

Transactions
of the
Dumfriesshire and Galloway
Natural History
and
Antiquarian Society



LXXII 1997

Transactions
of the
Dumfriesshire and Galloway
Natural History
and
Antiquarian Society

FOUNDED 20th NOVEMBER, 1862

THIRD SERIES VOLUME LXXII

Editors:

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W. F. CORMACK, M.B.E., F.S.A.Scot.

ISSN 0141-1292

1997

DUMFRIES

Published by the Council of the Society

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CONTENTS

Notes on the Old Fur Market of Dumfries by Derek Skilling.....	1
Some Notes on the Name ‘Ninian’ by Henry Gough-Cooper	5
The Partition of a Kingdom: Strathclyde 1092-1153 by J. G. Scott.....	11
Kenmure Castle by Alastair M. T. Maxwell-Irving.....	41
The Tower-Houses of Kirtleside by Alastair M. T. Maxwell-Irving	55
Crime and Punishment in 17th and 18th Century Records of Dumfries - Part I by Marion M. Stewart.....	69
Some Notes on the Old Military Road in Dumfries and Galloway by Alex D. Anderson.....	79
The Development of Kirkcudbright in the late 18th Century – Town Planning in a Galloway Context by D. E. Marsden.....	89
John Walker, an 18th Century Naturalist – His life and times in the rural parish of Moffat by Dr. George Thomson	97
Addenda Antiquaria	
Two Late Mesolithic Sites in the Luce Bay Area by P. J. Cherry and J. Cherry	109
Two Polished Flint Knives from Galloway by John Pickin.....	110
Extracts from Dumfries Burgh Court Records by A. E. Truckell.....	112
Four Annandale Medical Men by J. B. Wilson.....	115
Lochmaben’s Sham and Pretended Councils by J. B. Wilson	117
Reviews	
<i>Excavations at Navan Fort 1961-71</i> by the late D. M. Waterman, completed and edited by Chris Lynn (W. F. Cormack).....	119
<i>Discovering Galloway</i> by Innes Macleod (James Williams).....	120
<i>Sir William Burrell’s Northern Tour, 1758</i> edited by John G. Dunbar (W. F. Cormack)	121
Obituary	
Professor Anne S. Robertson (W. F. Cormack).....	122
Proceedings 1996-1997	123
List of Members and Subscribers	124

EDITORIAL

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

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

The Council is indebted to the Ann Hill Bequest Fund for a grant covering the publication costs of Mr A M C Maxwell-Irving's paper on the Tower Houses of Kirtleside .

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 XII, Series III (1926) of these *Transactions*. It is discussed afresh by Prof. Richard Bailey in *Whithorn Lecture No. 4* (pub.1996).

NOTES ON THE OLD FUR MARKET OF DUMFRIES

by Derek Skilling

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The historic record of the old fur market of Dumfries was written by Robert Service, the eminent local field naturalist who produced upwards of two hundred scientific papers on natural history. His paper entitled *The Old Fur Market of Dumfries* was published in 1891 when the heyday of the public fur market was long past¹. In addition to a description of the trade and its local history, it included a table of the market statistics for the period between 1816 and 1874. It was a reference to these statistics, in particular the enormous number of hare skins traded, drawn to my attention by John Young², which prompted a successful search for the full publication. Unless otherwise acknowledged, it is this paper which is quoted here.

The fur market was a part of the ancient Candlemas Fair which took place in Dumfries each February. The time of its origin is unknown and on this point Service used the phrase ‘from time immemorial’, elsewhere it is noted that in 1836 the ‘Dumfries Fur Fair’ had existed for the past century³. What is clear however is that the fur market in Dumfries was of great importance: so much so that at some periods of its history it governed the fur prices obtained throughout Scotland, with furriers’ buyers coming to Dumfries from many parts of England as well as Scotland.

