes or parish-like divisions before the twelfth century, notably in the shape of the *minster hypothesis*. This subject is too complex to be included in the present investigation. It is assumed here that the parish boundaries of Lochmaben represent a territorial unit which may not have been parochial in function before the twelfth century. Further reading can be found here: Marilyn Dunn, *The Emergence of Monasticism. From the Desert Fathers to the Early Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2000); Christopher Crowe, 'Early Medieval Parish Formation in Dumfries and Galloway', in *The Cross goes North. Processes of Conversion in Northern Europe, AD 300–1300*, ed. Martin Carver (York, 2003), pp.195–206. For a critique of the *minster hypothesis*, see: David Rollason, 'Monasteries and Society in Early Medieval Northumbria', in *Monasteries and Society in Medieval Britain. Proceedings of the 1994 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. B. Thompson (Stamford, 1999), pp.59–74.

68 RCAHMS, *Eastern Dumfriesshire*, pp.244 and 250.

69 Williamson, *Non-Celtic Place-Names*, p.281.

As mentioned above, the dating of *bý* place-names is complex, as the *bý* element may have been productive for several centuries. However, their distribution in Dumfriesshire, especially when compared to other Scandinavian elements, may support the narrative of a tenth-century settlement movement (see Figure 4). Unlike *þveit* names, which were almost certainly newly founded settlements, it is possible that *bý* places were native British, or even Anglian, settlements, later renamed in the wake of strengthening Scandinavian cultural influence. There is a considerable number of *bý* place-names which refer to personal names of an eleventh- or, more likely, twelfth-century date. Such is the case for places like Lockerbie, which is derived from the Norman name ‘Locard’, or Pearsby, referring to Ofir ‘Pierre’ or ME Pier or Peir.⁷⁰ However, this in itself only dates the latest change to the name, not the settlement. It is not inconceivable that incoming landlords renamed place-names, or that place-names were renamed after them by members of the local population.⁷¹ Even without the problematic, that is potentially post-Scandinavian, instances of *bý* place-names including Albie, or Albierig, Canonbie, Mumbie, Sibbaldbie and Lockerbie, there is still a heavy easterly bias of this type of place-name, particularly in comparison with the *þveit* names.⁷² Thus, while names bearing the *bý* element may have had a moved history in that they were possibly renamed throughout the Middle Ages to reflect new patterns of ownership, it is still likely, at least in eastern Dumfriesshire, that they largely date to the tenth or eleventh centuries, and may have renamed much older settlements.

In the case of the parish of Lochmaben, the *bý* place-names are Esbie, Gotterbie and the extinct Ouseby. Esbie is derived from the ON word for ‘ash-grove village’.⁷³ Although it appears on the record for the first time in the late thirteenth century, the Scandinavian naming elements potentially point to greater age.⁷⁴ The settlement may well have existed in the tenth century or earlier, although the place-name elements are the only evidence for this.

Gotterbie in its current form does not survive in the medieval or immediately post-medieval records. Fellows-Jensen argues that it is identical with *Godfraby*, a settlement mentioned in a document from 1505.⁷⁵ Given that *Godfraby* was apparently close to the lands of Applegarth in said document, and that modern Gotterbie is situated on the border to the parish of Applegarth, the identification of Gotterbie with *Godfraby* seems reasonable.⁷⁶ The first naming element of Gotterbie probably goes back to a personal name. It may be derived from the continental Germanic name *Godefrid* (*Godfrey* in its ME form).⁷⁷ Such an interpretation would date the place-name, or at least the re-naming using the continental

70 Williamson, *Non-Celtic Place-Names*, pp.282–5; HMC (Drml), p.39 (no. 67) *Locardebi* AD 1194x1214; RGS III, p.72 (no. 320) *Perisby* AD 1525.

71 For an example of this, see: Gelling, *Place-Names*, p.246.

72 Williamson, *Non-Celtic Place-Names*, pp.112f.

73 Williamson, *Non-Celtic Place-Names*, p.283; Gillian Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West* (Copenhagen, 1985) [Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names*], pp.29f.

74 DIHS II, p.91 (no. CCCLXXXIV) *Esseby* AD 1296, and p.394 (no. DLXXXII) *Esseby* AD 1299.

75 Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names*, p.32; Williamson, *Non-Celtic Place-Names*, p.286.

76 RGS II, p.605 (no. 2844) *Godfraby* AD 1505.

77 Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names*, p.32.

Germanic personal name, to the period after AD 1000. However, the place-name may also point to the ON personal name *Guðfrøðr*, with the possibility of the place-name formation having happened sometime in the tenth century.⁷⁸

The third *bý* place-name in the parish of Lochmaben, Ouseby, cannot be found on modern maps. It might have become deserted, or renamed, in the post-medieval period, but in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries it can still be traced in the written records.⁷⁹ The origin of the name's first element is unclear. Johnson-Ferguson suggests a possible connection with Irish *os* 'water', but although Gaelic place-names were not uncommon in Dumfriesshire, preference will here be given to the interpretation of Fellows-Jensen and Williamson, both of whom argue that the element is derived from the Scandinavian personal name *Ulfir*.⁸⁰ This would fit the pattern of *bý* place-names often carrying personal name elements. As previously mentioned, the location of Ouseby is unknown, but, given that it may be dated roughly to the same time period as Esbie and Gotterbie, its location becomes a matter of consequence. Unfortunately, there have been no archaeological finds which may easily be connected to Ouseby, and thus any attempt at localising it is forced to draw inferences from the written record. A broad attempt at localising it, based on a charter from 1374x5 has been made in the report on Eastern Dumfriesshire by the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland.⁸¹ A more detailed attempt at determining its original location before desertion will be made here. Ouseby is first mentioned in the Pipe Rolls of Edward I for Martinmas 1303, which lists a number of rent payments: the provostries of Dalton, Mouswald, Smallholm, Hightae and Rockell each pay several bushels of oatmeal, while 7 s. 6 d. are paid "from the farm of the demesne lands of Oseby; 5 s. from that of the grazing of Oseby; 4 l. 15 s. of the farm of the meadows of Oseby, by the hands of Sir John Botetourt".⁸² Two things can be gleaned from this entry: Ouseby seems to fall into a different category from all the other paying units, as it is measured not in kind, but in money. Secondly, the lands and pertinences of Ouseby seem to be extensive, and it looks like it was a fully-fledged estate or part thereof, consisting of demesne lands with separate land units for meadows and grazing.

Another fourteenth-century charter, purportedly from 1360, regulates the temporary division of Annandale between Sir Thomas de Roos, warden of Lochmaben castle and Annandale for the Earl of Hereford and, on the other side, "Johan Steward of Dalswyndone", warden of the West March of Scotland for the King of Scotland.⁸³ According to this document, "all farms, 'justicerics, courts' and other issues" should be equally divided

78 'Guðfrøðr', in *Norsk-Isländska Dopnamn ock Fingerade Namn från Medeltiden*, ed. E.H. Lind (Uppsala, 1905–15), column 372.

79 CDS II, p.426 (no. 1608) *Oseby* AD 1303; CDS IV, p.11 (no. 47) *Ouseby* AD 1360, 28 (no. 127) *Hwsbyfeld* AD 1366, 28f (no. 128) *Ousby* AD 1366, 50 (no. 223) *Usby* AD 1374x5; RGS II, p.30 (no. 143) *Usebyfeld* AD 1429x30.

80 Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names*, p.37; Williamson, *Non-Celtic Place-Names*, p.286. The better recorded Ousby in Cumbria supports the etymology of *Ulfir* + *bý*; see: Watts et al., *English Place-Names*, p.456.

81 RCAHMS, *Eastern Dumfriesshire*, p.205; for the charter, see: CDS IV, p.50 (no. 223).

82 CDS II, p.426 (no. 1608).

83 For more information regarding this arrangement between the Earl of Hereford and the Scottish king, see: Robert Gladstone, 'The Early Annandale Charters and their Strange Resting Place', *TDGNHAS*, ser.III, vol.6 (1918–19), pp.137–146.

between the King and the Earl for one year, except “the villis of Lochmaben, Hagtache, Smalham, Ouseby, and the park of Wodecokheir”, which should be reserved to the Earl.⁸⁴ This brings Ouseby in context not only with the centre of the parish and administrative unit, Lochmaben, but also with two of the Royal Four Towns which, according to the tradition, should already exist as a unit by this point. It is noticeable that, where Heck and Greenhill are not mentioned, Ouseby is. Two more indentures of 1366 repeat this grouping, with each referring to “Hwsbyfeld” or “the field of Ousby”.⁸⁵ Another document of interest can be found in the *Register of the Great Seal of Scotland*. There, we encounter the following passage:

[The] forsaid lord has grantyt and giffin to the forsaid Michel, the keeping of hys Castell of Louchmabane for al the terme of hys lyf wyth this feis, that is to say iiii of ponddis of gud and usuale mone of Scotland ilk yheir and the landis of Usebyfeld outakand the medowys to be the lordis awin, and alsua the forsaid Michel sal taik and raise up the malis of Heythathe and Smalehame and thai sal be acontyt and alowit in the some of iiii lb. beforsaid.⁸⁶

In a later confirmation of this document, the lands are listed in the following formula: “we haf gifin and grantit to the said Michel yherly to resayf tak up and joyse thir thynggis under vyrtyn; that is to say the fructis and the profitis of the kyrk of Dalgarnoch; [...] Item, Hethach, Smalhame and Usbyfield [...]”.⁸⁷

The passages above suggest that Ouseby was located very closely to Smallholm and Hightae. Doubt is cast on this assumption by Ouseby being mentioned next to the park of ‘Wodecokheir’.⁸⁸ This park must have existed nearby the place which is still known as Woodcock Air, about one kilometre south-east of Hoddom Castle, but still within the boundaries of the parish of Annan. It is therefore comparatively distant from the parish of Lochmaben. However, these doubts may be alleviated by the knowledge that in another instance, when the last document mentioned above lists several geographically distant places, it fits Ouseby in one geographical unit together with Hightae and Smallholm: “Item, Hethach, Smalhame and Usbyfield”.⁸⁹ It is noticeable with regard to the grouping of these three villis that Heck and Greenhill, belonging to the Royal Four Towns, are missing or are being replaced by Ouseby. Generally speaking, there are no mentions of Heck or Greenhill in the written record before AD 1500, and after AD 1500, the written records turn silent with regard to Ouseby. This may be merely an accident of documentary survival, but it is suggestive nonetheless. Two theories could explain this state of affairs: the settlement of Ouseby may have been renamed in the course of the late Middle Ages, sometime in the late fourteenth or fifteenth century. Or Ouseby may have been deserted in that period. Given that both Heck and Greenhill only appear in the written record after Ouseby disappeared, it is plausible that either of those settlements became Ouseby’s successor.

84 CDS IV, p.11 (no. 47). This text is taken from the translation of Joseph Bain (editor of CDS IV).

85 CDS IV, p.28 (no. 127), 28f (no. 128).

86 RGS II, p.30 (no. 143).

87 RGS II, p.30 (no. 143).

88 CDS IV, p.11 (no. 47).

89 RGS II, p.30 (no. 143).

A document from the reign of Edward III of England (c. 1374x75) gives a possible indication as to the landscape in which Ouseby was situated. In a list of the services required to maintain and repair the castle at Lochmaben, it mentions: “mowing and carriage of 28 wagon loads of ‘thak et rede’ from the field of Usby to the castle”.⁹⁰ The formulation suggests that a mixture of materials, both reed and wheat straw, was used for thatching.⁹¹ Thus, the field of Ouseby must have been situated close to a water body. This, however, only underlines that it must have had its location in the eastern part of the parish, close to the lochs around Lochmaben or to the River Annan, rather than giving any more precise information.

Another aspect which sheds light on the history of Ouseby is the fact that most documents after AD 1360 refer to Ouseby only as ‘Ousbyfield’ or the ‘field of Ouseby’. Is this an indicator of Ouseby already having been deserted? A tentative chronology for Ouseby may be the following: the settlement of Ouseby may have been founded during the Scandinavian settlement wave of the tenth century, potentially replacing an earlier Anglian or British settlement. The first time we hear of Ouseby is in a document from 1302x4, issued under the reign of Edward I of England. The document is essentially a tax roll and portrays Ouseby as a substantial estate complex or part of such an estate. About ten years later Robert I succeeds to the Scottish throne. This is presumably the time when the people of the Royal Four Towns receive their specific rights as part of a group which comprises Smallholm and Hightae. The other two Royal Towns, Heck and Greenhill, are suspiciously absent in the record. Instead it is Ouseby which is grouped together with Smallholm and Hightae. After AD 1360, we tend to hear from Ouseby only in the context of its pertinent fields. From an onomastic viewpoint, the ending *-field* often denotes a large, open and unenclosed area, which may refer to the meadows and grazing mentioned in the earliest document.⁹² One problem remains: why are Hightae and Smallholm mentioned as settlements, while Ouseby is only mentioned as field in the later records? Potential scenarios are the following:

- 1) Ouseby and Ousebyfield are identical settlements, and the *-field* element just refers to the main economic characteristic of this settlement.
- 2) The original settlement of Ouseby became deserted, and its pertinent fields were still treated with fiscal interest, either because a separate settlement emerged here, or because of commonty rights or similar arrangements which meant that certain payments of the surrounding settlements were measured in the ‘unit’ of ‘Ousebyfield’.

The latter scenario is mirrored in the desertion of the settlement of *Baschebi* in North Yorkshire. It appears in the Domesday record as being close to nearby Appleton. By the

90 CDS IV, p.50 (no. 223).

91 For late medieval thatching practices, see: David Smith et al., ‘Coleoptera from Late Medieval Smoke-Blackened Thatch (SBT): their Archaeological Implications’, *Environmental Archaeology*, Vol. 4 (1999), pp.9–17; Dominique de Moulins, ‘The weeds from the thatch roofs of medieval cottages from the south of England’, *Vegetation History and Archaeobotany*, vol.16, no.5 (2007), pp.385–398.

92 Williamson, *Non-Celtic Place-Names*, pp.79f; Gelling, *Place-Names*, pp.235–7.

thirteenth century, *Baschebi* was entirely incorporated into Appleton. Yet, sources still refer to places as formerly associated with the lost village, similar to the references to ‘Ousebyfield’.⁹³ Given the evidence, a clear decision as to the location of Ouseby cannot be made, but it may have been near, or even ‘under’, modern Heck or Greenhill.

Another place-name of interest in the current investigation is Templand. It is situated in the north of the parish and cannot be found in the medieval written documentation. Yet, the naming elements *Temp-* and *-land*, point to it having belonged to the Knights Templar.⁹⁴ The order of the Knights Templar was founded in AD 1118, and seems to have been brought to Scotland under David I.⁹⁵ The early twelfth century may be regarded as a very broad *terminus post quem* for the naming of Templand. After the proceedings against the order in 1307–8, many of the lands of the Knights Templar in Scotland passed to the Knights Hospitaller.⁹⁶ The *-land* element may refer to a patch of soil, ground or an estate.⁹⁷ In some instances, the meaning of ‘new arable land’ is also possible.⁹⁸ Whether the settlement of Templand is as old as its name, or older, depends largely on two issues: the first one is concerned with the kind of role the Knights Templar had in keeping the land. It seems unlikely that the order received the lands in order to clear or improve them. Rather, much like in other parts of Scotland and England, the order received lands and estates for its support, financial or otherwise.⁹⁹ The other question is what one makes of the potentially prehistoric defended settlement which can be found in the near vicinity of the current village of Templand (see Figure 6). There is no evidence which helps to date this site, and while it is a clear indicator of previous human settlement activity in this area, it may be too old to say anything about any continuous settlement between the prehistoric period and the twelfth century.¹⁰⁰ Yet, it is at least possible that the area around Templand was settled, under a different name, before AD 1100.

93 Allerston, ‘English Village Development’, pp.102f.

94 This is suggested by both Williamson and Johnson-Ferguson: Williamson, *Non-Celtic Place-Names*, p.197; Johnson-Ferguson, *Place-Names of Dumfriesshire*, p.90.

95 Ian B. Cowan and David E. Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses. Scotland* (London, 1976) [Cowan and Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses*], pp.157f; Malcolm Barber, *The New Knighthood. A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge, 1994) [Barber, *Order of the Temple*], pp.6f.

96 Cowan and Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses*, pp.157f.

97 Williamson, *Non-Celtic Place-Names*, pp.194–6.

98 Gelling, *Place-Names*, p.246.

99 David Knowles and R.N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses. England and Wales* (London, 1971), p.290; cf. Barber, *Order of the Temple*, pp.230–7 and 251–7.

100 See the potential prehistoric settlement site at Corncockle Plantation, RCAHMS site no. NY08NE 5 <<http://canmore.org.uk/site/66238/corncockle-plantation>> [accessed 26 September 2015]; George Jobey, ‘Early Settlements in Eastern Dumfriesshire’, *TDGNHAS*, ser.III, vol.48 (1971), pp.88f; cf. RCAHMS, *Eastern Dumfriesshire*, p.299.

THE PLACE-NAMES OF THE PARISH OF LOCHMABEN —
 RECONSTRUCTING THE SETTLEMENT LANDSCAPE OF EARLY
 MEDIEVAL DUMFRIESSHIRE, C. AD 600–1000

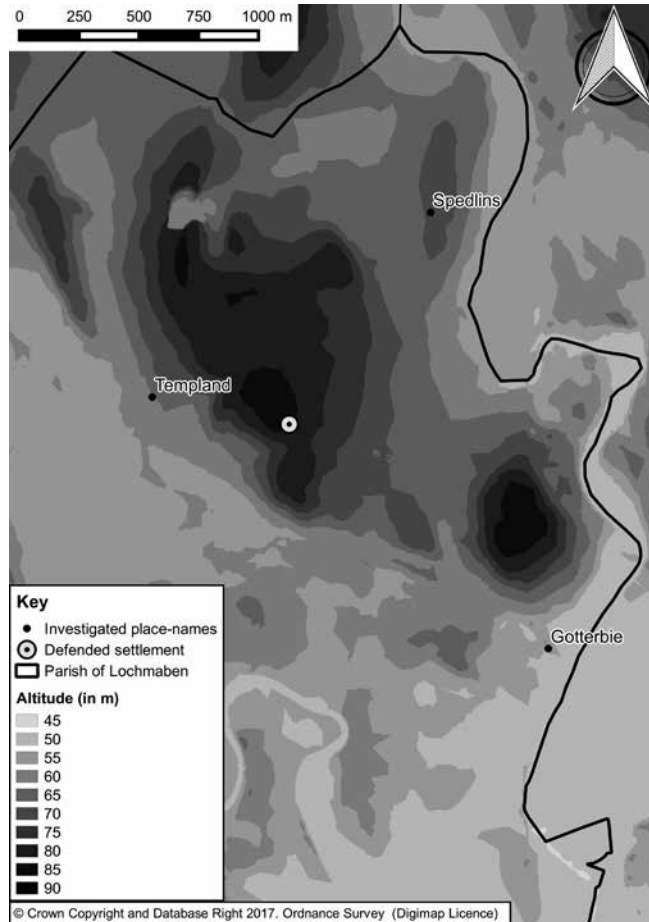


Figure 6. The northern part of the parish of Lochmaben.

Lodged in the corner of the parish which may originally not have belonged to the boundary unit around Lochmaben is the place-name group of Rockhallhead and Rockhall Mote. None of these places appear in the written record before 1500.¹⁰¹ The first element seems to refer to OE *hrōc* ‘rook’, while the second element may be derived from Anglian OE *halh*, which was adopted in Middle and Modern Scots as *haugh* or *hauch* ‘a piece of (alluvial) level ground’.¹⁰² It is unclear when exactly the settlement naming happened. The elements ‘hauch’ and its earlier form, ‘halch’, seem to appear in writing already in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries with the specialised meaning of ‘meadow by

101 CPB I, p.422 (no. 793) *moite of Rockell* AD 1592; RGS III, p.88 (no. 395) *Rokkell* AD 1526; RGS VII, p.574 (no. 1591) *Carthat* AD 1617.

102 Williamson, *Non-Celtic Place-Names*, pp.92–95; Scott, *Germanic Toponymicon*, pp.159 and 162.

the river' or 'alluvial flat land'.¹⁰³ Linguistically, the name could have been formed at any time between the seventh or eighth centuries and the early modern period.¹⁰⁴ If the *halh* element refers to a flat piece of land by a river, it may have been created in allusion to Rockhall Burn, the only water course in this area on modern maps. In her study of *halh* place-names across England, Margaret Gelling makes the suggestion that this place-name type may not just describe topographical, but also administrative features, such as 'piece of land projecting from, or detached from, the main area of its administrative unit'.¹⁰⁵ Although the meaning of 'land by the river' seems to be more frequent in northern England, the alternative interpretation fits the position of Rockhall Mote and Rockhallhead within the parish of Lochmaben, although Rockhall itself notably remains outside the parish boundaries.¹⁰⁶ There have been suggestions that the site used to be an Anglo-Saxon settlement or farm, but these could not be based on more evidence than a brief field trip statement in the *TDGNHAS*.¹⁰⁷ The site of Rockhallhead, close to Rockhall Mote, is the possible site of a medieval chapel. A head carved from stone, now built into the wall of the Dumfries Burgh Museum, is reputed to have once formed part of the chapel, and is dated to the late twelfth century.¹⁰⁸ It is tempting to see this hypothetical chapel in relation with the motte at Rockhall Mote, a possible Norman and hence also potentially twelfth-century construction. Rockhall Chapel is accounted for in the written documentation of the early thirteenth century, but both it and the associated motte likely predate the thirteenth century.¹⁰⁹ Aerial photography shows signs of early occupation on the site, which, along with the motte and the hypothetical chapel, may suggest that this site was in continuous use by settlers.¹¹⁰ Unfortunately, the number of archaeological and historical works conducted on this part of Dumfriesshire is very small, and the evidence does not stand on a firm foundation. All hints taken together, though, there is a possibility of early medieval (or earlier) settlement at or near Rockhall Mote or Rockhallhead.

Broomhill and Cockethill are both sites which describe modern settlements, and can be found in the late medieval or early modern written record, ranging from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries.¹¹¹ Nevertheless, as mentioned in the case of Greenhill above,

103 'Hauch, Hawch', *DOST* III, p.67; 'Halch', *DOST* III, p.12; Williamson, *Non-Celtic Place-Names*, p.92. For some of the earliest sources, see: LSMM I, p.55 (no. 66): *eis landas et halghes* AD 1165x1214; LSMC I, p.244 (no. 303): *cum pratis, pasturis, et hawhes* AD 1153x65.

104 Gelling, *Place-Names*, pp.100 and 110.

105 Gelling, *Place-Names*, p.100.

106 Gelling, *Place-Names*, p.108.

107 'Field Meeting 11 September, 1919, Mouswald District', *TDGNHAS*, ser.III, vol.6 (1919), p.203.

108 Wilfred Dodds, 'Celtic Heads from Dumfriesshire', *TDGNHAS*, ser.III, vol.49 (1972), p.36; A.E. Truckell, 'Archaeological Finds, 1955', *TDGNHAS*, ser.III, vol.33 (1955), p.202.

109 RCAHMS, *Eastern Dumfriesshire*, pp.244 and 250.

110 RCAHMS site no. NY07NE 2 <<http://canmore.org.uk/site/66115/rockhallhead-rokele-chapel>> [accessed 28 September 2015]; see also: RCAHMS, *Eastern Dumfriesshire*, p.301.

111 For Cockethill, see: RGS VII, p.253 (no. 683) *Cockhairthill* AD 1612; RGS VIII, p.298 (no. 826) *Cockarthill* AD 1625. For Broomhill, see: HMC (Drml), p.47 (no. 87) *Brumell* AD 1486; HMC (Jhn), p.22 (no. 31) *Brumehill* AD 1569, p.49 (no. 122) *Brumell* AD 1589; CPB I, p.181 (no. 311) *Brommell* AD 1585.

the naming element of *hyll* does not lend itself to any specific dating of those place-names. Although Cockethill only appears in the early seventeenth-century charters as ‘terras de [...] Cockhairthill’, which may leave it open to interpretation whether it was a settlement, it appears in the same context as Hartwood and Little Dalton, which were settlements.¹¹² There is nothing to suggest, then, that ‘Cockethill’ did not refer to a settlement at that point in time. Yet, the etymological background of *Cocket-* is obscure. The earliest spellings of Cockethill are *Cockhairthill* and *Cockarthill*, and they appear in two different sources, about 13 years removed from each other, so that it may be assumed that they reflect a generally accepted pronunciation of the place-name. No satisfying etymology could be proposed for this name so far.¹¹³ At its most straight-forward, it may simply refer to local animals, being a composition of OE or ME *coc* ‘cock’ or ‘woodcock’, OE or ME *heorot/heort* ‘hart’ and OE *hyll*.¹¹⁴ This would seem unusual, however, as this interpretation places two unrelated nouns next to each other. An alternative proposition would be a derivation from Scots *cok-cairt* ‘tip-cart’, although the connection to the topographical location would be uncertain.¹¹⁵ A third possibility may be that *Cockhairthill* or *Cockarthill* represent corrupted versions of the surnames ‘Crockatt’ or ‘Crockett’, which appear in the written record from the late thirteenth century onward, and may, in Scotland, be themselves corrupted forms of the name *MacRiocard*, ‘son of Rickard’.¹¹⁶

None of these options seem very satisfying and the onomastic analysis of this place-name remains difficult, given that the earliest known spellings date to the seventeenth century. Archaeologically, the area around the modern site of Cockethill is yielding no evidence of prior settlement. Given its location on the upland ridge in the south-west part of the parish, near Hartwood, it may be assumed that Cockethill was not settled before AD 1000, as this part of the parish would have been cleared at the time when the *þveit* name settlements were formed.

The settlement of (Old) Broomhill derived its name most likely from the prevalent vegetation in its vicinity, as in OE *bróm*/ModE *broom*.¹¹⁷ There is a fair amount of evidence for early occupation and settlements in the area near the sites of Broomhill and Old Broomhill. This includes two enclosures, as seen on aerial photography, and the discovery of a burial cist with included cinerary urn (see Figure 7).¹¹⁸

112 RGS VII, p.253 (no. 683).

113 Johnson-Ferguson, *Place-Names of Dumfriesshire*, p.88.

114 ‘Cock’, in OED III, pp.407–8; cf. ‘Hart’, in OED VI, pp.1134–5.

115 ‘Cok-cairt’, in DOST I, p.575. My gratitude goes to Dr Alan G. James for this suggestion and his help on the problem of ‘Cockethill’.

116 George F. Black, *The Surnames of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2007), p.186; CDS II, p.185 (no. 810) *Crocket* AD 1296.

117 Johnson-Ferguson, *Place-Names of Dumfriesshire*, p.88; ‘Bróm’, in *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary Online*, ed. Joseph Boswell and Thomas Northcote Toller. (Prague, 2010) <<http://www.bosworthtoller.com/005207>> [accessed 26 September 2015].

118 RCAHMS sites nos. NY08SE 26, NY08SE 45, NY08SE 46
 <<http://canmore.rcahms.gov.uk/en/site/66284/details/broomhill/>>;
 <<http://canmore.rcahms.gov.uk/en/site/66305/details/broomhill/>>;
 <<http://canmore.rcahms.gov.uk/en/site/66306/details/broomhill/>> [accessed 5 May 2015].
 See also: RCAHMS, *Eastern Dumfriesshire*, pp.301 and 359.

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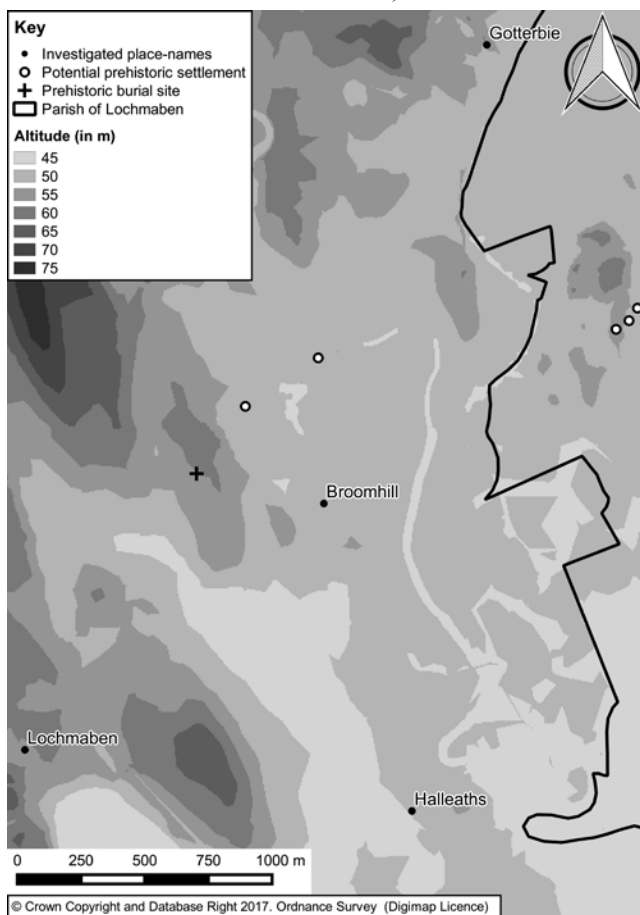


Figure 7. Indicators of early settlement near Broomhill.

Unfortunately, the cist burial containing the cinerary urn has not been studied in much detail and has so far not been dated.¹¹⁹ Broadly speaking, cist burials with cinerary urns were a phenomenon which could range from c. 2500 BC to about 1500 BC.¹²⁰ Thus, it can be assumed that some extent of settlement may have taken place in the vicinity of Broomhill during the Bronze Age, but whether there was any settlement continuity into

119 W. Jardine, 'Journal of the Proceedings', *TDGNHAS*, ser.I, vol.6 (1871), pp.7f. Longworth published an extensive list of finds associated with urns and cremation in 1984. A number of these finds are located near Dumfries and Lockerbie, but the find from Broomhill Farm is not listed. While not giving any details on the site in question here, it suggests that Broomhill was one of many sites in the area following the tradition of collared urn burials: I.H. Longworth, *Collared Urns of the Bronze Age in Great Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge, 1984) [Longworth, *Collared Urns*], pp.295–7.

120 Prof. Dr Ian Ralston, Pers. Comm. 2015. See also: Mike Parker Pearson, 'The Earlier Bronze Age', in *The Archaeology of Britain*, ed. John Hunter and Ian Ralston (Abington, 2009), pp.104f and 119; Timothy Champion, 'The later Bronze Age', in *The Archaeology of Britain*, ed. John Hunter and Ian Ralston (Abington, 2009), p.143; cf. Longworth, *Collared Urns*, p.79.

the early medieval period cannot be said. Broomhill may have been settled in the first millennium AD, but the evidence for this assumption is suggestive, rather than conclusive.

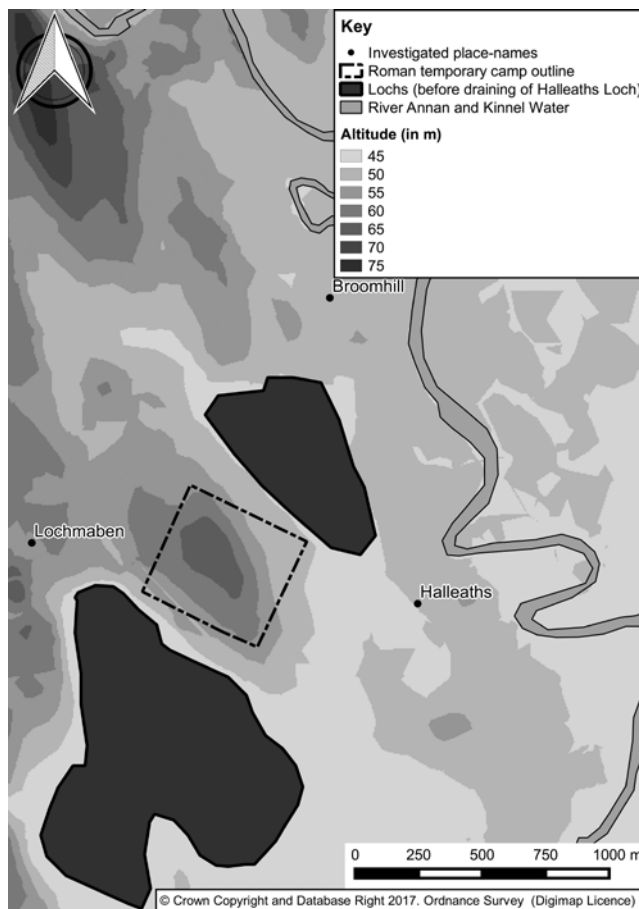


Figure 8. The Roman Camp south of Halleaths Loch.

The settlement of Halleaths can be found in the written documentation of 1452 and 1625.¹²¹ Johnson-Ferguson interprets the name as coming from ON *hali* ‘a projecting tongue of land’ and ON *hlatha* ‘barn’.¹²² Geographically, this etymological origin fits the location of Halleaths, on top of a tongue of land reaching into the river Annan. Alternatively, the first element may describe the settlement’s position on a solid bank south of Halleaths Loch. This loch was drained in 1846 and used to be one of the lochs surrounding Lochmaben. It

121 HMC (Drml), p.58 (no. 113) *Hallathis* AD 1452; RGS VIII, p.299 (no. 826) *Hallethies* AD 1625.

122 Johnson-Ferguson, *Place-Names of Dumfriesshire*, p.89.

is now shown on maps as Brumel Wood.¹²³ There are indications that there was a temporary Roman camp (see Figure 8), lodged between Castle Loch in the south and Halleaths Loch/Brumel Wood in the north, roughly where the farm of Innerfield can be seen today. With estimated dimensions of c. 518 m by c. 472 m, this camp would have completely blocked the passage between the two lochs, as well as seriously infringed on the territory of a potential settlement located where Halleaths can be seen now. There are two ways of interpreting this situation. Often, temporary Roman camps can be found in open, cleared and, arguably, agricultural (arable or pastoral) landscape, as the camps were too large for the soldiers to be expected to clear new land. The camp could therefore be an indicator of early settlement on the site or near to the camp.¹²⁴ The alternative interpretation is mainly based on the assumption that the local population was hostile to the Roman troops, or that the population had other reasons for avoiding contact with Romans and their camp. In this case, the camp near Halleaths would be too close to the potential native settlement of Halleaths for the latter to have existed. In this scenario, the camp might still be located in agriculturally used land, but the land might belong to a different settlement from the one at Halleaths. The third- or fourth-century Roman camp at Kintore, Aberdeenshire, is an example of a Roman camp seemingly acting as deterrent to native settlement activity.¹²⁵ It may be suggested, then, that Halleaths was a post-Roman settlement, and received its modern name during the Scandinavian settlement waves of the tenth and eleventh centuries, during which it may have been founded or re-settled.

The site of Elshieshields appears in the written documentation for the first time in the sixteenth century.¹²⁶ The *Elshie-* may refer, according to May Williamson, to OGael *ailech* ‘stony place’, or to a ‘common ModSc diminutive’ for the name of Alexander.¹²⁷ However, based on the earliest surviving spellings, the Gaelic derivation seems unlikely. The second place-name element is derived from Scots or ME *schele*, referring to a shieling used for accommodating either sheep or shepherds.¹²⁸ The etymology of the term ‘shieling’ is uncertain, but attempts have been made to trace it back to ON roots, from whence it may have made its way into northern English dialects and into Scots.¹²⁹ The *terminus ante quem* for the formation of Elshieshields is AD 1569, as it first appears in the written record at that time.¹³⁰ What remains to determine is the time when it may have been formed. If

123 Notes on the drained loch can be found in the RCAHMS record, site no. NY08SE 28 <<http://canmore.org.uk/site/66286/lochmaben>> [accessed 26 September 2015]. See also: S.S. Frere et al., ‘Roman Britain in 1985’, *Britannia*, Vol. 17 (1986), p.374. The loch can still be clearly identified on Roy’s military survey of 1755: Roy, *Great Map*, plate 28. The estimated outline of the Roman camp is based on Rebecca Jones, *Roman Camps in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2013) [Jones, *Roman Camps*], p.263.

124 Prof. Dr Ian Ralston, Pers. Comm. 2015; Jones, *Roman Camps*, pp.87–91.

125 Murray Cook and Lindsay Dunbar, *Rituals, Roundhouses and Romans. Excavations at Kintore, Aberdeenshire 2000–2006. Vol. I: Forest Road* (Edinburgh, 2008), pp.354f.

126 HMC (Jhn), p.22 (no. 31) *Elscheshiells* AD 1569, p.24 (no. 39) *Elscheschelis* AD 1573, p.26 (no. 44) *Elscheschelis* AD 1578, p.50 (no. 122) *Esscheschellis* AD 1589; RGS III, p.205 (no. 939) *Elscheschelis* AD 1530.

127 Williamson, *Non-Celtic Place-Names*, p.181.

128 Williamson, *Non-Celtic Place-Names*, p.177.

129 ‘shiel’, in OED XV, p.252; ‘Schele, S(c)heil(l)’, DOST VIII, pp.287–8.

130 HMC (Jhn), p.22 (no. 31) *Elscheshiells* AD 1569.

Elshie- goes back to OGael *ailech*, as Williamson argues, then the name may date back to the eleventh century, as Gaelic may have had a stronger presence in the study area starting in that century.¹³¹ More probably, the name may have been formed as a combination of the Scots diminutive for ‘Alexander’ and the Scots term *shiel*. This would set the *terminus post quem* in the twelfth century, when the first instances of *shiel* place-names appear in the written record.¹³² Whichever of these scenarios might be the case, it may be noted that, in all likelihood, the *shiel* place-name of Elshieshields was not formed before AD 800, or possibly AD 1000. Similarly, as shielings tend to be groups of temporary dwelling huts associated with the pastoral practice of transhumance, it is unlikely that this site would have been a permanent settlement even in the decades after it received its name.¹³³

The place-name of Spedlins, found in the far north of the parish, is recorded for the first time in the mid-sixteenth century.¹³⁴ The etymological origin of this name is obscure.¹³⁵ The only indicator of potential early settlement at or near this site are records of possible crannogs found in Spedlin’s Flow, north-west of Spedlins, in the mid-nineteenth century (see Figure 9).¹³⁶ The report states, however, that Spedlin’s Flow was a moss, and unlikely to have been a loch of any sort, which calls the identification of the crannogs into question. Still, the uncovered remains may have belonged to a different type of settlement but as the site is now afforested and there is no local knowledge of it, no detailed archaeological examination is possible.¹³⁷ The early medieval origin of Spedlins, or of a settlement on or near its present site, is therefore doubtful.

To conclude this analysis, it may be suggested that the following modern villages or sites reflect early medieval settlements: Esbie, Gotterbie, Lochmaben, Halleaths, Smallholm, Rockhallhead and Heck. Heck is a special case, as argued above, in that little is known about the place-name itself. Yet, it could be situated on the former site of the potentially early medieval Ouseby. To these seven sites of likely settlement, we may add four sites of probable settlement, less based on written documentation or place-names, but on the archaeological evidence for previous settlement activity. These sites are: Spedlins, Templand, Broomhill and Greenhill. Just like Heck, Greenhill may be a successor settlement of Ouseby. When highlighted on a map, these eleven settlements

131 Nicolaisen, *Place-Names*, p.130; Jackson, ‘Britons in Southern Scotland’, p.87.

132 LSMC I, p.53 (no. 71) *bothkillscheles* AD 1159x1166. Regarding the dating, see Elsa C. Hamilton, ‘The Earls of Dunbar and the Church in Lothian and the Merse’, *Innes Review*, Vol. 58, No. 1 (2007), pp.21f and note no. 109: the charter may be dated between the establishment of Lambden after 1159 and the death of Cospatrick III in 1166; LSMC I, p.54 (no. 72) *bothkilles sceles* AD 1182x1232. Since the charter is granted by Patrick, fourth earl of Dunbar, it may be dated between his death and that of his father, Waltheof, third earl of Lothian, see Andrew McDonald, ‘Patrick, fourth earl of Dunbar (d. 1232)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Vol. 43*, ed. H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford, 2004), pp.80f.

133 John A. Atkinson, ‘Settlement Form and Evolution in the Central Highlands of Scotland, ca. 1100–1900’, *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, vol.14, no.3 (2010), p.319.

134 RGS IV, p.103 (no. 451) *Spadlinggis* AD 1550.

135 Johnson-Ferguson, *Place-Names of Dumfriesshire*, p.90.

136 W. Jardine, ‘Address of the President’, *TDGNHAS*, ser.I, vol.1 (1864), pp.25f.

137 See notes on RCAHMS record, site no. NY08NE 7 <<http://canmore.org.uk/site/66240/spedlins-flow/>> [accessed 1 June 2015]; RCAHMS, *Eastern Dumfriesshire*, p.306.

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show a significant pattern (see Figure 10): they are mostly situated along the run of the River Annan, or of its tributary, Kinnel Water. They display a strong eastern bias and avoid the upland area in the western part of the parish. The western part of the parish must have received little or no settlement activity before the agricultural clearing and expansion of the eleventh century onward. The distribution of topographical place-name types, such as *bveit*, within the parish boundaries suggests that the greater part of the northern and eastern parish boundaries may have existed in some form prior to the settlement expansion in the eleventh century. This bounded unit may not have been a parish as such, but rather formed the boundaries of a potentially British or Anglian territorial unit or estate. Only with the advent of a more systematic parochial structure beginning in the twelfth century, the boundaries around Lochmaben may have been imbued with their formal ecclesiastical function.