In the earlier fur markets hare skins had been the staple commodity, although other skins such as foomart (polecat), otter, foxes, cats, badgers and rabbits were traded at various times and in varying numbers. The hare species involved in the Dumfries market appears to have been mainly the Brown hare *Lepus europaeus*. The Mountain hare *Lepus timidus* was introduced into the southern uplands in the 1830s and 1840s, where they dispersed widely⁴. Although Mountain hares occurred in Dumfriesshire by the 1850s and 1860s, they were sufficiently scarce to be considered worthy of detailed notes at that time⁵. It is unlikely therefore that Mountain hares ever formed a significant part of the Dumfries fur trade.

In the period dealt with in Service’s table of statistics, the number of hare skins marketed is quoted for 36 years. In total almost one million hare skins were traded in those years. The annual average of these amounting to 26,500, although in many years 50,000 or 60,000 hare skins and, latterly, even greater numbers of rabbits were bought and sold. Yet as is pointed out by Ritchie ‘... even these figures give no idea of the constant drain upon the numbers of these animals caused by the steady demand for fur.’⁶

The greatest number of hare skins recorded in any one year was in 1874 when Service states that 180,000 passed through the hands of the Dumfries dealers. It should be noted however that a graph of the number of hare and rabbit skins passing through the Dumfries

1 R. Service, ‘The Old Fur Market of Dumfries’, *Scottish Naturalist* July 1891

2 J.G. Young, (*Pers. comm.*)

3 I. Meikle, ‘Dumfries Fur Fair’, *Scotland’s Magazine* Vol. 69, No. 2, February 1973

4 S.Harris *et al.*, *A review of British mammals*, JNCC Peterborough, 1995 (pp. 34 - 37)

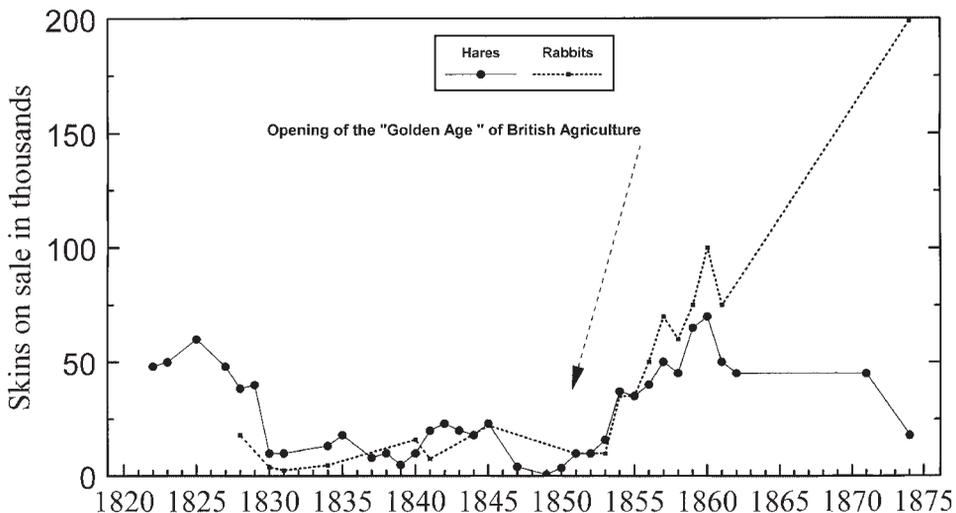
5 Notes from Dr. T.B. Grierson’s *MSS Catalogue and Notebooks* (per J. Williams)

6 J. Ritchie, *The Influence of Man on Animal Life in Scotland*, Cambridge U.P. 1920 (p. 167)

market compiled by Ritchie⁷, which purports to be a representation of Service's statistics, shows a figure of around 18,000 hare skins in 1874. i.e. one tenth of Service's number.

I have been unable to clarify this important apparent discrepancy; Despite rechecking Service's original table of statistics, in which the number 180,000 is quite clearly given, in the column headed 'Hareskins', as the 'quantity sold by dealers during the entire winter'. My own belief is that the number 180,000 hareskins is so far out of line with previous numbers that it may refer to the total trade of hares *and* rabbits as was quoted earlier; in 1870 some 20,000 *dozen* (240,000) hare and rabbit skins 'the latter predominating'⁸, went to the dealers. 1871 brought a similar story - 45,000 hares and 200,000 rabbit skins were sold during the entire winter.

No help can be found on this point in the *Dumfries and Galloway Standard* reports of the Candlemas Fairs for the years 1867 to 1880. These give fur prices in most years, but no detailed numbers for either rabbits or for hares. Incidentally, in the years in which the market reports give no statistics, Service must have obtained his information from another source. It is possible that Service, who was in business as a Nurseryman & Seedsman in Maxwelltown, personally knew Hugh Murphy, who in the later years of the century, was the one major dealer.



The destruction of Rabbits and Hares as indicated by the number of skins on sale at the Dumfries Fur Fair.
Sources: *The Influence of Man on Animal Life in Scotland*, J.Ritchie, 1920
and 'The Dumfries Fur Market', by R.Service, *Scottish Naturalist*, 1891.

By 1850 or so it was reported that 'the once extensive fur market has dwindled away to nothing'. This was because the coming of steamships to the Solway and later the arrival of

⁷ Ritchie, op cit.

⁸ *Dumfries and Galloway Standard*, 16 February 1870

the railway, created the conditions for the concentration of the trade into the hands of dealers in Dumfries who could now collect and dispose of furs at any time of the year. So although the numbers of skins passing through the Candlemas market had fallen to near zero, the fur trade in Dumfries was thriving in the hands of these dealers, with increasing numbers of skins being traded.

However, change was coming which would drastically reduce the hare population. The most important was the introduction of the Ground Game Act of 1880. For the first time, this act gave to *occupiers* of land the legal right to take hares and rabbits. Previously these had been the exclusive preserve of land owners. By 1891 the effects of this were clear to Service who wrote 'It is somewhat saddening from the naturalists' standpoint to see in recent years, since the Ground Game Act came into operation, how helplessly the poor hares have succumbed. The threatened extinction of this valuable animal in the south-western counties, which seemed so imminent only a short time ago, has apparently been sensibly checked, but there is small hope that it will ever recover its former numbers'.

Ten years later the same writer notes, 'In these days the Common Hare only manages to hold its own on estates sufficiently large to allow of sufficient protection. How abundant hares were before the passing of the Ground Game Act is a matter of common knowledge...'⁹. In 1892, only one year after the above observation, the Hare Preservation Act came into effect. This Act outlawed the sale of hares or leverets in England, Scotland and Wales in the breeding season months of March until the end of July because hares '... had of late years greatly decreased in numbers... by reason of their being inconsiderately slaughtered ...'

The most recent population estimate of Brown hares in Scotland was made in 1992 when the midwinter population, at the start of the breeding season but before the onset of the main hare-culling season, is estimated at 187,250¹⁰.

Throughout the 19th. century, rabbit numbers in Dumfriesshire increased markedly until they replaced hares as the main commodity of the market. This was a great change from the situation at the beginning of the 19th. century; when it could be said that of Dumfriesshire '... a few rabbits are to be found ... There is no regular warren.'¹¹ From perhaps the mid-1850s rabbit skins provided the bulk of the market.

Evidence of a continuing fur trade is found in 1876; 'The Candlemas Fair has for a number of years ceased to be a market for peltry. The trade is now wholly in the hands of Mr. Hugh Murphy. During the winter Mr. Murphy has been making extensive alterations on his premises, and additions to his warehouses...'¹².