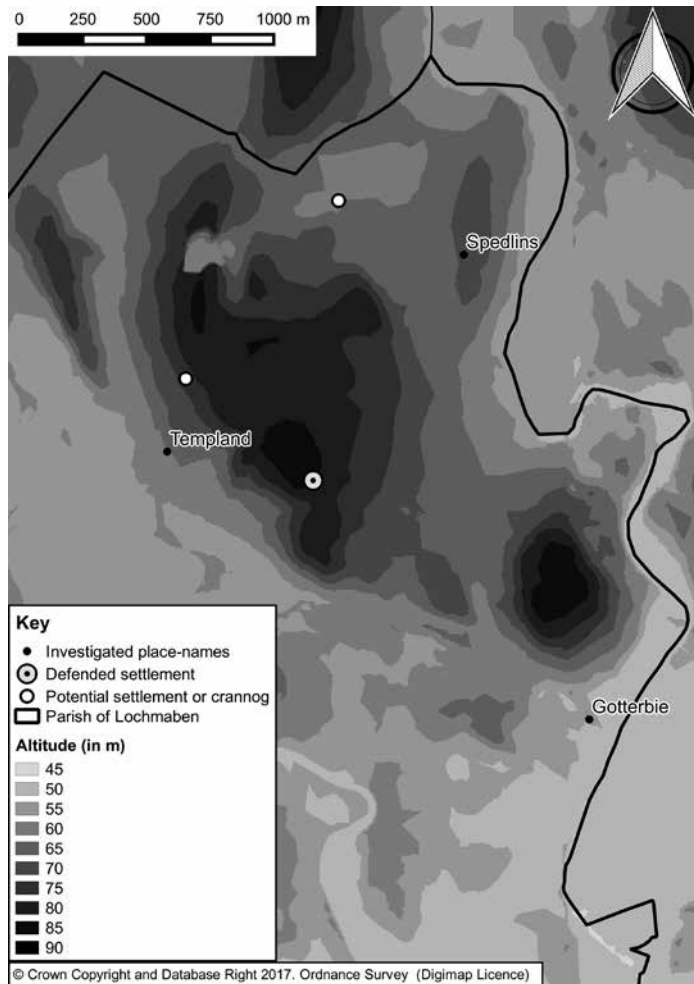


Figure 9. The northern place-names of the parish of Lochmaben.

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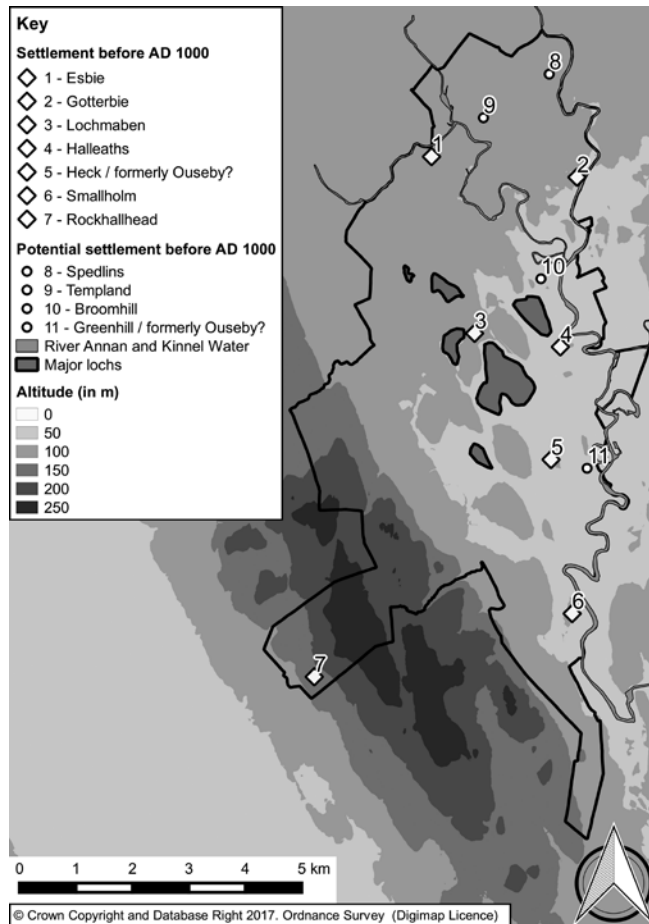


Figure 10. Likely and probable settlement sites before AD1000.

Any study of the settlement landscape of the parish of Lochmaben will be limited by the lack of written documentation and by the obscure nature of some place-name elements. Yet, a combination of place-name evidence, archaeology and historical sources can, as is shown here, produce a clearer picture of the arrangement of settlements in this area before AD 1000, and may aid in determining the medieval or early medieval boundaries which were to become the outline of the parish.

Abbreviations

AFB I *The Annandale Family Book of the Johnstones, Earls and Marquises of Annandale, Volume I: 1170–1701*, ed. William Fraser (Edinburgh, 1894).

CDS II *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, London, Volume II: 1272–1307*, ed. Joseph Bain (Edinburgh, 1884).

CDS IV *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, London, Volume IV: 1357–1509*, ed. Joseph Bain (Edinburgh, 1888).

CLC I *Calendar of the Laing Charters Belonging to the University of Edinburgh, Volume I: 854–1837*, ed. John Anderson (Edinburgh, 1899).

CPB I *Calendar of Letters and Papers relating to the Affairs of the Borders of England and Scotland preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office London, Volume I: 1560–1594*, ed. Joseph Bain (Edinburgh, 1894).

CPG *Cartularium Prioratus de Gyseburne, Volume II*, ed. W. Brown (Durham, 1894).

DIHS II *Documents Illustrative of the History of Scotland from the Death of King Alexander the Third to the Accession of Robert Bruce, Volume 2: 1286–1306*, ed. Joseph Stevenson (Edinburgh, 1870).

DOST I Craigie, Sir William A., ed., *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue Vol. I* (London, 1937).

DOST III Craigie, Sir William A. and A.J. Aitken, eds., *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue Vol. III* (Oxford, 1963).

DOST VIII Aitken, A.J. et al., eds., *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue Vol. VIII* (Aberdeen, 1991).

DOST X Dareau, Margaret G. et al., eds., *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue Vol. X* (Oxford, 2001).

EYC II *Early Yorkshire Charters, Volume II*, ed. William Farrer (Edinburgh, 1915).

HMC (Drml) *The Manuscripts of his Grace the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry preserved at Drumlanrig Castle. Volume I: 1190–1706*, ed. by the Historical Manuscripts Commission. Fifteenth Report, Appendix, Part VIII (London, 1897).

HMC (Jhn) *The Manuscripts of J.J. Hope Johnstone of Annandale*, ed. by the Historical Manuscripts Commission. Fifteenth Report, Appendix, Part IX (London, 1897).

LSMC I *Liber Sancte Marie de Calchou. Registrum Cartarum Abbatie Tironensis de Kelso. 1113–1567, Volume I*, ed. Cosmo Innes (Edinburgh, 1846).

LSMM *Liber Sancte Marie de Melros. Munimenta Vetustiora Monasterii Cisterciensis de Melros, Volumes I and II: 1100–1600*, ed. Cosmo Innes (Edinburgh, 1837).

ME Middle English

ModSc Modern Scots

NGR National Grid Reference

NRS National Records of Scotland <<http://nationalrecordsotland.gov.uk/>>.

NSAS *Old Statistical Account of Scotland (1791–99)* <<http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791–99/>>.

OE Old English

OED III Simpson, J.A. and E.S.C. Weiner, eds., *The Oxford English Dictionary Vol. III* (Oxford, 1989).

OED VI Simpson, J.A. and E.S.C. Weiner, eds., *The Oxford English Dictionary Vol. VI* (Oxford, 1989).

OED XV Simpson, J.A. and E.S.C. Weiner, eds., *The Oxford English Dictionary Vol. XV* (Oxford, 1989).

Ofr Old French

OGael Old Gaelic

ON Old Norse

OSAS *New Statistical Account of Scotland* (1834–45) <<http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1834-45/>>.

RCAHMS The Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland <<http://www.rcahms.gov.uk/>>.

REG *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis. Munimenta Ecclesie Metropolitanæ Glasguensis a Sede Restaurata Seculo Ineunte XII ad Reformatam Religionem, Vols. I and II*, ed. by the Bannatyne Club (Edinburgh, 1843).

RGS I *Register of the Great Seal of Scotland, Volume I: 1306–1424*, ed. John M. Thomson (Edinburgh, 1882).

RGS II *Register of the Great Seal of Scotland, Volume II: 1424–1513*, ed. James B. Paul (Edinburgh, 1882).

RGS III *Register of the Great Seal of Scotland, Volume III: 1513–1546*, ed. James B. Paul and John M. Thomson (Edinburgh, 1883).

RGS IV *Register of the Great Seal of Scotland, Volume IV: 1546–1580*, ed. John M. Thomson (Edinburgh, 1886).

RGS VII *Register of the Great Seal of Scotland, Volume VII: 1609–1620*, ed. John M. Thomson (Edinburgh, 1892).

RGS VIII *Register of the Great Seal of Scotland, Volume VIII: 1620–1633*, ed. John M. Thomson (Edinburgh, 1894).

RHM II *Registrum Honoris de Morton. Volume II: Ancient Charters (1141–1580)*, ed. by the Bannatyne Club (Edinburgh, 1853).

RPC, Ser. I, Vol. V *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland. Volume V: 1592–1599*, ed. David Masson (Edinburgh, 1882).

RPS *The Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707*, ed. K.M. Brown et al. (St Andrews, 2007–2015) <<http://www.rps.ac.uk/>>.

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THE POPULATION OF SOUTH WEST SCOTLAND IN THE TIME OF BRUCE AND WALLACE

Stuart McCulloch¹

Contemporary and near contemporary medieval accounts dating from the period of the Wars of Independence frequently describe the tumultuous events of the period but are singularly inaccurate in providing accounts of the number of people involved; exaggeration and distortion are the norm. There are very few sources available by which we can objectively estimate and verify this population with any accuracy. Nevertheless (with many riders and provisos) it is possible to use the few statistics we have available to calculate a range of population totals for specific geographical areas. Sources dating from the period of the Wars of Independence indicate the sharp nature and degree of dispute that occurred but the human tragedy which befell the region and its inhabitants is put into sharper focus by comparison with calculated population totals.

Over a third of the total population may have perished when the Black Death epidemic hit Scotland in 1350. This human tragedy was just another hammer blow for the hard pressed people of South West Scotland who, for virtually seventy years prior to this, had existed in a front line war zone and had endured several full-scale invasions, almost 30 battles and serious skirmishes and very frequent harrying from invading armed forces. But how many people were directly or indirectly involved? Sadly we know little about the demographic characteristics of a population that was destined to suffer so badly.

A study of medieval demography is fraught with difficulties and it is a daunting prospect to put one's head over the parapet with the aim of reaching any meaningful evidence-based conclusions. Modern census studies are prone to speculation and inaccuracy and the study of a population from medieval times is even more problematic:

The abject lack of statistics means any analysis of medieval population has to content itself with broad speculation ... an approach that seems relatively unsophisticated compared to demographic techniques where the period or place is better documented.²

Inevitably any such study will have to work with statistics which are based upon contentious assumptions and thus any conclusions will need significant margins of error. Despite these difficulties some serious study has taken place. Undaunted, this brief study aims to throw a little light on the demographics of South West Scotland in the immediate pre-Black Death period. Alas, even more than other comparable areas, there is a paucity of statistics and a scantiness of supporting documentary evidence, but fortunately there are a few tentative ways forward.

1 Member of the Society; The Auld Manse, 28 Main Street, New Abbey, Dumfries DG2 8BY.
2 Bailey, M., 1996 p.2.

One possible method is to examine demographic information from areas contemporary with early fourteenth-century Scotland with the objective of achieving comparative data.

A comparison with the English population was the first line of enquiry, as some contemporary medieval data is obtainable from English sources, although no direct population count was conducted with the primary aim of obtaining demographic information. Josiah Cox Russell³, using Domesday data from 1086 and a few other statistics up to the fourteenth century (when new taxes and better administrative bookkeeping provided further data) made a detailed and statistically sophisticated analysis to produce estimates of the English population from 1086–1600.

Year	Size (millions)
1086	1.26
1348	3.69
1377	2.23
1600	4.00

Table 1. Russell's Estimates of English Population 1086–1600.⁴

Much of Russell's work was pioneering but there had been some earlier studies. Rogers⁵ had based population estimates upon grain production from 8000 bailiff returns. He contended that 2.5 million was the upper limit of the English population before modern times and in 1348 the population was less than 2 million. Seerbohn⁶ disagreed with Rogers' analysis of the grain production totals and presented a strong argument that over 5 million people could have been fed from the grain production figures. More modern demographers have examined Russell's totals and the main bone of contention is his use of a multiplication factor of 3.5 to calculate the average medieval family size from the number of households. This figure is now considered to be too small. Smith⁷ extrapolated national figures from local surveys and arrived at a total English population of more than 5 million in 1300, suspecting that it could have even exceeded 6 million. Lord Cooper⁸ calculated population totals by graphing known data from the 1901 population census to known data calculated from the Domesday totals of 1086, taking in the late fourteenth century Hearth Tax results. From this he estimated that the English population before the Black Death was approximately 2 million.

3 Russell, J.C, 1948. His sources and calculations include the Domesday Book, the English Poll Tax of 1377, the French Hearth Tax of 1328, various cartularies, extents and other medieval documentary collections, Parisian Cemetery data, Birth and Death statistics of royal and noble families, celibacy rates of the clergy, average age of marriage from parish records, deaths from Inquests Post-Mortem and factorisation of available information concerning the effects of famine, disease, war, misadventure, sanitation and documented living conditions.

4 Ibid. He made an allowance for wives and children as well as adjustments for territory where tax was not collected. Russell estimated the total English population by calculating the number of households and then multiplying the total by a figure of 3.5 to represent the average medieval family size. He also calculated a population density of 110 persons per hectare in urban areas, and factored 1.5% of the medieval population total as living in a local metropolis.

5 Rogers, T., 1865 pp.191–6.

6 Seerbohn, R., 1865 pp.268–79 and 1866 p.87.

7 Smith, R., in Campbell, B. (ed.), 1991.

8 Cooper Lord, T.M., 1947, pp.2–9.

In summary the estimates of the English population in the early fourteenth century range from 2 million to 5 million with a mean of 3.5 million. The Russell figure of 3.69 million seems to be near the mean value.

Using these figures, estimates of the Scottish population at the same period need to be based upon a calculated ratio of the Scottish population to the English population. Lord Cooper⁹ assumed a ratio of a little over 1:5, mainly based upon ecclesiastical tax returns¹⁰ and ratios calculated elsewhere from the pre-industrial seventeenth century.¹¹ Using this 1:5 ratio the Scottish population would be somewhere between 400000 and 1 million, with a mean of circa 700000. Grant¹² preferred a comparative ratio of 1:6, basing this upon figures obtained from Scottish wool exports which were approximately in a ratio with England of 1:6 in 1330. 1:6 was also his estimate of the difference in money supply between the two countries in the late thirteenth century. Therefore he arrived at a figure of 830,000–1,100,000.

Consequently, the pre Black Death Scottish population using a ratio with English totals, seems to be between 400,000 and 1,100,000 with a mean around the 750,000 mark.

Another similar method, based upon comparative figures can be calculated using extrapolated statistics drawn not from the English population but from the estimated Welsh population.

Year	Size
1086	100,000
1346	200,000
1377	125,000
1516	278,000
1690	258,127

Table 2. Welsh Population 1086–1690 according to Russell.¹³

Scotland's area is 3.8 times that of Wales but only had 1.7 times the number of clergy in 1300. Russell calculated a Scottish population based upon mean figures for both the area of Scotland and its clergy statistics. Using his multiple of 2.75 times the Welsh population he

9 Ibid, p.3.

10 Bishop Halton's assessment of church revenues in 1291 were circa £40,000 from Scotland and £210,000 in England; just over a 1:5 ratio. This is cited by Cooper from the *Register of John de Halton, Bishop of Carlisle, 1292–1324* (Canterbury and York Society, Vol XII) and transcribed by W.N. Thompson.

11 Cooper assumed that little structural change would occur in demographic variables between Scotland and England from 1300 and 1700. This assumption is very open to debate but it is probably the case that there would not have been any notable variation between the two countries.

12 Grant, A., 1984, p.73. The Scottish population was estimated to be circa 1.1 million in 1707. He assumed that a similar figure would have applied in Medieval Scotland based upon an English population total of 5–6 million at the medieval peak of the early fourteenth century.

13 Russell, J.C., 1948. By use of Welsh ecclesiastical data Russell calculated the number of landholders as 53,760. The multiple of 3.5 was used (as in England) to get the total Welsh population, arriving at a population of 188,160 excluding the burgh populations. The burgh and burgages estimate brought the overall Welsh population in 1346 to circa 200,000.

arrived at the totals shown in Table 3. These estimates proved to be somewhat lower than the range of estimates based upon English data.

Year	Size
1086	275,000
1346	550,000
1377	348,750
1545	687,500
1690	709,500

Table 3. Scotland's Population 1086–1690 based upon comparison with Wales.¹⁴

In summary, these ratio statistics based upon estimates of English and Welsh populations give a broad population estimate for Scotland of between 550,000 and 750,000.

A second method based upon projecting known but later population statistics of Scotland back to the early fourteenth century may give useful comparative totals. Unfortunately, most early population and census counts have been lost or are very incomplete. Parish registers are also poor and inconsistent. The Hearth Tax returns of 1667 and the Poll Tax returns of 1696 would be very valuable but alas most parishes have only partial returns and Kirkcudbrightshire is totally omitted from the 1696 totals.¹⁵ The first and most useful specific Scottish population count was organised by Alexander Webster in 1755. In this early census local clergy were asked to send returns of their parishioners and result totals were thus collated by parish. Webster received a very good return and his figures are likely to be the most reliable available to us until the formal national census which commenced in the mid-nineteenth century.

Webster's study arrived at a total Scottish population of 1,265,000¹⁶ in 1755. Based upon the average estimates used by Russell,¹⁷ the English pre-Black Death population was circa 60% of the mid-eighteenth century population. Further studies suggest that these broad ratios which compared population trends from the pre-industrial era to the mid-eighteenth century were similar throughout Northern Europe¹⁸ (although Bailey warns that Medieval Europe exhibited considerable regional differences in patterns of matrimony, family structure etc.¹⁹). On this basis the estimate of the late medieval population of

14 Ibid.

15 Flinn, M., Gillespie, J., Hill, N., Maxwell, A., Michison, R. and Smout, C., 1977 pp.198–9. Based upon the poll tax returns, the possible population in 1696 of Scotland was estimated to be 886,000 excluding Kirkcudbright, Sutherland and Ross (no information available). Local estimates were Wigtownshire 17,000, Nithsdale and Annandale 37,000 and Ayr 59,000.

16 Kyd, J.G., 1975. This volume contains a full transcript of the results of Webster's Scottish census of 1755. Worthy of note is that his population totals shows a 1:5 ratio with that of England, thus giving further support to Russell's and Cooper's analyses.

17 Russell, J.C., 1948.

18 Harvey, B.F in Campbell, B. (ed.), 1991, p.vii. Flinn et al., 1977, studied a number of factors which would have influenced the Scottish population from medieval times until the eighteenth century and mentions disease, famine, harvest failure and significant emigration to Scandinavia and Ireland. However the overall trends in Scotland are unlikely to have been drastically different from other area of Europe who also experienced similar phenomena.

19 Bailey, M., 1996, p.18.

Scotland would be circa 750,000.

In conclusion and using the calculated estimates given above, the range of population is from 650,000 to 750,000 with an overall mean estimate of the pre-Black Death population of Scotland of circa 700,000 inhabitants.

Using this figure as a base the district populations of the South West can be extrapolated. If the distribution of population in Scotland was the same in medieval times as it is today, the whole of Dumfries and Galloway would have had a population of circa 18,500 in 1346.²⁰ However, this would be a meaningless figure, as population distribution has changed greatly due to population migration caused by industrial, agricultural and infrastructure development.²¹ For example, the rapid and overwhelming urbanisation of Scotland from the mid-eighteenth century ensures that distribution today is very different from the pre-modern era when there was a much more even population distribution based upon an overwhelmingly rural populace. This suggests that a larger overall percentage of the total Scottish population would have been found in the South West in the mid-fourteenth century than today.²²

Cooper (1947) assumed that the density of population would vary directly with the value of land.²³ The relative (although not absolute) values of the 11 medieval Scottish dioceses can be estimated from historical ecclesiastical land returns and this may indicate the density of population in the dioceses. Cooper cited data from the chartularies of St Andrews, Moray, Arbroath and Dunfermline, the records of the Bagimond's roll and Bishop Halton's assessment to construct figures demonstrating this. He estimated that Glasgow supplied 31.1%, St. Andrews 25.1% and Whithorn 3% of total revenues. If the contention that these revenues were directly proportional to population is accepted then the total population of a given diocese would equal its percentage of the Scottish total. Factored into this calculation would be a figure which would account for those areas of Scotland that were outwith the parochial system.²⁴ It is estimated that 12.5% of the Scottish population was outwith the parochial system at this time. Consequently, by use of the Scottish population totals previously suggested, an estimated Scottish population within the parochial system would be in the region of 612,500. Using these figures the diocesan populations can be extrapolated.

20 The General Register Office for Scotland, <<http://www.gro-scotland.gov.uk>>.

21 There was a huge movement of people from rural areas to the towns and cities during the period of industrialisation in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Grant, 1984, noted that in the eighteenth century more than 50% of the Scottish population lived north of the Tay–Clyde line and he also pointed out that the land assessment valuations of 1336 showed higher figures for the north of Scotland than the south.

22 Grant, A., 1984, p.73. He argued that as almost 4 million people live in settlements of over 2,000 today the rural population of Scotland is just over 1million; possibly a similar total to the medieval rural population.

23 Cooper Lord, T.M. 1947. This was supported by Pounds, N.J.G. and Roome, C.C, from Campbell, B. (ed.), 1991, p.116, who concluded that in the fifteenth century France and the Low Countries were well peopled areas in which the density of population varied directly with the quality of the soil.

24 For example, there were only 8 parishes in Sutherland and Ross in 1300 yet nearly 70 in Fife.

Diocese	Size
Whithorn	circa 18,375
Glasgow	circa 190,487
St Andrews	circa 153,735

Table 4. Estimates of Diocesan Population Pre-Black Death.

A division of the total number of medieval parishes²⁵ into the relevant diocesan population allows a further extrapolation towards a parish total. However, there is a major problem in this as it makes the large and questionable assumption that the parishes are all equal in population. This is not perhaps such an irrational assumption as may be first thought. Initially the parishes had an important administrative and pastoral function and it is not unreasonable to conclude that their area had a relationship to the population they would be designed to serve. It is tempting to suggest that original parish boundaries took population as the major factor in delineation. A glance at present parish boundaries in Dumfries and Galloway demonstrates that upland parishes such as Minnigaff are very much larger in area than more fertile lowland parishes such as Lochrutton. Parishes near to Dumfries such as Terregles are much smaller than those in more isolated rural areas such as Carsphairn.

Arguing against this point is the fact that parish boundaries sometimes varied according to the land ownership and the funding of their original benefactors. In addition, although in the mid-fourteenth century the parochial system was still young, inevitably some local population migration will have had an effect. However, for the purposes of this study it is assumed that statistical variations which have occurred will tend to equalise out over multiple parish areas.

Unlike the Glasgow diocese the whole of the Whithorn²⁶ diocese was within the study area and comprised 19 parishes in Wigtownshire and 24 parishes in Kirkcudbrightshire giving a total of 43 parishes. As the diocese of Whithorn equalled 3% of total ecclesiastical revenues for Scotland its pre-Black Death population can be estimated as 3% of the total Scottish population within the diocesan system. This gives a total of 18375. On an equal population distribution basis amongst its parishes each one would therefore serve 427 people.

25 Cowan, I.B., 1967.

26 Note that the diocese of Whithorn is sometimes referred to as the diocese of Galloway. In this article only 'Whithorn' has been used. Some Kirkcudbright parishes were in the diocese of Glasgow and consequently are not included in the Whithorn population totals. The two areas named Desnes in Table 5 loosely correspond to West Kirkcudbrightshire (in the diocese of Whithorn) and East Kirkcudbrightshire (in the Glasgow diocese), both having their own Deanery. Farines (loosely covering the area known as the Machairs today) and Rhinns were sub-divisions of the Whithorn diocese and each had its own Deanery. The Deaneries of Farines and Rhinns were combined sometime before the sixteenth century.

DESNES (Whithorn)	DESNES (Glasgow)	RHINNS (Whithorn)	FARINES (Whithorn)	ANNANDALE (Glasgow)	NITHSDALE (Glasgow)
Anwoth	Colvend	Kirkmaiden	Glasserton	Annan	Caerlaverock
Balnacross	Galtway	Inch	Glenluce	Applegarth (Sibbaldie)	Glencairn
Borgue	Kirkandrews	Rhinns St Mary and St Michael	Kirkinner	Canonbie	Closeburn
Buittle	Kirkbean	Stoneykirk	Cruggleton	Caruthers	Colmonell
Dunrod	Kirkgunzeon	Clayshant	Kirkcowan	Castlemilk	Dalgarno
Gelston	Kirkpatrick Durham	Soulseat	Kirkmaiden	Corrie (Hutton Parva)	Dumfries
Girthon	Loch-kindeloch	Kirkcolm	Longcastle	Cummertrees	Dungree
Kelton	Lochrutton	Leswalt	Penninghame	Dalton Magna	Dunscore
Kirkcormack	Sennick		Sorbie	Dalton Parva	Durisddeer
Rerrick	Southwick	TOTAL 8	Whithorn	Dornock	Garvald
Dundrennan	Urr		Mochrun	Dryfesdale	Hoddam
Twynholm	TOTAL 11			Ecclefechan	Kirkbride
Tongland			TOTAL 11	Gretna	Kirkconnel
Kirkcudbright				Hutton Magma	Killblane
Kirkmabreck				Irving	Kirkmahoe
Kirkdale				Johnstone	Kirkmichael
Kirkmadrine				Kirkpatrick- Fleming	Morton
Minigaff				Kirkpatrick-Juxta	Penpont
TOTAL 18				Lochmaben	Sanquhar
				Luce	Terregles
				Middlebie	Tinwald
Balmaclellan				Moffat	Torthowald
Balmaghie				Penersax	Trailflat
Dalry-Carsphairn				Mouswald	Troqueer
Kells				Redkirk	Tynron
Parton				Wamphray	Kirkpatrick- Irongray
TOTAL 5				Westerkirk	TOTAL 26
				Trailrow	
OVERALL TOTAL 24				TOTAL 28	

Table 5. 1286 Parishes by District.

For further geographical estimates the parishes of the South West have been broken down into districts, as delineated in Table 5.

On the reasonable assumption that the populations of the parishes in the Glasgow diocese are similar in character to those of Whithorn the figure of 427 people for each parish has been used to tabulate an overall estimate for the districts of the South West (Table 6).

District	Size
Wigtownshire	$427 \times 19 = 8,113$
Kirkcudbright	$427 \times 35 = 14,945$
Annandale	$427 \times 28 = 11,956$
Nithsdale	$427 \times 26 = 11,102$
Glenkens	$427 \times 6 = 2,562$

(also included in Kirkcudbrightshire)

Table 6. Estimate Populations based upon ecclesiastical returns.

Some of the assumptions used to estimate the totals in Table 6 could be mitigated by use of a different method. The regional population could be extrapolated backwards in time from the more reliable population statistics of Webster's 1755 census. Unfortunately it would then incorporate a fresh set of equally contentious suppositions.

The 1755 census and the earlier ecclesiastical returns were both based upon parish divisions and the parishes of the medieval South West (although not necessarily their exact boundaries) are known. However the difficulties of using this backward projection method are twofold. Firstly the parish boundaries of 1755 do not directly correspond with those of medieval times, and secondly a number of parishes have either disappeared or have been amalgamated.²⁷ However, within the broad confines used in this study the overall district totals should not be dramatically affected. A much thornier problem remains; the significant change in population distribution between the early fourteenth century and 1755 must also be factored in.

The 1755 census was perhaps carried out just in time. The economy and way of life over much of the South West had changed little from medieval times and the major structural change in agriculture had not yet kicked in, although the action of the Galloway levellers earlier in the eighteenth century signalled concerns about the increasing enclosure of the land. In addition, agricultural improvers such as Robert Maxwell of Arkland, and William Craik of Arbigland were very active and their activities changed the face of the countryside as well as having a major impact on its demography.

In addition, although the planned village movement of the South West had not yet taken hold, there had certainly been a growth of burghs and an increase in the urban population.²⁸ In the pre-modern era burgh populations were probably very small. Dumfries, a royal burgh, was the largest and most important. Wigtown was a Sheriffdom and Annan and

27 For example the parish of Craggleton does not feature in Webster's census. It is tempting to suggest that its disappearance may well be a result of the destruction of the castle during the Anglo-Scottish wars and thus its cessation as a caput of Wigtownshire magnates.

28 Russell, J.C., 1948. There is very little information on Scottish burghs but it is believed that the burgh populations were very small. Edinburgh at the end of the fourteenth century had hardly 400 houses so its maximum population was about 1,500. Glasgow in the middle of the fourteenth century was also around 1,500. For other urban areas only comparative descriptions are available. For example in 1295 descriptions refer to Perth, Forfar, Montrose and Elgin as "goodly towns". Smith, R., in Campbell, B. (ed.), 1991, suggested that urban populations may have been larger than originally was thought e.g. Norwich probably had 25,000 people in 1300. London's population was probably 40,000–50,000 at the same time.

Lochmaben each had sizeable castles. Whithorn was an important ecclesiastical centre and Kirkcudbright had a port and royal castle. Sanquhar was a baronial burgh by 1335. Innermessan, Urr and Buittle had some ‘town’ growth but they had largely disappeared prior to the reformation. The largest of these urban areas would have had a population of less than 1000²⁹ and it is important not to overestimate the size of burghs at this time.³⁰ Russell noted that Glasgow’s population had increased threefold by the reformation and thereafter only increased very slightly up to 1755.³¹ The totals for urban areas in the 1755 census are likely to reflect a similar increase. Despite these changes no allowance has been made to estimates for the South West on the basis that any increase in the urban population would have come almost entirely from the immediate and surrounding rural area.³² This is because population migration at this time tended to be rural–urban and over a modest distance. Nonetheless, if parishes had roughly equal populations at their outset the variations shown by the 1755 census are considerable and almost certainly reflect very significant rural–urban migration.

By use of the 60% factor calculated by Russell (as exemplified earlier in this paper) the totals from Webster’s 1755 census factored back to 1300 are tabulated in Table 7.

District	Size
Wigtownshire	9,879
Kirkcudbright	12,723
Annandale	10,034
Nithsdale	13,127
Glenkens	2,714

Table 7. Population Pre-Black Death extrapolated from the 1755 Census.

Table 8 uses the calculated totals from Table 6 and Table 7 to arrive at the overall mean for the selected regional total population.

29 Pryde, G.S. 1952, p.81–131.

30 Russell, J.C. 1948. In 1294, the strategically important Welsh centre of Harlech, with its very imposing castle and village had a population of barely 86 people of which only 44 lived in the village. Russell was able to break down the population; Men in castle 21, and in the town those with John de Harding comprised Men 7, Women 7, Infants 4, Babies 3, Men of village 11, Women of village 12, Children 21 with an overall total of 86 persons.

31 Ibid.

32 Pryde, G.S. 1952, p.125. He estimated the populations of the main burghs of the South West in 1684 to be: Dumfries 2800, Minnigaff more than 1000, Kirkcudbright 600, Wigtown 500, Portpatrick under 400, Stranraer and Whithorn less than 500, Sanquhar 300 and Moffat about 270. The aggregate totals for the areas tended to even out any rural–urban migration, as most of it came from the local area, although Dumfries may have attracted from a wider area due to its larger size and its regional market function.

District	Size
Wigtownshire	7,500–10,000
Kirkcudbright	12,000–15,000
Annandale	10,000–12,000 ³³
Nithsdale	11,000–13,500
Glenkens	2,300–2,800

Table 8. Overall Mean Estimates of Population Pre-Black Death.

Wigtownshire totals are perhaps towards the upper end of the estimates.³⁴ The Nithsdale total has been decreased slightly as the 1755 level would have led to an inflated population as a result of the urbanisation of Dumfries.

Sadly, the estimates based upon general extrapolations of national population totals and on figures taken from the ecclesiastical returns of the late thirteenth century only tell part of the story. The catastrophic effects of the Wars of Independence and the accompanying Scottish Civil Wars, which were at their height between 1286 and 1356, have not been taken into consideration.

Firstly, a significant number of local men took an active part in the conflicts. For example the Wallace campaigns of 1297–8 probably involved many men from the South West, as the Galwegians who made an unfortunate entrance into the history books during their participation in the invasion of England of 1297 testify. By tradition, local landowner William Kerlie led 500 men³⁵ at the battle of Falkirk. Many of those would likely have perished in the defeat and even allowing for the inevitable medieval exaggeration a pessimistic estimate could mean that a quarter of the potential fighting troops of Wigtownshire were lost. Similar military losses took place later in the civil wars. For example, in 1334 the invasion of Edward Balliol and the supporting English forces led to major uprisings in the Stewartry, and in Annandale bands of guerrillas fought the occupying English. The rebellion proved catastrophic for the mixed allegiance groups of Galloway and the South West as they ‘mutually destroyed each other.’³⁶

33 Duncan, A.A., 1975, p.391 citing *Hist. MSS Comm. 15th report, viii, no. 135* (Duke of Buccleuch, Drumlanrig). In 1541 when the men of Allandale mustered they numbered 1168. Webster in his 1755 census used the formula of 1:5 to demonstrate the ratio of fighting men to overall population. This would give an overall total of 5840 which is somewhat lower than the given estimate for Annandale circa 1286. It is quite possible that population would have been lower in 1541 as many areas had not recovered fully from the impact of war and disease. Also this muster was for the Duke of Buccleuch and he is unlikely to have drawn many men from Annan and other areas far to the south of his estates.

34 Flinn, M, et al, 1977, p.190. He noted that in the Hearth Tax of 1667 Kirkcudbright and Wigtown were taxed jointly for £2889 with 3/5th for Kirkcudbright. This supports the calculated population estimates of the two areas for the Pre-Black Death years.

35 As Kerlie, with the aid of Wallace, had supposedly recaptured his former ‘caput’ of Craggleton in the previous year, it is likely that any troops he commanded would come from this area of Wigtownshire.

36 Lanercost, pp.286–7. This account notes that William Douglas violently attacked the Galwegians. Dugald MacDowell, formerly a Balliol supporter, raised the Wigtownshire levies against the Kirkcudbright Balliol supporters ‘for love of his newly wedded wife.’ By 1341 MacDowell was back in the Balliol camp.

Over the next few years Edward Balliol's forces, involving many Galwegians, ravaged Annandale, Nithsdale and Carrick, "destroying such towns and other property as they came upon, because the inhabitants had fled."³⁷

Secondly, there was also widespread depredation of the civil population; a depredation likely to have been matched only in the most northerly areas of England. In a small, little known and probably not particularly unusual incident in the early years of the war, Robert Clifford commanding the English occupying forces led a raiding party into Annandale and is said to have burned 10 townships.³⁸ A township could contain from one to 20 husbandmen, each with a number of subtenants.³⁹ Using an average figure of 10 households per township and Russell's figure of 3.5 inhabitants per household a most conservative figure would be that the raid led to 350 people being made homeless out of a total Annandale population of circa 10,000–12,000. It is likely that a substantial number of these people would have lost their lives either directly during the raid or indirectly through starvation and destitution as a result of the raid. Repeated acts of this magnitude (which certainly took place) would have been catastrophic for the local populace. The years 1307 to 1313 saw the forces of Edward and Robert Bruce concentrating upon subduing hostile elements in the South West. Edward Bruce won at least two significant clashes with the native captains⁴⁰ but failed to take the important castles of the region. The brunt of the campaign was borne by the native inhabitants:

A devastating raid in which many Gallovidian natives were slaughtered or put to flight.⁴¹

Lanercost continues:

Those Gallovidians who could escape came to England to find refuge.⁴²

Later in the war the anti-Edward Balliol forces also devastated Galloway. It is recorded that in 1337 a major attack was launched which:

once more destroyed the wretched Galwegians on this side of the Cree like beasts, because they adhered so firmly to their lord king Edward Balliol.⁴³

Taxation records and sheriffs' accounts showed evidence of "severe and widespread devastation across Southern and South Eastern Scotland"⁴⁴ in the aftermath of the wars. By 1366 the average Scottish income from lay and ecclesiastical estates had declined by 49% since the reign of Alexander III⁴⁵ and the income from benefices had declined by 37% since

37 Lanercost, p.289.

38 Guisborough, pp.307–8. Clifford raided Annandale in 1297 and was resisted by the local peasantry who became trapped in a bog and suffered heavy casualties.

39 Smout, T.C., 1985, p.113.

40 He met the forces of Dungal McCann (mainly a Kirkcudbright leader) probably by the Dee and had a second encounter with hostile English forces further west at Kirroughtree.

41 Barrow, 2005, p.259.

42 Lanercost p.188.

43 Lanercost, p.301.

44 Barrow, 1978, p.134.

45 31% of the Dumfries Sherrifdom (including all Annandale) was still under English occupation,

the mid-thirteenth century. The reduction of tax income (by sheriffdom) from pre-1286 totals was 67% in Dumfriesshire and 84% in Wigtown compared to the Eastern Lowland sherrifdom averages which showed a 25–34% decline and the West Coast sheriffdom averages a 56% decline. The reduction in benefices showed a similar pattern, with a 61% fall in Whithorn as opposed to a 37% drop in Glasgow. How much of this decline was a result of military conflict and how much the effect of the Black Death is open to dispute. What is indisputable is the loss of population post-1356. In 1381 William, Earl of Douglas got papal confirmation of the transference to Sweetheart Abbey of the advowson of Buittle:

considering the great difficulty in collecting rents in those parts because of the depopulation along the borders between England and Scotland.⁴⁶

In summary, a significant loss of local population would have occurred through warfare and consequently the 60% figure used to explain the ratio between the 1300 to the 1755 population is rather optimistic and adds yet another variable to the estimate totals. It is thus inevitable that there will be a significant margin of error, even in the final estimated totals. Cooper claimed that his figures were no more than intelligent conjecture based upon the most slender of data.⁴⁷ I can only reach a similar conclusion and hope that at best it may provoke further research on this important, engrossing but rather murky subject area.

Appendix

1755 Webster's Census and 1300 estimate. (Numbers in brackets = 60% decline factor for 1300)

Annandale

Annan 1498	Applegarth 897	Cummertrees 631
Dalton 451	Dornock 716	Dryfesdale 1097
Gretna 1051	Hoddam 1393	Hutton 993
Johnstone 494	Kirkpatrick Fleming 1147	Kirkpatrick Juxta 794
Lochmaben 1395	Middlebie 991	Moffat 1612
St Mungo 481	Tundergarth 625	Wamphray 458

Total 16,724 (10,034)

Wigtown

Glasserton 809	Glenluce 1509	Inch 1513
Kirkcolm 765	Kirkcowan 795	Kirkinner 792
Kirkmaiden 1051	Leswalt 652	Mochrum 828
New Luce 459	Penningham 1509	Portpatrick 611

thus the figures may be unreliable.

46 Goodman A, 1989.

47 Cooper Lord T.M, 1947.

Sorbie 968	Stoneykirk 1151	Stranraer 610
Wigton 1032	Whithorn 1412	
Total 16,466 (9,879)		

Nithsdale

Caerlaverock 784	Closeburn 999	Dumfries 4517
Dunscore 651	Durisddeer 1097	Glencairn 1794
Holywood 596	Keir 495	Kirkconnel 899
Kirkmahoe 1098	Kirkmichael 894	Morton 435
Mouswald 553	Penpont 838	Ruthwell 599
Sanquhar 1998	Terregles 397	Tinwald 705
Torthorwald 584	Troqueer 1391	Tynron 464
Total 21,878 (13,127)		

South East Stewartry

Urr 1193	Buittle 899	Colvend 898
Kirkbean 529	Kirkgunzeon 489	New Abbey 634
Total 4,642 (2,785)		

Glenkens

Balmaclellan 534	Balmaghie 697	Carsphairn 609
Dalry 891	Kells 784	Parton 396
Crossmichael 613		
Total 4,524 (2,714)		

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THE GLENKENS, CATTLE, COTTON AND CAPITALISM

Alistair Livingston, FSA Scot¹

Lit by gaslight and powered by steam, by 1815 the cotton-spinning mills of Ancoats in Manchester represented technology at the leading edge of the industrial revolution. Side by side on the Rochdale canal, two huge cotton-spinning factories dominated Ancoats, each employing over 1000 workers (Kidd, 1993, p.24). Remarkably, the founders of these two mill complexes, partners John Kennedy (1769–1855) and James McConnel (1762–1831), and brothers Adam (1767–1818) and George Murray (1761–1855), all came from Kells parish in the Glenkens district of Galloway. The industrial revolution, which transformed Britain between the 1780s and 1830s, drew many thousands of people from similar rural backgrounds into fast-growing towns and cities. Very few, however, were able to succeed and prosper by mastering the technological and economic challenges of these new environments. Why were the Glenkens group able to do so? To answer this question requires an understanding of the social and economic background from which they emerged. A key argument will be that the development of the cattle trade with England led to the early advent of capitalist farming in Galloway. By the later eighteenth century, the social and economic environment of Galloway had been shaped by market forces for the best part of a century. Although this was a form of agricultural rather than industrial capitalism, it meant that when Kennedy, McConnel and the Murray brothers began their businesses in Manchester, the marketplace was a familiar rather than alien environment.