Nonetheless the Dumfries fur trade appears to have declined although it didn't entirely die out for many years - in the 1940s the present writer was paid 3d. or so per rabbit skin by

9 R. Service, *The Vertebrates of Solway: A Century's Change*, 1901, (p.13)

10 Harris, op cit.

11 Singer, *Agricultural Survey of Dumfries-shire* 1812 (p.384)

12 *Dumfries and Galloway Standard*, 16 February 1876

Thomas 'Tammy' Gribben, Scrap merchant and Dealer of Shakespeare Street in Dumfries. Also around this time, numerous crates of dead rabbits were a common sight on barrows at Dumfries railway station, on the way south to market. The end of the trade presumably came soon after this, with the arrival of Myxomatosis in 1952/53 which resulted in the near extinction of the rabbit population, a situation which persisted for a number of years.

If the beginnings of the Dumfries fur market are now lost to us, the end of it is also not entirely clear either. The end was brought about by changes over a long period of time and there are a number of factors that we can now see, which contributed to its demise. The changes in communications, which removed the trade from the Candlemas Fair into private ownership in the mid-19th century was a large part of it. Changes in fashion also played a part. The extermination or near extermination, of polecats, badgers, otters and latterly hares changed the trade so that rabbits became virtually the only fur traded in any significant quantity.

As a postscript, it is interesting to note that while rabbits prospered, despite the heavy toll, fowmarts and badgers were disappearing from the trade and from the countryside: By 1891 Service believed that both the latter species had become almost extinct locally, he considered it worth recording that a badger was killed at Dalswinton, near Dumfries on April 29th. 1887. Presently, in 1997, the national and local badger population is thriving again, with setts well distributed throughout Dumfriesshire as well as Kirkcudbrightshire¹³. As an indication of the scale of the recovery of the badger the total Scottish pre-breeding population is believed to be around 25,000¹⁴.

Unfortunately, badgers are still illegally taken and pitted against dogs, this despite the vigilance of individuals, the Police and the Scottish Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. With a good road system and a relatively sparse human population, combating these activities is difficult. More than 100 years ago Service wrote '... Dumfries badgers were at one time in great demand by our southern neighbours, and were reckoned the gamest in the kingdom'. Sadly, it seems that this at least has never changed !.

13 H. Wilson Fraser, (*Pers. comm.*)

14 S.Harris et al., *A review of British mammals*, JNCC Peterborough, 1995 (pp. 80-81)

SOME NOTES ON THE NAME 'NINIAN'

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It has been said that 'Ninian's name offers some difficulty' (Anderson, 1948). With this understatement in mind, it is worth having another look at the various documented forms of the name, and other cognates with which it has perhaps been confused. What follows is offered simply as an onomastic survey which may be of use to other scholars in this field, and which may save them some time and trouble. The catalogue appended to the text is by no means likely to be exhaustive but the author has tried to extract as many forms of the name as could be found in the available literature.

The forms of this name and its cognates have been traced in a series of important articles in the *TDGNHAS*, all of which are listed in Wilson, 1964, to which must be added Wilson, 1969, and Brooke, 1989; and also Boyle, 1967 and 1968, and Anderson, 1948.

It has already been noted by several of these authorities that the name appears to be hypocoristic: Nynia, the form found in Bede, is likely to be derived from the British *Nin-iaw* (Thurneysen, 1946, para 275 p.175), a form also found in the 8th century *Miracula* as *Niniau*, as in the later Welsh genealogies and the *Mabinogi*. In the Irish sources this hypocorism appears as the familiar *mo-* 'my' as in *Monenn*. The *Vita S. Darerca*, an Irish source which may be earlier than Bede, gives this female saint's pet-name as *Moninnae* and *Monynne*: if the Old Irish originals had similar endings, no particular gender would be implied. Two diminutive forms must also be noted here: *Ninine*, *eces* 'poet', is *Nin-ine* (Thurneysen, 1946, para 274 p.175) and there is a female Welsh saint *Ninnoc* (*Ninnocha* or *Gwengustle*), one of the 'Children of Brychan', whose name displays the British *-oc* diminutive which became *-ocan* and *-ucan* in Irish masculine names (Thurneysen, 1946, para 271 p.173; Kenney, 1929, para 38 p.181).