From the Glenkens to Manchester

On 8 February 1827 John Kennedy, a successful Manchester manufacturer, sat down to compose some recollections of his early life for his children. The date was personally significant since it was on 9 February 1784 that Kennedy had left Knocknalling in Kells parish for Chowbent near Leigh in Lancashire to become an apprentice to William Cannan who manufactured carding engines, spinning jennies and water frames. Cannan was also from Kells parish where his father James farmed Sheil and Darsalloch (Reid and Cannon, 1953, p.118). Originally trained as a carpenter, in the 1760s Cannan left the district first for Whitehaven, then Liverpool before finally settling at Chowbent where he became a textile machinery manufacturer. Adam Murray became one of Cannan's apprentices in 1780 followed by James McConnel of Hannaston (who was Cannan's nephew) in 1781. George Murray was another of Cannan's apprentices and married Cannan's daughter Jane.

After serving their seven year apprenticeships with William Cannan, Kennedy, McConnel and the Murray brothers made the short journey to Manchester where their newly acquired skills were in great demand. The first to complete his apprenticeship was Adam Murray. After three years building up his capital in Chowbent, he moved to Manchester in 1790 where he leased land and premises in Ancoats. Here Adam took up cotton spinning as well as machine making. In 1797 he was joined by his brother George and together they

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

established the firm of A & G Murray. In 1798 the brothers began construction of a purpose-built, 8-storey-high, steam-powered cotton mill in Ancoats. The steam power was supplied by Boulton and Watt and the new factory was connected by a short branch to the Rochdale Canal (Miller and Wild, 2006, pp.62–66).

James McConnel moved to Manchester in 1788. After working briefly for a cotton twist dealer, like Adam Murray, McConnel began his own business. McConnel also began spinning as well as machine making, using two spinning mules he had been unable to sell. McConnel still had these mules in 1791 which, valued at £70, became part of the capital he and John Kennedy contributed to their partnership with the Sandford brothers. In his 'Early Recollections', Kennedy (1849, p.17) gave an account of the partnership:

I formed a partnership with Benjamin and William Sandford, who were fustian warehousemen, and James McConnel, and we immediately commenced business as machine makers and mule spinners — I taking the direction of the machine department. Our first shop was in Stable Street or Back Oldham Street and our capital was not more than £600 to £700. Here we made machines for others as well as ourselves, putting up our own mules in any convenient garrets we could find. After some time we removed to a building in Canal Street, called Salvin's Factory — from the name of the owner who occupied a portion of it himself, letting off the remainder to us. Here we continued to the end of our partnership which lasted four years, terminating in 1795.

McConnel and Kennedy then began a new business in 1795 with an initial capital of £1700. Of this, £1632 came from the profits of the previous partnership, plus £105 from James McConnell and £33 from John Kennedy (Lee, 1972, p.12). By 1802, McConnell & Kennedy had become prosperous enough to begin construction of their own steam-powered cotton mill, on land adjacent to the Murray brothers' factory.

Using the records of McConnell & Kennedy, Lee (1972) was able to trace the development of the firm between 1795 and 1840. Most significantly the firm (along with A & G Murray) specialised in the production of fine cotton yarn. This was measured in 'counts' based on the number of hanks (840 yards) of yarn spun from one pound weight of raw cotton. While the average count for cotton spinning up until 1833 was only 40, from their beginnings in 1795 onwards McConnell & Kennedy produced yarn counts ranging from 80 to 250. Until the early 1830s, the main market for McConnell & Kennedy's yarn was in Scotland where hand-loom weavers in Glasgow and Paisley concentrated on fine cotton spinning. By 1808 'McConnell & Kennedy and their rivals A & G Murray had a powerful hold over the Scottish fine yarn market because of the superior quality of their product.' (Lee, 1972, p.27). Lee goes on to suggest that the larger, steam-powered, spinning machinery used by McConnell & Kennedy and A & G Murray 'enabled Manchester firms to produce better yarn and in greater quantities than their counterparts in Scotland.'

McConnell & Kennedy also exported to Europe. The 'most advantageous' period for these exports (Lee, 1972, p.67) was during the Napoleonic Wars and the immediate post-war boom when the prices of fine cotton yarn were at their peak. Some of this trade involved the smuggling of cotton yarn into France and areas controlled by the French before 1815. Although this was risky, the profit margins were very high. Other markets supplied by

McConnell & Kennedy were in the north of Ireland, Nottinghamshire and the south-west of England. Of these, the Nottingham lace thread market became the most important in the 1830s, replacing Scotland as the firm's largest market. (Lee, 1972, p.44).

When John Kennedy retired from the partnership in December 1826 his share of the business was £85,000 (Kennedy, 2016, pp.213–4). The business, now called McConnell & Company, was continued by James McConnell and his sons Henry and James junior. After James McConnell's death in 1831, his third son William joined the company. From 1861, when his brothers retired, William ran the firm on his own. In 1878 his son John took over the business. In 1898 the firm became part of the Fine Cotton Spinners and Doublers Association. This Association initially included 47 separate businesses and over 60 mills. McConnell & Company were one of the largest businesses in the Association. However, after John McConnell retired in 1914, McConnell & Company lost its independent identity as it became more closely integrated within the Association (Lee, 1972, pp.151–3).

As for McConnell & Kennedy's neighbours and rivals A & G Murray, after Adam Murray died in 1831, George Murray managed the firm until 1854 by which time he was 93. From 1854 to 1878 his sons Benjamin and James ran the firm after which Benjamin's sons George and John briefly took over until Herbert Dixon became managing director in 1880. Herbert Dixon was instrumental in setting up the Fine Cotton Spinners and Doublers Association which absorbed A & G Murray in 1898 (Miller and Wild, 2006, p.86).

John Kennedy 1769–1855

The most exceptional of this exceptional group was John Kennedy. After joining the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society in 1803, he read several papers to the Society. The first was 'On the Rise and Progress of the Cotton Trade' in 1815, followed by 'An Inquiry into the Effects of the Poor Laws' in 1819, 'The Influence of Machinery on the Working Classes' in 1826 and 'A Brief Memoir of Samuel Crompton with a Description of his Machine Called the Mule and its Subsequent Improvement by Others' in 1830 (Kennedy, 1849). In addition to these papers, Kennedy also wrote a 30-page booklet *On the Exportation of Machinery* (Kennedy, 1824).

In 1822 Kennedy joined the Provisional Committee of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway Company (Carlson, 1969, p.49). In 1824, Kennedy was one of four members of the Provisional Committee who examined existing railways and reported in favour of the use of steam locomotives on the proposed railway (Carlson, 1969, p.64). With the railway nearing completion and with his argument for steam traction having prevailed, in 1829, Kennedy was chosen as one of the three judges at the Rainhill Locomotive Trial which was convincingly won by George and Robert Stephenson's 'Rocket' (Carlson, 1969, p.219).

For Wrigley (2016, p.145), the 1829 Rainhill Trials and the opening of the Liverpool Manchester railway in 1830 'symbolised the achievement of a definitive release from the constraints that had always limited the growth possibilities in organic economies.' By 'organic economies' Wrigley means all preceding traditional societies which had relied on renewable sources of energy — wood, wind and water — plus animal and human labour to sustain themselves. In contrast, all modern societies are what Wrigley calls 'mineral economies' which rely primarily on fossil fuels — at first coal, then oil and natural gas — as energy sources (Wrigley, 2010).

The water-powered cotton mills of late-eighteenth-century Gatehouse of Fleet were, despite their sophisticated use of current technology, still part of Wrigley's 'organic economy'. The steam-powered cotton mills of McConnel & Kennedy and A & G Murray were part of Wrigley's 'mineral economy'. Cotton production in Gatehouse was ultimately limited by the flow of water from Loch Whinyeon above the town. To increase production in a steam-powered cotton mill, all that was required was the purchase of a more powerful steam engine. While a more powerful steam engine would need more coal, until the later nineteenth century (Jevons, 1865) it appeared that reserves of coal were practically inexhaustible so there would be no physical limits on economic growth.

In reality, as John Kennedy was very aware, the imperatives of the market economy with its constant cycle of expansion and contraction act as a check on economic growth. The technological improvements he made to his firm's spinning machines increased the quantity and quality of the cotton yarn they produced but the market could not always smoothly absorb the yarn McConnel & Kennedy produced. In 1812, Kennedy had provided information on English cotton exports to India to the Committee for Free Trade to China and India. This was a campaign against the East India Company's monopoly led by Kirkman Finlay, Lord Provost of Glasgow, who became an MP in 1812. Finlay was a cotton manufacturer and his firm was suffering from the loss of European markets during the Napoleonic wars, hence his interest in breaking the East India Company's monopoly on trade with India where he hoped to find an alternative market for his company's products (Chapman, 1992, p.95).

Until the 1820s, Scottish cotton manufacturers including Finlay and Company, provided the main market for McConnel & Kennedy so it was in John Kennedy's interest to support Kirkman Finlay's early advocacy of the free market. In 1830, Kennedy was called before the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company where he gave evidence on the growth of cotton exports from England to India since 1812, based on the figures he had provided to the Committee for Free Trade to China and India in 1812 (Lee, 1972, p.51 and Select Committee, 1830, pp.434–439).

Significantly, both Berg (1980, p.195) and Parthasarathi (2011, p.110) draw attention to a further development found in Kennedy's 1815 paper 'On the Rise and Progress of the Cotton Trade' where he applied Adam Smith's concept of the division of labour to the origins of the cotton industry. As Parthasarathi notes (2011, p.111):

The adoption of a Smithian framework to understand the rise of the cotton industry coincided with the growing acceptance in Lancashire of the free-trade prescriptions of Smithian political economy. In the final quarter of the eighteenth century, the cotton men of Lancashire were unreceptive to the arguments for free trade and they favoured protection from imports of Indian cloth.

Although in his 1830 paper on Samuel Crompton, Kennedy did observe that eighteenth-century manufactures copied 'fabrics from India which at that time supplied this kingdom with all the finer fabrics' (Kennedy, 1849, p.70), by then his earlier 'Smithian' account of the origins of the British cotton industry had become accepted as fact. That Kennedy was a manufacturer rather than a political economist is likely to have given extra weight to his acceptance of Adam Smith's economic theories.

Kennedy was also a member of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, founded in 1831. In June 1833 he was present at a meeting of the Society in Cambridge when a new Statistical Section was formed by Charles Babbage, Thomas Malthus and others. In September 1833 Kennedy was one of the founders of the Manchester Statistical Society and became vice-president (Cullen, 1975, pp 79 and 108). It was probably through the Manchester Statistical Society that sanitary and poor law reformer Edwin Chadwick met Kennedy, since Chadwick drew on the Manchester Society's work for his privately published *Report on the Sanitary Conditions of the Labouring Population of Great Britain* (1842). In 1839, Chadwick married Kennedy's daughter Rachel.

The Cattle Trade and Capitalism

That a group of young men who had left Kells parish in the Glenkens of Galloway as teenagers in the 1780s were able to found businesses in Manchester in the 1790s which survived and prospered for the next hundred years is noteworthy. It is possible that James McConnel, John Kennedy, Adam and George Murray were simply lucky enough to be in the right place at the right time to take advantage of the textile machine making skills William Cannan had taught them. Certainly it was very helpful that they were able to build their own spinning machines and were able to adapt their mules to harness the power of steam engines. However, to succeed in the new environment of industrial capitalism required the additional ability to work within a market-based economy. If Galloway still had a 'traditional' rural economy and society in the 1780s a group of young men from the region would have struggled to survive and prosper in Manchester's market-centred economy.

Discussing the impact of the agricultural revolution which transformed lowland Scotland in the late eighteenth century, Christopher Smout (1969, p.310) described the situation in Galloway as one

where almost until the end of the century indigenous peasant society went on almost unaffected by change, paying traditional rents to traditional lairds for lands that they held at will but seldom risked losing by dispossession, and that consisted of open, ridged, stony fields, wide pools of boggy water and tall thickets of whins. The crisis that 'produced an almost magical change' came with sale of the old estate of Baldoon to the Earls of Galloway in 1787: the new owners at once offered the leases to the highest bidders at a public roup in the courthouse at Wigtown ...

If Galloway had indeed been a traditional peasant society as late as 1787, it would have been a very difficult challenge for a group of young men from the region to make the successful transition to the very different society and economy of industrial Manchester.

However, in his discussion of '[the] peasant reaction to rural change' Smout (1969, p.326) notes that during the Galloway Levellers' uprising of 1724, 'several hundred armed men broke into the laird of Baldoon's park and killed fifty-three Irish cattle.' This park was in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, but as early as 1682 there was a cattle park at Baldoon in Wigtownshire large enough to hold 1000 cattle destined for sale to markets in England. The park and cattle belonged to David Dunbar, but in September 1682, fifty-nine of Dunbar's Scottish cattle were seized and killed by a magistrate in England who believed

that they had been illegally imported from Ireland (Symson, 1823, p.41). The references to Irish cattle in 1682 and again in 1724 are a significant pointer to the origin of social and economic changes which occurred in Galloway long before 1787.

During the seventeenth century, London's population grew from approximately 200,000 in 1600 to 400,000 in 1650 and by 1700 it had reached 575,000, overtaking Paris to become the largest city in Europe (Wrigley, 1978, p.215). The effects of this growth were felt as far away as north-east England, where London's demand for coal stimulated mining in the Newcastle area, and Ireland, which supplied London with up to 50,000 head of cattle per year in the 1660s. Under pressure from English landowners, the import of Irish cattle into England was banned in January 1667 and a similar import ban was passed by the Scottish parliament in March 1667. Before this ban, between May and July 1666, 7287 Irish cattle had passed through Galloway and Dumfriesshire en route to London (Woodward, 1976, p.150). Irish cattle had been taking this route since at least 1627 when the Scottish Privy Council gave permission to the Murrays of Broughton to land cattle from their Irish estates at Portpatrick for sale in England (Haldane, 1997, p.163).

Since there were no restrictions on the sale of Scottish cattle to England, David Dunbar of Baldoon and other Galloway landowners were able to take advantage of the 1667 ban on Irish cattle and supply London with cattle from their estates. Symson (1824, p.81) noted that 'the Earl of Galloway, Sir William Maxwell, Sir Godfrey McCulloch, Sir James Dalrymple and the Laird of Logan and many others' had followed Dunbar's example and constructed cattle parks. As well as the Wigtownshire cattle parks, the *Kirkcudbright Sheriff Court Deeds* (Reid, 1950, Nos.1265, 3183 and 3184) reveal that by the 1680s there were also cattle parks at Netherlaw in Kirkcudbright parish and Borgue parish in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright.

As well as providing existing landowners in Galloway with a valuable source of income, the late-seventeenth-century cattle trade with England, like the cotton industry a century later, provided the opportunity for a hill farmer's son, grandson and great-grandson to prosper. In 1671, Alexander Heron of Minnigaff parish owned the hill farm of Dallashcairn. His son Patrick I (1642–1721) began managing David Dunbar's Baldoon cattle park in 1682 but after Dunbar's death in 1686 he began trading in his own right. By 1689 he was able to send 1000 cattle per year to England (Woodward, 1976, p.156) and by 1695, when his father died, Patrick Heron I 'had stock upon Glenshalloch, Garlarg, Lomashan, Draighmorn, Poldenbuy, Tonderghie, Craigdews, Kirouchtrie, the Lessons, Torwhinock, and Torrshinerack' in Minnigaff parish. As Peter McKerlie put it in his account of the Heron family's land holdings (1877, Vol. 4, p.426) 'Patrick Heron made a great deal of money in the cattle trade.' By re-investing their profits by buying more farms in Minnigaff which were then used to breed and fatten more cattle, Heron, his son Patrick II (1672–1761) and grandson Patrick III (1701–1761) became wealthy and extensive landowners. However, when Patrick Heron IV (1736–1803) attempted to diversify into banking by co-founding the Ayr (Douglas and Heron) Bank in 1769, he was less successful and the bank collapsed in 1772 (Checkland, 1975, pp.124–131).

Significantly then, despite Smout's claim (1969, p.325) that the Galloway Levellers' uprising of 1724 was a response to the development of the cattle trade with England since the Union of 1707, the uprising had its roots in changes which had been taking place

in Galloway for over forty years. These changes involved the gradual development of capitalist farming in Galloway in response to London's growth. Unfortunately, neither Wrigley (1978) nor Wood (2002) extend their analyses of the impact of London's growth on the emergence of capitalist agriculture in seventeenth century England to Scotland.

However, although Wrigley (1978, p.226) is referring to the situation in Kent and East Anglia in the century before 1650 here, the post-1667 cattle trade had a similar transformative impact on Galloway:

London was large enough to exercise a great influence on the agriculture of the surrounding counties, causing a rapid spread in market gardening, increasing local specialization, and encouraging wholesalers to move back up the chain of production and exchange to engage directly in the production of food, or to sink capital in the improvement of productive facilities.

As a Marxist historian, Wood (2002, p.103) summed up the outcome of the changes set in motion by London's growth very directly: 'as competitive market forces established themselves, less productive farmers lost their property.'

Support for the argument that cattle farming had become a thoroughly capitalist enterprise by the 1780s is provided by contemporary sources. William Cuninghame bought Duchrae (now Hensol) estate in Balmaghie in 1786 and provided this description of Duchrae in 1787 (Crockett, 1904, p.302):

My Tenants there depends chiefly on grazing bullocks (Irish and Galloway) which they are constantly buying and selling. So often at times some of these do not remain more than two weeks upon the Estate. For instance when I was there, one of the tenants sold a parcel of Galloway Bullocks which had been partly 3 months with him, partly 2 months and partly only a few days, the whole to be delivered to the purchaser upon the farm the following week. He informed me that Cattle was then in great demand and that he had made great profit by them.

Richard Hodgkinson noted on his visit to the Stewartry in 1800 that the local farmers 'are perpetually buying in and selling of cattle of all ages and in all states and conditions, at all times of the year whenever an opportunity offers' (Wood and Wood, 1992, p.138). In 1813, Samuel Smith described the cattle trade in Galloway as possessing 'all the fascinations of the gaming table' for local farmers and that this was to the detriment of improvement (Smith, 1810, p.74).

If the advent of 'competitive market forces' — capitalism — is revealed in farming by less productive farmers losing their lands, then in Galloway by the 1780s the transition from Smout's traditional 'indigenous peasant society' to capitalist agriculture had been underway for at least a century. As a consequence, although the new industrial capitalism of Manchester in the 1790s would have been unfamiliar to John Kennedy and his compatriots, the demands of 'competitive market forces' were not. For Kennedy's business partner James McConnel, these demands were very real.

In 1455, Barskeoch in Kells parish and its farms, including Drumbuie, were among the lands forfeited to the Crown by William Douglas, 9th Earl of Douglas. After passing to the Gordon family, by 1660, the Newall family had possession of Barskeoch and its lands

which remained in their possession until 1787. In the *Kirkcudbright Sheriff Court Deeds* (Reid, 1950, entries 1052 and 1420) there are two tacks for Drumbuie from the 1670s which give an insight into the farming practice of the time since they both require the tenants of Drumbuie to return any cattle pasturing on the west side of Meikle Millyea ‘in the summer half of the year’ to the heft. By 1741, when Samuel McConnel and his son John were the Newalls’ tenants in Hannaston and a third part of Drumbuie, this requirement had been dropped. Samuel and John’s tack was for 19 years, paying £33 sterling rent annually. In 1760, John’s son James took over the tenancy of Hannaston alone for another 19 years, paying £26 sterling annually. However, when the next renewal came in 1779, the annual rent had risen to £52. James struggled with this increase and gave up his tenancy in 1782 (McConnel, 1861, pp.116–122).

Writing in the early 1790s, the minister of Dalry parish (Old Statistical Account) noted that about 20 years earlier, Mr Newall of Barskeoch was ‘probably the first’ in the Glenkens to improve a considerable extent of land with lime. The doubling of the rent of Hannaston in 1779 would have been part of this early attempt to improve the Newall lands. Unfortunately, the Newalls failed to profit from their improvements and in 1787 Barskeoch and its farms were sold to William Forbes of Callendar. It is likely that 19-year-old James McConnel’s decision to leave Hannaston in early 1781 to become his uncle William Cannan’s apprentice in Lancashire was influenced by the difficulties his father faced after the rent of Hannaston was doubled in 1779.

In his later partnership with John Kennedy, James McConnel managed the business side of the firm’s activities while Kennedy concentrated on the technical side. James McConnel II (1861, p.148) described his father’s approach to business matters as ‘painstaking and persevering rather than acute. He was ... thoughtful, prudent and even somewhat timid, rather than impulsive or rash.’ In his summary of McConnel & Kennedy’s approach to business, Lee (1972, pp.149–50) confirms this assessment:

Their guiding principle was caution, always seeking swift payment at a time when sudden trade slumps could throw debtors into bankruptcy, and seeking to pay their debts promptly to gain the price discount offered. They were careful not to trade more than was necessary with financially insecure firms and let nobody build up large debts at their expense. They were cautious not to speculate wildly and did not invest in buildings or any kind of expansion until they could afford it.

John Kennedy’s grandfather David, a merchant in New Galloway, had bought Knocknalling in 1740 (McKerlie, 1877, p.96). However, the early death of Kennedy’s father, aged forty-nine in 1779, left his mother struggling to run the farm. So although Kennedy’s family were owner-occupiers rather than tenant farmers, their situation was little more promising than the McConnel family’s. After their mother’s death in 1801, John Kennedy’s older brother David inherited Knocknalling. After David’s death in 1836, John became owner of Knocknalling where he built a still impressive mansion house.

Adam and George Murray’s background is more obscure. John Kennedy (1849, p.8) states that the Murray brothers’ father had moved to the Glenkens ‘as a farmer, or greeve upon a large estate, but was unfortunate, so settled finally in New Galloway as a shopkeeper about the time (1768) of my grandfather’s death.’ Since Kennedy also states that his father and the Murray brothers’ father were good friends and that Adam and George sometimes

stayed at Knocknalling, his account is probably reliable.

If so, then all four of the young men who became William Cannan's apprentices in the 1780s shared a similar background. It was a background of uncertainty as a second wave of agricultural and economic change began to affect Galloway. The first wave, the development of the cattle trade after 1667, had begun the breakdown of 'traditional' farming in the region. Then, in 1765, Sir Alexander Gordon of Greenlaw built a short section of canal so that barges could carry shell-marl from Carlingwark Loch up the Dee–Ken river system and into the Glenkens. This development was part of a second wave of change. The focus of the second wave was on the revolutionising of arable farming. This was a much more expensive and involved process than the construction of a few cattle parks.

In the later seventeenth century, the cattle trade with England was an example of what Ellen Wood (2002) described as 'the market as opportunity', of voluntary participation in a profitable activity. By the later eighteenth century what Wood called 'the market as imperative' had become the driving force behind the second wave of change. Propelled by a combination of population growth, overseas trade and the beginnings of the industrial revolution, the British economy began to grow. This created an increasing demand for food. But to produce food profitably, it was necessary to adopt the commercial farming techniques developed to feed London a century earlier (Wrigley, 1978). Only existing large landowners or new landowners who had made their fortunes through trade could afford the costs of improvement and only the most efficient tenants could manage to pay the higher rents needed to recoup these costs.

In the Glenkens William Forbes, who made a huge fortune by putting copper-bottoms on ships belonging to the East India Company and the Royal Navy (McKerlie, 1877, p.431) was able to buy up Earlston estate in Dalry parish as well as the Newalls' Barskeoch lands. The Newalls had tried and failed to adapt to the 'market as imperative' by improving their lands and raising their tenants' rents, which had led to James McConnel's father giving up his tenancy in 1782. The 'unfortunate' father of Adam and George Murray (Kennedy, 1849, p.8) also had to give up his tenancy of a farm. John Kennedy's account of his childhood in the 1770s mentions the growing of black oats and the use of a wooden plough to cultivate Knocknalling's arable fields — both indicators of an unimproved farm. The expense of improving Knocknalling would have been beyond Kennedy's widowed mother's resources.

By the 1780s then, although the full impact of the second wave of agricultural change in Galloway had yet to be felt, William Cannan's workshop in Lancashire offered James McConnel, the Murray brothers and John Kennedy an attractive alternative to an uncertain future in the Glenkens. But while most of Cannan's apprentices remained as humble artisans, the Glenkens group did not, leaving an enduring imprint on the industrial infrastructure of Manchester and the development of industrial capitalism.

Conclusion

In 1755 the population of the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright was 21,205. In 1757 the population of Manchester was 17,101. By 1801 the population of the Stewartry had increased to 29,211 but that of Manchester had reached 76,788. The population of the Stewartry peaked in 1851 when it reached 43,121 by which time Manchester had 316,213 inhabitants. The

difference in growth rates reflects the difference between the agricultural revolution which transformed the Stewartry and the industrial revolution which transformed Manchester. However, within the Stewartry, growth was concentrated in the more fertile lowland parishes. Between 1755 and 1801, the population of upland Kells parish grew by only 13% while that of lowland Kelton grew by 134%.

In the summer of 1800, Richard Hodgkinson from Chowbent in Lancashire visited Kells parish where his wife's Cannan family lived. His wife was William Cannan of Chowbent's niece. Hodgkinson also visited David Kennedy, John Kennedy's brother, at Knocknalling. He estimated that Knocknalling was worth £100 a year. In the diary he kept of his visit, Hodgkinson noted the striking difference between the prosperity and fertility of the district between Crossmichael, Castle Douglas, Kirkcudbright and Gatehouse with the 'barren, craggy, rough and rocky' lands of the Glenkens to the north (Wood and Wood, 1992, p.136).

Hodgkinson's observations reflect the problem of 'diminishing returns' which David Ricardo (1815) identified as a limit to traditional, agriculturally based, economic growth. Improving the fertile lands of the lower Stewartry was profitable. To improve the less fertile lands of the Glenkens required greater expenditure for a smaller profit. In the Scottish Highlands, sheep farming emerged as the solution to a similar problem. The uplands of Galloway were also converted to sheep farming in the early nineteenth century. However, in her careful analysis of Ricardo's development of political economy, Maxine Berg (1980, Chapter 4) shows that by 1821, Ricardo had identified the new manufacturing industries as an alternative route to economic growth and prosperity.

Ricardo was able to make this intellectual break with eighteenth-century political economy by observing the rapid progress of what had yet to be named as an 'industrial revolution'. By 1780 in the Glenkens, the physical and economic limits of agricultural improvement were being reached. For the Murray brothers, James McConnel and John Kennedy the road to Chowbent offered an alternative route to a more prosperous future. The move from Chowbent to Manchester was a much shorter journey, yet it was one which was to transform not only their lives but also help shape a world-changing revolution. This revolution marked a shift (Wrigley, 2016, pp.1–3) from an agricultural-based economy ultimately reliant on the annual flow of energy from the sun captured by plant photosynthesis to an industrial economy based via coal on an accumulated stock of millions of years of plant photosynthesis.

Historically, both China and Graeco-Roman Europe had access to coal and the technical capacity to build steam engines. What these cultures lacked was a social and economic driver powerful enough to create an industrial revolution. Capitalism supplied this driver in late eighteenth-century Britain. Capital, however, follows success. By their ability to make a success of their businesses, the Murray brothers, James McConnel and John Kennedy played a critical role in developing Manchester's cotton industry. The growth of the cotton industry stimulated further developments, in particular the Liverpool–Manchester railway which was supported by John Kennedy from its inception. Liverpool and Manchester were connected by rail to Birmingham in 1837 and London in 1838, marking the accomplishment of what Wrigley (2016, p.147) describes as 'the English industrial revolution'.

More correctly, it should be described as the British industrial revolution in recognition

of the vital role played by James Watt and his fellow Scots John Kennedy, James McConnell and the Murray brothers. But while Watt is celebrated in Scotland as a pioneer of the industrial revolution, the group of young men who left the Glenkens in the 1780s have been overlooked. Even in Dumfries and Galloway their impressive achievements remain unknown.

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ADDENDA TO THE DUMFRIESSHIRE AND GALLOWAY PARISHES
IN VOLUME II OF THE STATISTICAL ACCOUNT OF SCOTLAND,
BY ROBERT RIDDELL OF GLENRIDDELL

Pauline Williams¹ and James Williams (1944–2009)

At the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society meeting on the 17 October 1913, Mr Hugh S. Gladstone MA, FRSE, FZS, FSA(Scot)² read as his Presidential address: Addenda to the Statistical Account of Dumfriesshire and Galloway written at the end of the Eighteenth Century by Capt. Robert Riddell LLD, FSA(Scot).³ Gladstone had found in his own library six volumes of the Statistical Account of Scotland, volume I and volumes III to VII. As Volume I and volumes III to VI contained annotations by Robert Riddell, Gladstone assumed that Riddell had annotated all of the first six volumes. He regretted that all his efforts to trace volume II had failed and hoped that the publication of his paper would lead to its discovery.

It was in 1909 whilst re-arranging his library at Capenoch, Penpont, Dumfriesshire, that Hugh S. Gladstone found six interleaved volumes of the Statistical Account of Scotland.⁴ The Riddell coat of arms was on the front covers and the volumes had manuscript annotations by Robert Riddell.⁵ The books had been given to Gladstone's grandfather Thomas Steuart Gladstone (1805–1882) in the 1850s or 1860s by his brother, Murray Gladstone (1816–1875) of Manchester.⁶ How he had acquired them was unknown. The missing volume II contains an account of 50 parishes and includes the Dumfriesshire parishes of Torthorwald, Dornock, Kirkmahoe, Moffat and Glencairn; the Kirkcudbrightshire parishes of Lochrutton, New Abbey and Kirkpatrick Durham; and the Wigtownshire parishes of Kirkcolm and Stonykirk (sic).

The Statistical Account was a survey of every parish in Scotland completed and published from 1791 to 1799. It was managed by Sir John Sinclair (1754–1835) of Ulbster and Thurso Castle, Caithness; a successful student of the universities of Edinburgh, Glasgow and Oxford, in 1780 he became a Member of Parliament for Caithness.⁷ He was interested in agricultural improvements⁸ and became first President of the Board of

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- 1 Vice-President of the Society; 43 New Abbey Road, Dumfries DG2 7LZ.
 - 2 President of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society 1909–1929.
 - 3 *TDGNHAS*, ser.III, vol.2, pp.10–11, (summary only). Due to an increase in printing costs, this paper was a single private publication by Thos. Hunter, Watson & Co. Ltd., Dumfries 1913.
 - 4 Later known as the 'Old' or 'First' Statistical Account of Scotland.
 - 5 In 2003 James Williams visited Mr Robert Gladstone, Capenoch, Penpont and looked at these volumes.
 - 6 In 1860 Murray Gladstone built a mansion house, Tan y Foel, near Pencae, Penmaenmawr, Wales.
 - 7 MP for Lostwithiel 1784–1790, Caithness 1790–1796, Petersfield 1797–1802, Caithness 1802–1811.
 - 8 *Code of Agriculture*, by Sir John Sinclair, 1818.

Agriculture, established in 1793. It was in that year the Board of Agriculture commissioned the County Surveys of Great Britain. These surveys, undertaken between 1793 and 1817, recorded information on the agriculture and rural economy of each county in Great Britain. This type of county survey is the earliest ever known and is of significant historical interest.

Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland is also of considerable historical importance. Sinclair's status, organisational skills and observations of earlier failed schemes⁹ enabled him to successfully accomplish this unique survey of the state of the whole country. As Sinclair was a lay member of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland he contacted the parish Clergy, knowledgeable, educated men with access to local information, to assist him. From 25 May 1790 he circulated to the Clergy of the 938 parishes in Scotland¹⁰ a list of one hundred and sixty questions in four sections. A further six questions were added as an appendix followed by another five in 1791. The questions covered many topics including geography, topography, natural history, antiquities, agriculture, industry, population, education, poor relief and general matters.

Many of the Clergy had an understanding of the merits of Sinclair's survey and a desire for improvement of their country and the welfare of the people:

*The Edinburgh Advertiser, Friday December 17, 1790.*¹¹

At a meeting of the Presbytery of Lochmaben, on the 7th curt. a motion of considerable importance was made by Rev. Mr. Sibbald, minister of Johnston. He reminded the members, that a list of queries had lately been transmitted them from a very respectable quarter — that they seemed put with laudable design, and that both they and their author deserved the most respectful attention. He had no doubt but that every member of that Court was already disposed to throw all possible light on the subjects in question. But, at the same time, to give the Presbytery an opportunity of publicly [testifying] their approbation of the worthy Baronet's views, and of doing every thing in their power to insure success in so patriotic an undertaking, he requested leave to move, 'That it be recommended to the Presbytery to give Sir JOHN SINCLAIR, of Ulbster, Bart. all the information they can procure, with regard to the situation of their respective parishes.' After some conversation, the motion was unanimously agreed to.

Sinclair was anxious that the Clergy should not only complete a thorough survey but also do so quickly so that the state of the entire country could be viewed at the same period of time. Despite the need for 'Statistical Missionaries' and reminder letters, the majority of parish reports were completed by parish ministers. In June 1799 at the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in Edinburgh, Sinclair presented a complete set of twenty one volumes of the Statistical Account of Scotland. The profits from the sale of the Statistical Account and copyright were given to the Society for the Sons of the Clergy of

9 Since the early 1600s there had been attempts at surveys of Scotland, all had failed through lack of finance or organisation.

10 By the end of the survey there were 936 reports due to parish amalgamations.

11 Vol. LIV, No. 2814, p.390, col.b.

the Established Church of Scotland.¹² In 1792 Sinclair had obtained a gift of L.2,000.00 from the Crown for this Society.

The Statistical Account of Scotland was published by William Creech¹³ (1745–1815) as the reports were received, in twenty one volumes between 1791 and 1799.¹⁴ This account of parishes in Scotland gives a unique record of the country during the late eighteenth century. However, each report is also a personal account by the author and his interests and enthusiasm for the report is sometimes evident.

Sinclair had a particular interest in volume II,¹⁵ writing on 1 January 1798¹⁶ from Charlotte Square, Edinburgh on the history and progress of the Statistical Account:

Being so frequently out of Scotland, I have in general been obliged, to rely upon the assistance of others, for preparing the communications of the Clergy, and correcting the press. The second volume, however, I was enabled to undertake myself, during a Parliamentary recess; and I do not recollect, to have met with a greater mass of curious and interesting information, in any publication of that extent. It begins with a parish near the borders, that of Tortherwald, (sic) and ends with Mid and South Yell in Shetland, the parishes gradually proceeding northwards. Those who can peruse that volume, without pleasure and improvement, must have little real turn or disposition for such investigations.

The copy of volume II missing from Gladstone's collection was discovered by James Williams in 2003 in the University Special Collection of University College London.¹⁷ The annotations to that volume by the acclaimed local antiquarian, Captain Robert Riddell, (1755–1794), are of interest and advantage. Robert Riddell was born on 3 October 1755, the eldest son of Walter Riddell of Newhouse who, along with Provost Crosbie of Holm of Dalscairth, was held hostage by the Jacobites on their retreat through Dumfries in December 1745. His mother was Anne Riddell, daughter and heiress of Robert Riddell of Glenriddell and Friars Carse. Riddell studied at the universities of St Andrews and Edinburgh. He then became Ensign in the Royal Scots and on 5 January 1778, he obtained a commission as

12 Established in 1790 and later known as the Society for the Benefit of Sons and Daughters of the Clergy.

13 Creech was an influential publisher and bookseller in Edinburgh. He published the writings of many distinguished people including the first Edinburgh edition of Robert Burns' poems. He was secretary of the Society for the Benefit of Sons of the Clergy.

14 This resulted in parish reports from one county being published in many volumes.

15 The Statistical Account was later reprinted and regrouped according to county. *Statistical Account of Scotland History of the Origins and Progress etc.* pp.28–29. Vol. I, 1983, General Editors, Donald J. Withrington, Ian R. Grant. ISBN 071581001.

16 At 1 January 1798 there were only four parish accounts outstanding.

17 This was discovered by searching the AIM 25 (Archives in London and the M25 Area) website. See <<http://www.aim25.ac.uk>>. (This website is an educational charity supporting the development of and public access to historical archives held in the London area. AIM25 provides online access to collection level descriptions from the archives of over one hundred and fifty higher education institutions, learned societies, local authorities, cultural organisations and livery companies within the region, for the purposes of research, teaching and public enjoyment.)

Lieutenant in the 83rd Regiment of Foot (Royal Glasgow Volunteers). He went with the Regiment to Jersey and was later appointed by George III to raise an independent Company of Foot. He was promoted as Captain in Elford's Corps of Foot which was founded in 1782 and disbanded in 1783 whereupon Riddell retired. He married, at the Collegiate Church Manchester on 23 March 1784, Elizabeth Kennedy third daughter of William Kennedy, Fustian Merchant, of Manchester. William Kennedy was the third son of Gilbert Kennedy of Auchtyfardle, Lesmahagow, Lanarkshire.¹⁸ Riddell and his wife lived at Friars Carse and much of his life was then spent pursuing his antiquarian, literary and musical interests. He was a Fellow of the Antiquarian Societies of London and Edinburgh and a member of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester and published papers in the journals of these societies.¹⁹ Riddell also wrote, *Introduction to the Agricultural Account of Dumfriesshire*, published posthumously in 1794 as Appendix I, in the *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Dumfries with Observations on the Means of its Improvement*, drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement²⁰ by Bryce Johnston D.D., Minister at Holywood.²¹

His friendship with the poet Robert Burns²² after he became tenant of Ellisland Farm in 1788 has been well recorded. In an appendix to the Dunscore parish Statistical Account written by Rev. Joseph Kirkpatrick, is a letter by Riddell to Sinclair about a small library in the parish (The Monkland Friendly Society), which was run by Robert Burns for the benefit of working people of the parish, to give them the opportunity of improvement and information. Following this is a letter to Sinclair explaining the foundation and patronage by Riddell of the circulating library and setting out its purpose and rules. Riddell was also an accomplished musician composing his own airs, some of which were used by Burns.²³ He was a keen collector of Scottish folk songs and a collection was published in 1794.²⁴

In July 1789 Francis Grose²⁵ visited Riddell at Friars Carse when on a tour of Scotland to acquire information for his book, *The Antiquities of Scotland*; this was published in two volumes (1789–1791). In July 1792 Riddell accompanied the topographical artist Joseph Farington R.A., on one of his sketching expeditions in Scotland. He was acquainted with the antiquarian Richard Gough (1735–1809),²⁶ and corresponded with John Nichols

18 Robert Riddell's pedigree chart, Dumfries and Galloway Archive Centre, Ewart Library, Dumfries ref. EGD22/1.

19 See Appendix 2.

20 The Dumfriesshire Board of Agriculture County Survey, one of the county surveys of Great Britain (1793–1817).

21 He wrote the Statistical Account for the parish of Holywood, published in Vol. I. Sinclair considered this one of the best parish reports received by January 1791.

22 Riddell gave Burns two leather-bound volumes to fill with poetry and prose, Glenriddell Manuscripts, National Library of Scotland, ref. MSS 86, 87.

23 *The Whistle, Nithsdale's Welcome Home, The Blue-eyed Lassie and The Day Returns*.

24 *A Collection of Scotch, Galwegian and Border Tunes* for violin and pianoforte.

25 During this visit he met Robert Burns who wrote the poem *Tam o' Shanter* for Grose to add to his illustration of Alloway Kirk, Ayrshire. This poem was first published in the Edinburgh Magazine in March 1791.

26 Director of the Society of Antiquaries of London 1771–1791. In 1791 Riddell made additions on interleaved pages to the Scottish part of Gough's *British Topography*, National Museums of Scotland Library, Edinburgh ref. SAS MS 589.

(1745–1826) antiquarian, printer and, from 1788, editor of the *Gentleman's Magazine*.²⁷

On 23 January 1794 the University of Edinburgh conferred on Riddell the degree of LL.D. and described him as 'a gentleman of uncommon knowledge as an antiquarian'. Riddell died without living issue²⁸ on 21 April 1794 and his library of books was sold in Edinburgh in 1795 by Robert Ross, bookseller and auctioneer.

A lasting record of Riddell's extensive interest in Scottish antiquities, history, topography, genealogy and literature is provided by his Manuscript Collections. These consist of volumes written in his own hand or by an amanuensis, compiled from 1786 to 1792 of which 10 are in public collections.²⁹

James Williams discovered that University College London held in the University Special Collection volume II of Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland* annotated by Robert Riddell of Glenriddell. The volume is incomplete, lacking boards and preliminaries and contains the account of only 49 parishes, the last page is numbered 560. The final parish of Mid and South Yell, also pages 123–128 inclusive are missing. These pages cover the end of Eaglesham parish, Renfrewshire and part of New Abbey parish account which starts on page 125. The book is in a fragile condition with loose pages and the spine is split into four pieces. Riddell's volume had been bound with plain paper pages interleaved between the text pages. On the text there are a few pages where vertical lines have highlighted a passage of text and on one page a manuscript note at the foot. The addenda are handwritten on the plain pages in his autograph or by an amanuensis, as are his Manuscript Collections.

The first page is reproduced in Figure 1. What follows is a listing of the Dumfriesshire parishes as they appear in volume II,³⁰ accompanied by some details of each report and a transcription of Riddell's addenda.³¹

27 Riddell's obituary notice appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, p.481, May 1794.

28 Riddell's wife gave birth to twin girls on 29 January 1795. One named Mary Anne died within the day and the other died before she could be baptised. *Robert Riddell of Glenriddell His Life, Ancestry and Works*, edited by Hugh S. Gladstone 1914. Final proof sheets page 20. Dumfries and Galloway Archive Centre, Ewart Library, Dumfries ref. EGD22/1.

29 See Appendix I.

30 All the parish reports for Dumfriesshire appear in a reissue of *The Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol.IV. General Editors Donald J. Withrington, Ian R. Grant, EP Publishing Limited, 1983. ISBN 0715810049.

31 A blank line in the text indicates a new page.

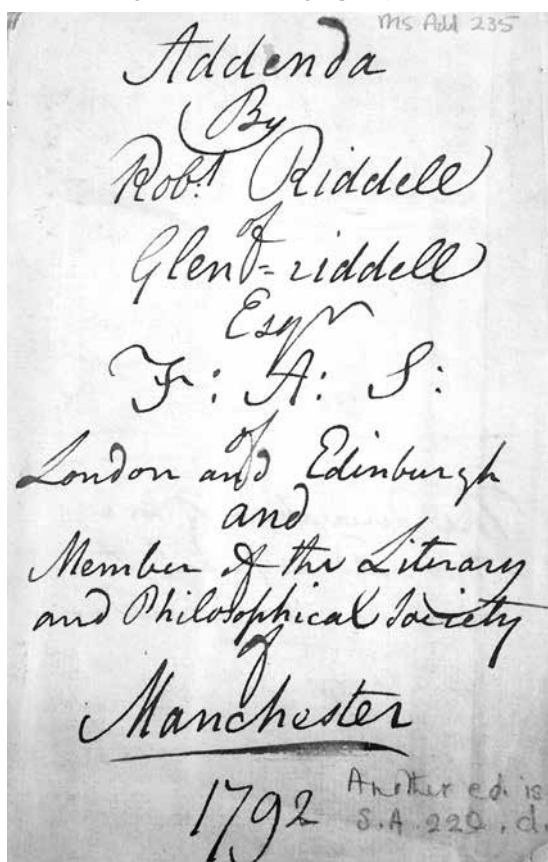


Figure 1. First page of Riddell's Addenda.

Torthorwald parish report on pages 1–13, was written in 1790 by Rev. James McMillan (1735–1808), incumbent of Torthorwald from 1762 until his death in 1808.

Riddell's addenda:

The derivation of Torthorwald as here put down in nonsense

Capt Grose has Engraved a view of Torthorwald Castle — and Adam De Cardonnel Esqr has Etched a view of it — which are to be seen in their respective Elegant works —

In the Topography & Antiquities of Nithsdale a M: S: in Glenriddell's Collections — is a fine drawing of Torthorwald Castle — as also of the very ancient Tomb stone built in the wall of the church³²

32 West wall of vestry.

and a drawing of an ancient stone in the wall of a Howse in the village — on which are finely cut, the armorial Bearing's of the Torthorwald family. In volm 2d of the M: S: Collections of Robt Riddell of Glenriddell Esqr is the genealogy of the Lords of Torthorwald By Dr Clapperton of Lochmaben³³ M: D:

Glenriddell has a fine sandal found in Locharmoss³⁴ — a print of it is in the Xth volm of the Archaeologia — Several years ago a Silver Ring was found at Torthorwald Castle, on it was two hands join'd and IEASV in very ancient Gothic Letters — It had been a marriage ring — It is now in Glenriddell's Collections at Friars Carse —

In general I much blame the Clergy that they don't describe local, and obsolete customs, that do, or have lately existed, in their Parishes — The History of the Gusting bane³⁵ — of the Roucan should have been told —

I am much surprised Mr McMillan should mention so idle a tale. The Castle was Built By one of the Barons of the name Torthorwald —

Rev. McMillan's, interpretation of the origins of the name of the parish is — 'the present name of the parish, is supposed to signify the Tower of Thor in the wood.' On the builder of Torthorwald Castle he says — 'said, by tradition, to have been erected by a shoemaker, in the parish.'³⁶

Riddell's reference is to the Gusting Bane (Gustin Bone) of Roucan, a local custom in some communities; this was apparently a flavouring bone which could be borrowed to enhance broth. Thomas Carlyle writing to his brother John on 22 July 1834 says,³⁷ 'Thus they kept a gusting-bone in the Four-towns, and lent it out to give a flavour to weak soup; otherwise hung it in the nook.' It could also mean a person or thing that could be relied on in time of need — and later in the same letter he says '... and doubtless will need me there, at least as gusting-bone.'

Dornock parish report on pages 14–29, was written in 1790 by Rev. James Smail (1747–1835), incumbent of Dornock from 1773–1796, then minister of Kirkmichael and Garrel.

33 Grandfather of Hugh Clapperton, explorer.

34 *A History of Dumfries* by Robert Edgar edited etc. by R.C. Reid, publisher J. Maxwell & Sons, Dumfries, 1915 p.30 '— within a bowshot of the Stoupe where the Horse Course began old brouges or shoes of leather of a greater size and form than to the measure of any man's foot, laced in the middle' and note 24, p.III, 'Perhaps these leather shoes were the same ones which Burnside records as in the possession of Riddell of Glenriddell. They were believed by Riddell to be Roman sandals. A drawing of them was made by Capt Grose. Burnside says they were found in the east of the parish'. Rev. Burnside, *Statistical Account, parish of Dumfries*, p.137 in reissue of 1978 'An antique, supposed to be a Roman sandal, which was found towards the east end of this parish, is now in the possession of Mr Riddell of Glenriddell.' Cameron Smith's manuscript, *History of Kirkmahoe*, notes on Riddell's *Antiquities & Topography*, 'old sandal found in Lochar Moss in June 1789.' Dumfries and Galloway Archive Centre, Ewart Library, Dumfries. ref. file 15, Klon Drawer 3/2.

35 *Dictionary of the Scots Language* — gustin(g) bane (bone) — a meat-bone lent out to several families on the days on which they made broth. Can also mean a person or thing which can be applied to in time of need, a stand-by.

36 Highlighted with vertical lines — the text about the castle being built by a shoemaker.

37 *The Carlyle Letters Online* [CLO] To John A. Carlyle; 22 July 1834; CL 7:240–248.

Riddell's addenda:

In Volm VIth of Glenriddell's M: SS: Is a drawing of the Lord Crosbie's Tombstone in Dornock churchyard — many traditions are narrated concerning these two very antique grave stones — But Tradition is a Meteor, that when the gleam is once extinguished, is sett — to return no more — and I much fear no satisfactory account can even now be obtained concerning these Tombstones —

Rev. Smail's account of the tombstone is 'One tradition, however, still remains, of a battle, said to have been fought upon a muir in the neighbourhood, between a party of the English, commanded by Sir Marmaduke Langdale and Lord Crosby, and a body of Scots, commanded by Sir William Brown of Coalston; in which the English were defeated, and both their commanders slain. They are buried in Dornock church-yard.' He goes on to describe the tombstones in some detail, stating that no letters or date were visible.

Kirkmahoe parish report on pages 30–35, was written in 1790–1791 by Rev. Archibald Lawson (1719–1796). He was incumbent of Kirkmahoe from 1750 until his death in 1796.

Riddell's addenda:

In a M: S: volm Entitled the Antiquities and Topography of Nithsdale Is a Drawing of the ancient fastness in this parish, called the Mollach — It is encompassed with a trible wall of stone — and seems to be of very Remote antiquity — from it is one of the finest views of the vale of Nith to be any where seen —

In this M:S: volm is the History of the Castle and Barony of Dalswinton, from the earliest period to 1788 — with a Drawing of the Ruins before they were obliterated to make way for the present howse — also drawings of several pieces of antiquity found in digging up the foundations

foundations of the old Castle of Dalswinton all these Drawings were made by Capt Grose — In volm VIIth of Glenriddell's M: S: Collections is a view of the Lake and Island and Howse at Dalswinton — Mr Miller has several fine views of Dalswinton painted by Mr Naesmith ³⁸

In Glenriddell's M: S: The Antiquities and Topography of Nithsdale, is the History of the Barony of Duncow — also of the Howses of Milnhead and Garnsalloch³⁹ (i.e. sleech Cairn) both Gentlemans seats in this Parish —

Rev. Lawson mentions Dalswinton estate, the old castle and new Dalswinton house built by Patrick Miller after he purchased the estate in 1785. There is no section on antiquities of the parish.

38 Alexander Nasmyth (1758–1840), portrait and landscape painter.

39 *History of Kirkmahoe* (manuscript), by Rev. David Hogg 1873, regarding Carnsalloch, 'The name is supposed to signify the 'cairn of the willows', but since in some old records it is called Garnsalloch, and so named locally at the present day, we are not aware of such an interpretation be correct.' Dumfries and Galloway Archive Centre, Ewart Library, Dumfries ref. GGD245/1.

Moffat parish report on pages 285–298, was written in 1791 by Rev. Alexander Brown, incumbent of Moffat from 1783 until his death in 1800.

Riddell's addenda:

It would appear that a very ancient family existed once here Moffat of that Ilk — I never could see any of their writings. The village of Moffat is one of the neatest and cleanest in Scotland or the north of England. The wettness of the atmosphere and the almost continual rain make it rather unfavourable for the invalid —

After a thunder shower in summer the Gray Mares Tail is very fine the fall above 200 feet — Many Roman antiquities have been found near [to] Moffat The most remarkable was a Roman Gold Ring with a stone in it Mr McDonald surgeon at Moffat had it — the piece of Gold here mention'd belongs to Dr Walker⁴⁰ professor of Natural History at Edinburgh I have the Head of a Roman Haft [] & some Beads found near this place —

A woolen manufacture is new begun —

I am now happy to observe, that I dedicated [A] Day in July 1793 to wait upon a number of the Tweedale gentlemen, who at my request attended, and laid off a fine level line of Road, from The Top of Tweeds Cross to Crook: along the Riverside Different from what had been projected by Sir James Naesmith,⁴¹ who wished to carry it off the Tweed side —

A particular description of the fine Villa of Dumcrief should have been given. It was laid out by Sir George Clerk Bart and is a most beautiful place indeed not three miles from Moffat —

Rev. Brown writing about antiquities of the parish mentions the Roman encampments and road, also 'A piece of gold was found, a few years ago, in a moss not far from the road, part of some military ornament, marked with the number of the legion to which it belonged.' His account about the road to Edinburgh states 'A mail-coach from Dumfries to Edinburgh was lately set on foot, but has been given up. When that road is completely repaired, it will probably be re-established.'

Glencairn parish report on pages 339–344, was written in 1790–1791 by Rev. William Grierson (1733–1803), incumbent of Glencairn from 1774 until his death in 1803.

Riddell's addenda:

In a M: S: volm In the Collection of Glenriddell — Entitled the Antiquities and Topography of Nithsdale are the following drawings of places in this Parish. Viz — of Maxwellton the seat of Sir Robt Lawrie — of Craighdarroch the seat of Alexr Fergusson Esqr — of the old fortalice of Jerbrugh⁴² — Ingleston Moat — The old

40 John Walker (1731–1803), distinguished natural historian and minister of the Church of Scotland.

41 Sir James Naesmyth of Posso.

42 Jarbruck.

Silver font of Dundrennan abbey now used as a Punch bowl —

In volm 12th of Glenriddell's M: S: Collections is a view of the Moat at Castlefairn. Drawings of the old stone at Dardarroch — of the Connach stone at Craigdarroch — of some old sealls there — Capt Grose Published a view of the Bow butts, or Moat at Ingleston — In the Xth volm of the Archaeologia is a plate of the old stone at Dardarroch — In volm VIIth of Glenriddell's Collections is some account of the Parish —

A more erroneous calculation never was made than in the Real rent of this Parish. In place of nine thowsand — It would not let for more than four thowsand — and a fair rent that would be. The village of Monniehive Labours under a great disadvantage — The scarcity and dearth of fine Peat is hardly to be get and the road to Sanquhar very bad —

In The Antiquities and Topography of Nithsdale, in Glenriddell's Collections Is an account accompanied with a ground plan of Loch Urr, or Loch Orr — It also has a plan of the ancient fortification in the Island — with one of the Peninsula called the White Island — evidently Roman — and the [order] of Antoninus.

Rev. Grierson's account of the antiquities of the parish mentions 'There is a mount, commonly called a Moat, about half a mile from the church, very steep, and of considerable height, occupying about an acre of ground, and evidently made by art. It is of an oblong form, with an earthen turret at each end, having a deep trench on the inside of each turret. One of these turrets, and the base of the mount, in that part, are a good deal impaired, through time, by a rivulet.' He dismisses the superstitious traditions about its purpose and considers that it was intended to be a watch tower or a place for archery. Regarding the rent of the parish he says 'As several of the heritors possess their own lands, it is difficult to ascertain the real rent; but it is believed to amount to between L.8000 and L.9000 sterling.' Of Loch-Orr, he describes its location and states it is '... about 3 English miles round. It is 9 fathoms at the deepest, and surrounds a small island, where there are the remains of a stone wall, which appears to have been originally of great strength, and contains within it several apartments now in ruins. ... At the extremity of the loch, there is a peninsula cut by a deep trench.'

The Kirkcudbrightshire parishes follow as they appear in volume II,⁴³ accompanied by a transcription of Riddell's addenda and some details of each report.⁴⁴

Lochrutton parish report on pages 36–45, was written in 1790 by Rev George Duncan (1738–1807), incumbent of Lochrutton from 1766 until his death in 1807.

Riddell's addenda:

In the wardrobe keeper's acct. of Edward Ist Published by the Ant: Society of London — Mention is there made of the chapel of Loghroieton, where he made

43 All the parish reports for Kirkcudbrightshire and Wigtownshire appear in a reissue of *The Statistical Account of Scotland* vol.V. General Editors Donald J. Withrington, Ian R. Grant, EP Publishing Limited, 1983. ISBN 0715810057.

44 A blank line in the text indicates a new page.

an offering on the High altar of the chapel when on his way from Caerlaverock to Kirkcudbright — as no road then existed from Ireland to London this foolish derivation of the name of the parish falls to the ground — The Island (apparently artificial) in the Loch had been a fastness, where in their last extremity the Inhabitants of the Castle had fled to, and carried their valuable effects in their currach's —

It is extremely wrong in the proprietors of the Merkland well — not to make the proper accommodation for Invalids, who require the benefit of these usefull waters — Or were they to grant long leases, or give proper encouragement to their tenants. Houses would be built to accommodate the numerous herd of Invalids who would resort to this excellent water —

Mr Grose has engraved in his work Hills Castle, in this parish — Here has been the situation of the ancient Castle of Loghroieton, one of the many fastnesses of the Regulii of Galloway — and Here Edward Ist Halted, on his way to Kirkcudbright, as appears from the wardrobe book formerly mentioned —

The present Castle was built by Lord Maxwell when Lord warden of the Marches — as appears from his arms as Lord warden, in many places of the Buildings yet to be seen —

This parish has derived very great advantage, from the great Military road from Ireland to England passing through it —

Rev. Duncan's interpretation of the origins of the parish name is 'The meaning of *loch* is well known, and the word *rutton* is supposed to signify, in the Gaelic language, the *straight road*. As the great road to Ireland, through the Stewartry and the county of Galloway, passes close by the loch, it seems to have received the name *Lochrutton*.' On the island on the loch he states 'In the middle of it, there is a small island, about half a rood in extent, of a circular form. It seems to have been, at least in part, artificial: Over its whole surface, there is a collection of large stones which have been founded on a frame of oak planks.' His comment regarding the Mineral spring is 'though the accommodation is much improved, this improvement has by no means kept pace with the luxury of the times.' With reference to Hills Castle he says 'One tower remains yet entire, and is mentioned in a Scots chronicle, published in the reign of James VI by the name of the Castle of Hills. The arc abefore the entrance is inclosed, and, over the gate, a porter's lodge was erected. When this tower was built is uncertain; but, upon a corner stone of the lodge, which seems to be of a more modern construction, the year 1598 is inscribed.'

New Abbey parish report on pages 125–140, was written in 1790 by Rev. William Wright (1741–1819) incumbent of New Abbey from 1769 until his death in 1819.

Riddell's addenda:

summit of the mountain 1895 say 1900 feet in round numbers — and Knockendowach,⁴⁵ or the north wing of the mountain 1500 feet above high water

45 Knockendoch.

mark. I adjusted the Level before observation — For by an Experiment I found that it pointed Two feet, too low, in every hundred yards [] I am Sir Yours []
 signed William McCartney

Rev. Wright comments on the mountains of the parish: ‘Criffell, in particular, has a grand appearance, rising about 2000 feet above the level of the sea, from whence it is a mile distant.’

Kirkpatrick Durham parish report on pages 249–261, was written in 1790–1791 by Rev. Dr David Lamont (1753–1837), incumbent of Kirkpatrick Durham from 1774 until his death in 1837.

Riddell’s addenda:

This Derivation of the word Durham I consider as very whimsical indeed — Might not a Monk from Durham have consecrated this church originally to St Patrick —

The antiquities here mention’d seem sepulchral Alexr Copland,⁴⁶ Esqr of Kings Grange in this neighbourhood — Read me a paper He means to send to the Literary & Philosophical Society of Manchester, on the ancient Sepulchers in this part of Galloway — I think he throws considerable light on the subject.

[Rev] Dr Lamont had said the mode of Rural economy practised in this Parish, is similar to that in the neighbouring parish of Crossmichael, described in Volm first — He would have convey’d a clearer idea — than by the mode he has adopted —

A Seceders Meeting house is in the neighbouring Parish of Urr — and a Cameronian field Meeting also —

Rev. Lamont’s comments on the origin of Durham are ‘most probably it is derived from the Saxon words, *Durr*; which signifies, dry or barren, — and *Ham*, which denotes, a village, or the division of a manor.’ On antiquities he says ‘there are visible remains of circular walls and mounds, of artificial construction. — Some think, that they have been Roman fortifications, and others, that they have been Druidical temples: But the general opinion is, that they have been Danish encampments.’

The Wigtownshire parishes follow as they appear in volume II, accompanied by a transcription of Riddell’s addenda and some details of each report.

Kirkcolm parish report on pages 46–50, was written in 1791 by Rev. James McCulloch (1711–1794), incumbent of Kirkcolm from 1745 until his death in 1794.

Riddell’s addenda:

He should have said whether the gun found was iron or Brass.

Rev. McCulloch on the antiquities of the parish, stated the only antiquity in the parish was a large old ruined building and ‘... in digging among the ruins some months ago, a

46 *An Account of an ancient Mode of Sepulture in Scotland* by Alexander Copland, read by Dr Percival at the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society meeting on 30 November 1792. Published ser.1, vol.IV, part I, pp.217–234.

small cannon was found, seven feet long, and about three inches in the bore.’

Stonykirk parish report on pages 51–56, was written in 1790–1791 by Rev. Henry Blain (1748–1817), incumbent of Stonykirk from 1782 until his death in 1817.

Riddell’s addenda:

He should say Mr McDowal of Garthland This very ancient family is the chief of that in name — and is Derived from Thomas Mac: du Allan the son of the Black Allan, who was the Last of the ancient Regulii of Galloway and who left 3 daughters — and a Bastard son Thomas Mac du allan — vid the IX volm of the Archaeologia

The 3 Earthen mounds Here mentioned have been Court Hills — It was the Custom of the Celtic Nations at certain stated periods, to promulgate their laws to the People, from these eminences: Which is still done at the Isle of Man from The Tinwald

The Tower at Garthland should be engraved, as its antiquity is unquestionable — The Two fold antiquities should have been more particularly mention’d — Garthland himself described them to me I take them to be the nubs at the horns of the Druidical Crescent.

Rev. Blain writing about the proprietors of the parish says ‘In the parish there are five heritors; the two most considerable of whom reside in it.’ On the antiquities in the parish he wrote ‘there are three beautiful earthen mounds, formed like a sugar loaf. The most remarkable of them, near Balgreggan-house, is 460 feet in circumference, at the base, the perpendicular height 60 feet; and there is a curious excavation on the top. ... On the lands of Garthland, is a square tower, 45 feet high, with the date 1274 on the battlements, formerly the residence of the Thanes of Galloway. ... On the lands of Ardwell, are some remains of druid temples, and Pictish castles.’

Riddell’s addenda to the remaining parish reports record his interest in Scottish music, historical anecdotes of Scottish music, history, local customs, and agriculture. His observations about some aspects of the Clergy’s comments on the following parish accounts have been included as they make reference to this area.

Galston Ayrshire, account by Rev. George Smith — ‘The second day after the marriage, a *creeling*,⁴⁷ as it is called, takes place. The young wedded pair, with their friends, assemble in a convenient spot. A small creel or basket is prepared for the occasion, into which, they put some stones: The young men carry it alternately, and allow themselves to be caught by the maidens, who have a kiss when they succeed. After a great deal of innocent mirth, and pleasantry, the creel falls at length to the young husband’s share, who is obliged to carry it generally for a long time, none of the young women having compassion upon him. At last, his fair mate, kindly relieves him from his burden; and her complaisance, in this particular, is considered as a proof of her satisfaction with the choice she has made. The creel goes round again; more merriment succeeds, and all the company dine together.’

47 There are variations of this custom; it is supposed to signify that a good wife could relieve a husband of the cares a marriage entails.

Riddell's addenda:

I much wish that the Clergy had paid more attention to Local Customs than in general they have done in their parishes — I am much pleased with Mr Smith in this respect — Creeling was used in Galloway at weddings I myself have seen it there. In the Poem of Christ's Kirk on the Green this custom is humourously described —

Kinnell Angus, account by Rev. Chaplin, regarding a mound of earth recently opened — 'There was also an urn, containing burnt human bones. The outside of it was ornamented clay, and the inside charcoal.'

Riddell's addenda:

I formerly observed that Dr Copland of Dumfries has wrote a paper, which throwes light on the Burning of the dead.⁴⁸

Kilmarnock Ayrshire, account by Rev. James Mackinlay and Rev. John Robertson — 'But there is a mode of thatching with straw and mortar, introduced into the neighbourhood of Kilmarnock, about 22 years ago, in consequence of a receipt given by the late Mr Macdowal of Garthland, which is, in many respects, preferable to every other, for the northern parts of the island. — The thatching is carried on in the usual manner; only mortar, very well prepared, and mixed with cut straw, is thinly spread over the strata of thatch, with a large trowel made for the purpose. One expert thatcher will require two men to serve him with straw, one to prepare the mortar, and a fourth to carry it up. If the work is properly done, it will make a covering which will last 40 or 50 years; and, when it begins to fail, it can easily be repaired. Sometimes clay is used instead of mortar, and answers nearly as well. As it makes a most excellent roof, the timbers ought to be good, and the spars straight, and neatly put on, that there may be no heights and hollows in it. Such a roof will stand in the most exposed situation, against the most violent winds; gives no shelter to vermin; is not near so much in danger of fire; and though a little more expensive at first than the common thatch, yet does much more than compensate for that circumstance, by its being so extremely durable.'

Riddell's addenda:

This description of thatching with straw and mortar, is very worthy to be universally known. And Garthland's name as the introducer of it — deserves to be long held in Remembrance

Riddell's addenda of volume II of the Statistical Account of Scotland has revealed his interest, opinions and associates. His references to additional sources of information has added much to the topics covered in this volume of Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland.

48 *On the Combustion of Dead Bodies, as formerly practised in Scotland* by Alexander Copland, Dumfries. Read at the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society meeting 4 October 1793. Published by the Society ser. I, vol. IV, part II, pp.330–345. (A sequel to his paper read on 30 November 1792, see footnote 46.)

Appendix 1

Robert Riddell's Known Manuscript Collections and Places of Deposit.

Volume II	National Museums of Scotland Library, ref. SAS MS 581
Volume III	National Museums of Scotland Library, ref. SAS MS 582
Volume IV	National Museums of Scotland Library, ref. SAS MS 583
Volume VI	National Museums of Scotland Library, ref. SAS MS 584
Volume VII	National Museums of Scotland Library, ref. SAS MS 585
Volume VIII	National Museums of Scotland Library, ref. SAS MS 586
Volume IX	National Museums of Scotland Library, ref. SAS MS 587
Volume XI	National Museums of Scotland Library, ref. SAS MS 588
Volume XIII	Dumfries Museum, ref. DUMFM 0203.2

Antiquities & Topography of Nithsdale, Society of Antiquaries of London, ref. MS/117.

Appendix 2

Riddell's Publications in the Society of Antiquaries of London Journal Archaeologia

An Account of the Ancient Lordship of Galloway, from the earliest period to the year 1455, when it was annexed to the Crown of Scotland, by Robert Riddell, F.A.S. of Glenriddell Esq. Read at the Society of Antiquaries meeting 15 November 1787 and published ser.1, vol.IX, pp.49–60.

Remarks on the Title of Thane and Abthane, by Robert Riddell, F.A.S. Read at the Society of Antiquaries, 8 January 1789 and published ser.1, vol.IX, pp.329–331.

An Account of the Ancient Modes of Fortification in Scotland, by Robert Riddell, Esq. F.A.S. Read at the Society of Antiquaries meeting 4 February 1790 and published ser.1, vol.X, pp.99–104.

Observations on Vitrified Fortifications in Galloway, by Robert Riddell, F.A.S. published ser.1, vol.X, pp.147–150.

A Description of Various Pieces of Antiquity, discovered principally in the Shire of Dumfries, with a plate by Robert Riddell, F.A.S. published ser.1, vol.X, pp.478–482.

Some Account of a Symbol of Ancient Investiture (a small silver sword), with figures, by Robert Riddell, F.A.S. published ser.1, vol. XI, pp.45–47.

An Account of a Brass Vessel, discovered near Dumfries, in 1790, with a plate, by Robert Riddell, F.A.S. published ser.1, vol.XI, p.105.

Notices of Fonts in Scotland, with plate, by Robert Riddell, F.A.S. published ser.1, vol.XI, pp.106–107.

Riddell's Publications in the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society Proceedings

An Account of the Ancient Lordship of Galloway, from the earliest period to the year 1455, when it was annexed to the Crown of Scotland, with figures of Armorial Bearings, by Robert Riddell

of Glenriddell Esq. Read at the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society meeting 15 November 1789 and published ser.1, vol.IV, pp.49–60.

*A Dissertation upon the Ancient Carved Stone Monuments in Scotland, with a particular Account of one in Dumfriesshire*⁴⁹. By Robert Riddell of Glenriddell Esq. Captain of an Independent Company of Foot, F.A.S. and Member of Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester. Read at the Society meeting 2 December 1791 and published ser.1 vol.IV, pp.131–134.

In Riddell's *Commonplace Book*⁵⁰ there is a list of his letters etc. published in the *Gentleman's Magazine*.

Resources

Robert Riddell of Glenriddell His Life, Ancestry and Works, edited by Hugh S. Gladstone, 1914, final proof copy. Dumfries and Galloway Archive Centre, Ewart Library, Dumfries, ref. EGD22/1–3.

Robert Burns and the Riddell Family, J. Maxwell Wood, publisher Robert Dinwiddie, Dumfries, 1922.

Addenda to the Statistical Account of Dumfriesshire and Galloway written at the end of the Eighteenth Century by Capt. Robert Riddell LLD., F.S.A.(Scot.). Hugh S Gladstone, publisher Thos. Hunter, Watson & Co. Ltd., Dumfries 1913.

Burns in Dumfriesshire, by William McDowall, publisher Adam and Charles Black, Edinburgh 1881.

The Dumfries Weekly Journal 1777–1833. Dumfries and Galloway Archive Centre, Ewart Library, Dumfries.

The Book of Kirkpatrick Durham by Rev. William A. Stark, F.S.A. (Scot) 1903, publisher Adam Rae, Castle Douglas.

TDGNHAS, people, places and artefacts covered in this paper and previously published up to and including volume 83, as articles or reports of field meetings can be accessed on line, <www.dgnhas.org.uk>.

TDGNHAS ser.III, vol.84, pp.175–196, 'Joseph Train, Antiquarianism and the Statistical Accounts of Scotland and Man' by Ian Hill.

Dumfries and Galloway Standard and Advertiser 10 April 1897, *Riddell's of Glenriddell* by William Dickie. (p.4, col.b), Dumfries and Galloway Archive Centre, Ewart Library, Dumfries.

Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae, volume II by Hew Scott, D.D., publisher Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh, 1917.

History of the Parish of Kirkmahoe by Rev. David Hogg (manuscript), Dumfries and Galloway Archive Centre, Ewart Library, Dumfries, ref. GGD245/1.

History of Kirkmahoe by Cameron Smith, manuscript. Dumfries and Galloway Archive Centre, Ewart Library, Dumfries, ref. file 15, Klon Drawer 3/2/.

University College London, Special Collections, Gower Street, London.

The Carlyle Letters Online [CLO]. Ed. Brent E. Kinsler, Duke UP, <www.carlyleletters.org>.

49 On the banks of the river Nith, Thornhill, includes drawing.

50 *Commonplace Book of Robert Riddell of Glenriddell*, Dumfries and Galloway Archive Centre, Ewart Library, Dumfries, ref. GGD125.

Dictionary of the Scots Language.

Le Cren Collection, Dumfries and Galloway Archive Centre, Ewart Library, Dumfries, ref. GGD66/1/2/1–6.

Commonplace Book of Robert Riddell of Glenriddell, Dumfries and Galloway Archive Centre, Ewart Library, Dumfries, ref. GGD125.

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CO-OPERATION IN 1870S DUMFRIES: THE EXPERIENCE OF THE DUMFRIES AND MAXWELLTOWN CO-OPERATIVE PROVISION SOCIETY

Ian Gasse¹



Figure 1. A Dumfries and Maxwelltown Co-operative Society delivery van c. 1905.
Courtesy of the National Co-operative Archive.

This article seeks to provide a narrative of the development of the Dumfries and Maxwelltown Co-operative Provision Society (DMCPS) during the 1870s through a detailed reading of the first of the extant minute books of the society held at Dumfries and Galloway Archives, and covering the period from June 1870 to December 1879. Co-operative societies developed in Scotland from the late eighteenth century onwards as attempts by groups of working people to provide good-quality food supplies for themselves at affordable prices. The article shows that, during the 1870s, DMCPS experienced sustained growth in its trading activities, consolidated its membership and moved to enlarged premises. First established in 1847, more than twenty years before the Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society, DMCPS survived and prospered in the 1870s at a time when Dumfries itself was enjoying a period of increased prosperity. The article considers this growth in some detail and attempts to place the experience of DMCPS within the wider contexts of Victorian social and economic development, and the contemporary growth of both Dumfries and the wider co-operative movement in Scotland and Britain as a whole.

¹ 10 Lovers Walk, Dumfries, DG1 1LP.

Introduction

By the 1870s the ‘heroic’ phase of struggle for the co-operative movement in Britain — for survival, acceptance and recognition — was substantially complete. Industrial and Provident Society Acts had been passed in 1852 and 1862, giving co-operatives formal legal status, fiscal protection, limited liability and the opportunity to federate. The Rochdale ‘Pioneers’ had by the 1870s a membership of over 5,500, annual sales of almost a quarter of a million pounds and a surplus (profits and interest) of over £25,000.² The English Co-operative Wholesale Society (CWS) had been established in 1863, the Scottish CWS in 1868 and the Co-operative Union — the movement’s organizational fulcrum — in 1869. What is more, the mid-Victorian British economy, from 1850 onwards, enjoyed a period of sustained prosperity, enabling those members of the working class in regular and secure employment to experience a notable improvement in their standard of living. Indeed, some of them even gained the vote through the 1867 Reform Act.³

There were, however, those in the working-class movement who had mixed feelings about these changes as they affected working-class political attitudes, amongst them the Chartist Thomas Cooper, who famously observed in his 1872 autobiography:

In our old Chartist times ... Lancashire working men were in rags by [the] thousands; and many of them often lacked food. But their intelligence was demonstrated wherever you went. You would see them in groups discussing the great doctrine of political justice — that every grown-up sane man ought to have a vote in the election of the men who were to make laws by which he was to be governed; or they were in earnest dispute respecting the teachings of Socialism. Now, you will see no such groups in Lancashire. But you will hear well-dressed working men talking, as they walk with their hands in their pockets, of ‘Co-ops’ and their shares in them, or in building societies.⁴

Although Cooper’s dismay is palpable, the co-operative movement had been established, along with the trade unions and the friendly societies, as one of the ways working-class people might protect themselves from early nineteenth-century ‘laissez-faire’ capitalism, and, in the Chartist years, consumer co-operatives, such as those in Hawick, Galashiels and Dumfries,⁵ were founded in whole or in part by Chartists as a means of evading the established capitalist order.⁶

2 See G.D.H. Cole, *A Century of Co-operation*, The Rochdale Pioneers’ Progress 1844–1880, Manchester, 1944, p.81; for a sense of the value of money in the 1870s it is necessary to multiply the contemporary figures from that decade by about 110 to reflect present-day amounts (see <www.bankofengland.co.uk/education/>).

3 In his *History of the Burgh of Dumfries*, Dumfries, 1867 (revised 1872, 1906 and reprinted in 1986), William McDowall notes that ‘1867 ... opened in Dumfries with a political demonstration by the working classes on a great scale, consisting of a grand procession, in which 1,200 persons took part’. He also notes that the 1867 reform raised the local parliamentary electorate from 698 to 1440, p.833.

4 Thomas Cooper, *The Life of Thomas Cooper, written by himself* (1872), chapter XXXV.

5 The Hawick Society, formed in 1839, initially called itself ‘The Chartist Store’; Cole, *Century*, p.149.

6 Early Chartism was often concerned with what it called ‘exclusive dealing’, i.e. trading only with shopkeepers sympathetic to the democratic cause, see Peter Gurney, *Co-operative Culture and the Politics of Consumption in England 1870–1930*, Manchester, 1996, pp.14–15.

What we know of the Chartist origins of the Dumfries and Maxwelltown Co-operative Provision Society (henceforth DMCPs) is currently traceable only through the person of the society's second president, Andrew Wardrop, who was one of Dumfries's leading Chartists, as well as sometime secretary of the Dumfries Working Men's Association.⁷ The society was founded in 1847 but the extant minutes commence only in 1870 and the sole reference in them to Wardrop is a note indicating his replacement as the named person on the society's fire insurance policy in that year (he had died in 1869).

However, a report in the *Dumfries and Galloway Standard and Advertiser* in December 1852 highlights a decision by DMCPs to establish a bakery as part of its grocery business.⁸ And, in a letter — entitled 'Price of Bread' — to the same newspaper in October 1853, Andrew Wardrop, as chairman, was defending the society from criticism by a local baker, by identifying its concern to provide a 4lb loaf at a price of 6d, when local bakers had 'passed a resolution to raise [it] to 7d'.⁹

Indeed, it could be argued that the society's more radical beginnings are reflected in its official object, as reprinted in the 1901 rule book, an object which may well have been conceived at the time of the society's formation. This was:

to carry on the trade of dealers in food, clothing, and other necessaries, by productive and distributive Co-operation in these branches; to purchase or erect premises and machinery for their business and likewise to lease and purchase land to erect dwelling houses thereon for its members.¹⁰

The wide remit here, embracing the provision of housing alongside retail premises, and the reference to 'productive ... Co-operation', i.e. the potential to manufacture goods, suggests an overarching holistic approach — perhaps taken from the Rochdale model — and a larger ambition than just shop-keeping, important as that was. Furthermore, Rule 9 of the society's 32 rules covered 'Cases of Distress' and stated that 'A member being in distress may withdraw any sum he may have in the funds of the Society above £2.10s, at the discretion of the Board of Management', clearly reflecting a recognition of the intrinsic insecurity of working-class life throughout the nineteenth century.

These elements suggest the society may have had its more 'heroic' period during the late 1840s and early 1850s, as it endeavoured to become established in the town and secure both a solid membership and a regular and loyal clientele. At present, however, detailed material about that period of the society's history has yet to be discovered.

Co-operation in Scotland

Co-operation in Scotland developed in the late eighteenth century, with the Fenwick

7 See W. Hamish Fraser, *Chartism in Scotland*, Pontypool, 2010; Wardrop's Chartist activities are also reported in Alexander Wilson's *The Chartist Movement in Scotland*, Manchester, 1970, and, in more detail, in 'Chartism in Dumfries 1830–50', by Colin Troup, in *TDGNHAS*, ser.III, vol.56 (1981), pp.100–107.

8 See 'Co-Operative Provision Society' in *Dumfries and Galloway Standard and Advertiser*, Wednesday, 22 December 1852, p.4, col.4.

9 See 'Price of Bread' in *Dumfries and Galloway Standard and Advertiser*, Wednesday, 5 October 1853, p.1, col.7.

10 See *Rules of the Dumfries and Maxwelltown Co-operative Society Ltd*, Dumfries, 1901.

Weavers' Society famously identified as the first Scottish co-operative. Several societies emerged, mainly in and around Glasgow, in the early nineteenth century but, as Kinloch and Butt note, 'the mortality rate was high and very few survived for long'.¹¹ According to these authors, it was the 1860s before 'the formation and registration of societies became widespread', after the passing of the 1852 Industrial and Provident Society Act, which provided societies with some legal protection.¹²

Given this general history of the movement in Scotland, one might have expected rather more to have been made of DMCPs, founded as it was in 1847, but it seems the society was little known outside its immediate locality, perhaps because it failed to trade with or invest in the Scottish CWS. It is interesting to note that in its 1901 rule book the society is shown as having 'registered' in September 1884, despite its much earlier foundation. Kinloch and Butt note that Scottish societies often did not formally register until many years after their foundation, citing Bridgton Old Victualling Society, which though established in 1800, did not register until 1865.¹³ DMCPs may well have been a similar case. Certainly, it did not feature in a list of co-operative societies held by the Registrar of Friendly Societies in 1867.¹⁴

Be that as it may, by 1867 there were 134 co-operative societies in Scotland, with a total membership of 26,254 people, total annual sales of £801,110 and a total annual profit of £56,001.¹⁵ And, indeed, the spread of the 'co-operative idea' appears to have gathered momentum in south-west Scotland from the 1860s onwards.¹⁶ A Dalbeattie Co-operative Society was established in the early 1860s, and a Dumfries and Maxwelltown Equitable Co-operative Society in late 1861, though the latter, despite having over 200 members by June 1862, appears not to have endured for long or left much trace of its activities.¹⁷ However, over the next few years, the *Dumfries and Galloway Standard* reported on the activities

11 See James Kinloch and John Butt, *History of the Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society Limited*, Glasgow, 1981, p.1.

12 Kinloch and Butt, *Scottish CWS*, p.2.

13 Kinloch and Butt, *Scottish CWS*, p.2.

14 See William Maxwell, *History of Co-operation in Scotland*, Glasgow, 1910, pp.221–223.

15 See *First Scottish Co-operative Survey Report* in Kinloch and Butt, *Scottish CWS*, p.37; by 1881 there were 971 distributive societies in Britain as a whole and well over half a million members — Gurney, *Co-operative Culture*, p.18.

16 The *First Scottish Co-operative Survey Report* in 1867, undertaken prior to the establishment of the Scottish CWS in 1868, identifies two co-operative societies in Dumfriesshire (possibly DMCPs but more likely the Dumfries and Maxwelltown Equitable Co-operative Society, which was better at making itself known, plus the Moffat-based Upper Annandale society) and one in Kirkcudbrightshire (the Dalbeattie society); Kinloch and Butt, *Scottish CWS*, p.37.

17 Reports of this society's quarterly meetings appear in *The Co-operator* in December 1861 and March and June 1862. It claimed to have formed in April 1861, on the 'Rochdale Principles', and opened a shop in July of that year. By its third quarterly meeting it reported quarterly sales of £1872-16-3 and numbered cabinet-makers, an engine driver, a printer, a tanner, a writer — and even a town clerk — amongst its trustees and committee members. The society is also listed in a return for Scottish co-operative societies by the Registrar of Friendly Societies as having, in 1866, property valued at £217-0-0, stock worth £248-0-0 and profits of £53-0-0. Further details about this society are, at the time of writing, unknown but for the Registrar of Friendly Societies' list, see Maxwell, *Co-operation in Scotland*, p.222.

of an Annan Co-operative Society,¹⁸ a Dumfries Co-operative Meat Supplying Society, a Stranraer Co-operative Bakery Company and a Langholm Co-operative Store Society. And in 1871 the Duke of Buccleuch ‘gave’ the village store in the lead-mining community of Wanlockhead to the local workers who quickly converted it into a co-operative society.¹⁹ Ten years later, in 1881, a Queen of the South Co-operative Society was also established in Dumfries, subsequently merging with DMCPs in 1892.²⁰

Despite these developments, local shopkeepers could often be hostile to what they judged the unfair competition of co-operative societies because of the ‘dividend’. As we shall see, property owners, bakers and coal agents in Dumfries were often unsympathetic to DMCPs, refusing to allow the society to rent premises and engaging in price wars over the sale of bread and coal. Somewhat later, in the mid-1880s, the national *Co-operative News* reported on attempts by private traders in Scotland to organize boycotts of co-operatives by wholesalers and this was followed by a wider newspaper campaign against co-operation in general.²¹

Summing up this difficulty, Wilson, Webster and Vorberg-Rugh report that ‘[t]here is a substantial body of evidence from a range of co-operative society records that care was taken to ensure that local wholesalers would enjoy reliable custom’ with co-operative societies, and, referring to a study of north-east England co-operatives, note that societies ‘were careful to spread their purchases across a range of favoured suppliers ... [to] promot[e] the acceptance by these suppliers of co-operatives as a legitimate section of the local business community’.²²

The supply of goods to DMCPs appears to have followed this pattern, with a range of both local and national suppliers. Bacon was purchased locally in Dumfries, Maxwelltown and nearby Collin; biscuits in Kirkcudbright; butter in Canonbie; cheese in New Cumnock; flour and lard in Dumfries; oatmeal in Old Bridge of Urr and Maxwelltown; and tobacco in Dumfries. But these and other goods were also sourced from suppliers as far afield as Edinburgh, Glasgow, Kilmarnock, Leith, London and Whitehaven — all, of course, made possible by the expansion of the railway network from the 1840s onwards.