It may be remarked that the Irish sources show a preference for forms with gemination *-nn-* and there has been a tendency in the later sources to amend this to the older *-nd-*, which itself represents a syncope *-n'd-*, (Jackson, 1953, p.508, 511) but there is no evidence that this is correct in this instance (**nendo-* is not an attested element).

A controversy exists concerning *Finnian*, another saint closely associated with *Whithorn*, as to whether he should be considered British or Irish (for opposing views see *Dumville*, 1984, p.210; against *Thomas*, 1992, p.10, and *Thomas*, 1994, p.99). There is no doubt that confusion between *Ninian* and *Finnian* existed in the past (*Wilson*, 1969, p.140ff), and **Ninniau* is very close to *Adomnan's Uinniau* (*Vita S. Columbae* 11.1). However, the suggestion that the name *Nynia* is due to an Anglian scribal error (*n* for *v*) is barely tenable, thanks to the profusion of cognates evidenced, but a worrying possibility nonetheless.

Similar confusion exists concerning *Monenna* and two other female saints, *Modwenna*, and *Morwenna*. The last named is also called *Mwynen* and, like *Ninnoc*, was said to have been one of the Children of *Brychan* (*ODS*); in *Llyfr William Salisbury* she was called *Mwynwen* (*Bartrum*, 1966, p.148). It may be significant that the three saints' days are respectively 6th July, 5th or 6th July, and 5th July. Furthermore, *Mwynen* looks suspiciously like *Moinnen*, a late cognate of *Ninian*. The hagiographical connections between

the two saints Ninian and Monenna have been discussed in Boyle, 1967, and in Wilson, 1969. All that can be said is that the three female saints may represent the diaspora of a very early tradition concerning one saint, which became three different saints in three different languages. The legend of Monenna's foundations in Scotland may represent the tradition of an early mission from Ireland or Anglian Galloway to Scotland. The final foundation, Lonfortin, identified as perhaps Longforan, might also be Fordoun in the Mearns (**Llanfordun*) where Palladius is said to have died. The feast of St. Palladius is on the 7th July.

The Welsh sources for the name are all late (after 1100). The names Nynyaw (or Nynhyaw) and Peibyaw are linked in both the *Mabinogi* tale 'Culhwch ac Olwen' and in the Glamorgan (Morganwc) genealogies (Bartrum, 1966, pp.45, 105 and 122), and two other Nynyaws are found in the less important families originating from the Denbighshire cwmwds of Is Dulas and Uwch Dulas (Bartrum, 1966, pp.116 and 119). In the Glamorgan genealogies Nyn(n)yaw and Pibiawn (Pibaw/Pebin), with their brother Idner(t)h, appear as sons of Erb m. Erbic. There is also a tradition that they were uncles of S. Dyfrig or Dubricius (Harleian 4181, fo.39v), and one of the genealogies states that *mam Deuric sant [oed evrdil] merch Peibiawn* 'Peibiau's daughter was the mother of S. Dyfrig'. However, the Llandaff charters include a series given by king Peipiau (Peibio) filius Erb, which, however redacted to fit the requirements of 12th century Llandaff, contain enough genuine material to show that this Peipiau lived in the third quarter of the 6th century (Davies, 1979, 72a, 72b, 73a, 75, 76a) while Dubricius' floruit was probably in the first half of that century (Davies, 1979, p.74f). There is no mention of Nynyaw in the charters.