However, no mention is made in the DMCPs minutes of the 1870s of the Scottish CWS as a supplier of goods, and, according to William Maxwell’s *History of Co-operation in Scotland*, DMCPs took no part in the activities leading up to the formation of the Scottish CWS in 1868.²³ Indeed, DMCPs does not feature anywhere in Maxwell’s general survey

18 This is not the Moffat-based Upper Annandale society, listed in the 1867 survey reproduced in Kinloch and Butt, *Scottish CWS*, p.37.

19 See Alex F. Young, *Old Wanlockhead*, Catrine, 2010, p.8.

20 Why there should have been three distributive co-operative societies in Dumfries during this period is unclear. It may (or may not) indicate some level of dissatisfaction with DMCPs amongst both members and customers. But it does suggest that co-operation was, at least in some sense, ‘popular’ in Dumfries.

21 See John F. Wilson, Anthony Webster and Rachael Vorberg-Rugh, *Building Co-operation: A Business History of The Co-operative Group 1863–2013*, Oxford, 2013, p.60.

22 Wilson, Webster and Vorberg-Rugh, *Building Co-operation*, p.61.

23 Maxwell, *Co-operation in Scotland*, chapters XXIX–XXXI; whereas DMCPs made no investment in the Scottish CWS during the 1870s, the Queen of the South Co-operative Society

of Scottish co-operation, other than the appendix, where it is listed amongst the societies active in 1886 and 1909, even though much of Maxwell's book is made up of brief histories of local societies from the 1840s onwards. One can only conclude that the society had a low profile nationally before the middle 1880s, when it officially registered.

Dumfries in the Mid-Nineteenth Century

From the middle of the nineteenth century the town of Dumfries experienced substantial development, acquiring a more mixed economy, with a larger manufacturing base to augment its roles as administrative centre and trading and market town. The town's population, including Maxwelltown,²⁴ rose during the second half of the century from 13,299 in 1841 to 14,927 in 1851, 15,912 in 1861, 17,908 in 1871, 20,214 in 1881, and to 21,653 in 1891.²⁵ In his *History of the Burgh of Dumfries*, William McDowall identified the abolition of the close burgh system, the repeal of the Corn Laws, the construction of the railways, and the establishment of the tweed trade as the four key elements encouraging the town's growth at this time. 'Few towns in Scotland have gone forward during the last thirty-five years with such a gigantic stride,' he concluded, 'and its steps in advance have been especially remarkable in the latter half of that period.'²⁶

The condition of Dumfries in the 1840s — and of its working people — appears to have been in need of some improvement. About 5% of the town's population was in receipt of poor relief²⁷ and, according to Cole and Postgate,²⁸ in the 1840s one in every eleven Dumfries residents was dying from cholera, and there were only 12 bakers' shops in the town, compared to 79 whisky shops. Moreover, in the mid-nineteenth century, '[t]he diet of the [Dumfries] poor consisted mainly of potatoes, porridge, oatcakes, milk and salt herring',²⁹ with 'water supplies ... unreliable and tea still too expensive'.³⁰ It is therefore perhaps no accident that DMCPS was established as early as 1847 — to address some of the very real dietary needs of the town's working-class population. McDowall confirms the society's formation in that year, indicating there were initially 350 shareholders, a subscribed capital of £445-5-0 and average weekly takings of £242.³¹

seems to have done so almost from the outset; see *Queen of the South Co-operative Society Minutes, 1882–1892*, at D&G Archives.

- 24 The town of Dumfries was in the extreme west of Dumfriesshire and the River Nith formed the boundary with Kirkcudbrightshire. Maxwelltown had developed on the west bank of the Nith, i.e. in Kirkcudbrightshire, but formed part of 'greater' Dumfries.
- 25 Figures (kindly supplied by Mr Graham Roberts of D&G Archives) are from *Groome's Gazetteer*, c.1895, supplemented by the *Vision of Britain* website.
- 26 McDowall, *Dumfries*, p.852.
- 27 See *The Statistical Account of Dumfriesshire*, Edinburgh, 1841, p.26.
- 28 See G.D.H. Cole and Raymond Postgate, *The Common People 1746–1946*, London, 1987 (1938), p.307.
- 29 See Jane Donaldson, 'Mid Nineteenth Century Poverty in Dumfries', in *TDGNHAS*, ser.III, vol.53 (1978), pp.147–156.
- 30 See R.M. Urquhart, *The Burghs of Scotland and the Burgh Police (Scotland) Act 1833*, Motherwell, 1989, p.4.
- 31 McDowall, *Dumfries*, p.850.

One of the harbingers of Britain's nineteenth-century economic expansion was, of course, the railway network, which reached Dumfries in August 1848, with the opening of the Glasgow and South Western Railway Company line to Gretna. The opening of the same company's line to Glasgow followed in September 1850, with lines to Castle Douglas and Stranraer in late 1859 and the Caledonian Railway Company's line to Lockerbie and the west coast main line in September 1863. Together these provided the transportation links to allow the geographical area of trade for Dumfries retailers to undergo significant expansion.

By the early 1870s, there was, according to McDowall,³² other evidence of Dumfries's prosperity. In 1871 there were woollen mills at Kingholm, St Michael Street and Troqueer (employing over 1100 people in total)³³ — though they seem to have been subject to fairly combative industrial relations at this time, with twelve woollen strikes in the town between 1870 and 1880.³⁴ McDowall also identified the various crafts employing skilled workmen — the metal trades (446 craftsmen), clothing and shoe manufacture (230 craftsmen) and the leather industry (96 craftsmen), and he noted there were still 'numerous weavers of hosiery and woollen cloth'. In the field of commerce, there were in 1872 eight commercial banks with branches in Dumfries, a savings bank and a benefit and building society.

Some of the visual evidence of the town's growth was to be seen in new housing development and McDowall notes that '[s]everal ranges of neat two-storey houses, about sixty in number, have been lately formed in the nursery ground, south of Queen Street, supplying accommodation to middle-class families', though he goes on to note that working-class housing was not being provided: '[W]e search in vain for extensive cottagerows suited for the operative classes not a few of whom, in the absence of such, are forced to reside in mere hovels, of which there are still too many throughout the burgh.'³⁵

However, McDowall's overall view was that Dumfries remained 'capital of an extensive agricultural province drawing from it a princely revenue, which, distributed amongst its drapers, grocers, ironmongers, jewellers, bakers, confectioners, booksellers, apothecaries, and other shopkeepers or handicraftsmen ... both directly and indirectly confers great benefits on the burgh.'³⁶ We can assume that DMCPs benefited from some of this prosperity.

Co-operative Values and Governance

DMCPs was established on the so-called 'Rochdale Principles' of co-operation, which included the provision of 'only pure, unadulterated goods'. The control of the society was democratic, based on one member, one vote — irrespective of the number of shares held — and the membership was open — anyone could join irrespective of gender and religious or political beliefs. Trading was strictly on a cash basis — what the society called 'ready money' — and, technically, no credit was to be offered, though we shall see that

32 McDowall, *Dumfries*, p.791.

33 The 1841 *Statistical Account of Dumfriesshire* has hat and stocking making as Dumfries's main manufacturing activities; see *Statistical Account*, p.18.

34 See Thomas Johnston, *The History of the Working Class in Scotland*, Glasgow, 1920, p.314.

35 McDowall, *Dumfries*, p.854.

36 McDowall, *Dumfries*, p.793.

the society's coal business did offer credit, causing that part of DMCPS's activities some difficulty.³⁷ The organisation was to have no political or religious predisposition and, in theory, was to offer education for members and employees, though there is no record of DMCPS doing this in the 1870s.³⁸ The only extra-curricular activity was an annual soir e and ball, held at the turn of the year, with free tickets for the DMCPS apprentices.

The society held four general meetings a year — an AGM in September and quarterly meetings in March, June and December. As well as receiving the annual report, the AGM included the elections for the office holders and three of the six committee members for the following six months. The March quarterly meeting duly elected the office holders and committee members for the remaining six months of the year and the quarterly meetings in June and December elected three more committee members, again for periods of six months. Notice of the meetings was provided by handbills about a week in advance, and these were read out at the beginning of each meeting. Attendance was not recorded, unless a vote on some important issue was taken, such as, in 1878 and 1879, on whether or not to continue the coal business.

The office holders comprised president, vice-president, secretary, purchaser, two auditors and two stock-takers, and there was a marked degree of stability about the committee throughout the 1870s.³⁹ Committee members — and the members of the separate coal committee when it was established in 1876 — were exclusively male and were mainly drawn from the artisan or lower middle classes, with few, if any, from the unskilled labouring classes.⁴⁰ They included basket makers, blacksmiths, boot and shoe makers, clerks, cloggers, clothiers, curriers, a customs-house officer, an engine driver, joiners, masons, moulders, painters, a postmaster, saddlers, spinners and tailors.

Membership of the committee was fairly demanding, with weekly evening meetings to monitor the state of the finances, order goods and deal with other administrative matters, plus monthly stocktaking. There were additional special meetings when a particular problem arose, such as over the quality of the bread or the difficulties associated with the coal business, when staff appointments were made and what we would now call industrial relations problems arose. Attendance at all these meetings was generally good — there is only one record of an inquorate meeting — whilst, at the same time, elections to the committee were almost always contested.

The general membership of the society appears to have risen and then fallen during

37 In fact, at the December 1876 quarterly meeting, it was agreed — though only by 11 votes to 10 — to continue the practice of allowing discretionary credit to some customers.

38 A survey of co-operation in Scotland in 1886 indicates that DMCPS still spent nothing on formal education even then; Maxwell, *Co-operation in Scotland*, p.385.

39 At the 1871 annual meeting Mr James Moodie raised the question of undue influence within the society, indicating he would bring a motion to the December quarterly meeting 'that, where there is a paid member holding office in the society ... no other member of the same family be eligible to hold any other office or situation at the same time.' However, the minutes of the December meeting record no such motion being put.

40 The report to the March 1871 quarterly meeting, in referring to Dumfries trading conditions, makes reference to how committee and ordinary members would have been subject to the same conditions 'in your [i.e. their own] shops', indicating at least some were traders in their own right.

the 1870s. In the early part of the decade — September 1871 — the number of shares issued stood at 624, with 577 1st-class shares and 47 2nd-class shares. By 1876 the total had increased, following a new share issue, to 835, with 706 £2 shares, 101 £1 shares and 28 ‘old’ 2nd-class shares. The following year the figure was 826 (with 715 1st-class, 83 2nd-class and 28 3rd-class shares, the last presumably being a re-designation of the older 2nd-class category). However, by the 1879 AGM, the number of shares had fallen to 785, (with 752 1st-class, 14 2nd-class and 19 3rd-class).

Year	Dividend	Share type	Dividend	Share type	Dividend	Share type
Sept 1870	£57-8-0 574 shares	1st-class 2/- per share	£1-18-0 32 shares	2nd-class 8d per share		
Sept 1871	£173-2-0 577 shares	1st-class 6/- per share	£4-14-0 47 shares	2nd-class 2/- per share		
Sept 1872	£433-10-0 578 shares	1st-class 15/- per share	£11-15-0 47 shares	2nd-class 5/- per share		
Sept 1873	N/A	1st-class 15/- per share	N/A	2nd-class 5/- per share		
Sept 1874	£296-10-0 593 shares	1st-class 10/- per share	£5-0-0 30 shares	2nd-class 3/4 per share		
Sept 1875	£506-12-6 595 shares	1st-class 17/- per share	£8-10-0 30 shares	2nd-class 5/8 per share		
Sept 1876	£123-11-0 706 shares	£2 shares 3/6 per share	£8-16-9 101 shares	£1 shares 1/9 per share	£1-12-8 28 shares	‘Old’ 2nd-class 1/2 per share
Sept 1877	£286-0-0 715 shares	1st-class 8/- per share	£16-6-0 83 shares	2nd-class 4/- per share	£3-14-8 28 shares	3rd-class 2/8 per share
Sept 1878	£451-4-0 752 shares	1st-class 12/- per share	£4-4-0 14 shares	2nd-class 6/- per share	£4-0-0 20 shares	3rd-class 4/- per share
Sept 1879	£451-4-0 752 shares	1st-class 12/- per share	£4-4-0 14 shares	2nd-class 6/- per share	£3-16-0 19 shares	3rd-class 4/- per share

Notes:

1. Figures are shown in pounds, shillings and pence.
2. Dividends were paid in goods, not cash.
3. Share numbers and dividend totals are given in the minutes for some years (1872, 1874, 1876, 1877, 1878 and 1879); other years’ totals have been calculated from the information provided.
4. In 1873 the committee recommended payments of 12/- and 4/- respectively for 1st- and 2nd-class shares but the annual meeting, after debate, increased them to 15/- and 5/-.
5. In 1875 dividend payments were deferred to meet building costs, being added to share values.
6. For 1878 and 1879 there were two elements to the dividend: the cash dividend noted above (to be taken as goods) and an amount added to the value of the shares. In 1878 8/- was added to the value of 1st-class shares, 4/- to 2nd-class shares and 2/8 to 3rd-class shares. In 1879 the amounts were 7/-, 3/6 and 2/4 respectively.

Table 1. Dumfries and Maxwelltown Co-operative Provision Society:
share numbers and dividends, 1870–1879.

The society's dividend payments were determined each year by the committee and usually endorsed by the annual general meetings. Figures for share numbers and dividends in the 1870s are shown in Table 1.

The society appears to have had a degree of social conscience, including concern for its core working-class customers and on several occasions it held the price of bread down, particularly during winter and periods of economic difficulty, so that its poorer customers could still afford to feed themselves. In March 1871, the committee reported that it had been 'of opinion that your society should retail the necessaries of life during the severe winter storm, which we have so lately passed through, at a merely nominal profit'. It had therefore held its price for the 4lb loaf at 6d when other bakers were charging 8d. Again, in March 1875, the secretary reported that 'the worst of the months for the poorer classes are past again for another year, and the big cheap loaf during the winter must have been a boon to many who otherwise, had it been at prices such as we have seen, might have fared much worse.' Later in the decade, the society donated 10 stones of barley to the soup kitchens established during the winter of 1878/9 for the local unemployed, and in February 1879 agreed a donation of £2 to the Relief Committee for the Dumfries poor.

Staffing and Rates of Pay

The committee's minutes include frequent references to the appointment of staff, ranging from the temporary appointment of 'boys' on six-week trials, prior to becoming apprentices, to those of the most responsible positions, such as foreman baker or coal agent. The apprenticeships were for five years and there appears to have been a policy of continuing the apprentices' employment with the society after satisfactory completion of their 'time', when their pay might increase from 5/- a week to 8/- a week. Where they could not be taken on permanently, they were often kept on for a month or so to enable them to find alternative employment rather than being immediately dismissed.

Adult shop staff — referred to as 'lads' — might receive anything from 11/- to 13/- a week on appointment and could expect regular pay increases of around 2/- each year, subject to a satisfactory record of employment. Staff who were considered to have made a notable contribution to the society were more generously rewarded and a William Halliday, who joined as a 'lad' in the Dumfries shop in July 1870, received a regular annual uplift in recognition of the quality of his work and by early 1876 was earning 36/- a week as shop manager. Occasionally, Christmas bonuses were paid.

The position of foreman baker, recognised as a vital role within the society, was rewarded with a wage of 30/- a week in 1873, 36/- a week in 1874, and as much as 42/6 in 1877. The coal agent was another important post and its first incumbent, Thomas Dunlop, received 16/- a week, though in 1874 the former society president, William McLachlan, was being paid 25/- a week as coal agent, presumably in recognition of his greater efficiency and commitment.

Industrial relations issues were dealt with, often inconsistently, on a case-by-case basis. In February 1877 the committee responded positively to a pay claim by the bakehouse employees, raising the weekly wages of the journeymen by a shilling from 26/- to 27/- and of the van man by 2/- to 18/-. On the other hand, a dispute initiated by the committee in 1874

over basic terms and conditions, led to the summary resignation of the entire bakehouse staff, causing complete disruption of the society's breadmaking. Notice of dismissals and resignations were thus typically of no more than a week on either side.

The Growth of the Society During the 1870s

The general story of DMCPs during the 1870s is one of continuous growth, including a move to new and enlarged premises for the Dumfries shop in 1876, despite the onset of what is often called 'The Great Depression' from about 1873, when the British economy began to experience a reduction in its growth rates.

Using the annual income and expenditure and profit figures as the prime indicators of its trading activity, DMCPs can be said to have experienced considerable expansion during the early part of the 1870s, and to have continued to trade successfully right up to the end of the decade, albeit with a reduced turnover for the final two years.

The figures for income and expenditure in 1870 are for a part year and indicate sales of £3057-19-7 for the period from mid-June to the end of December, and an expenditure of £2525-6-9. The profit for the full 1869/70 financial year, as reported at the society's 1870 AGM, was somewhat modest, at £57-13-9 or something like 2% of annual turnover.

Date	Sales	Expenditure	AGM	Profits
1870	£3057-19-7	£2525-6-9	23rd AGM / 13 Sep 1870	£57-13-9
1871	£8973-3-11	£8777-9-4	24th AGM / 12 Sep 1871	£195-12-10
1872	£11056-2-2	£11417-3-2	25th AGM / 10 Sep 1872	£496-18-0
1873	£14331-9-9	£14321-10-11	26th AGM / 9 Sep 1873	£502-18-6
1874	£12045-8-2	£12081-1-11	27th AGM / 8 Sep 1874	£455-7-9
1875	£10989-15-8	£10968-13-10	28th AGM / 14 Sep 1875	£620-7-5
1876	£9479-7-10	£10121-5-5	29th AGM / 12 Sep 1876	£186-4-0
1877	£12830-11-6	£12748-17-0	30th AGM / 11 Sep 1877	£642-2-6
1878	£10597-10-8	£10554-16-2	31st AGM / 10 Sep 1878	£816-15-11
1879	£8193-8-2	£8252-10-4	32nd AGM / 9 Sep 1879	£729-12-11

Notes:

1. Figures are shown in pounds, shillings and pence.
2. Sales and expenditure figures are for calendar years; profits for financial years. No information has been found indicating the financial year end date.
3. Figures for 1870 and 1879 are for part years only (from 20 June to 26 December in 1870, and from 7 January to 9 December in 1879).
4. The 1876 dip in profits may be connected with [i] the acquisition and improvement of new and larger premises for the Dumfries shop and [ii] the difficulties faced by the society's coal business.

Table 2. Dumfries and Maxwelltown Co-operative Provision Society:
Trading figures and profits, 1870–1879.

The committee was clearly relieved by the improvement in trading during the latter part of 1870, following a hesitant start to the year. In December it was 'proud to say that it [i.e. the year's trading] has turned out remarkably well', before concluding that 'taking all in all, your society is again rising in public estimation'. The committee explained the turnaround as largely owing to an energetic new member of staff in the Dumfries shop: 'your committee has little hesitation in saying that to your new salesman [William Halliday] the credit must be in a great measure awarded.' Whilst Mr Halliday proved a loyal servant throughout the decade, trading fortunes during the 1870s clearly had much more to do with the overall state of the wider economy, reflecting first the early prosperous years and then the comparative slowdown in general economic activity (though accompanied by a general fall in prices that helped raise the standard of living for many working-class customers). Thus, by September 1873, the society's profits had risen to £502-18-6 on sales for the calendar year of £14,331-9-9 for the calendar year, i.e. slightly over 3½% of turnover, but sales fell thereafter, to below £10,000 by 1876, though they picked up again in 1877 and 1878.

Profits thus rose to £816-15-11 for 1877/8, giving a figure approaching 8% of turnover, and although they were down to £729-12-11 for 1878/9, the percentage of turnover was up slightly, at almost 9%. Overall figures for trading (calendar years) and profits (financial years) during the 1870s are shown in Table 2.

Within this overall context of growth, there were frequently developments that the committee felt obliged to report at the quarterly, half-yearly and annual meetings. In March 1871, they noted that 'the balance is a little on the wrong side of the leaf', with a loss for the quarter of £4-6-4. The committee attributed this to its keeping the bread price down because of a severe winter. By December, it was reporting that the level of profits had 'seldom or never been realized ... before' and reflected that 'the system of small profits and quick returns seems to be appreciated by a ready-money buying and discerning public'. The upward trend continued and in March 1872 the committee reported 'the amount of profit for the last quarter is the largest that has ever been realized by your society ... amounting to £185-4-3¾.' The secretary continued, 'I may state that your drawings for four months back average £776 per month or at the rate of £9288 per year, ... nearly double what your turnover was in 1860/1 ... ten years ago', when the figure was £4650-11-7.

The growth continued and at the September AGM, in presenting the 25th annual report, the committee had 'no hesitation in saying that it is without exception the most favourable one ever submitted for your consideration, not only as regards the profits ... but taking the general trade ... into account as well.' In December the secretary reported that 'customers seem hafter to your shops.'

As Table 2 shows, the society's turnover continued to grow until 1874, and the slowdown in overall economic growth did not affect the society's profits as, even on a reduced annual turnover, it continued to do well. At the 1875 AGM the committee reported the year's profit was the 'highest ... ever yet attained'.

The progress continued and the society made the move to new premises in 1876 without significant problems, providing additional income from the rents of the associated lodgings and shops of well over £100 a year. Following the move, it also experienced an increase in takings, which by December 1876 were up from about £165 a week before moving

to around £200 afterwards. By June 1877 weekly takings had reached £300 and at the 30th AGM the committee reported that the new shop and bakehouse were 'equal to the requirements of [the society's] trade' enabling it to 'meet the demands made upon them for all kinds of goods'. In June 1878 the committee reported that 'weekly drawings ... are very favourable, and show that notwithstanding keen competition, your society, without the aid of advertisements, and relying solely on the support of a ready-money buying and discriminating public, is still holding its own in popular esteem.'

At the 1878 AGM the report was 'the best as regards profits ever realized in one year' and the quarterly reports in March and June 1879 were similarly positive, 'notwithstanding the general depression of trade and want of employment amongst the working classes'. The 1879 annual report was another 'very favourable one' and, as the decade drew to a close, DMCPs could legitimately claim to have established itself as a permanent and prosperous element within the town's economic and commercial life.

The 'Consumer Economy' of Working-Class Dumfries in the 1870s

The trading activities of DMCPs during the 1870s shed light both on the consumer habits of the society's customers — largely members of the Dumfries working class — and on the nature of the town's working-class diet.

Foodstuffs — particularly bread — comprised the mainstay of the society's sales, and access to pure, unadulterated food at non-exploitative prices, through independent, i.e. non-employer owned, shops was central to the formation of early nineteenth-century consumer co-operatives. DMCPs also stocked a range of other goods that were part of everyday Victorian domestic working-class life — including cleaning and household products like blacking, blue, candles, matches, soap, soap powder, starch, sulphur, washing soda and whiting — and goods offering some of the few personal pleasures available to working-class people at the time, such as snuff, pipes and tobacco, and confectionery like mints and 'boilins' (sic). In January 1873 the society also opened an agency to supply working-class households with coal, though throughout the remainder of the 1870s this proved to be one of its less successful ventures, leading to much debate and considerable disagreement amongst members.

Bread was central to the working-class diet in late nineteenth-century Britain and the society baked and sold a great deal of it during the 1870s — over 3300 four-pound loaves in December 1871 rising to over 3800 a year later (yielding it a quarterly profit of £90, and of £125 the following March) and to over 5700 in 1877.⁴¹ Bread sales often contributed a good deal to the society's profits and on one occasion, in October 1871, the society reduced the price of its loaves for fear of being accused of making 'an extortionate profit' but then could not cope with the resulting demand from new customers, and often leaving more regular customers without. Even when the price was increased again after about three weeks, the society continued to sell as many loaves as it could produce.

Other staple foodstuffs sold by the society included barley, biscuits, butter, cheese, cocoa, coffee, cornflour, currants, flour, ground rice, jam, jellies, marmalade, mustard,

41 Bread sales did dip annually, however, at the time of the potato harvest.

CO-OPERATION IN 1870S DUMFRIES:
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nuts, oatmeal, pepper, pickles, raisins, rice, split pease, sugar, sago, syrup, tea and treacle. Fresh foods were in relatively short supply — probably because of the difficulties of preservation; of fruit and vegetables, there were only onions and oranges, and of fish, only cod and haddock. Various preserved forms of fish were more common, including herring, kippers and tinned salmon. The range of meat sold included Australian beef and mutton, Danish beef, and bacon — from America as well as from Ayrshire and Wiltshire.

Item	Quantity	Cost	Item	Quantity	Cost
Oatmeal	405 bags	£685-5-4	American bacon	271 stones	£95-13-6
Shop flour	447 bags	£844-3-0	American hams	78 stones	£32-0-0
Bakers flour and baking	1550 bags	£3347-0-0	Tea	3136 lbs	£304-0-5
Barley	24 bags	£36-18-6	Sugars	>25tons 3cwt	£975-6-8
Pease (all sorts)	12-14 stones	£19-18-6	Cheese (home)	7403 lbs	£190-3-2
Rice	20cwt 7st	£14-11-11	Cheese (American)	10365 lbs	£242-12-0
Corn flour	346 lbs	£5-19-3	Coffee	595 lbs	£28-11-6
Tobacco	881.5 lbs	£148-6-6	Onions	15 bags	£4-2-6
Snuff	41 lbs	£6-3-10	Currants	>12cwt 3qrs	£17-16-1
Biscuits	2264 lbs	£39-17-8	Raisins	5cwt 3qrs	£10-6-2
Candles (Paraffin)	30 dozen	£44-15-8	Kitchen fee	1048 lbs	£24-0-4
Candles (Dips)	113 stones				
Red herrings	15 barrels	£18-14-6	Lard for bakehouse	>71 stones	£26-5-7
Cod fish	>2tons 2cwt	£45-5-10	Pipes	32 gross	£2-6-0
Codlings and haddock	48.5 barrels	£64-17-3	Soap (white)	>4tons 7cwt	£116-6-4
Bloater and kipper herrings	96 boxes	£15-2-2	Soap (black)	30 firkins	£17-18-6
Butter (salted)	>6tons 6cwt	£618-7-1	Carbonate of soda	>7cwt	£5-12-9
Matches	45 gross	£8-5-3	Washing soda	>26cwt 3qrs	£9-4-3
Beef ham	1021 lbs	£37-15-0	Soap powders	8 gross	£2-7-0
Pork ham	1448 lbs	£25-9-7	Syrups	>31cwt 3qrs	£29-12-6
Mutton ham	157 lbs	£3-1-6	Treacle	34cwt 1lb	£22-3-2
Home bacon	>785 stones	£327-1-9			
Notes:					
1. The salted butter sales did not include 20 or 30lbs of fresh butter sold during the summer season and 'a like number of dozens of eggs'.					
2. The combined bacon sales were a weight equivalent to 81 swine, weighing on average 14 stones each after being dried.					
3. Sugar sales were thus the equivalent of half a ton of sugar per week.					
4. Cheese sales were at the rate of 3cwt per week.					

Table 3. Dumfries and Maxwelltown Co-operative Provision Society:
Foodstuffs and other goods sold in the financial year 1871/2

Branded goods were rare. There is reference to Colman's starch, Hudson's Powders (in October 1876), Yorkshire Relish and Rob Roy snuff (in August 1875). Of what might be considered more exotic or unusual foods there is only orange pekoe tea and ketchup. An inventory of foodstuffs and other goods, and the quantities in which they were sold during 1871/2, is set out in Table 3.

Bread

Because bread was such an important element in the society's weekly sales, the reliability — or unreliability — of its production features regularly in the minutes. The bakehouse staff were important employees and, as members of the Bakers Society trade union, could expect union rates to be paid and union pay claims recognised, as in October 1871, when a 2/- a week pay rise was awarded. Indeed, the committee was prepared to offer a further 2/- a week pay rise to ensure their foreman baker did not leave in August of the same year.

The general increase in bread sales throughout the decade was interrupted from time to time. In summer 1872 there were problems with the souring of the dough, which led to the dismissal of the foreman baker, and in 1874 there was a confrontation with the society's bakehouse staff. In May, the committee became concerned to reduce bread-making costs and informed the staff that it intended to abolish overtime, expecting the men to bake the required quantity of bread during regular hours. The men's position was that they could not bake the required amount — four batches per day — without the overtime, and when the committee insisted, the men gave notice they would leave at the end of the week. The committee reported in June that 'a slight hitch has occurred with your bakers on account of your committee having withdrawn the grant of the half-holiday on Saturday, and also insisting upon having the number of loaves required baked without a weekly tax in the shape of a charge for overtime'. The committee went on, 'this put our customers considerably about owing to the want of bread for about a week.' Surprisingly, no serious damage appears to have resulted from this in terms of bread sales once the staff were replaced.

In June 1876, the committee was complaining that the bread had 'got into a bad paying seam' but saw it as part of the 'general depression in trade all over the country'. In September a reduction in takings for bread was interpreted as a result of greater local competition and, in summer 1877, a special meeting was called to review the costs of bread-making, which at the time involved the production of 4800 loaves per week at a total cost, excluding flour, of £12-10-0.

Almost half of this, £6-2-6, comprised the labour costs of employing three 'journeymen' bakers, a van man and an apprentice. Of the overheads, wood, coke and gas for ovens and lighting cost 15/6, the bakehouse rent was 8/- and taxes, water rates, insurance and repairs added a further 2/4. Ingredients, not including flour — i.e. lard, salt, malt, sugar and hops — totalled £1-3-8. Shop wages and rents added another £2-10-0 and £1-6-8 was allowed for contingencies.

This review of costs was timely as, at the close of the decade, there was a sharpening of competition over bread sales, following the general reduction in the bread price by other Dumfries bakers, forcing the society to follow suit even though this would involve a loss of £3 or £4 per week.

One other aspect of the society's bread-making activities sheds light on both DMCPs management and contemporary labour market conditions. The incumbent foreman baker gave notice, early in 1879, of his intention to leave for a similar job in Carlisle, which offered 7/6 a week more than the society was paying — though he did so only after the society refused him an extra 5/- a week to stay. There were, however, 90 applications for his post and the shortlist of three selected for interview comprised one man from Edinburgh, one from Leith and one from Paisley.

Premises

In June 1870, DMCPs rented two shops and a bakehouse. The larger shop was in Dumfries, the smaller in Maxwelltown.⁴² In December 1875, the stock at the Dumfries shop was insured for £500, whereas the value of the Maxwelltown stock was only £200, and in November 1876, after the move to its larger premises, the value of the Dumfries shop's stock increased to £700.

During the early part of the decade it became clear the Dumfries premises were somewhat problematic. In January 1873 the society's committee was reporting on the 'ruinous state of the Dumfries shop' and the whole building was condemned as unsafe and a search begun for new premises. In June the committee agreed to establish a 'sinking fund' and in October an offer of £60 was made for premises at the Fish Market but this came to nothing. By December the committee was acknowledging the society's further development as a business was being hampered by both a 'want of shop ... and ... bakehouse accommodation'.

Whilst the society was able to negotiate a new ten-year lease on its Maxwelltown shop in January 1874, the search for new premises in Dumfries dragged on. In November the society's president, James McCall, reported he had enquired about a shop in the High Street though the proprietor was unwilling to let it for 'a business such as ours, but might alter his mind'. However, nothing had been resolved by the December quarterly meeting and, by late January the following year, the Dumfries shop premises were condemned by the authorities, who insisted they must be vacated by Whitsuntide 'without fail'. Fortunately, premises in Queensberry Street became available and a ten-year lease was taken on them at a rent of £34 a year.

However, at the society's March 1874 meeting the need for larger premises was again discussed and a new share issue and building society loan suggested as ways of securing the necessary funds to purchase and adapt the new premises. Finally, in late March, a special general meeting agreed to purchase the premises in Queensberry Street and re-develop them with a building society loan. A special committee was appointed to supervise the programme of work.

The purchase took until mid-June to complete and estimates for the cost of the building work, almost £2000, were agreed in July, with the work beginning later that year. Following completion, in late spring 1876, the total cost, including acquisition of the site,

42 A new five-year lease was taken on the bakehouse in December 1871 at £14 per year, but the new premises that were acquired and expanded in 1875/6 included a new bakehouse.

was reported as just under £3000.⁴³ But the new premises provided accommodation not only for the society but for two other shops and residential lodgings for six households, thus providing the society with another regular source of income. The new premises were insured for £2500 (for an annual premium of just £3-2-6), and the society's takings rose in little over six months from about £160 a week to £300 a week. The move had thus proved a considerable success, notwithstanding the new demands on the society in its role as a landlord, dealing with the responsibilities associated with having tenants.⁴⁴

Coal

The society's coal business, begun in January 1873, did not enjoy the same success as the grocery trade. It seems to have been started on a whim, as a result of an order of bakehouse coal being larger than required, and the excess quickly sold off. This led the committee to believe it could embark fairly straightforwardly on a new field of commercial activity.

Two trucks of coals were ordered daily from two separate collieries and a 'stance' taken from the Glasgow and South Western Railway Company at Maxwelltown station to provide a depot. A special general meeting, on 5 February, to 'consider and determine about the propriety of forming a coal agency', gave unanimous backing from the 53 members attending, to the proposal that the society's committee should proceed and produce a report for the March quarterly meeting on 'how the thing is likely to succeed.' A separate bank account was opened.

Difficulties soon arose. Guaranteeing a supply of coal at a stable price proved problematic and the society appointed a former local coal agent, Thomas Dunlop, whose knowledge of the trade enabled him to source a regular supply. However, other coal agents dropped their prices to undercut the society, forcing it to follow suit and incur losses. Funds had to be borrowed from the society's general account to pay the suppliers and also to purchase other equipment, including weighing machinery and a horse and cart.

Coal sales proved unpredictable and highly dependent on the weather. The business was difficult to operate on a 'ready-money' basis and Mr Dunlop was too willing to offer customers credit, leading to a series of bad debts and, in March 1874, he was dismissed. However, a miners' strike in June reduced supplies and Mr Dunlop's successor proved unable to turn the business around. He, in turn, was replaced by the society's president, William McLachlan.

The business improved during the remainder of 1874 and into 1875, but the bad debts from Dunlop's time were an enduring impediment. Mr McLachlan won the committee's

43 At the 1875 AGM, the society's president, James McCall, recommended the year's dividend be added to the value of members' shares, so it could be used to cover much of the cost of acquiring and developing the new premises. This was agreed without demur.

44 These included tenants leaving without notice and failing to pay rent. Another, comparatively minor, premises problem was break-ins. The Maxwelltown shop was broken into in May 1876 and 18/- in cash and a few goods taken. The society put iron bars on both skylight windows, but in April 1878 thieves dismantled a portion of wall and broke into a desk, stealing a few shillings' of copper. The Dumfries shop was broken into in July 1876 and two shillings in copper taken.

praise for 'striving every nerve ... to make it [the business] a success' but in September it was unresponsive to his request for a pay rise or an extra man, and he resigned in October.

A special meeting in November held to review the coal business reported total assets of £379-4-3 and total liabilities of £315-16-1. As much as £49-11-5 remained as bad or irrecoverable debt from Dunlop's time but McLachlan's endeavours were marked by a profit of £51-0-8. For some members the condition and prospects of the coal business seemed unlikely to improve, and James Moodie proposed it be 'given up and closed' in a month's time. However, the meeting decided, by 15 votes to 11, to continue until the following Whitsuntide to see how things then stood.

Coal business fortunes did improve in early 1876 and in June the committee were 'unanimous in recommending that it be carried on as they think that the worst of the obstacles ... have been nearly overcome' but the hot weather of summer and autumn brought reduced sales. Nevertheless, James Moodie's next attempt to have the business terminated was defeated by 15 votes to six.

In December problems emerged over the transportation of the coal, as the society appeared to be receiving less than was despatched from the collieries, and the following March the railway company acknowledged a loss of coal during transit and instructed its staff to be more vigilant. As a result, in June, it was reported the 'business now seems to have got into a progressive state' partly because of continued cold weather, and by December the committee was reporting a considerable increase in sales, 'though this was due in a great measure at [sic] the death of the two competing agents at the Maxwelltown station'. James Moodie continued to call for the business's termination, partly because of the need to purchase a new horse, and gave notice he would be presenting a motion at the next quarterly meeting.

In fact, in March 1878 the committee was able to report the largest-ever quarterly sales. The motion to end the business was therefore defeated by 18 votes to 10, but the upturn was short-lived, with a marked discrepancy in the figures reported in June, again causing Mr Moodie to give notice of a motion of termination. A detailed review of the coal accounts at the September AGM showed it to be making a smaller profit than previously thought but the decision to continue was passed by 36 votes to 10.

Reports in December and March were again favourable but at the 1879 AGM the pattern of increased profits undermined by bad debts re-emerged and another motion to end the business was only narrowly defeated, by 18 votes to 16, prompting a special meeting to consider the future of the business on 30 September. The vote to continue here was more decisive, with 29 in favour and 19 against, though with a recommendation to take orders only where customers had 'ready money'.

The minutes for 1879 end after 8 December, so there is no end-of-year quarterly report, and the next minute book commences only in September 1886, making no reference to the coal business. We can only assume it was wound up at some point during the intervening period.

Conclusion

What then should we make of the development of DMCPs during the 1870s? How does it relate to the development of the co-operative movement in Britain or Scotland as a whole, and to what extent was its development a reflection of what was happening more generally in Dumfries?

First, we have seen that, by any financial measure, the society grew quite considerably in the years from 1870 to 1879, with annual turnover up from less than £7000 in 1870 to over £10,500 in 1878, and a peak of over £14,000 in 1873. Profits rose from less than £60 in 1870 to over £800 in 1878 and total dividends were up from about £60 in 1870 to almost £460 in 1879. In the same period the society moved to larger and more suitable premises in Dumfries and became a landlord as well as a retailer, letting both retail and domestic premises to provide a new regular source of income. The coal business may have been problematic but the grocery trade was a clear success and, over the decade, membership had increased. The society had become an established part of the Dumfries consumer economy and, in June 1879, at almost the end of the decade and in more economically demanding times, the committee was able to report ‘that notwithstanding a continued depression of trade, and a want of work amongst nearly all the working classes ... the profit in the quarter nevertheless has been remarkably good.’

So if it is clear that the society was doing well as an enterprise, where did it sit within the development of mid- to late-nineteenth century co-operation? According to Sidney Pollard, ‘The history of the British co-operative movement in the nineteenth century may be divided into two periods: the first, beginning with the publications of Robert Owen in the second decade of the century, rising to a peak of influence in the years 1828–34, and ending with the failure of Queenswood, in 1846; and the second, heralded by the foundation of the Rochdale Equitable Pioneers’ Society in 1844, registering an expansion around the year 1850 and becoming fully established about ten years later.’⁴⁵ Whilst other historians have questioned this periodicity,⁴⁶ there is no doubt that a range of views about co-operation existed throughout the nineteenth century, with some societies more committed to the larger aspirations of the movement, and others, like Thomas Cooper’s shareholders, more interested in its less transformative elements. In this context DMCPs appears, during the 1870s, to have been amongst the movement’s less ambitious societies.

As noted earlier, the more settled nature of the British economy from about 1850 onwards, contributed to the increasing success of co-operative societies throughout Britain, as wages overall began to increase and economic change became less volatile. In general these appear to have been, comparatively speaking, ‘boom years’, and we can perhaps agree with R.H. Tawney, when he summed up the shape of working-class political and economic activity from the middle century onwards thus, ‘In the triumphant outburst of

45 See Sidney Pollard, ‘Nineteenth-Century Co-operation: From Community Building to Shopkeeping’, in ed Asa Briggs and John Saville: *Essays in Labour History*, London, 1967; p.74.

46 See, for example, Robin Thorne, ‘Change and Continuity in the Development of Co-operation 1827–1844’, pp.27–51, in ed Stephen Yeo, *New Views on Co-operation*, London, 1988, and Gurney, *Co-operative Culture*, pp.1–26.

commercial prosperity which began about 1850, both the idealism and the struggles of the working classes were for a time almost forgotten. The energy of the working classes was diverted from political agitation into building up co-operation and trade unionism on a firm financial basis.⁴⁷

The 1870s in Dumfries were part of a concerted burst of development and prosperity, and it seems reasonable to claim DMCPS benefited from this. How the society fared in the years after 1879 will become clearer in due course,⁴⁸ but whatever view we may take of the achievements of the artisans who fashioned and developed the society in terms of the often contested aims of nineteenth-century co-operation, we have to acknowledge that in the 1870s they helped establish an organisation that was to become a permanent part of retail — as well as social and cultural — life in Dumfries for a hundred years. This would seem to be no mean achievement for the group of bootmakers, joiners, cloggers, painters and others who dedicated their energies and time to expanding and consolidating the society in the ten years from 1870 to 1879.

47 R.H. Tawney, 'Life of Lovett', pp.xxviii–ix, cited in Pollard, *Nineteenth-Century Co-operation*, p.107.

48 As more of the minutes are studied.

FROM THE WESTERN FRONT TO WESTMINSTER: JOHN CHARTERIS IN WAR AND PEACE 1914–29

David Dutton¹

The centenary of the First World War has inevitably redirected attention on to the enormous human cost at which victory was secured. The British and Irish death-toll from this conflict has been calculated at 723,000. Such a figure makes it easy to forget that far more soldiers returned at the end of the conflict than were left lying in ‘some corner of a foreign field that is for ever England’. The total of deaths represented ‘only’ six per cent of UK males aged between 15 and 49. But the impact of the War on all who experienced it — whether or not they actually bore arms — was inevitably profound, often life-changing. A surprisingly large number of ex-servicemen decided to seek a career in politics. A recent study suggests that as many as 448 veterans of the War became Conservative MPs in the years after the armistice of November 1918. Its author claims to discern a ‘rather new factor in Westminster politics’ of MPs who ‘inwardly believed and outwardly claimed that they possessed a unique insight into the world as a result of their combat service’.² Men’s motives inevitably varied, but many were affected by a sense of guilt that they had survived when so many of their comrades had not. This often translated into a determination to enter public service, to show that those who had perished had not died in vain and to create the genuinely better world for which they believed, or at least hoped, they had been fighting.

Four successive future British Prime Ministers, Winston Churchill, Clement Attlee, Anthony Eden and Harold Macmillan, all served on the front-line. For Churchill, already a cabinet minister at the outbreak of hostilities, military service afforded an interval for reflection and reappraisal during a dip in his political fortunes following the failure of the Dardanelles campaign, for which he carried heavy, if not chief, responsibility. Attlee, eschewing the Christian pacifism of his brother Tom, fought at Gallipoli, in Mesopotamia and on the Western Front, and was wounded on several occasions. By October 1922 he had been elected to parliament as Labour member for Limehouse. A man of few words — and many of these singularly uninformative — he later wrote that ‘four years in an entirely different milieu had their effect on my outlook’.³ Eden proceeded straight from Eton to the Western Front, rising to become the youngest brigade major in the British army and winning the Military Cross for rescuing his sergeant. He ended the war physically unscathed, though two of his brothers lost their lives. ‘I had entered the holocaust still childish’, he recalled, ‘and I emerged tempered by my experience, but with my illusions intact, neither shattered nor cynical, to face a changed world.’⁴ His authorised biographer would later declare that he ‘always found [Eden’s] brand of humane, liberal and progressive Conservatism, born in

1 Member of the Society; Tobermory, Sandy Lane, Locharbriggs, Dumfries DG1 1SA; ddutton@liverpool.ac.uk.

2 R. Carr, *Veteran MPs and Conservative Politics in the Aftermath of the Great War* (Farnham, 2013), p.1. See also S. Ball, *The Guardsmen: Harold Macmillan, Three Friends and the World They Made* (London, 2004).

3 C. Attlee, *As It Happened* (London, 1954), p.38.

4 A. Eden, *Another World 1897–1917* (London, 1976), p.150.

the trenches on the Western Front ... the only version that appealed to me'.⁵ Eden entered the Commons one year after Attlee, elected for the safe Conservative seat of Warwick and Leamington. Macmillan joined the King's Royal Rifle Corps in 1914 soon after securing a First in Classical Moderations at Oxford, before transferring to a special battalion of the Grenadier Guards the following year. He incurred the most severe physical damage of the four future premiers. Wounded on three occasions, he was in hospital for much of the second half of the War and was never thereafter entirely free of pain. Severely injured on the Somme, he lay for several hours in a shell-hole before being rescued, whiling away the time reading Aeschylus's *Prometheus Bound*.⁶ The loss of so many of his comrades filled him with 'an obligation to make some decent use of the life that had been spared to [him]'.⁷ Nearly seven decades later, the newly ennobled nonagenarian Earl of Stockton made his maiden speech in the House of Lords. He spoke of the Miners' Strike of 1984–5. The miners, he suggested, were 'the best men in the world. They beat the Kaiser's army'.⁸ His career in the lower house had begun with election for Stockton in the General Election of 1924.

A fifth future Prime Minister — Neville Chamberlain — had been too old for military service in 1914. But the War's impact upon him was just as great and the connecting thread between it and a subsequent political career the most easily traced. Chamberlain clearly felt uneasy that he had pursued a civilian career in essential safety while family and friends risked their lives in battle. Looking to the future, he 'couldn't back out of public work of some kind'. In August 1917 he admitted to his sister that 'really and truly I have ... made up my mind to go into the House'.⁹ Deeply moved by the death in action of his cousin and best friend, Norman, Chamberlain opted to begin a parliamentary career at the comparatively advanced age of 49 and was elected for Ladywood, Birmingham, in the General Election held a month after the Armistice. His personal manifesto revealed his motivation:

we could best show our gratitude to those who have fought and died for England by making it a better place to live in. My sole reason for wishing to enter parliament is my desire to assist in bringing about this transformation.¹⁰

To secure his objective, Chamberlain proposed a minimum wage, shorter working hours, co-operation between the forces of capital and labour, and state-funded social reform.

Inevitably, the majority of 'servicemen-turned-politicians' were young men, 'sometimes brashly confident that they could change the world'.¹¹ Eden, for example, was only 26 when he became an MP. But a small number of more senior figures also trod the same path. The most senior was undoubtedly Field-Marshal Sir Henry Wilson. Appointed Chief of the Imperial General Staff in February 1918, he ended the War as head of the British army.

5 R.R. James, *Anthony Eden* (London, 1986), p.xi.

6 A. Roberts, *Elegy: The First Day on the Somme* (London 2015), p.220.

7 A. Horne, *Macmillan, 1894–1956* (London, 1988), p.49.

8 A. Horne, *Macmillan, 1957–1986* (London, 1989), p.626.

9 N. Chamberlain to Hilda Chamberlain 27 August 1917, R. Self (ed.), *The Neville Chamberlain Diary Letters*, vol. 1 (Aldershot, 2000), p.218.

10 Self (ed.), *Diary Letters*, p.80.

11 Carr, *Veteran MPs*, p.1.

Long regarded as the most 'political' of British generals, Wilson at first hesitated over a post-war career change, but eventually agreed to stand as an Ulster Unionist candidate. Duly elected, unopposed, for North Down in a by-election in February 1922, he was assassinated by two Irish republicans on his own doorstep in Belgravia four months later. The subject of this article, Brigadier-General John Charteris, Chief Intelligence Officer at General Headquarters on the Western Front from December 1915 until January 1918, also merits inclusion in this second, more restricted category.

'Of all our local families', writes a leading historian of Dumfriesshire, 'who can trace an ancient descent, none other can establish itself to be of Norman stock.'¹² The Charteris family is recorded as owners of estates in the immediate vicinity of Amisfield as long ago as the mid-twelfth century. For much of the time that followed, the family was prominent in public life, especially the administration of justice. In addition, members served in the Scottish parliament in the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries. The present tower at Amisfield, which dates from the late fourteen-hundreds, and the adjoining mansion whose origins lie in the seventeenth century, were the Charteris family home until 1904, apart from two brief interludes when the family fell on hard times.

John Charteris was born in Glasgow in January 1877. Granted that his father was a Professor of Medicine in that city and his uncle held a chair in biblical studies in Edinburgh, while his elder brother Archibald rose to become Professor of International Law in Sydney and another brother, Francis, Professor of Medicine at St Andrews, John might well have seemed destined for a career in academia. In fact, after schooling at Kelvingrove Academy and a year in Göttingen, he entered the Royal Military Academy in 1893. Commissioned in the Royal Engineers three years later, he was subsequently posted to India. There he became a staff officer in 1907, an appointment which brought him into contact with the man with whose career his own future fortunes would become inextricably intertwined — General Douglas Haig. Haig appears first to have encountered Charteris in January 1910 during a tour of inspection when he noticed him directing Indian sappers in the construction of a bridge. Impressed by Charteris's combination of efficiency and lucidity of expression (something in which he himself was notably lacking), Haig appointed him to his staff as Assistant Military Secretary. When Haig returned to Britain in March 1912 to take up the command at Aldershot, he was accompanied by Charteris.

The relationship deepened with the outbreak of European war and, when Haig succeeded Sir John French as commander-in-chief of the British Expeditionary Force in December 1915, Charteris, still only 38 years of age, took control of British intelligence on the Western Front. But his responsibilities extended far beyond 'ordinary Intelligence work' and included 'censorship, the Press correspondents, ciphers, all communications with foreign governments' Secret Services and contre-espionage so far as France is concerned, all map work and distinguished visitors'.¹³ Close association with the most controversial general of the First World War has inevitably spawned a minor debate centred on Charteris's own performance, recently transferred from the realm of historical scholarship to the pages of

12 R.C. Reid, *The Family of Charteris of Amisfield* (Dumfries, 1938), p.1.

13 J. Charteris, *At GHQ* (London, 1931), p.126.

a successful novel.¹⁴

His relationship with Haig has been variously interpreted, though seldom to Charteris's advantage in terms of his contemporary and subsequent reputation. Granted his comparative youth and rapid elevation — he now became a brigadier-general — many (often motivated by nothing more than jealousy) argued that Charteris had benefitted unduly from Haig's patronage. He was no more than the commander's 'principal boy' — a sobriquet first attached to him by the influential royal courtier, Lord Esher. In later years, as Haig's detractors multiplied in number and strength, Charteris was portrayed as part of a delusional command structure, a minor player among the 'butchers and bunglers' who had sacrificed the flower of British youth in a blind quest for military success. On the other hand, for those keen to defend Haig from his legion of critics, Charteris was sometimes depicted as the commander's 'evil counsellor', wilfully feeding him with wildly optimistic assessments of declining German resistance and the imminence of allied victory.¹⁵ Charteris probably did his own cause no good when he presented his post-war reminiscences of his time at Haig's headquarters in the form of an artificial diary. This was based on his contemporary notes and letters, especially to his wife, and careful analysis suggests that it involved few significant distortions of the historical record. But Charteris's decision to publish a 'diary' which had never actually existed inevitably encouraged the belief that he was attempting to massage the truth.¹⁶

At their most extreme, denunciations of Charteris have left him bearing a heavy burden of guilt. One author writes of Charteris having 'manipulated intelligence estimates, resulting in the deaths of a generation of young Britons'.¹⁷ David Lloyd George, no friend of Haig or Charteris during the War, took the process of denigration to the pages of his highly influential *War Memoirs*. Three index entries — 'fails to inform Cabinet of Petain's

14 A. Williams, *The Suicide Club* (London, 2014). The author of this well-researched work of fiction manages to convey through the dialogue of his characters most of the charges that have been laid at Charteris's door: for example, his misleading of Haig — 'tell him Charteris was suppressing vital intelligence — lying isn't too strong a word — *lying* to his commander-in-chief' (p.319); his over-optimism — 'Any sign the enemy is beaten, any small piece of prisoner gossip, is seized upon and circulated as proof that one last push will do it' (p.227); his hostility towards politicians — 'He says Charteris speaks of politicians in the most disparaging terms ... ignorant, meddling, untrustworthy, cowardly' (p.104); and even his anti-Catholicism — 'I understand from Sassoon that you're a Roman ... a man who already puts his church before his country' (p.179).

15 Among Charteris's detractors, mention should be made of James Marshall-Cornwall, who served under him on the Western Front. Through his own writings, e.g. *Haig as a Military Commander* (London, 1973), and his readiness during a long life (1887–1985) to give historians the benefit of his recollections, Marshall-Cornwall persistently undermined Charteris's historical reputation. In 1960 he told John Terraine, a key figure in Haig's rehabilitation, that Charteris 'considered that it was his duty to keep up Douglas Haig's morale' even if this meant giving him false information. J. Terraine, *Douglas Haig: the Educated Soldier* (London, 1963), p.369. See also M. Stuart, 'How They Kept Haig in the Dark', *Guardian* 3 October 1980.

16 Charteris, *At GHQ*, p.v; W. Reid, *Douglas Haig: Architect of Victory* (Edinburgh, 2006), p.158.

17 A. Cave Brown, 'C': *The Secret Life of Sir Stewart Menzies, Spymaster to Winston Churchill* (New York, 1987), pp.338–9.

opposition to great offensives’, ‘misleads Haig’ and ‘cooks the reports for Haig’ — offer a flavour of the former Prime Minister’s assessment.¹⁸

None of these simplistic characterisations accurately captures the nature of Charteris’s role at Haig’s side, still less fairly evaluates his performance as his intelligence chief. Charteris himself was a man of contrasts. First impressions were often unfavourable. Surprisingly unkempt for a senior officer, he was once described by Haig as ‘dirty and fat’. Charteris drank brandy before breakfast and enjoyed bawdy humour.¹⁹ He could also be abrasive and arrogant. On the credit side, however, and despite relatively poor health, he was extremely hard-working, quick-witted and personally devoted to Haig. Fluent in both French and German, Charteris was not without intellectual distinction. A contemporary described a man with ‘a good 50 per cent more of brains, imagination, decision and initiative’ than his fellow officers.²⁰ A Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, he had carried out original exploratory work in the Himalayas and had also served briefly in 1912 as a *Times* war correspondent in the Balkans. So often implicated by historians in the senseless slaughter of the First World War, Charteris had a more sensitive side and could be genuinely moved by losses on the battlefield. On one particularly beautiful day, he wrote to his wife of the folly of men wasting such occasions by ‘killing other human beings just because their leaders have deluded them and made brutes of them’.²¹ Nor was the relationship between Charteris and Haig in any sense straightforward. In a perceptive comment, Haig’s biographer, Gerard De Groot, has written: ‘A very curious relationship grew. Charteris was a companion but never a friend; their relationship was symbiotic but not close. Haig came to rely on Charteris in both personal and professional affairs, but he does not appear to have confided in him. Charteris was loyal, supportive and, perhaps most important, respectful of Haig’s superiority.’²²

Similarly, as head of the army’s intelligence section, Charteris’s performance was mixed. It was a position for which he was neither trained nor formally qualified. In his defence, it needs to be stressed that he took charge of a profession still in its infancy. As he later told a group of American intelligence officers, his original facilities ‘consisted of a little tin box with a key to it, in which to keep important papers; only he had no important papers to put in it.’²³ In dealing with basic intelligence information about German battle formations and immediate military intentions, Charteris proved both conscientious and efficient. As the War progressed, however, he became increasingly prone to draw broader conclusions about German morale and manpower resources which his limited information could not properly sustain. Any news of unrest in Berlin led him too hastily to the conclusion that the German government was near to collapse and/or ready to sue for peace.²⁴ His crime,

18 D. Lloyd George, *War Memoirs*, vol. vi (London, 1936), p.3458.

19 Haig to Lady Haig 7 April 1915, G. De Groot, *Douglas Haig 1861–1928* (London, 1988), p.292.

20 C.F. Montague, *Disenchantment* (London, 1924), p.100.

21 Charteris to wife 22 July 1917, J. Beach, *Haig’s Intelligence: GHQ and the German Army, 1916–1918* (Cambridge, 2013), p.51.

22 De Groot, *Douglas Haig*, p.140.

23 Beach, *Haig’s Intelligence*, p.34.

24 Haig diary 10 July 1917, G. Sheffield and J. Bourne (eds), *Douglas Haig: War Diaries and Letters 1914–1918* (London, 2005), p.303.

if such it was, amounted to wishful thinking rather than the deliberate misleading of his commander-in-chief. Indeed, it is fairer to conclude that Charteris shared Haig's optimism rather than to suggest that he was the architect of it.

The shortcomings of the Brigadier-General's performance are well illustrated in his changing interpretations of the Battle of the Somme in 1916. Charteris's initial view of the battle was that its purpose was to inflict significant attritional damage on the German army as a preliminary to a more decisive campaign the following year. Increasingly, however — though his line was never entirely consistent — Charteris focused on a perceived decline in enemy morale, from which he drew exaggerated conclusions about Germany's capacity to resist. By October 1916 he was reporting: 'We are getting very optimistic here with regard to the fighting. There is no doubt that the German is a changed man ... His tail is down, he surrenders freely, and on several occasions he has thrown down his rifle and ran away, and altogether there is hope that a really bad rot may set in any day.'²⁵ From the evidence available to him, he judged that 'the German, though he is very far from being a demoralised enemy, is undoubtedly not of the same calibre as he was this time last year. The offensive has shaken him up.'²⁶ Writing to his wife, Charteris was considerably less cautious in his analysis. The Germans, he concluded, were 'absolutely sick of war' with the result that there were 'even chances' of an allied victory 'before or after' the approaching winter.²⁷

Notwithstanding the limited results of the Somme offensive and the enormous cost at which any 'success' had been secured, Charteris's optimism, if anything, grew in the course of 1917. 'It is quite certain', he told his wife on the last day of the old year, 'that this time next year there will be peace.'²⁸ His analysis was increasingly drawn from reports of the situation inside Germany, a development that took the process of intelligence evaluation dangerously outside Charteris's range of competence. 'Do you see the news in the paper of the riots and trouble in Germany?' he enquired of his wife in March 1917. 'If they are even half-true, the end may be closer than you and I imagine.'²⁹ Confidence drawn from the initial progress of the Arras offensive in April prompted Charteris to begin arrangements to purchase a house for his post-war use. That level of optimism had faded by May. Yet by early September Charteris's reports to Haig suggested that the weak German position in relation to reserves had created the most favourable situation since the beginning of the conflict.

By this stage, however, Charteris's standing in London had seriously weakened. It never fully recovered from his mishandling of an interview which Haig gave to French journalists in February 1917. He had in any case few obvious qualifications to act as the commander-in-chief's press officer and appears to have authorised the resulting articles without carefully checking them, thereby allowing Haig's over-optimistic musings on the progress of the War to reach the wider public. An increasingly obvious rivalry had developed between

25 Charteris to Gen. George Macdonogh 1 October 1916, Beach, *Haig's Intelligence*, p.215.

26 Ibid., 26 October 1916, Beach, *Haig's Intelligence*, p.216.

27 Charteris to wife 18 August 1916, Beach, *Haig's Intelligence*, p.209.

28 Ibid., 31 December 1916, Beach, *Haig's Intelligence*, p.224.

29 Ibid., 27 March 1917, Beach, *Haig's Intelligence*, p.234.

Charteris and the Director of Military Intelligence at the War Office, General Sir George Macdonogh, which may have been caused in part by the Presbyterian Charteris's suspicion of Macdonogh's Catholicism, Catholics in general being 'really half-hearted about the whole war'.³⁰ At all events, in June 1917 Macdonogh found himself agreeing with Henry Wilson's assessment that Charteris was a 'dangerous fool' because of his 'ridiculous optimism and because he is also untruthful'.³¹ The gossipy but still influential Lord Esher recorded that the whole army mistrusted Charteris, who was viewed as a 'national danger' by all the army commanders except for Haig.³² By the time of the autumn Passchendaele offensive, the methodology of Charteris's intelligence operations was being seriously challenged. The Chief of the Imperial General Staff, Sir William Robertson, warned Haig of the danger of attaching 'too much importance to the statements of deserters and other prisoners or to enemy correspondence' — a clear rejection of Charteris's approach.³³

With the continuing backing of Haig, Charteris might have been able to resist such hostility; combatting that of the Prime Minister, David Lloyd George, was a different matter. A successful British advance on 4 October revived Charteris's optimism. 'A few more [such events]', he assured his wife, 'and we shall be in Ostend before [Christmas] and the war will be won.'³⁴ Haig's surprise attack on Cambrai on 20 November, the first battle in which tanks were deployed en masse, seemed to confirm that genuine progress was being made. But the successful German counter-attack only a few days later afforded Lloyd George the chance to strike, not least perhaps because he was keen to deflect from the government possible criticism for its failure to keep Haig properly reinforced. Esher recorded a stormy outburst on the part of the Prime Minister:

He then used most violent language about Charteris. I did my best to argue and explained the view of D[ouglass] H[aig] but he was quite unconvinced. D.H. had been misled, always by Charteris. He had produced arguments about German 'morale' etc., etc., all fallacious, culled from Charteris. That man was a public danger, and ruining D.H. D.H.'s plans had all failed.³⁵

Charteris's career may in fact have been no more than the collateral damage of Lloyd George's wrath. The latter's real target was Haig himself. But, reluctantly convinced that the commander-in-chief, benefitting from royal patronage, was beyond his reach, the Prime Minister struck out at his closest subordinates and backers.³⁶ He found a useful accomplice in his pliable Secretary of State for War, Lord Derby. The latter's letter to Haig on 7 December went straight to the point:

You will agree that it is very necessary the War Cabinet should have the fullest confidence in the opinions and judgment of officers of your Staff, and this they

30 Ibid., 17 November 1917, Beach, *Haig's Intelligence*, p.47.

31 Imperial War Museum, Wilson diary 8 June 1917.

32 Churchill College, Cambridge, Esher War Journal 22 August and 16 October 1917.

33 National Archives, WO158/24, Robertson to Haig 18 October 1917.

34 Charteris to wife 4 October 1917, Beach, *Haig's Intelligence*, p.257.

35 P. Fraser, *Lord Esher: a Political Biography* (London, 1973), p.375.

36 Haig's chief of staff, Lancelot Kiggell, suffered the same fate as Charteris. The Chief of the Imperial General Staff, Sir William Robertson, soon followed.

will not have so long as Charteris remains Director of Military Intelligence.³⁷

A subsequent letter argued that Charteris had caused ‘an infinity of harm by his optimism and ... inaccurate information’. The judgement that Charteris was ‘a public danger’ was ‘shared by practically the whole of the army’.³⁸ Robertson added his weight to the anti-Charteris campaign, telling Haig that, while the Cabinet had shown no want of confidence in the commander-in-chief, ‘I have heard for *months* past complaints against Charteris ... [E]verybody seems to think you are ill-advised to retain him.’³⁹ Fully aware that the government was striking at Haig through him, Charteris was ready to fall on his sword.

With some reluctance, Haig concluded that Charteris would have to go. His concern was that his subordinate’s dismissal should be orchestrated in the most favourable possible light; ‘there was no question of removing Charteris because of supposed inefficiencies in his work’.⁴⁰ Haig even tried to persuade himself that Charteris’s dismissal was in the latter’s own best interests:

although he has done his work admirably and his Intelligence Branch is in excellent order, I feel that it would be wrong of me to keep an Officer at this time who seems really to have upset so many people ... I shall, of course, do my best to find Charteris another good job. As you know, he has lots of brains, and so in the long run it may probably turn out to have been a good thing for him to have left the Intelligence at this time, because Intelligence is rather a special kind of work which has a very small place in the Army in time of peace.⁴¹

Ironically, Charteris’s final intelligence report, accurately predicting the probability and even the targets of the next German offensive, was among the most perceptive he had ever produced:

In the early spring (not later than the beginning of March) she [Germany] should seek to deliver such a blow on the Western Front as would force a decisive battle which she could fight to the finish before the American forces could take an active part, i.e. before mid-summer.⁴²

* * *

‘We can hardly expect that any of the years still remaining to us will rival in interest

37 Derby to Haig 7 December 1917, Terraine, *Douglas Haig*, p.385.

38 Liverpool Record Office, Derby MSS, 920 DER(17) 27/2, Derby to Haig 12 December 1917.

39 National Library of Scotland, Haig MSS 3155/120, Robertson to Haig 11 December 1917.

40 Haig diary 9 December 1917, Sheffield and Bourne (eds), *Haig War Diaries*, p.359.

41 Haig to Lady Haig 14 December 1917, R. Blake (ed.), *The Private Papers of Douglas Haig 1914–1919* (London, 1952), pp.272–3.

42 ‘A Note on German Intentions’ 6 December 1917, Charteris, *At GHQ*, pp.321–6; Reid, *Douglas Haig*, p.405; Terraine, *Douglas Haig*, p.395. Planned using forces withdrawn from the now inactive Eastern Front, the German spring offensive of 1918 was a gamble by the German High Command to win the War in France before the build-up of American forces rendered victory impossible. The attack achieved sweeping early gains, but lacked the reserves to secure overall victory.

that period of our lives.⁴³ So wrote Charteris of his time at Haig's General Headquarters. Yet his career in public life was far from over. He seems to have been sounded out as early as April 1918 about standing for parliament, but at this time concluded that such a change of course 'must wait until the war is over ... I shall certainly leave the Army as soon as I can. Peace-soldiering after all this would be mere drudgery.'⁴⁴ In the event Haig softened his dismissal from his intelligence post by making him Deputy Inspector-General of Transportation. Then, in August 1918, Charteris was ordered to Baghdad in a position which, as Haig put it, left him 'with less pay than he had on leaving India in 1911 with me!' 'He seems almost a sort of Dreyfus in the eyes of our War Office authorities!'⁴⁵ Charteris, in fact, remained in the army until 1922 and did not become prospective Conservative candidate for Dumfriesshire until October 1923.⁴⁶

At one level, the political path was not the most obvious route for Charteris to follow. 'Can anyone in politics be really honest and frank', he had asked rhetorically in January 1916.⁴⁷ He was known to have a poor opinion of some of the most prominent figures in the Westminster government. 'I have never had much belief in Churchill', he confessed. 'He is so glib and his judgements seem always wrong. He has always the perfect explanation, like a child with the inevitable excuse that you cannot break down, but know to be untrue.'⁴⁸ Lloyd George was simply dismissed as 'incompetent'.⁴⁹ Nor would Charteris have been in any doubt about Haig's attitude towards the whole practice of politics. For the commander-in-chief, 'politician' was 'synonymous with crooked dealing and wrong sense of values'.⁵⁰ We can only surmise that, having left the army, Charteris, like so many others, felt compelled to take an active part in building the better world for which they had all fought, especially when this coincided with the opportunity to represent in parliament the area with which his family had for so long been associated.

Recent history suggested that Dumfriesshire was a 'natural' Liberal constituency. It is true that, since the 1880s, the seat's political affiliation had alternated between Liberal and Liberal Unionist.⁵¹ But in 1918 Dumfriesshire was amalgamated with the constituency known as Dumfries Burghs, which had consistently returned Liberal candidates since the significant extension of the franchise occasioned by the Second Reform Act of 1867. In the unusual circumstances of 1918, with a General Election held only a month after the end of the War against Germany and with electoral success very largely dependent on

43 Charteris, *At GHQ*, p.v.

44 *Ibid.*, p.301.

45 Haig diary 24 August 1918, Sheffield and Bourne (eds), *Haig War Diaries*, p.449.

46 Until 1925 'Unionist' was the combined title of the Conservative and Liberal Unionist parties. The term continued in common usage thereafter, particularly in Scotland. In the present article the terms 'Conservative' and 'Unionist' are used interchangeably.

47 Charteris, *At GHQ*, p.133.

48 *Ibid.*, p. 95.

49 Williams, *Suicide Club*, p.359.

50 Charteris, *At GHQ*, p.11.

51 The Liberal Unionists were a breakaway group, led by the Marquis of Hartington and Joseph Chamberlain, which rejected Gladstone's policy of Home Rule for Ireland. They amalgamated with the Conservatives in 1912. In Dumfriesshire the sitting Liberal MP, Sir Robert Jardine, defected to the Liberal Unionists in 1886.

endorsement from the Coalition Government via the notorious ‘coupon’,⁵² Dumfriesshire fell to a Unionist candidate. But in the more normal political climate of 1922, Dr William Chapple re-took the seat for Liberalism.

Nationally, of course, all was far from well with the British Liberal party. Divided since the Lloyd George–Asquith rift of December 1916, there had in practice been two separate parties in the succeeding years, competing for the historic mantle of W.E. Gladstone. During this period the Labour party made substantial progress — largely at Liberal expense — laying claim to be the authentic political voice of the British working class. In 1923, however, Liberals belatedly saw the error of their ways. Albeit through gritted teeth, Lloyd George and Asquith heeded the anguished cries of their supporters and effected at least a partial reconciliation. A not inconsiderable benefit of this move was access to Lloyd George’s notorious political fund, derived largely from the sale of honours during his premiership, and vital now if the party was to sustain its electoral viability. An unexpected bonus came with the Conservative government’s decision to seek a mandate for the introduction of tariffs. Even in the 1920s, no single issue was as likely to cement the disparate strands of Liberalism into a single whole as the defence of free trade. As a result, the party approached the General Election of December 1923 with a greater degree of confidence than for many years past.

Ironically, in selecting their parliamentary candidate only a year after the previous General Election, Dumfriesshire Unionists believed that this would leave them well placed for the next contest, whenever it should come. Charteris planned to begin a tour of the constituency within a month. As the local association chairman noted, Major Keswick, the Unionist candidate in 1922, had been handicapped ‘by the fact that the association was not able properly to function in time for the election ... [T]hat must not happen again.’⁵³ Having secured a very comfortable majority of 75 seats over all other parties combined, the Unionist government led by Bonar Law and, subsequently, Baldwin would not be expected to go to the country again before 1926 at the earliest, but Baldwin was becoming increasingly convinced of the case for introducing tariffs, a policy departure that came up against Bonar Law’s pledge that the government would not seek a significant change in this area without a further reference to the electorate. No sooner, in fact, had Charteris been chosen as candidate than rumours emerged of an imminent General Election. This was announced by Baldwin on 12 November to take place on 6 December.

In this situation it was again the local Liberal party which seemed better prepared. It was ‘in fighting trim’ having ‘undertaken a campaign in the constituencies that will rival in intensity anything that has been done since the stirring days of 1909’.⁵⁴ By contrast, Charteris found himself with just three weeks to introduce himself to his constituents and convince them of his personal and political credentials. In a display of crocodile tears, the

52 The ‘coupon’ was a letter of endorsement signed by the Liberal Prime Minister, Lloyd George, and the Conservative leader, Andrew Bonar Law. In the climate of post-war jingoism, few independent Liberals could prevail against it. In Dumfriesshire, John Gulland, Asquith’s chief whip, was among those who went down to defeat.

53 *Dumfries and Galloway Standard and Advertiser* [hereafter, *Standard*] 3 November 1923. Extracts from the *Dumfries Standard* appear by kind permission of the Editor.

54 *Standard* 29 September 1923. The reference to 1909 relates to the constitutional crisis which followed the rejection of the ‘People’s Budget’ by the House of Lords.

Liberal-supporting *Standard* purported to sympathise with Charteris's predicament:

The Unionist who was introduced to the constituency as prospective candidate is to be commiserated on the hopeless task which has been set him. He is without any political experience and without experience as a public speaker. Even if he were very experienced and well equipped in these respects, it would still be a physical impossibility for him to make himself sufficiently well acquainted with the electors throughout the County of Dumfries to make any impression on Dr Chapple's majority.⁵⁵

The same paper used an editorial in its next issue to present a telling military analogy of the Prime Minister's appeal to the electorate:

The sudden order to advance is awkward for those comfortably entrenched, but it is ten times more so for raw levies like General Charteris, who were looking forward to a period of leisurely training for the fight. It was really inconsiderate of Mr Baldwin to rush things like that.⁵⁶

Meanwhile, Charteris who, according to the Conservative-supporting *Dumfries Courier*, had made 'a most excellent' first impression, creating a 'universal feeling' that he would 'prove a first-class candidate and future Member', tried to make a virtue of his political inexperience by emphasising the freshness of his appeal and approach.⁵⁷ But when Williamson Wallace, chairing a meeting at Brownhall, introduced the Conservative candidate, he took the point too far and scored a clear own goal for Charteris's grateful Liberal opponents:

The advantage of the candidate for Dumfriesshire was that he was a soldier, and also a business man. *He knew nothing about politics*, and had come forward to use his business ability. This was the sort of man he thought they wanted.⁵⁸

'One would like to know', asked the *Standard* reasonably enough, 'what would have been the opinion of the Brigadier-General if anyone had proposed to entrust an important command during the late war to an absolute beginner in military matters.' The paper mocked Charteris's claim that it was the question of unemployment that had brought him into the political arena. 'Are we to infer that, had there been no unemployment, the Brigadier-General would have stuck to his brigade, or does he mean that the fact of there being unemployment among Brigadier-Generals induced him to seek employment as a legislator?' Charteris, the *Standard* suggested, had not studied the relevant facts relating to unemployment and was merely repeating the platitudes of his party leader.⁵⁹ Indeed, when Charteris complained that his campaign was receiving insufficient coverage in the *Standard*, the newspaper responded that it was 'rather difficult to give much space to a speaker who makes practically the same speech at every meeting'.⁶⁰

55 *Standard* 14 November 1923.

56 *Standard* 17 November 1923.

57 *Dumfries and Galloway Courier and Herald* [hereafter *Courier*] 3 November 1923.

58 *Standard* 17 November 1923. Emphasis added.

59 *Standard* 17 November 1923.

60 *Standard* 5 December 1923.

The campaign became increasingly heated, with the *Standard* accusing the Conservative candidate of ‘several gross misrepresentations’.⁶¹ Charteris was frequently interrupted by hecklers and wrong-footed by his questioners. At St Mary’s Hall, Dumfries on 29 November, ‘pandemonium reigned’:

The questioner, standing within a yard of General Charteris said: ‘I presume you are an officer of high rank in the British army. Do you think that any of those men here who are called to military boards, men who have been out of employment for months, do you think 2s. is an adequate fee to provide them with dinner and tea while called to a medical board in Glasgow, Edinburgh, or Ayr?’

Charteris: ‘Two shillings!’

Questioner: ‘Two shillings is the subsistence allowance paid to disabled men from Dumfriesshire.’

Charteris: ‘I am bound to say I think it is. I have often dined and shall dine again on less.’

Questioner: ‘Have you ever dined on 2s?’

(Mrs Charteris to the General: ‘1s. 6d., John.’)⁶²

In all the circumstances, Charteris probably did as well as could have been expected in keeping Chapple’s majority to under 2000.⁶³

The 1923 General Election was the most genuinely three-way contest of the twentieth century. The Conservatives with 258 seats remained comfortably the largest party in the new House of Commons. Labour occupied second place with 191 MPs; the Liberals, a significant third force with 159, held the balance of power. But in terms of the principal issue upon which the election had been fought — tariffs versus free trade — the result was a substantial (Labour–Liberal) victory for free trade. When parliament met again in January 1924, Baldwin’s Conservative government was promptly voted down and Asquith took the seemingly reasonable decision that Labour, as the larger of the two free trade parties, should be allowed to form a minority administration. It would prove to be a fateful decision.

Though less than eleven months separated the two contests, the General Election of October 1924 took place in a very different political climate from that which had characterised its predecessor. The Liberal party, in installing Labour in office, had done so without securing any tangible advantages for itself and with no clear or united view as to what its parliamentary strategy during the course of a minority government should now be. Indeed, the Liberal unity that had been forged in 1923 soon dissolved. The party was again unable to present a united front on major policy issues. Party whips could exert little discipline and three-way splits — for government measures, against them and abstention — were not infrequent. Liberalism was only ‘rescued’ from this situation

61 Ibid.

62 *Standard* 1 December 1923.

63 Full result: Dr W.A. Chapple 13,107, Brig.-Gen. J. Charteris 11,380.

when the government decided to turn a Liberal proposal to set up a Select Committee to investigate its handling of the so-called Campbell Case into a vote of confidence.⁶⁴ But the 'rescue' was only nominal. On a vote of confidence, Labour was defeated by 364 votes to 198. This made another General Election inevitable, one in which many traditional Liberal voters, who had never ceased to believe that Labour's socialism was the very antithesis of their own commitment to liberty and the freedom of the individual, could be expected to register their disapproval of the party's original decision to help Labour into office and of its subsequent parliamentary performance. Furthermore, a third General Election in less than two years was something which the Liberals could scarcely afford in purely financial terms. As a result, with Lloyd George making only a limited subvention from his political fund, the party nationally was able to field no more than 340 candidates. In a parliament of 615 seats, this effectively disqualified it at the outset as a serious contender for power, while opening up what would become one of the most persistent charges of its political opponents, that a vote for the Liberals would be a wasted vote. At constituency level the Liberals were again divided and demoralised. Even Lloyd George seemed unable to raise enthusiasm for his party's prospects, telling a correspondent that Liberals went into the contest looking like a 'disorganised rabble'.⁶⁵ By contrast, the Conservatives were revitalised, playing on the 'red scare' created by the Zinoviev Letter, which seemed to imply worrying links between British Labour and Soviet Communism and unwarranted foreign interference in British politics.

In Dumfriesshire Charteris and Chapple again stood against one another. But there were significant changes since the election of 1923. A Labour candidate, Mrs Agnes Dollan, ensured a three-way contest and this time it was the local Liberal party that was caught off-guard. The *Courier* noted that Charteris, having taken up residence in the constituency, had addressed 'a good many meetings' over the previous year and that 'his views are known to the community'.⁶⁶ By contrast, Chapple had left Britain in August for a tour of South Africa as part of a delegation of the Empire Parliamentary Association and was unable to return until 27 October, two days before polling. In his absence, the Liberal campaign was fronted by Dr Joseph Hunter, Medical Officer of Health in Dumfries. Hunter turned out to be an effective campaigner, though the prolonged absence of the candidate proved a formidable, perhaps insuperable, handicap. But the *Courier* sought to present Chapple's absence as something more than the unfortunate consequence of fulfilling his parliamentary obligations:

Dr Chapple is a politician who has not risen in public estimation and confidence since he came to these parts. He has taken little interest in the constituency, which he has visited as little as possible. He is a 'careerist', a carpet-bagger, to whom this county is simply a community of voters, the artful political manipulation of which provides him with a 'seat' in Parliament.⁶⁷

64 Labour's Attorney General had unwisely halted the prosecution of a left-wing journalist, J.R. Campbell, acting editor of the communist *Workers' Weekly*, who had been accused of inciting mutiny in the armed forces.

65 Lloyd George to Viscount Inchcape 5 November 1924, R. Douglas, *History of the Liberal Party 1895-1970* (London, 1971), p.184.

66 *Courier* 8 October 1924.

67 *Courier* 22 October 1924.

By contrast, local Unionists succeeded in ‘packaging’ Charteris far more effectively than had been the case a year earlier. This was particularly apparent in relation to his war service. At the candidate’s adoption meeting, Sir James Crichton-Browne spoke directly to the constituency’s female voters:

He earnestly appealed to the women folks ... to remember that during the war, when their boys were fighting and falling at the front, when Mr Ramsay MacDonald [the outgoing Labour Prime Minister] was a pacifist and an obstructionist, doing all he could to baffle our arms, then General Charteris was at the front with our gallant soldiers fighting for his country, for right and for freedom.⁶⁸

Charteris was also presented as the local candidate in contrast to Chapple, who hailed from New Zealand (and who had previously sat in its legislature), and Mrs Dollan, who came from Clydeside. ‘Let us have at least “a kened name”, a Dumfriesshire name, the name of one who has gained honour in the service of the Empire and who will honour and truly represent the county in Parliament.’⁶⁹

From the point of view of Charteris’s personal contest, the Liberal party remained his only serious competitor. But the Unionist candidate also sought to tap into his party’s national campaign narrative, where Labour was now portrayed as the real enemy and the Liberals almost an irrelevance. Even a brief period of Labour government, he claimed, had exposed the dangers that socialism posed to the country at large. The Campbell Case marked ‘the beginning of what must be recognised as one of the greatest dangers to any civilised State — the danger of the equal and equitable course of justice and law being deflected by the influence of the party in power’.⁷⁰ Against this, the Liberal party merited little more than contempt. ‘Surely there was no more pathetic, humiliating picture in the political history of the country than was now presented by the official Liberal Party, and he excluded from that moderate Liberal men and women.’ The exclusion was important for Charteris knew that such voters were important for his own electoral prospects. So, like hundreds of Conservative candidates across Britain, he appealed to those same ‘moderate Liberal men and women’ to ‘seek their political future in the Party which, to his mind, held the Liberal ideas of the old Liberal Party — he meant the Unionist Party’. The Liberal spirit was not dead, but it should ‘leave its present habitation and flit to one more suitable’. The Liberal spirit that had animated the great Liberal leaders of the past was not to be found in a party ‘which put in power a Government which could commit such a sin against British justice and British law as the repudiation ... of the prosecution of Mr Campbell’.⁷¹

After a sometimes unpleasant campaign, the voters of Dumfriesshire went to the polls on 29 October. Charteris, despite being involved in an election-day car-crash, was elected to parliament with a comfortable majority over Dr Chapple of more than 4,000 votes.⁷² Across the country as a whole, Dumfriesshire was one of 105 Liberal seats lost to the Conservatives. With only 17.8 per cent of the national vote, the Liberal party was

68 *Standard* 18 October 1924.

69 *Courier* 22 October 1924.

70 Speech in Lochmaben 13 October 1924, *Standard* 15 October 1924.

71 Speech at Drill Hall, Dumfries 29 September 1924, *Standard* 1 October 1924.

72 Full result: Brig.-Gen. J. Charteris 12,718, Dr W.A. Chapple 8,472, Mrs A. Dollan 6,342.

reduced to just 40 MPs. The electorate as a whole had determined that the Liberals were largely irrelevant to the key political issues of the day. Yet in Dumfriesshire the *Standard* found it difficult to accept the defeat of its favoured candidate graciously. Charteris, it pointed out, had the 'doubtful honour of being the first member for this constituency who has been returned by a minority of voters' — though this was unsurprisingly granted the intervention for the first time of a Labour candidate. But for the 'good luck' of that Labour candidature, the newspaper insisted, 'not even the wave of Toryism that has swept the country could have carried him to the top of the poll'.⁷³ For all that, Charteris had won, while the Conservatives, with 412 MPs in the new House of Commons, could look forward to a full term in office.