Much has been made of the appearance of Nynyaw and Peibiau in the *Mabinogi* (Chadwick, 1950, p.37f; Brooke, 1989). However, 'Culhwch ac Olwen' is a 12th century work of fiction, and, however much earlier fable it may contain, is of doubtful value for the writing of the history of the 5th or 6th centuries. It was customary to include references to a location (in this case, Mynydd Bannawg 'horned mountain') in North Britain in medieval Welsh romance (MacQueen, 1961, p.60); and the 'horned oxen' may be a designation similar to that of S. Cynhafal's father, Aergad, who appears in *Bonedd y Saint* as *gwayw-drusiad ynys Brydain ai thrydydd tarw unbenn* 'spear-thruster of the island of Britain and one of the three Bull-Chieftains' (Bartrum, 1966, p.144). None of the Welsh sources give any hint that Nynyaw is a churchman but, if it is a pair of ecclesiastics who are being satyrised here, the second, Peibiau, might possibly be identified with Kebi (or Cybi), a Welsh saint of the 5th century whose name was mistakenly transliterated back by Irish scribes into 'British' as Pubeus (or Pepeum), and who came into conflict with St. Enda of Aran (Morris, 1995, p.84).

The basic name element would seem to be *nen* or *nin*. In Welsh this is found as *nen* 'roof, top', and in Irish as *nin* (*nuin*), the fifth letter of the Ogam alphabet, 'ash tree', with the subsidiary meanings of 'loft, fork'. There are perhaps indications of 'roof beam, cruck' here, as would seem to be echoed by the story of the miracle of the roof-beam in the *Vita S. Darerca* (Monyne). However, Irish *nin* has the secondary meaning of 'letter' or 'handwriting', so **niniauos* could represent the pet-name of a scribe, i.e. 'Scribbler'. The element is found in various guises including (G)UIRNIN (CIIC 971), a mid-7th century inscription from Anglesey, and CONINIE (CIIC 511), the genitive of a feminine name **Coninia*, on an early Christian inscribed stone from Manor Water, Peebleshire (Ritchie, 1981, p.147, illus-

tration; Thomas, 1992, p.3). The river name Nene, Peterborough, (948 *Nyn*) has been assumed to be pre-Celtic (Ekwall, 1936) but may well be this word in the sense of 'forking' or 'ashy'. There is a river Ninian in southern Brittany (Morbihan): rising in the Landes du Menez near la Hutte-à-l' Anguille it flows due south until it falls into the Oust at Blond just south of Ploërmel. The history of the river name is unknown and it has no evident connection with the saint. Nen is also found as a lenition of Nethin, as in the place-name Nenthorn, Berwickshire, but the lenition is not ancient: 1203 *Naythanthirn*, 1296 *Nethenthyrn*. The vowel seems to lengthen or shorten at will, but there may be a preference for a long sound, as has been supposed from Bede's spelling and the place-names like Ninekirks, Ninewells, etc. The internal vowel seems to follow the accepted pattern of development in Britain: British *e* before a single nasal became *y* in Primitive Welsh, and in turn gave *i* in Anglo-Saxon (Jackson, 1953, pp.278f, 283).

Some examples of cognates should be noted, in particular Ninnid son of Duach, also found as Nindid, who was on the side of the victors at the battle of Cuil-dremne in 560 (Tigernach; Fland Mainstrech). In the *Lebar Brecc*, 19b, two of the followers of Columba are noted as sons of Nindid son of Naxair. Baetan, king of Tara, son of Ninnid was killed by Colman Bec (*Annals of Ulster, sub anno 585/586*). As a -t stem noun, which would give the nominative singular Nin(a)e, the root of these names may have been something like **Ninet-*. Ninnidh or Nindid Lamidan ('pure handed') gave S. Brigit the viaticum when she died in 525 (the Irish *Vita S. Brigit, Lebar Brecc*, 66a; Kenney, 1929, para 152 p.362). There is a dedication to Nennyd at Pelynt, Cornwall (c.1100 *Plunent*), which may be this same saint (Orme, 1996); Tranent, by Prestonpans, East Lothian, may be similarly derived (1144 *Treuernt*). The -id suffix derives from the Celtic -*iatis* (O'Rahilly, 1946, p.147ff). This suggests a noun of agency (Thurneysen, 1946, para 267 p.170), which perhaps implies a meaning 'protector' (< 'roof, covering'), although originally the reference would perhaps have been to a sacred tree.¹