Among the massed ranks of Conservative backbenchers, it was not easy for any newly elected MP to make a significant mark in parliament. Nonetheless, by focusing on a limited range of issues where he built up a reputation for personal expertise, Charteris's time in the Commons was not without achievement. He spoke most frequently on military matters — particularly associated administrative costs — India, housing, rating and land tenure and was always ready to urge ministers to remember the particularity of Scotland in the framing of legislation for Britain as a whole. On one occasion he wisely called for the creation of a single Ministry of Defence, an objective that was not fully achieved until after the Second World War. Some of his interventions in parliamentary debate have a contemporary resonance. He expressed concern over the taxation arrangements of the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man, blamed the housing problems of Glasgow on immigration (albeit from the Irish Free State), complained that 'parts of the South-West of Scotland are being more and more Irishised',⁷⁴ and argued for a reduction in the level of MPs' permitted electoral expenses. Charteris clashed frequently with left-wing Clydeside MPs and, despite reminding the House that he personally had been educated in Scotland, found himself being taunted in 1927 by James Maxton, the Chairman of the Independent Labour Party: 'I venture to say that the later polish must have been put on in England. We do not produce such results in Scotland.'⁷⁵

But Charteris's most important achievement in parliament was undoubtedly a private member's measure, the Slaughter of Animals (Scotland) Bill, which he adopted on behalf of the Scottish Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. The vast majority of private members bills never reach the statute book, talked out by opponents or deprived of the necessary parliamentary time by the government's business managers. Charteris's bill, by contrast, became law in 1928. It significantly extended the use of humane stunning in Scottish abattoirs. Stressing that he was himself 'no humanitarian fanatic', Charteris patiently rebuffed the objections — some of them patently spurious — of his opponents and helped guide the measure towards the statute book.⁷⁶ Granted the predominantly rural nature of his constituency, it was a brave move on Charteris's part to champion such a bill, given the widespread fear among sections of the agricultural community that any change would have significant cost implications. But Charteris had taken the trouble to

73 *Standard* 1 November 1924.

74 House of Commons Debates, vol.198, col.2211, 28 July 1926.

75 *Ibid.*, vol.209, col.705, 21 July 1927.

76 *Ibid.*, vol.218, col.1941, 22 June 1928.

research the subject thoroughly and won much respect in parliament and outside for what was described in the *Spectator* as ‘a definite advance in British civilization’.⁷⁷ He later asserted that he would willingly have sacrificed his seat in parliament rather than not have put the bill on the statute book.⁷⁸

Yet, at a time when most ex-soldier MPs were using their previous military careers to advantage, Charteris’s wartime activities returned briefly to haunt him, attracting to himself ‘unenviable notoriety’ as the central figure in the so-called ‘Cadaver’ story.⁷⁹ During a visit to the United States in 1925, he was alleged to have told an American audience that, for propaganda purposes, British wartime intelligence had invented a story that the Germans were boiling the bodies of dead soldiers in order to manufacture glycerine. This ‘atrocious’ had been publicised by *The Times*, which reported a German account of a ‘corpse exploitation establishment’.⁸⁰ On returning to Britain, Charteris insisted that his speech had been mis-reported and it has never been proven that he had been responsible for creating the original black propaganda.⁸¹ But the New York speech received ‘worldwide notoriety’ and was taken up by the Leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons.⁸² Whatever the truth of the matter, the incident did little, at the time or thereafter, to enhance the wartime reputation of the Member for Dumfriesshire.

Charteris’s perception of the general political scene remained shaped, understandably enough, by his own electoral vulnerability in Dumfriesshire. Whatever the long-term decline of the Liberal party, it retained pockets of strength in many parts of the country and remained capable of isolated, albeit often temporary, revivals. To begin with, Charteris drew attention to the ‘futile’ intervention of Liberal candidates in by-elections. The Liberal vote was likely to be ‘so small that the candidate had to go through the process now common to all Liberal candidates of sacrificing his deposit money’. Nonetheless, the effect, Charteris claimed, of splitting the ‘anti-Socialist vote’ could still be to permit a Labour victory. ‘Could anything be more absurd?’ His remedy was simple. ‘Would it not be far better if [the Liberals] frankly accepted facts, [and] realised that the Government now was a Liberal–Unionist Government, on which every anti-socialist could firmly rely to carry out a progressive policy.’⁸³ The sooner all who were opposed to socialism found their political home under one flag, with a common purpose, the better it would be for the country.⁸⁴

But there were serious problems with Charteris’s analysis. In many policy areas the Conservative government appeared to drift. Despite its effective handling of the General Strike of May 1926 and some successes in the foreign arena, Baldwin’s unadventurous, safety-first approach offered few remedies for the country’s intractable unemployment problem and undermined Charteris’s suggestion that the Conservatives were now the

77 *Spectator* 12 November 1927.

78 *Standard* 25 May 1929.

79 *Standard* 6 February 1946.

80 *The Times* 16 and 24 April 1917.

81 Beach, *Haig’s Intelligence*, pp. 53–5.

82 *Standard* 28 October 1925.

83 Speech in Amisfield 19 February 1926, *Standard* 24 February 1926.

84 Speech in Dunscore 2 April 1926, *Standard* 3 April 1926.

repository for the progressive policies of the old Liberal party. Meanwhile, following Asquith's belated retirement in October 1926, the Liberal party under Lloyd George's leadership took on a more radical image than it had enjoyed since before the First World War. With new strategies for industry and the land, together with a proto-Keynesian approach to economic management, the party once more found itself setting the political agenda. This soon translated into by-election successes. Gains were secured in Southwark North (March 1927), Bosworth (May 1927), Lancaster (February 1928), St Ives (March 1928), Eddisbury (March 1929) and Holland-with-Boston (March 1929). All but the first were at the expense of the Tories. When Baldwin called a General Election for 30 May 1929, many Liberals believed that, perhaps for the first time since the War, their party with 513 candidates in the field had a realistic prospect of seizing power.

In Dumfriesshire Charteris was immediately on the defensive, not least because the Liberals now chose the popular Joseph Hunter to be their candidate. Visiting Dumfries in 1925, Lloyd George had been much impressed by Hunter and persuaded him to enter national politics. Though he was probably unaware of the fact, Charteris's constituency was one of nine seats in Scotland specifically targeted by the Liberals and Hunter appears to have received over £1,000 from the Lloyd George Fund to underpin his campaign.⁸⁵ Charteris's attempt to dismiss Liberal proposals to create jobs through a massive programme of public works as being of no relevance to Dumfriesshire was savaged by the *Standard*:

Could anything be more pitiful than the kind of argument that General Charteris is reduced to in trying to oppose the Liberal scheme? ... [H]e argues that the scheme, if carried out, would be of no benefit to Dumfriesshire because he had studied the map that appears in the Orange Book⁸⁶ and he had seen no roads in this county marked for reconstruction ... Road making is not the only kind of work to be put in hand. There is a good deal of water-logged land in Dumfriesshire that needs draining, and there is telephone development and other schemes. Besides that, there are many miles of unclassified roads that could not be marked on a small scale map, but which are to be improved.⁸⁷

Whether money from the Lloyd George Fund was employed to disrupt Charteris's election meetings is unclear but, as the *Standard* took pleasure in noting, the General was certainly given a rough ride. A meeting in St Mary's Hall, Dumfries on 14 May was 'noisy' with Charteris frequently interrupted. The following evening at Moniaive 'pandemonium broke out' when questions from the floor were left unanswered. And at Penpont on 18 May only a sentence of the chairman's opening remarks could be heard at the back of the hall and he 'almost immediately resumed his seat'. When Charteris himself came to speak, he had 'a very mixed reception' with frequent interruptions and 'much shouting, hissing and booing' at the back of the hall.⁸⁸ By the end of the campaign, a note of desperation had

85 J.G. Jones, 'Honiton, Dumfriesshire and the Lloyd George Fund', *Journal of Liberal History* 49 (2005-6), p.9.

86 This was the popular name of the Liberals' policy pamphlet *We Can Conquer Unemployment*, also sometimes referred to as the 'Little Yellow Book'.

87 *Standard* 11 May 1929.

88 *Standard* 18 and 22 May 1929.

entered Charteris's speeches. Having for several years insisted that the real struggle in British politics was between socialists and anti-socialists and that little of substance divided the modern Tory party from the Liberals, he now appealed to those Dumfriesshire electors who could not bring themselves to vote Conservative to vote for the Labour candidate. 'Why', asked the *Standard* very reasonably, 'does he not recommend Dr Hunter as next best?' The answer was obvious. 'The reception he has been having all over the county has convinced him that he cannot hold the seat on his own merits ... he can only hope to win the seat if the Labour candidate polls heavily at the expense of Dr Joseph Hunter.'⁸⁹

In the event, Hunter recaptured the seat for the Liberals with a comfortable majority over Charteris of over 3,000 votes.⁹⁰ The local press responded predictably. For the *Courier* it was 'a great disappointment'. Neither Charteris's 'services nor the interests of the country at this juncture have been given the consideration they deserved'.⁹¹ By contrast, the *Standard* argued that Charteris had been defeated 'on political as well as on personal grounds'. He was 'not a very satisfactory representative and we know that he did not command the unqualified approval of his own party'.⁹² But Hunter understood the importance of the external support he had received. 'The Conservative organisation in Dumfriesshire', he suggested, 'is considered to be the best in Britain and without money it would have been impossible to counter it.'⁹³

Nationally, the Liberals did less well. Despite polling more than five million votes (because of a further extension of the franchise in 1928, a higher total than the party had ever previously secured), their tally of seats only went up to 59. A net gain of 28 seats from the Conservatives was partially off-set by a net loss of 15 seats to Labour. Meanwhile, Labour as the largest party took office for the second time. But it again lacked an overall majority, leaving the Liberals with a repetition of the dilemmas that had confronted them in 1924. In this situation a further election might be called at any time and Charteris was ready to try to recover his seat should that opportunity arise. In fact, his political career was over. On 17 July the Executive Committee of the Dumfriesshire Unionist Association forwarded to Charteris a resolution thanking him for his services to the party and the strenuous efforts he had made to retain the seat. By the same post the committee asked him whether he wished his name to go forward to a special committee that would select a candidate for the next General Election. Charteris was then absent from the constituency for several weeks. On his return in December he learnt that he would not be considered for re-nomination. The General now withdrew from the fray with dignity and no public sign of recrimination. Perhaps for the first time, the *Standard* offered a fair and non-partisan assessment of his performance. Notwithstanding his 'numerous blunders on public platforms',

he did pay attention to his duties both in the House of Commons and in his constituency. No one could complain of the neglect of any of the multitudinous small tasks which constituents demand that their member should attend to ... One

89 *Standard* 25 May 1929.

90 Full result: Dr J. Hunter 16,174, Brig.-Gen. J. Charteris 12, 984, W.H. Marwick (Lab) 6,687.

91 *Courier* 1 June 1929.

92 *Standard* 1 June 1929.

93 Hunter to Sir John Davies 2 August 1929, Jones, 'Honiton, Dumfriesshire', p.10.

would have imagined that, in view of all his services to the constituency and to the Conservative cause here, he would have received the first option of the candidature, or at all events, if the Executive Committee did decide to make a change, that he would have been given an opportunity of retiring gracefully and not of appearing as a rejected man.⁹⁴

In the years that followed, Charteris directed his energies to writing, largely in defence of his old chief, Douglas Haig, who had died in 1928. By the 1930s, as the opinion grew that the First World War had been a senseless waste of human life for no obvious gain, Haig's reputation was coming under increasingly severe attack. Charteris published *Field Marshal Earl Haig* as early as 1929. *At GHQ* followed in 1931 and *Haig* in 1933. 'It may fairly be anticipated', he wrote in the first of these works, 'that when the final record is written, the final judgement given, Haig will stand out alone and without rival as the greatest of the great soldiers who led the armies of their country to battle in the gigantic conflict waged in France and Belgium.'⁹⁵ Such a state of historiographical consensus had certainly not been reached by the time that Charteris died, aged 69, in 1946. Indeed, it remains unfulfilled to this day. But Charteris would at least have been pleased with the increasingly sympathetic assessment of the commander-in-chief's career that has been apparent since the 1960s, beginning with John Terraine's pioneering work, *Douglas Haig: The Educated Soldier* (1963).⁹⁶

94 *Standard* 28 December 1929.

95 J. Charteris, *Field Marshal Earl Haig* (London, 1929), p.390.

96 For useful over-views of an on-going debate, see J. Bourne, 'Haig and the Historians' in B. Bond and N. Cave (eds), *Haig: A Reappraisal 70 Years On* (Barnsley, 1999) and K. Simpson, 'The reputation of Sir Douglas Haig' in B. Bond (ed.), *The First World War and British Military History* (Oxford, 1991).

ADDENDA ANTIQUARIA

THE LOCHMABEN BELLS

John Wilson¹

In the tower of Lochmaben Parish Church hang two bells, said to be the oldest bells in use in Scotland. Their origin is lost in antiquity though experts have ascribed them to the early fourteenth century. One bell is known as the Bruce bell and the other as the Pope's bell. Though Bruce's connection with Lochmaben is well known, the Vatican archives could provide no information as to the origin of the Bruce bells companion.²



Figure 1. The Bruce bell, with Lombardic inscription. Photograph by James Gair.

The bells are thought to be a pair and the relationship of their notes (G and E flat) along with the rope-like twist of the canons by which they hang, support this suggestion.

1 Fellow of the Society; Room 24, Westfield, Dumfries Road, Lockerbie, DG11 2EF.

2 Wilson, John. (2001). *Lochmaben and its History*. 2nd ed. p.9.



Figure 2. The Pope's bell. Photograph by James Gair.

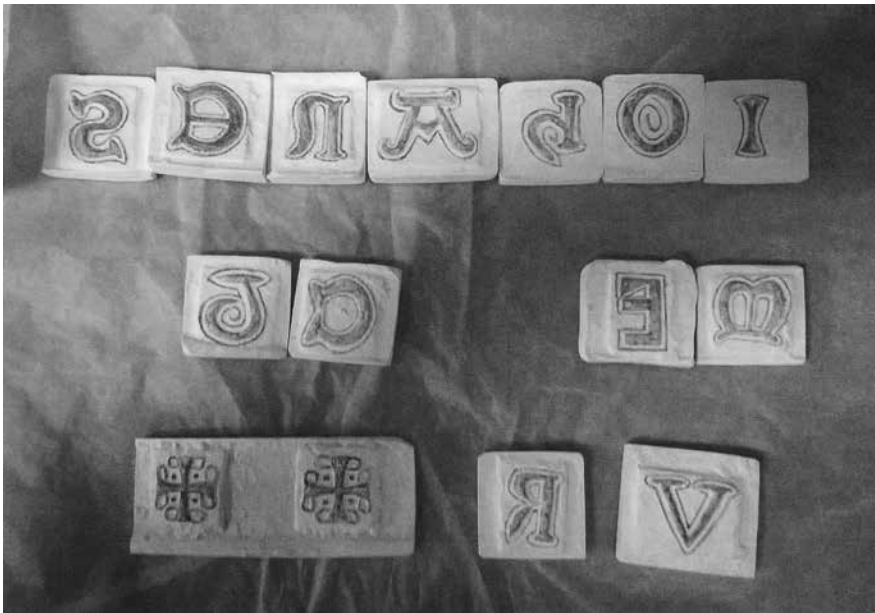


Figure 3. The Lombardic characters. By kind permission of the RCAHMS.

The crown of the Bruce bell is inscribed in Lombardic characters, reversed to read from right to left, 'JOHANNES ADAM ME FACIT' while on the sound bow, in paired letters, is inscribed 'AVE MARIA'. No trace of a bell founder named Johannes Adam has been found.

The Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland (RCAMHS) has provided photographs of the wax impressions taken from the inscribed bell in 1947 by Ranald Clouston (Figure 3). These have been carefully examined in the hope that they would provide a clue as to the date the bells were cast.³

The beautifully inscribed letters are mostly cut in late Lombardic capitals. The two small Maltese crosses which mark the beginning and the end of the lettering are more individualistic.

The first written reference to the Lochmaben bells is in 1898 when James Barbour gave a detailed description of both bells.⁴ Most authorities agree that the inscribed bell is the Bruce bell which Eccles and Clouston confidently claim was cast about 1300 with the Pope's bell cast fifty years later. All agree that the bells are a pair.

George Elphick,⁵ an expert on English bells, illustrates the smooth roundness of the sound bow of a Lochmaben bell terminating in a pointed end but makes no further reference to them.

An attempt to date them more accurately through examination of the lettering on the Bruce bell has proved unproductive, for though most of the capital letters are Lombardic in style, two, the H and the P, possess an unusual rounded shape and the A is beautifully embellished.⁶ The lettering provides no further information from which to date the bells so their date of origin remains, based on traditional tales supported by expert antiquarian opinion, as the early fourteenth century.

These bells remain an important part of our heritage. Perhaps when new methods for dating are evolved more of their secrets will be revealed. Long may they continue to ring out over the parish.

SOME UNSOLVED PROBLEMS IN THE HISTORY OF ROADS IN DUMFRIES AND GALLOWAY

Alex. D. Anderson⁷

I have been engaged in investigating the history of roads for over fifty years. Nevertheless, several problems relating to the roads remain unsolved and it is now time to summarise these so that they may perhaps be followed up by others who are welcome to make what they can of them. Most of these problems concern roads in the former Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, with a few relating to Dumfriesshire and Wigtonshire.

1. Telford's report on the Carlisle to Portpatrick Road

It is well known that Thomas Telford reported in 1803 to the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's

3 Eccles F.C. and Clouston R.W.A. (1969–70). The Church and Other Bells of the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright II. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 102, p.121.

4 Barbour, James. (1897–98). The Church Bells of Lochmaben. *TDGNHAS*, ser.2, vol.15, p.82.

5 Elphick, George. (1988). *The Craft of the Bell Founder*. Bognor Regis: Phillimore. p.13.

6 Noble, Mary and Mehigan, Janet. (2008). *Calligraphy Alphabets for Beginners*. London: Bloomsbury.

7 Fellow of the Society; 2 Mount Pleasant Avenue, Kirkcudbright, DG6 4HF.

Treasury on, among other subjects, communication between Great Britain and Ireland via Portpatrick and to the Galloway coast.⁸ While some papers referring to this report have been found locally the Report itself has proved elusive. One document kept at Broughton House, Kirkcudbright, referred to 'a paper apart' and in the Dumfries and Galloway Council Archives there is a record of a parliamentary examination of Thomas Telford on the subject. Enquiry at the National Library of Scotland (admittedly about 50 years ago!) failed to locate it. It has been suggested that a copy of the missing section of the report may be found in Parliamentary records in London.

Sir Alexander Gibb writes as follows:⁹

In spite of reports by Telford and Rennie the schemes were postponed from time to time, and little was done until after 1814, at which time part of the proposed improvements were carried out, when the Glasgow–Carlisle road was being re-made.

At the time of its publication the improvements to the Stewartry roads initiated by Lord Daer were well in hand, the principal outstanding projects being the second widening of Fleet Bridge (1811), Threave Bridge (1822–6) and Cree Bridge (c1812–16). Government grants were given for the two latter projects.¹⁰ As Gibb refers also to the important part played by General Dirom, it seems possible that many of the proposals referred to Dumfriesshire.

2. Roman Roads

Not being an expert on Roman roads, I have generally avoided consideration of them except where this has been unavoidable in the study of later roads such as the 'Old Edinburgh Road'.¹¹ A study of Roman roads in this area was published by A. Wilson in 1989.¹²

However, I was recently consulted on the history of the road over Irelandton Moor to the east of Gatehouse of Fleet and a possible Roman origin was queried. Since no Roman route has yet been confirmed between the fort at Glenlochiar and the Fortlet at Gatehouse, it is permissible to speculate whether the Romans avoided the hills which would require to be crossed by a direct line between these two points, and instead used a 'dog-legged' route by the Steps of Tarff (near Stick Bridge, NX682580). This would be compatible with a Roman origin for the Irelandton Moor road. If this is so, a straight line drawn on the map between a possible crossing of the Dee south of the present Glenlochiar Bridge and the Steps of Tarff passes very close to the line of the present Glenlochiar to Kirkcudbright road (NX731638) and (NX71960) with a possible continuation along a nearly straight water-course towards Dunjop. This would take the line slightly south of Steps of Tarff but avoiding high ground near Queenshill.

This, of course, is pure speculation and I leave it for consideration by the experts on Roman matters.

8 Gibb, Sir Alexander. *The Story of Telford*, London, (1935). pp.73–4 & 181.

9 Gibb, *op. cit.* p.74.

10 Anderson, A.D., *Classified Summary of the Minutes of the Road Trustees of the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright and Summary of Items relating to Roads in the Minutes of the Commissioners of Supply of the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, 1729–1796, with some notes for later years.* Copies in the Ewart Library, Dumfries, the Dumfries & Galloway Council Archives and the Stewartry Museum, Kirkcudbright.

11 Anderson, A.D., 'The Old Edinburgh Road in Dumfriesshire and Galloway', *TDGNHAS*, vol.84 (2010), p.101.

12 Wilson, A., 'Roman Penetration in West Dumfries and Galloway', *TDGNHAS*, vol.64 (1989), p.7.

3. The Third Arch at Fleet Bridge, Gatehouse — when Was it Removed?

Fleet Bridge at present consists of a two-span masonry bridge extended to the east by masonry wing walls. The bridge was consolidated by concrete filling and reinforced concrete footpaths added in 1964-65. However it has a somewhat long and complicated history which is summarised in a paper published by me in 1969 and from which the following extract is taken:¹³

This crossing has always been of importance and a bridge here is indicated on Timothy Pont's map, surveyed about 1590. In 1661, Richard Murray of Broughton obtained an Act of Parliament empowering him to rebuild the bridge and to levy pontages. This bridge must have been a timber one, and on the site of the present bridge. It seems to have been destroyed by a flood in 1721 or earlier. Apparently the county highway authorities were financially unable to replace it, in spite of its importance, and Murray of Broughton agreed to construct it himself, in consideration of which the Government would remit certain duties due by him. While this arrangement seems to have been approved by the Barons of Exchequer in 1723 it must have fallen through, since the bridge was not replaced till 1730 and then by the Commissioners of Supply. A contract was finally made with John Frew in 1729 to build a stone bridge 'where the old timber bridge stood'.¹⁴ This bridge forms the oldest part of the present structure and is referred to below as 'the original bridge'. The contract refers, in addition to the two main arches, to a smaller arch at the east end and this was either never built, or more probably, was removed in 1753. The original contract price was £150 with a 'bonus' of 300 merks Scots (£16 13s 4d). The bridge was widened by the Commissioners of Supply in 1779 for £79, and again in 1811 by the Road Trustees for £200.

The suggested date of 1753 for the removal of the third arch was based on the fact that the Commissioners of Supply incurred unusually high expenditure that year, but there is no other evidence for this date in the Commissioners' Minutes or elsewhere. On reflection, over the intervening period of nearly 50 years I have come to the conclusion that it was more probably removed at the time of the first widening in 1779. The alternative, that it was never built is disproved by the existence of an otherwise useless downstream 'cutwater' at the east side of the east arch of the present bridge.

The contract for the bridge with 'John Frew, Mason in Dumfries', specifies 'two arches of 30 foot wyde and a smaller one on the Girthon Land syde'.¹⁴ As further evidence that this was done, I recollect seeing a small drawing used as a bookmark in one of the Commissioners of Supply Minute Books. This showed a bridge answering to that description. In the eighteenth century there was no other bridge in the Stewartry with three spans except High Bridge of Dee (which it clearly is not) or possibly the ill-fated Buittle Bridge, particulars of which are unknown. In 1779 the third arch must have been silted up and ineffective for the conveyance of water.

Drawings and photographs of what was found in the excavation of the infill of the bridge are deposited in the Stewartry Museum.

13 Anderson, A.D. 'The Third Widening of Fleet Bridge, Gatehouse, 1964-5, *Journal of the Institution of Municipal Engineers*, vol.96, (September 1969), p.262. Copy in the Stewartry Museum, Kirkcudbright.

14 'Contract Betwixt Barholm, Cardiness and others and John Frew etc. 6th June 1729 to build a Bridge over the Fleet where the old timber bridge stood.' *Ardwall Papers*, no.558. I am grateful to the late Mr Walter McCulloch of Ardwall for permitting me to make a copy of this document.

4. Moss-side Bridge over Dalskairth Lane — was it the last timber bridge?

My memory, which may be wrong, is that a timber bridge was recorded on this road (Drungans on A711 to near Mabie on A710) in a 1950s list of bridges but by the time I was involved in the 1960s it had been replaced. Documents now in the Stewartry Museum may record its building.¹⁵

5. Names

In the various records of road construction in the Stewartry over the 160 years from 1729 to 1889 many place names appear which are no longer in use and are not recorded on maps. Usually it is possible to find the location from adjacent names but there are some which are puzzling. There are too many to record here, but two examples may be given.

Lightwaterford

This was the venue recorded for some meetings of a committee of the Stewartry Road Trustees when considering the making of the Dumfries to Dalbeattie road, now the A711. When consulted, the late James Williams found three more references to this place.¹⁶ One of these refers to ‘the west side of the road leading from Dumfries to New Abbey at Lightwaterford’¹⁷ which is not very specific.

Clachron Hill

In Rickson and Debbieg’s report (1757) on the proposed road from Sark Bridge to Portpatrick the extract below refers to the Newton Stewart area:¹⁸

Thence old road thro’ Newton Stewart to top of bank where new road should strike off thro’
Castlestewart’s parks making a gentle sweep round the North side of the Clachron hill.

Two questions arise: (a) Where is, or was the Clachron Hill? and (b) Is the name ‘Clachron’ derived from the Gaelic *clacharan* which in this case could mean a paved way over boggy ground? James McLay suggested a farm called ‘Clachrum’.¹⁹ Professor John McQueen does not mention either name.²⁰

6. Conclusion

It may be fitting to conclude with a record of a problem recently solved. A few miles south of Stranraer is the house known as ‘Kildrochat’. When I came across this name a few years ago I thought that it might derive from Gaelic, meaning ‘bridge chapel’. Such things exist, but mostly in the more southerly parts of England and even there are not common. The nearest thing to a ‘bridge chapel’ in Dumfries and Galloway would be the wayside cross near the old ferry at Thornhill. I simply did not believe it and speculated that it might be a Victorian ‘made-up’ name. The other possibility was that the name had changed but I could not find confirmation of this, until, with the help of Mr T. Stevenson of the Stranraer and District Local History Trust, I obtained a copy of Professor John McQueen’s

15 These were brought to my attention by Dr David Devereux.

16 James Williams, personal communication.

17 ‘Minute of Sale betwixt Col. Goldie and Walter Riddell. 22nd. Nov. 1791’.

18 ‘Report on a survey of a proposed Road from the River Sark to Portpatrick ... etc’, National Records of Scotland, Broughton and Cally Muniments, no.547.

19 James McLay, personal communication.

20 McQueen, J. *Place Names in the Rhinns of Galloway and Luce Valley*, Stranraer, (2002).

book.²¹ Here all is made clear — the name on Pont's survey of about 1590 was 'Kernadrochat', from the Gaelic *ceathramh na drochaide* — 'quarterland of the bridge'. Perhaps the moral should be 'Do not indulge in amateur etymology.'

This completes my list of the main problems in local road history which I have been unable to solve. There are many more, mostly trivial, points which may not be worth pursuing. I leave the problems listed and any others which may arise to any others who may be interested.

I conclude with one piece of probably useless information concerning a road in the former Stewartry. Hermitage Drive in Maxwelltown, made in the 1920s or 1930s, follows the line of a previously existing main sewer which had earlier been laid through what was then a plant nursery.

21 McQueen, J. *op cit*, p.61.

NOTICE OF PUBLICATION¹

Without Fear or Favour — The History of the Royal Burgh of Dumfries Police 1788–1932 by John Maxwell. Dumfries: the author. 2015. 204pp. £10.00, ISBN 978-1-907931-48-2 (paperback).

‘In 1787 King George III signed the Beer Act (27G.3.C.57), that allowed Dumfries Burgh council to gather tax to pay for “... a measure to provide for the paving, cleansing, lighting and watching of the burgh, for which there had long been felt a necessity.” From a handful of watchmen working at night, through public executions at Marchmount and Buccleuch Street, a world war, the amalgamation with Maxwelltown and the final amalgamation with Dumfries County Constabulary, Dumfries Burgh police grew from a few hardy men protecting the burgh into a fully-fledged police force. This history of Dumfries burgh police chronicles how the force began, how it developed, who was in charge and most importantly, the names of all the officers that can be found to have served with the force from 1788 until 1932 when it amalgamated with Dumfries County Police to form Dumfriesshire Constabulary. A policeman’s lot, wasn’t always a happy one.’

Dumfries Through Time by Mary Smith (author) and Allan Devlin (photography). Stroud: Amberley Publishing. 2015. 96pp. £14.99, ISBN 978-1-4456-3767-9 (paperback).

‘This fascinating selection of photographs traces some of the many ways in which Dumfries has changed and developed over the last century.

Dumfries, a market town in south-west Scotland known as the Queen of the South, is the administrative capital of the Dumfries and Galloway region and has a population of almost 32,000. Dumfries has a turbulent and sometimes bloody history with links to the Roman occupation of Britain, Bonnie Prince Charlie’s failed Jacobite uprising, the colonisation of America and imperialism. Most famously Scotland’s bard, Robert Burns, spent his final years in Dumfries with many places in the town having connections to the poet. Its thriving port trade is now a thing of the past and although once one of the largest tweed producers in the world, it has never been a major industrial centre.

The photographs show that much has changed in Dumfries – not always for the better. Some of the photographs in this collection have special poignancy as many historical buildings have been demolished in the name of progress. Doonhamers are proud of their town and its history. *Dumfries Through Time* hopes to demonstrate the importance of the town’s built heritage and is essential reading for anyone interested in the history of Dumfries.’

Castle Douglas Through Time by Mary Smith (author) and Allan Devlin (photography). Stroud: Amberley Publishing. 2017. 96pp. £14.99, ISBN 978-1-4456-5969-5 (paperback).

‘The market town of Castle Douglas, beside Carlingwark Loch in the southern Scottish region of Dumfries and Galloway, is relatively new, though the area has been inhabited from prehistoric times and the Romans had a military base close by. In the fourteenth century, Archibald the Grim, the third Earl of Douglas, built Threave Castle nearby.

The town came into being thanks to fertiliser found in the loch and wealthy merchant William Douglas, who laid out the present town in 1792. Though his dream of creating a cotton industry

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.

failed, Castle Douglas became a flourishing market town. The opening of the rail line to Dumfries in 1859 improved the town's connections.

Though the railway closed in 1965, the A75 trunk road ensured the town's survival as a major stopping point for travellers. Today, it is a major tourist destination, with many visitors using it as a base for exploring this beautiful part of Scotland. All these changes are recorded in this unique and fascinating series of new and old photographs, making this book essential reading for anyone interested in the history of Castle Douglas.'

History of Dalbeattie Primary School 1876–2015 by The History of Dalbeattie Primary School Project Group and Dalbeattie Primary School After School History Club. Published by Dalbeattie Primary School. 2016. 80pp. plus accompanying DVD. Available from Dalbeattie Museum (hardback).

'The idea for the project came about because Dalbeattie Primary School will be moving to a new building in 2017, to be co-located with Dalbeattie High School on land adjacent to the existing secondary school on Haugh Road. It was felt that the current school site's history should be researched and documented for future generations, before the Primary leaves its current site on Southwick Road. (It is interesting to note that when the current granite primary school opened in May 1876, it was actually a school for both primary and secondary pupils until the High school opened in 1958. In 2017, primary and secondary pupils will come together once more).

During the scope of the project, there have been large community events to encourage the local community to engage with the research. An 'all day coffee morning' in January 2015 saw a huge turnout of people coming along to Dalbeattie town hall to look through and help to name and date hundreds of old school photographs provided by Dalbeattie Museum. Then, in September 2015, the school itself held an 'Open Doors' event where the local community were invited to come along to reminisce during tours of the buildings and to consult old plans to advise on how they remembered different rooms being used over the school's life since 1876 and until the present day.'

A History of Waterbeck: The story of a village in south-west Scotland by George Thomson. Published by the author. 2015. 78pp. £7.50 plus £2.50 p&p, ISBN 978-0954089191 (paperback).

'Waterbeck is now a small, rural village in the south-west of Scotland. It has not always been that way. In the early medieval period when the area was close to the Debatable Lands, the Bell family, known as the 'bloody Bells', were involved in the Border feuds, marauding and killing. During the eighteenth century, Waterbeck grew to be a thriving village supporting numerous trades, as well as being surrounded by working farms and other settlements. In its time it rose to become one of the most important centres for bacon curing and agricultural seed production in Scotland, due to the enterprise of the Carlyles. Then, in the 1970s, virtually the whole village was sold off, becoming the quiet, residential village it is today. The author is an Honorary Research Fellow of the University of Glasgow.'

Timbertown Girls: Borders Women and the First World War by Chris Brader. Carlisle: Bookcase. 2015. 141pp. £10.00, ISBN 978-1-904-14783-1 (paperback).

'In 1916, young women did essential and dangerous war work. They poured into the vast munitions factory at Gretna from all parts of the country. And they also poured out onto the streets, into the pubs

and cinemas and, controversially, onto the football fields. Carlisle and Cumberland found themselves at the forefront of social change. The women were emancipated. They did their bit in the war and got the vote when the war ended.’

Rogersons: An International Story by E.M. Pantelouris. Moffat: the author. 2016. 92pp. £15.00, ISBN 978-1-907931-61-1 (paperback).

‘This book tells the story of Dr John Rogerson, private physician to Catherine the Great, Empress of Russia. Rogerson’s life began as a tenant farmer’s son in Lower Annandale, Dumfriesshire and ended eighty three years later at Dumcrieff House near Moffat, less than five miles from where it began. His affinity for Scotland remained throughout his life and recognition of his achievements in his profession was accorded when he was made a freeman of Dumfries.’

Camp Shiel Burn, Traquair — Report on Survey and Excavations 2007–2010 by Joyce Durham. Published online by Peeblesshire Archaeological Society at <http://peeblesarch.soc.org.uk/Camp_Sheil_Report.pdf>.

‘In 2007 the attention of the Peebles Archaeology Society was drawn to a story about the smugglers of illicit whisky on Minchmoor near Traquair in the Scottish Borders that was described in the Borders Magazine for March 1933. Local tradition says that there are the remains of an illicit whisky still on Camp Shiel Burn not far from Traquair. This project was conceived to connect the magazine story with the structural remains found on the Camp Shiel Burn, through field and archival research. However, as a result of field survey a range of previously unknown sites were discovered along the banks of the Camp Shiel Burn, including stills, flax retting ponds and shieling huts. Of these, a shieling hut and a still were excavated, revealing the poverty of the material culture of the former and the technical care applied to the construction of the latter. The shieling hut — a type of domestic building once common to the Southern Uplands — was dated by radiocarbon determinations to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.’

Correction

Alastair M.T. Maxwell-Irving’s recently published, *The Border Towers of Scotland 2: Their Evolution and Architecture*, was reviewed in the preceding volume of *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society* (Volume 89, 2015).

An editorial error occurred in the email address given in the publication details. We are pleased to correct this here and offer our apologies to the author and to potential purchasers who may have been inconvenienced.

The Border Towers of Scotland 2: Their Evolution and Architecture by Alastair M.T. Maxwell-Irving, price £55 + £14 p&p.

Order directly by email from a.maxwellirving@gmail.com or telephone 01259 761721.

OBITUARIES

ANTONY CURTIS WOLFFE, MBE
RIBA, FRIAS, MRTPI, Hon. Fellow AHSS, FSA Scot
1920–2016



Antony Curtis Wolffe on the presentation of the City of Edinburgh Medal for Civic Design.
 Photograph by David Cheskin.

Antony Curtis Wolffe was born Wolfgang Schmidt in Berlin on 14 May 1920, the son of an advocate and solicitor, Dr Walter Schmidt, and his wife Hildegard Meyer who, though a Lutheran, came from a prominent Jewish family.

In 1934, Wolffe spent the summer in Britain, and decided that he would make this country his home. This, of course, he did — as a refugee from Nazi Germany. He spent a year at St George's School, Harpenden and in March 1938 was awarded the Andrew Grant Bursary, enabling him to study architecture at the School of Architecture, Edinburgh College of Art. Articled briefly to H. Hopson Hill in Harpenden, he then took up his place at Edinburgh, where he was a student from 1938–43. From July to September 1939 he was an apprentice with Thomas Waller Marwick in Edinburgh. His student days were interrupted by internment as an enemy alien in Canada and on the Isle of Man. Yet, this was regarded by Wolffe — typically — as a great adventure. On completing his architectural studies, he remained at Edinburgh College of Art for a further year to complete a diploma course in Town Planning.

From 1944 to 1947 he worked as a planning assistant on the Central & South East Scotland Regional Planning Advisory Committee, the consultant for which was Sir Frank Mears. In 1947 he

became a naturalised British citizen, and opened his own practice in James Court, Edinburgh. Among his early Edinburgh commissions were alterations to the Outlook Tower (now the Camera Obscura). From 1948 he formed a partnership with Molly Marquis which lasted until 1952.

In 1950 he changed his name from Kurt Wolfgang Schmidt to Antony Curtis Wolffe.

At the same time as running his practice he undertook planning work for two Edinburgh firms. From 1947 to 1953 he was a planning assistant in the office of Robert Hurd, working on planning strategies for the Island of Lewis. He had a similar post running partly concurrently (1948–55) in the office of Sir Frank Mears who was consultant to the Royal Burgh of Dumfries. His work with Mears brought him to Dumfries, where he lived nearby at Rockcliffe. In 1951 he accepted a number of jobs in the south west of Scotland including a house and surgery for a doctor in Gatehouse of Fleet. With the encouragement and at the invitation of Elizabeth Murray-Usher of Cally, in 1952 he relocated his practice to 65 High Street, Gatehouse of Fleet. Gatehouse of Fleet was to be his home for the rest of his life.

From 1951–87 he was a part-time Inspector of Historic Buildings for the Scottish Development Department, and prepared the first statutory list of buildings of architectural and historical interest for Dumfries and Galloway. He worked part-time as Burgh Surveyor for Gatehouse-of-Fleet Town Council during the years 1956–75. In the 1960s he also took on teaching jobs, from 1968–75 being a lecturer in the Department of Town & Country Planning at Heriot Watt University, commuting weekly from Gatehouse to Edinburgh, and from 1965–1992 he taught evening classes in architecture at the University of Glasgow's Department of Adult & Continuing Education.

He was admitted ARIBA in 1963. In 1968 he was joined in partnership by W.A.D. Murphie as A.C. Wolffe & Partner and about two years after a branch office was opened at 47 Castle Street in Dumfries. The partnership lasted until 1982. From 1975–1985 T. McIlwraith was associate partner. From 1985 to 2012 Wolffe worked as sole partner but retained the name of A.C. Wolffe & Partners.

During 65 years of practice, Antony was responsible for an immense body of work, most of it in Dumfries and Galloway. His particular interest and expertise in restoration and conservation was reflected in sensitive work on country houses, churches and historic farm and mill buildings throughout the region. Among commissions elsewhere, he worked in the 1970s on Callendar House, Falkirk.

In 1975 he was awarded the MBE for services in architecture.

He undertook a wide range of work including mill conversions, housing developments and visitor centres, including that at Threave. More recent projects include the Gordon Memorial Hall in Castle Douglas, the conversion of the old tannery in Gatehouse into a supermarket and restaurant, and a new village post office and shop for Auchencairn Initiative.

Antony was a scholarly authority on the architectural history of Dumfries and Galloway, and had the most encyclopaedic memory of the buildings in the region, and their architects. Many historians turned to him for information and advice when researching in Dumfries and Galloway, which he always gave freely, and in a way that infectiously enthused others. He was particularly knowledgeable, for instance, on the work of the (then little-known) Dumfries architect, Walter Newall, and his enthusiasm for Newall's work resulted in the putting together, with his wife Alix and others, of an exhibition of the life and work of Walter Newall at the Faed Gallery at the Mill on the Fleet in 2005, with material from an extensive archive of Walter Newall's own drawings, which had been discovered and acquired from Canada about twenty years previously by the Dumfries Museum and Archive Centre.

Antony retired from architectural practice in February 2012, at the age of 92. Before retiring, he had enjoyed the honour of being Scotland's oldest practising architect.

He gave liberally to others of his time, expertise and knowledge. At one time or another, he was convener of the Church of Scotland Committee on Artistic Matters, President of the Galloway Pres-

ervation Society and President of the Architectural Heritage Society of Scotland, an organisation which awarded him an Honorary Fellowship. He served as a Trustee of the Scottish Architectural Heritage Trust and was, for twenty years, an elder of Anwoth Parish. From 1981, he was a Trustee of the Murray Usher Foundation, a charity which promotes the betterment of Gatehouse-of-Fleet, benefiting its citizens and visitors.

Before his retirement, the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments in Scotland had decided that the archive of his professional practice should be preserved, and acquired it for the nation. The archive is on permanent loan to the Dumfries and Galloway Archives.

Antony had been the best student in his class during his final year at Edinburgh College of Art, for which he was to have been awarded the City of Edinburgh Medal for Civic Design in 1944. The presentation of the medal was denied to him as an 'enemy alien', however, because of sensitivity over the Second World War. One of his fellow students had been offered the medal instead, but had turned down the honour in protest at the treatment of his classmate. Seventy years later, in 2014, Edinburgh School of Art officials tracked down the original City of Edinburgh Civic Design Medal so that a new version could be cast and presented to Antony. It was, to his great surprise, at a happy ceremony staged by Edinburgh University, at an exhibition of his remarkable student drawings, which had been discovered in the archives of the RCAHMS. Antony's student drawings were subsequently exhibited at The Mill on the Fleet in Gatehouse, and at The Yellow Door Gallery in Dumfries.

Antony's interests were not confined to architecture. In the 1940s he canoed the seas around the Hebrides and the west coast. He claimed, in his day, to have swum in every loch in Galloway. He was an accomplished cellist and, as a young man, sang with the Edinburgh Bach Choir. Pencil portraits which he made in the 1940s of the Nobel physicist Max Born, the literary scholar Sir Herbert Grierson and Robert Hurd (all of whom he knew well) are now in the collection of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery. During internment in Quebec, he taught himself wood-carving. He read widely on many subjects. He never ceased to be grateful for the tolerance, sense of fairness and personal freedom he found in this country after Hitler's Germany. He believed that Edinburgh was the most attractive city to live in. He loved Gatehouse-of-Fleet and its community of which he was part for so long.

Antony joined the Dumfriesshire & Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society in 1959, and as such was one of the Society's longest-serving members. He contributed on many occasions to the Society's Transactions.

He always showed a deep love of the south west of Scotland, and was extremely knowledgeable about the history, archaeology, and historic buildings across our region, particularly the old farms and houses, and the families and people associated with them. On being asked about a specific farm steading, or characterful farm or country house, he would frequently have an interesting story about it, and would say: 'Ah! Now, thereby hangs a tale ...' And his tales were always entertaining, often educational, and told with good humour and kindness.

He had a great love of the vernacular farm buildings of Galloway, and was responsible for the listing of many of them. He lamented the twenty-first century outbreak of what he referred to as 'the fungus of PVC doors and windows' in Conservation Areas across Dumfries & Galloway.

He married twice: first in 1950 to Betty Henderson by whom he had one daughter and then in 1961 to Alexandra Graham by whom he had two sons and one daughter.

He believed strongly in the moral commitment which membership of a liberal profession entails. He retained his interest in music and the visual arts, and his intellectual curiosity, until he suffered a stroke, a week before his death.

Antony Wolffe died on 27 January 2016. He is survived by his wife Alix, his four children, and his grandchildren.

Luke Moloney, RIAS, RIBA.

I am indebted to, and have drawn extensively from, the excellent Obituary written by Antony's son James Wolffe, published in *The Scotsman*, 11 February 2016.

Other references

A.C. Wolffe, 'From Beyond the Devil's Beef tub: A Note from Dumfries and Galloway', *Architectural Heritage XVII, The Journal of the Architectural Heritage Society of Scotland*, 2006.

Dictionary of Scottish Architects:

<http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect_full.php?id=400173>

(From information sent by Antony to the Dictionary in October 2013.)

Brian Ferguson's article for *The Scotsman*:

<<http://www.scotsman.com/lifestyle/culture/art/architect-honoured-70-years-after-leaving-college-1-3671186>>

ROBERT H. McEWEN

1944–2016

Bob McEwen, who died in November 2016 after a long illness, made an enormous contribution to the operation of DGNHAS for many years. Professionally he was Principal Teacher of Chemistry at Lockerbie Academy for most of his teaching career. He also gave long service to Dryfesdale Parish Church as an elder.

Bob joined our society in 1969 and became Honorary Secretary in 1982. In this post his superb administrative skills soon became evident. He was meticulous, hard-working and always very helpful. In 1986 he became Secretary to the Ann Hill Research Bequest Committee which was set up to investigate the history and archaeology of Kirkpatrick Fleming Parish, and he continued in this post until his health began to fail.

After nine years of outstanding service he had to give up his duties as Honorary Secretary in 1991 because of the serious illness of his first wife. His work was taken over by two people, one as Secretary and the other as Membership Secretary. In recognition of his work, Council offered him Honorary Membership which he declined to accept.

In 2001 Bob was able to undertake the duties of Honorary Secretary once again and in 2002 he became Business Editor for the Transactions. In 2003 he became Joint Editor and continued in this position until 2009. Ill health led to his request to be relieved of his duties of Honorary Secretary in 2007.

In 2012 a slight alteration to Rule 10 of the Constitution meant that Bob was made a Fellow of DGNHAS in recognition of his dedicated work for the Society with thirteen years as Honorary Secretary. Never was an honour more richly deserved.

Bob had been a welcome assistant at various excavations carried out by Lionel Masters because of his enthusiasm and great physical strength.

Bob was the author of *Glimpses of Old Lockerbie* in the *Dumfries and Galloway through the Lens* series published by the Council Libraries, Information and Archives Service.

John H.D. Gair.

PROCEEDINGS

9 October 2015

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

Tam Ward (Biggar Archaeology Group)

Scotland's Earliest People

Cumberland Street Day Centre was the venue for the AGM and inaugural meeting of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society. Mr Liam Murray, President, introduced the speaker for the evening, Tam Ward, a founding member of the Biggar Archaeology Group, who now resides in Helensburgh.

Mr Ward listed the considerable achievements of the Biggar Archaeology Group, including major work on bastle houses and finding many Neolithic and Mesolithic sites but he said that nothing could have prepared them for the site he was going to talk to us about.

Mr Ward proceeded to describe a site at Howburn Farm adjacent to the A702 about 4 miles north of Biggar in Lanarkshire. It lies between the upper reaches of the River Clyde and River Tweed close to Melbourne crossroads where Roman routes running north to south and east to west intersect. Previous field-walking by the Group in the vicinity had produced Neolithic material so it was an area of known prehistoric activity.

Field-walking commenced in ploughed fields on Howburn Farm and the finds picked up were meticulously recorded. Large numbers of finds were made especially of flint and local chert which seemed to span all prehistoric periods. A small excavation revealed two pits containing charcoal but this was dated by radiocarbon to the Iron Age so these features were not related to the stone finds. Some large flints had been found in the plough-soil which did not match any prehistoric tool types previously found in the area. Experts looked at these and found two pieces which had been broken and separated during ploughing, but pieced back together they formed a tanged projectile point, a diagnostic late Upper Palaeolithic tool type dating to 14,000 years ago and giving the earliest evidence for people in Scotland. Previously it had been thought that due to ice coverage in the north from the last Ice Age, Palaeolithic people probably had not ventured much further north than what is now the Midlands of England. The site at Howburn Farm was now considered to be of national importance.

The flint experts asked for more evidence in case these very early finds had got into the field by accident at a later date. An appeal went out for volunteers and over 150 people of all ages responded to take part in an excavation on the site starting in 2009. The large flints were concentrated in two areas and nearly every square metre dug in two large trenches and various test pits produced more finds. In fact so many were retrieved that the excavation was stopped so that researchers in the future could come back and excavate.

The finds included a huge range of tanged points, used as projectiles, scrapers, used for preparing animal skins, and burins, used to work antler and bone. This tool kit matched that used by the Hamburgian culture previously recognised in what are now north Germany, south Denmark and the Netherlands. These people were reindeer hunters and lived 14,000 years ago. Their culture has been dated from the bones of reindeer skeletons found with projectile points embedded in them. Unfortunately the acidity of the soil at the Howburn site did not allow for the preservation of bone or any other organic material. At this period in time the North Sea, English Channel and Irish Sea did not exist, as the sea level had not yet risen due to the melting of the ice sheet at the end of the Ice Age, so reindeer herds could migrate westwards overland from continental Europe following valleys in the landscape while grazing on the tundra vegetation of mosses, lichens and dwarf plants which covered the area. The Hamburgians who were hunter-gatherers would have kept up with the herds

and utilised them for food, clothing etc. They would have brought the flint with them as it was not available locally and manufactured their tools on site but they were also exploiting the local chert.

The excavation produced tools which were bedded into the natural subsoil, below the level of biological activity by earthworms, moles or roots. The only process which could account for this was cryoturbation where freezing of the soil produces fissures which the objects can fall down. For this to happen, the tools would have to be present on the soil surface before the Loch Lomond re-advance of the ice sheet which happened approximately 12,000 years ago and would have made the Howburn site uninhabitable, so this provided a corroboration of the early date. The Group helped researchers from Stirling University with taking a 13 metre-deep core from the valley floor and the results of this work are reshaping our understanding of the Ice Age in the area including the fact that there must have been a major glacier in the Moffat Hills.

The amazing site at Howburn Farm had not only produced the earliest evidence for people in Scotland from the Upper Palaeolithic, but it also produced finds from the Mesolithic, Neolithic and Bronze Age and had features dated to the Iron Age making it unique as a focus for human activity covering millennia.

23 October 2015

Stuart Martin

Milk! From Grass to the Table

Stuart Martin, an Ulsterman, addressed Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society on the subject of *Milk! From Grass to the Table*. He instantly won over his audience with his Irish humour, a twinkle in his eye and clear, lilting speech.

Early in a career devoted to the milk industry, he found employment based in Northern Ireland, after graduating, with the Northern Foods Company for eight years, during the last five of which he served as technical manager. At national milk meetings he met Hal McGhie from Lochmaben, a well-known figure in the milk production field. In 1978 Hal asked him to join his work force in south-west Scotland.

He moved on to Scottish Pride and Scottish Milk under Milk Marketing Board auspices, which included Kirkcudbright Creamery, Arran Cheese, Rothesay Cheese and McGhie's Dairies. There was an annual turnover of a staggering 420 million gallons.

He was very impressed with dairying here in south-west Scotland. The grass-growing potential was great and stockmanship excellent. He retained his contacts with the industry in Northern Ireland by writing for *Farm Week*, an Irish magazine. In Ireland the shorthorn cow prevailed; here it was a mix of Ayrshire and British Friesian stock. Stuart regrets the decline in stocks of Ayrshires, an attractive-looking breed. Today it is the Holstein that is favoured because of its higher milk-producing qualities. At the outset of Stuart's career in the late 1960s the average yield per cow was 5,000 litres; now it is over 7,000 litres and the best cows are averaging 10,000 litres.

The establishment of the Milk Marketing Board in 1933 had assured the farmer of a market. A directive from the European Community served to mark the beginning of the end of the MMB from 1994. The dairy farmer is now on the rack and subject to the supermarkets' use of milk as a loss-leader to attract custom. The glut of milk is heightened by the fact that China has established three 45,000 cow units in partnership with Russia, which has stopped taking milk from the West. Family-run farms can just about survive if they have plenty of grass because they don't have high labour costs. A year ago farmers were receiving 33.5 pence per litre; now it has fallen to 23 pence and for some it is as low as 19 pence.

In the mid-1800s the mainstay of farms was cheese-making because of the problems presented by the marketing of fresh milk and butter. For instance, in Wigtownshire small co-operatives were formed. In time they were swallowed up by the Galloway Creamery, which today is owned by the French company, Lactolus. Rowan Glen at Newton Stewart is owned by a Northern Ireland Company, while the Lockerbie Creamery is owned by Arla, a Danish firm. The names of former successful companies like Carnation and Unigate have disappeared. The German Company, Müller, in the Midlands is probably the most successful company marketing yogurt.

Health issues have caused major changes, such as an increased demand for semi-skimmed and skimmed milk in the UK and a corresponding reduction in the sale of cream, which is passed to Denmark and Sweden.

There have been other developments. The arrival of the milking machine in the 1930s caused a breakthrough in the dairy industry. Wallace, an engineering firm in Castle Douglas, led the way in their manufacture. Bigger herds ensued. The milk churn was a common sight at the end of a farm lane fifty years ago. They were superseded by the bulk milk tanker: the first such uplift was from Drum Farm, Beeswing, by T.P. Niven. Now the whole industry is highly automated as it moved through the milking-parlour period to the current use of robots: no hands are involved in cheese-making or in preparation of liquid milk for retail; the resulting improvement in hygiene has caused the shelf-life of milk to rise from 4–5 days to 12 days.

In 1997 Stuart went into a partnership in North Lakes Foods, Penrith, with whom he served as Managing Director for seven years. After selling the business he became a non-executive director, a position he retains. From 1998 to 2004 he was also a director of Scottish Milk Dairies, based in Hamilton. Stuart brought along some artefacts once common in the milk industry: butter churn, cream separator, milk bottles even. Reflecting the move to providing younger primary children with one third of a pint of milk he displayed the new-style carton which the authorities demand.

He ended with a note left for the daily milkman, now a rarity, delivering milk to the doorstep: 'I've just had a baby. Leave another!'

6 November 2015

David Ross (Author and Historian)

Dumfries and the Railway from the Beginning until 1923

Seventy-eight members and guests of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society packed the Cumberland Street Centre on 6 November to hear David Ross speak on the subject of *Dumfries and the Railway from the Beginning until 1923*. Far from being an esoteric lecture of interest only to railway buffs, it was an enthralling yet masterly tale of high endeavour and low skulduggery, of exuberant public celebration and despondent defeat, of visionary heroes and venal villains, and all delivered throughout with engaging enthusiasm interspersed with dry humour.

Mr Ross, biographer of George and Robert Stephenson, the pioneering railway engineers, and author of five books on the railways of Scotland, began with allusion to literature set on the railway lines passing through Dumfries, such as Dorothy L. Sayers' *The Five Red Herrings*, John Buchan's *The Thirty-Nine Steps*, S.R. Crockett's *The Heather Lintie* and T.S. Elliot's *Skimbleshanks, The Railway Cat*:

You were fast asleep at Crewe and so you never knew
That he was walking up and down the station;
You were sleeping all the while he was busy at Carlisle,
Where he greets the stationmaster with elation.
But you saw him at Dumfries, where he speaks to the police.

The first serious plan for a railway through Dumfries was in pre-steam-locomotive 1809 when James Hollingworth surveyed a route south from Sanquhar with the intention of building a horse-drawn wagonway to ship coal out from a proposed new port at Kelton. It was estimated that iron rails would allow a horse to haul 9–10 tons rather than the half-ton maximum by normal road. The proposal was revived by the Buchanan Report in 1825, which promised a return of 17.5% to investors. Again, nothing came of it, the economic case against it made clear by the 1841 Statistical Accounts showing that it was cheaper to import Cumbrian coal by sea from Whitehaven.

Although there had been earlier attempts at railways for steam locomotive, it was the opening of the Stockton and Darlington Railway in 1825 and the Liverpool and Manchester Railway in 1830 that began Railway Mania with a frenzy of railway building throughout Britain, every city and town determined on a rail link and fearful of the economic consequences of failure to obtain one. Dumfries was no exception, and a Glasgow to Carlisle railway passing through Dumfries was proposed in 1835. Predominantly English entrepreneurs (despite the proposed and perhaps deliberately misleading name, The Caledonian Railway) favoured a more direct route through Annandale, however, and a worried Dumfries sought support from the Glasgow, Paisley, Kilmarnock and Ayr Railway (The Ayrshire). Through a combination of adverse economic factors, the 1840s was not a good financial era but nevertheless the Glasgow to Ayr link had opened in 1840 and by 1843 the Ayrshire had reached Kilmarnock. Dumfries wanted a link between Kilmarnock to the north and Carlisle to the south. The Caledonian sought to undermine this proposal with a promised spur from Annandale to Dumfries, but an end-of-the-line status was unacceptable to the town. There was also at this time a short-lived proposal to build a railway from Ayr via Castle Douglas to Auchencairn, later cross-linking Castle Douglas to Port Patrick in the west and Gretna in the east, where the line would join the proposed Caledonian line, but this came to nothing. In the end, when the rival Ayrshire and Caledonian routes were presented to Parliament, the Caledonian triumphed, to great dismay in Dumfries. A Parliamentary Report had already favoured the Caledonian route but it was also supported by the Dumfriesshire MP, J.J. Hope Johnstone who, purely coincidentally, was a big landowner along the Annandale route and became the Caledonian's first Chairman in 1847.

Undaunted by this initial setback, the Dumfries line investors formed the Glasgow, Dumfries and Carlisle Railway and in 1846 presented a new proposal for a link between Dalmellington, which the Ayrshire had reached by this time, and the Caledonian at Gretna. Parliamentary approval was greeted with celebratory bonfires in the town (and the burning in effigy of Hope Johnstone, who would lose his parliamentary seat the next year). Raising the full estimated cost of £1.3 million at this time proved difficult but, to great celebrations in the town, the foundation stone of the Nith Viaduct at Martinton was laid on 16 July 1847. Thereafter, progress was slow, with only a temporary station built at Dumfries. Nevertheless, from 1 September 1848, five trains ran daily to Gretna. Northwards, the Cumnock connection had still not yet been laid. The Drumlanrig Tunnel, unnecessary but forced on the Company by the Duke of Buccleuch to minimise disturbance to His Grace's tranquillity, proved a formidable engineering problem but was completed in October 1850 and, with the entire line now fully open, the Glasgow, Dumfries and Carlisle Railway merged with the Ayrshire to form the Glasgow & South Western Railway (G&SWR). Oddly, the last run of the Mail Coach drew greater note than the completion of the railway line.

The intent was now for a railway across the region, and in 1859 the Castle Douglas and Dumfries Railway began running three trains daily each way. With John Viscount Dalrymple, Earl of Stair, as principal driving force, the Port Patrick Railway Company (PPR) was established in 1857 to link Castle Douglas to a proposed new harbour at Port Patrick. The line was completed in 1862, but the proposed harbour never materialised, Port Patrick being supplanted by Stranraer. The Earl had initially planned to run his own trains but this proved financially non-viable and negotiations began in 1863 with the G&SWR to take over. In that same year, the Dumfries, Lochmaben and Lockerbie Railway opened and was being operated, to the intense annoyance of the G&SWR, by its bitter

rival, the Caledonian which, at the insistence of Parliament, ran its trains out of G&SWR's Dumfries Station. G&SWR's approach to the PPR was an attempt to head off further westward expansion by the Caledonian but in the end the Caledonian triumphed over the G&SWR, albeit with an expensive agreement that lost it money throughout the period of the contract. In 1885, after a protracted power struggle between the two traditional rivals, both Companies together with their respective English partners, the London & North Western Railway and the Midland Railway took over the line.

In Dumfries itself, now with a permanent railway station (after two earlier temporary versions had been demolished or burnt down), the Station Hotel opened on 16 July 1897, the smallest of G&SWR's four great railway hotels. Earlier in the 1880s, a Glenkens Railway out of Dumfries had been proposed but came to nothing. In 1905, however, the Cairn Valley line to Moniaive was opened and Dumfries's railway network had reached its geographical zenith. At this time, more than 100 scheduled trains passed through daily, supported by 81 staff serving passengers, 104 dealing with goods, 142 servicing the locomotives and an additional 350 surfacemen maintaining the tracks. Two bitter rivals operating out of the one station was not, however, a harmonious arrangement and there were dark tales of parcel labels being switched and other attempts to steal each other's trade.

The rivalry between the G&SWR and the Caledonian finally came to an end with the Railways Act of 1921 which took effect in 1923, merging the 120 railway companies throughout Britain into what was dubbed 'The Big Four' — the Great Western Railway (GWR), London, Midland and Scottish Railway (LMS), London and North Eastern Railway (LNER) and Southern Railway (SR). In time, too, Dumfries would lose the Cairn Valley railway in 1949, the Lochmaben–Lockerbie line to passengers in 1952 and by final closure as part of the Beeching cuts in 1965–6, along with the much loved 'Paddy Line' at the same time.

20 November 2015

**Duncan Ford (Countryside Ranger, Hoddom and Kinmount Estate)
Fungi Folklore**

At its meeting on 20 November 2015 Duncan Ford, the Countryside Ranger for Hoddom and Kinmount Estate, gave the Society a fascinating talk on the uses of fungi and the folklore associated with them.

The earliest known representation of fungi is to be found in cave paintings in Algeria, which are over 4,500 years old. Painted figures are covered in Psilocybin, which is often referred to as 'Magic Mushrooms' due to its hallucinogenic effects when eaten. The face of one figure is in the shape of a bee, which may refer to the sensations of flying and buzzing commonly experienced on consumption of this fungus. Hallucinogenic mushrooms have been used by many groups throughout history for ritual and ceremonial purposes, and are still utilised for those purposes today.

The speaker went on to explain the derivation of several terms. For example, mycologists first used the term 'fungus' in 1836. It was derived from the Greek word meaning 'round cap' or 'mushroom'. In Greek mythology when Perseus plucked a mushroom a spring spouted forth and the city of Mycenae was established.

The word 'fungus' relates to the Greek for 'sponge', and several fungi, such as *Belatus*, have a spongy appearance. The word 'mushroom' derives from the French for 'moss', which is descriptive of the habitat these mushrooms grow in. The term 'toadstool' is used in the 1400s, where it refers to Fly Agaric, the 'Stalk of Death'. 'Toad'; may refer to the warty appearance of the toadstool, or to the Anglo Saxon 'Tosco', meaning 'toxin'. The 'stool' may link to faeces.

The speaker addressed the question of Fairy Rings, and warned his audience not to walk round a fairy ring anti-clockwise or one will be ensnared by the 'little folk'. There are myths that rings form

where a dragon breathes on the ground, or where a dragon's tail contacts the earth. In reality the explanation is somewhat more mundane. As nutrients are consumed the toadstool spreads outwards to find new sources of food leaving the inner area sterile.

Puff balls are so-named because they eject large quantities of spores. This cloud of spores has been used to stem the flow of blood. Giant puff balls are used to treat wounds and are often found in butchers' shops, and the dusty spores were used as fingerprint powder. Many other uses were mentioned. Shaggy inkcaps were used as ink, and in the Boer War for sending secret messages.

The largest living organism is a Honey fungus in Michigan which is 1500 years old and covers nine square kilometres. Honey fungus is one of the most obvious fungi to see, and it can cause devastation in a forest as it destroys the heart of the tree, and spreads prolifically.

Terms such as 'Will-O-Wisp' and 'Fox Fire' have derived from the fact that some fungi glow in the dark. These have been utilised to make lanterns and hoof fungus has been used to make fuses.

The common stinkhorn has a phallic shape and we were treated to some amusing anecdotes concerning the lengths people went to in order to avoid impressionable young ladies from seeing this fungi.

There is more folklore associated with fly agaric than any other fungus, most of which is concerned with magic and witches' potions, as consumption distorts the sense of perspective. Lewis Carroll's Alice ate fly agaric. The speaker ended the formal part of his talk on a very seasonal note by explaining how Shaman in Siberia cut holes in the roof of their tents to provide an exit for the smoke from the fire. The Shaman eat Fly Agaric and hallucinate. The concept is that the spirit of the Shaman rises with the smoke and the spirits are drawn back down through the hole in the roof — 'the chimney'. This is the origin of Father Christmas coming down the chimney, which when seen in that context is not quite such a strange idea as it may seem. Similarly when fly agaric is eaten one can often perform amazing physical feats for short periods of time. When reindeer eat fly agaric they can bound very high and might give the illusion they are flying. Consequently, we see the explanation of Santa's sleigh flying through the sky pulled by reindeer.

A lively and entertaining question time completed the evening.

4 December 2015

THE JAMES WILLIAMS LECTURE

Dr Valentina Bold (Director, Solway Centre for Environment and Culture, University of Glasgow, Dumfries)

Father of the Society: Frank Miller FSA

The James Williams lecture was given on 4 December 2015 by Dr Valentina Bold, Director of the Solway Centre for Environment and Culture at the University of Glasgow, Dumfries.

Her topic was *Father of the Society: Frank Miller FSA*. She described him as a quiet, unassuming man but one who was a great scholar and well regarded by prominent people in his field.

He had joined the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society in 1886 and was President from 1929–1930. After his death in 1944, the obituary published in the *Transactions* described him as 'Father of the Society', not a founding father, but more reflecting the esteem he was held in, his long membership and role in helping to shape the way the Society developed.

He was proud to be an antiquarian and was also a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. In addition he founded and for fifty years was secretary of the Annan Literary Society. He was Honorary Secretary of and a frequent speaker at the Mechanics Institute in Annan which supported reading being accessible for all. He was a very religious man and was heavily involved with the

church in Annan.

Frank Miller was interested in many things, including history and archaeology, but his main interest was ballads and the collection of traditional Scottish songs. He is best known for his book *The Poets of Dumfriesshire* published in 1910, which was regarded as pioneering, bringing together as it did different kinds of literary materials all related to his chosen area of study. He also made numerous contributions to the Society's *Transactions*, published poetry, edited poetry and wrote songs himself.

He was a member of the small scholarly band who helped the American Professor Francis James Child produce his best known work *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*. He corresponded widely with other ballad experts and this resulted in a long friendship with William Macmath, originally from our area, who worked as a solicitor in Edinburgh.

Dr Bold gave some background information on Frank Miller. He was born in Tillicoultry in Clackmannanshire in 1854 into a fairly well-off family involved in the wool-milling industry. They moved to Alloa and then after the death of his father in 1858, his mother and the three children moved to Helensburgh to live with his father's sister Janet. His mother married again within three years to a man from Lanark and the family expanded. Frank suffered from ill health as a child and despite a good education did not go on to university. He was intended for the ministry but it was decided he was not robust enough for this life so in 1871 he was back in Tillicoultry working as a bank clerk. He later moved to Annan working as an accountant in the Commercial Bank of Scotland until he retired.

He took great joy in scholarship and his holidays were spent researching in the British Museum, the National Library of Scotland and the Society of Antiquaries Library.

Dr Bold speculated on the influence that various members of his family may have had on the young Frank. His maternal grandfather had written *A History of Merchant Shipping* and a cousin wrote about the history of Arbroath and its Abbey. The greatest influence however was thought to be William Motherwell, related to Frank's grandmother, who was an eminent scholar on minstrelsy ancient and modern and who had gifted copies of his book to her which the young Frank had probably seen. It is known that Miller was very proud of, and wrote about, his relationship to Motherwell

Frank Miller bequeathed his library, bookcase and papers to our Society. This is now in the Ewart Library and is known as the Miller Collection, comprising rare books along with his own papers and correspondence.

Dr Bold finished by saying that Frank Miller, with his great eye for detail, had made a huge contribution to scholarship and that his work deserved to be recognised. She wondered if his modesty and unassuming nature had led to its neglect and made a plea for further investigation of the man himself and the contents of the Miller Collection.

15 January 2016

**Andrew Nicholson (Archaeologist, Dumfries and Galloway Council)
Excavating the Galloway Viking Hoard**

At a packed meeting on Friday, 15 January, over 100 members and guests of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society gathered to hear a lecture by Andrew Nicholson, Archaeologist, Dumfries and Galloway Council, entitled *Excavating the Galloway Viking Hoard*.

In September 2014, metal detectorists searching a field in Galloway found a small group of silver ingots and arm rings. Realising the potential significance of the discovery, they took the commendable action of alerting the Treasure Trove unit at the National Museum of Scotland, who then in turn contacted Dumfries and Galloway Council's Archaeology Service. Within three hours of the initial

discovery, Andrew Nicholson was at the site.

In a series of record photographs, Andrew then proceeded to describe to an enrapt audience the sequence of events which followed, which by the end of the day had resulted in the excavation of the largest Viking hoard of metalwork found in Scotland since 1858.

First, the pit in which the hoard was buried was defined and the contents carefully photographed, recorded and removed. In all, 22 silver arm rings and ingots were found together with a large Anglo-Saxon silver cross — the largest ever found in the UK. Evidence of leather around the metalwork suggested that all had been buried together in a leather bag, or had been wrapped in leather parcels. A layer of clean gravel appeared to define the bottom of the pit, and that appeared to be the end of a remarkable discovery.

However, when a metal detector was swept over the pit for a final check, signals indicated that there was still more metal in the pit. What appeared to be a clean, natural gravel subsoil turned out to be a three inch thick 'false bottom' to the pit and an even more remarkable hoard was found below. There were in fact two hoards in one pit, possibly the upper hoard serving as a decoy for the more valuable lower hoard.

On removing the gravel layer the upturned base of a silver Carolingian pot became evident. To its side was another group of silver arm rings, five of which were found to have rune markings, which appeared to be personal names, perhaps of their owners. A second cluster of tightly bound arm rings contained a wooden object, possibly a box, a gold ingot and a finely-crafted gold pin in the form of a bird. The Carolingian pot and the two groups of arm rings appeared to have been each wrapped up and buried as three bundles. The pot had two cloths around it — one wrapping the body of the pot and the other wrapping its lid. Subsequent X-rays and CT scanning of the pot has revealed that it is full of objects, details of which will be announced later this year. Taken together the upper and lower hoards include 76 arm rings and ingots, the silver cross and the Carolingian pot with its contents. Further research will establish the date more exactly but early indications suggest a date around 900 AD.

Following the discovery, a 30 square metre archaeological excavation was carried out around the hoard pit, and evidence of a multi-period settlement site was found, probably including a Viking or Norse phase during the period of Norse settlement of Galloway from the mid-ninth to tenth centuries AD. The excavation also found a further ingot and arm ring, which seem to have been disturbed from the upper hoard when the site was ploughed at some point in the past.

Andrew then placed the hoard into its historical context, noting that it fitted into a pattern of hoards of similar type found around the Irish Sea zone, with finds in Ireland, Anglesey, Lancashire and inland to places along the main trade routes to York. It was distinct from other Viking hoards found in North and Eastern Scotland, which are generally of later date.

There is still much research to be carried out on both the contents of the hoard and its historical context, and a very appreciative audience left the meeting looking forward to hearing a further update from Andrew in due course.

29 January 2016

Penny Eley (Emeritus Professor of Medieval French, University of Sheffield)

First Encounters with the *Roman de Fergus* — a Medieval Tale of Galloway Goings-on

Members of Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society enjoyed a talk on an unusual topic on Friday, 29 January. The speaker, Penny Eley, Emeritus Professor of Medieval French at Sheffield University, described the background to *Le Roman de Fergus*, a story of medieval knights, a white stag and the son of a Galloway peasant who became King of Lothian. Composed

during the early years of the thirteenth century, the tale is written in Old French, the language of the English and Scottish nobility. It was probably intended to be read out loud, perhaps at a family gathering or after dinner at a large court. An Arthurian romance, it was the equivalent of the modern novel; but the medieval audience was sophisticated, and would have realised that it was also a parody of another tale, *Le Conte de Graal* by Chrétien de Troyes, whose hero was the knight Perceval.

Penny's talk focussed on the first section of the tale, which had more local connections. The story begins in Cardigan, where King Arthur and his knights, including Perceval, set off on a hunt. With the mention of Perceval, the audience would have been anticipating a prequel or sequel to *Le Conte de Graal*. The hunting party find a white stag, often a sign that something supernatural is to follow in mediaeval stories. During the course of a single day they pursue the stag north to Carlisle, and then on to Jedburgh, Lammermuir, Ayr and Ingeval. The latter may be Inch, between Cairnryan and Glenluce in Galloway. Wherever it is, the author unflatteringly describes it as a land of godless, ignorant, beastlike people! Even worse follows when, instead of Perceval bravely killing the stag, the poor animal drowns in a bog, and its corpse is retrieved by Perceval's dog.

Perceval fades into the background, but a new hero emerges — Fergus. The son of a peasant father and noble mother, Fergus is ploughing when he sees King Arthur and his knights. He has always admired knightly ways and King Arthur allows him to join them. The rest of the action takes place in Liddesdale, Lothian and the Borders, and Fergus goes on to have many adventures. He meets and falls in love with Galiene, and wins her hand in marriage in a tournament. She is the daughter of the King of Lothian, so when her father dies, Fergus finds himself crowned in his place.

Penny also described the many mysteries about the story itself. The author, 'William de Clerk', had a good knowledge of southern Scotland, yet there is no evidence that the story was known in this area. Perhaps there were a few Scots in the intended audience elsewhere? It is well written and humorous, and is found bound with other well-known works, yet only two complete copies survive today. Perhaps the biggest mystery is Fergus himself. The medieval audience would have been familiar with the 'nature versus nurture' debate and this is a theme throughout the story. Given that he was a 'Galloway rustic', the son of a peasant, the author is asking if he can really be a hero? There are frequent reminders of his origins and his ignorance in the ways of the court, yet his mother was a noblewoman. Which side will win? Penny suggested that the audience should read it for themselves to decide, as it is available as a modern English translation.

12 February 2016

Alan Wilkins

Recent Developments at Birrens Roman Fort

Members packed in to hear Alan Wilkins give details of the latest developments at Birrens Roman Fort in 2015. In AD 102–104 Emperor Hadrian's predecessor, Trajan, ordered a census of the Anavionenses — the people who lived in the Annan valley. This area was considered part of the Roman Empire and was defended by Roman soldiers garrisoned at Birrens. It is unlikely that the local people owned Roman money and would have had to pay their Roman taxes in the form of produce needed by the local garrisons, namely, wheat, barley and meat. As with other areas occupied by the Romans, young local men would be recruited and trained to fight and support the Roman legions. They would be given a medical inspection with special attention to physique and eyesight. A programme of training for such auxiliary troops would follow with up to 20-mile marches, jumping over ditches and hurdles, swimming across rivers and weaponry training with javelins, bows and arrows, and slings.

It has long been thought that the nearby Burnswark hill fort was besieged by Roman soldiers, but excavations would indicate that this is not the case and that Burnswark was used as a training

ground for soldiers in the weaponry that existed at that time, including ballistas and catapults. The recent excavations yielded a ballista ball, lead sling shot, nine triple-barb iron arrowheads and eleven catapult balls. The two camps found at Burnswark have a combined area of 8.1 ha similar in size to the camp found at Stainmore, constructed by the Ninth Legion around AD 71. Dating of finds indicate that the training camps were used well into the second century.

After many years of research, Alan Wilkins, along with others, has reconstructed stone ballistas and bolt-shooting catapults. Two catapults were exhibited at the meeting to great interest from members.

26 February 2016

MEMBERS' NIGHT

Stuart McCulloch

Heroine or Harlot: Eliza Smith and the New Abbey Refugees

The meeting of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society on the 26 February was Members' Night and the speaker was Stuart McCulloch. Stuart is the Society's Membership Secretary and is a researcher and history lecturer in South West Scotland.

The title of his talk was *Heroine or Harlot: Eliza Smith and the New Abbey Refugees*. Stuart came to live in the Manse House at New Abbey and, whilst looking through the graveyard, he saw a large gravestone for Captain James Murray, who was the illegitimate son of Eliza; the size of the headstone hinted at the esteem and wealth James enjoyed during his 56 years of life. Stuart decided to research the lives of Eliza and James. This led to the recent publication of a biography of Captain James Murray, entitled *A Scion of Heroes*. However, the talk focused on James's mother, the enigmatic Eliza Smith.

James's grandfather, also called James, was at the Battle of Quebec under Wolfe and it was in James senior's arms that the victorious General died. James senior later became the Governor of Canada and, while there, arranged for his troublesome illegitimate son, Patrick, to join the 60th Foot, the Royal American Regiment. The regiment was posted to Jamaica but later moved to St Augustine in Florida and whilst there was caught up in the American Revolution. In 1778, Patrick had a son, James Murray (the Captain James Murray in New Abbey graveyard), by Eliza Smith, the central character of our tale. It is not clear why Eliza was in Florida. Nevertheless, the family were caught up in the Siege of Savannah when the French joined with the American States in the War of Independence. By 1781, refugees were fleeing from the thirteen US States to Florida, where the people wanted to remain British. At the time a British Army Colonel, James Grierson of Larbreck, Dumfriesshire, was murdered when he was captured; and his son, Thomas, and James Murray were among the refugees who fled to New Abbey in 1781.

In 1783, the Treaty of Paris was signed. Florida (which had been Spanish until 1763) was ceded back to Spain, and those British who chose not to remain under Spanish rule were offered inducements by the British Government to settle in either Nova Scotia or the Bahamas. In 1784, Eliza came to Nassau in the Bahamas with her three children: these were not her natural children but rather were probable orphans of war adopted by her. However, the Bahamas became so full of refugees that, around 1786, Eliza sent the children to New Abbey, where her family, the Stewarts of Shambellie, resided. There they joined Thomas Grierson and James Murray.

Who was Eliza Smith? Was she a loving and caring mother or heartless hussy? She adopted children in need but also sent them away at an early age. She mixed with the aristocracy and was a successful businesswoman but she was also a slave owner who once offered a reward of ten dollars for the return of a runaway slave. On the other hand, a Doctor Minns, who was born in the Bahamas and came to Britain to train as a doctor, was the grandson of a slave released by Eliza in 1810, and became the first black Mayor in Britain. So —, Heroine or Harlot?

11 March 2016

Professor David M. Munro, MBE

The Laird and the Land Surveyor: The Mapping of the Queensbury Estate

When Professor David Munro, MBE, stepped down as director of the Royal Geographical Society six years ago, he accepted an invitation from the present Duke of Buccleuch to investigate the archives held in Drumlanrig Castle. With the somewhat vague remit that he should 'dig around' in the surviving documents, Professor Munro had little idea of what he might discover. But the pleasant plan for his 'retirement' was to spend three days a month in the archives which are housed in an old wine cellar at the castle. Six years on, he was able to share some of the fruits of his research with members of the society at a well-attended monthly meeting. As Professor Munro modestly put it, his enquiries have translated into a host of 'interesting stories', which he has turned so far into 57 academic papers. And his work is likely to continue for many years yet.

At the heart of the archive lies the work of a succession of land surveyors whose job it was to chart the Drumlanrig estate, augmented from the early nineteenth century by the fusion of the Queensberry and Buccleuch titles. Land surveyors became particularly significant from the mid-eighteenth century onwards, following the failure of the Jacobite Rising of 1745–6. Their legacy is a large collection of estate plans, drawings of the contemporary landscape which are characterized by a quite surprising degree of accuracy considering the relatively primitive equipment available in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These estate plans were, at the time, working documents essential for the management of the estate. To the historian of the landscape they now represent an invaluable record of the change and evolution seen on the land, but are also minor works of art in their own right. Members were shown examples of the exquisite detail that many contain, with the painstaking depiction of trees becoming increasingly common in the early nineteenth century.

Drumlanrig Castle itself dates from the 1670s and by 1711 estate improvements were being carried out by the 3rd Duke of Queensberry. Sadly, the 4th Duke, distracted from his duties by a combination of wine, women and gambling (and the resulting need to pay off significant debts), showed little interest in his estate, this at a time when many such landholdings across Britain were being 'improved' as part of the so-called Agricultural Revolution. Crucially, however, in 1810 the Drumlanrig estate passed to the Dukes of Buccleuch and the work of estate management and improvement resumed, all recorded in the surviving castle archives. The last major surveys were carried out in the 1840s and 1850s.

As Professor Munro showed, the surveyors have left us with a most valuable resource which throws light on such topics as the history of a nineteenth-century township such as Thornhill, the changing use of land and pattern of land ownership, the coming of the railways and its impact on the rural community, the history of the local coal-mining industry and the division of the common land, as well as adding to our understanding of such specific matters as the shape of the Roman fort at Birrens (before damage by agricultural activity), the extent of the lead mines at Wanlockhead and the huge, but now vanished, kitchen garden at Drumlanrig.

Professor Munro held his audience enthralled before responding authoritatively to a number of questions from members, many of whom were now keen to visit the exhibition of maps and plans soon opening at Dumfries Museum.

26 March 2016

Ivor Waddell

Billy Marshall: Galloway Gypsy and Leveller — Myth and Reality

At its Galloway meeting in Castle Douglas Parish Church Hall on Saturday, 26 March 2016, around 50 members and guests of the Society gathered to hear a lecture by Ivor Waddell, retired Principal Teacher of History at Kirkcudbright Academy, entitled *Billy Marshall: Galloway Gypsy and Leveller — Myth and Reality*.

Many stories surround the life and career of Billy Marshall, the so-called ‘Gypsy King’, who reputedly lived to the remarkable age of 120! Ivor Waddell described his interest in this well-known figure of Galloway history and his determination to interrogate the available historical sources about his subject to separate myth from reality. He paid tribute to Andrew McCormick, the Newton Stewart lawyer, who in the early twentieth century, gathered and recorded information on Galloway’s gypsy community at that time, including tales of Billy Marshall.

Whereas the date of Billy’s death in 1792 is established beyond doubt and recorded on his headstone in Kirkcudbright Kirkyard, there is no evidence for his birth date, which, were it available, would confirm his age. However, his longevity was never challenged by those who knew him in his later days. His claim to have fought for William of Orange at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690 would be credible if he was born in 1671 or 1672. He claimed to have served in the British Army and to have deserted seven times, often to attend the Kelton Hill Fair near Castle Douglas — a major annual event in Scotland at the time, which the speaker compared to today’s Royal Highland Show.

He became a leader of the Levellers — a movement in Galloway of small tenant farmers and cottars disadvantaged and threatened by eviction by the building of dykes to enclose land for livestock. Coordinating their actions, they demolished the landowners’ new dykes, creating such a degree of civil unrest that the government was obliged to send mounted dragoons to re-impose order. The speaker expanded on this episode of Galloway’s history, citing the research of Castle Douglas historian, Alistair Livingston. The speaker noted the historical connection between the Levellers and locally organised resistance to the 1715 Jacobite rebellion, and the view that the success of the movement was partly due to the military training that their leaders had received in response to that earlier crisis.

A letter of 1817 written by James McCulloch of Ardwall near Gatehouse to *The Gentleman’s Magazine* seems to confirm indisputably Billy Marshall’s criminal proclivities — murder, robbery, bigamy smuggling etc. — but he was regarded in his lifetime as a ‘Robin Hood’ figure and enjoyed the patronage of many of the local landed families, including the McCullochs of Ardwall, and towards the end of his life he even received a pension from the Earl of Selkirk.

He was clearly an ‘honest rogue’ and a paradox — a criminal, but one respected by all classes in his time. Although Ivor Waddell concluded that, given the limited nature of the historical sources available, it was difficult to separate myth from reality in Billy Marshall’s life, members nevertheless appreciated the speaker’s comprehensive review of his topic and its presentation in a thoroughly lucid and engaging way.

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- A List of the Flowering Plants of Dumfriesshire and Kirkcudbrightshire**, by James McAndrew, 1882.*
- Birrens and its Antiquities**, by Dr J. Macdonald and James Barbour, 1897.*
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- Notes on the Birds of Dumfriesshire**, by H.S. Gladstone, 1923.*
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- Cruggleton Castle**, Report of Excavations 1978–1981, by Gordon Ewart, 1985. (72pp. £3.50 plus post and packing)
- Excavations at Caerlaverock Old Castle 1998–9**, by Martin Brann and others, 2004. (128pp. £5 plus post and packing)
- The Early Crosses of Galloway**, by W.G. Collingwood, reprinted from *TDGNHAS* ser.III, vol.10, 1922–3. (49 crosses illustrated and discussed, 37pp. £1.50 plus post and packing)
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