The element seems to occur in an early medieval Christian context in the continental name Iserninus (Kenney, 1929, p.169f.), a bishop sent to assist Patrick in Ireland and who died in 468. The name is sometimes said to be the same as the Irish Ernin, or Ernan, whence also Mernoc (Mo-ernoc) and Ternoc (To-Ernoc), which would seem to suggest the element *ern(n)* 'bestows' followed by the diminutive or affective. However, the continental name is also found in the form ISARNINVS on Romano-British pottery from Icklingham (Jackson, 1953, p.522 n.1), thought to have been imported from Gaul, in which case the element *Isarno-* is probably the same as the river name Iserne in south-eastern France. Iserninus may be a continental name based on the Classical matrinomial convention, giving the saint's mother's name as **Isarnia*; or simply a personal name formed from identification with the place, as in P(o)en(n)inus, local deity of the Pennine Alps. The simplex Gallo-Latin *Isarnos* is found in early medieval southern France and northern Spain [Dumville, 1993]. Iserninus' Irish nick-name seems to have been *Fíth* 'morsel', and it would be unusual to have a later hypocoristic formed from the final element of a name.

The legend of Saint Ninian places him in a late Classical context, and so one must mention Ninnius, the name of a noble Campanian gens (Titus Livius, 23, 8), but Ninya, the

1 It is reported that in the 16th C. near a chapel of St. Ninian in the parish of Belly stood a row of trees which were regarded as sacred by, the superstitious papists, (Frazer, 1911, ii. 44, quoting Dalyell, 1834). In Gaul, the cult of stones, springs and trees had been severely condemned by three church councils, those of Arles, 442; Tours, 567; and Nantes, 658.

legendary son of Ninus and Semiramis (Cicero, *Epistulae ad Atticum*, 3, 23, 4), is perhaps a little too exotic. It may also be noted here that late Latin *nonnus* and *nonna* ('father', later 'monk' or 'tutor', and 'nun') perhaps lead through to other continental pet words such as the Spanish *nino* and *nina* ('boy' and 'girl') from late Latin **ninnus* and **ninna*. Latin *nonnus* appears to derive etymologically from Greek $\nu\acute{\alpha}\nu\nu\alpha\varsigma$, $\nu\grave{\epsilon}\nu\nu\omicron\varsigma$ 'uncle' (Skeat, 1897, *sub* 'Ninny' and 'Nun'). *Nonnus* became the medieval Latin title of a senior monk, a term that was applied to the Pope *ante* 615 (Latham, 1994). Latin internal *o* is not known to shorten beyond *aw* in Primitive Welsh (Jackson 1953, p.307f) but a connection directly to the Greek cannot be discounted (surviving Greek lexicons are known from the Early Middle Ages). However, in Brittany, *Nennyd* (q.v.), the saint of Pelynt, has become the still masculine St. *Nonna* (Bowen, 1977, p.183) who later became confused through Rhygyfarch's 11th century *Life with Nonn* (*Nonita*), the mother of St. David. *Ninian* is recorded in Brittany only in 1148 'sanctus *Ninianus*' near Châtelaudren, and a witness of this name signed a ninth century charter of Redon (Loth, 1910); the river name in Morbihan has been noted above.

The form *Nennius* occurs only in late sources: firstly, as the pseudonymous author of the *Historia Brittonum*, and secondly as a character in the fabulous *Historia Regum Britanniae* of Geoffrey of Monmouth (cap.iii,20, and iv,3). It has been shown that the attribution of the authorship of the *Historia Brittonum* to 'Ninnius' or 'Nennius' is a 12th century fiction (Dumville, 1990). Geoffrey of Monmouth (floruit 1129 x 1151), on the other hand, probably borrowed the name from the *Nyniau* of the Mabinogi tale 'Lludd ac Llefelys'.

The final transformation into the unique form *Ninianus* (whence the modern *Ninian*), and its derivatives *Ringan* and *Trinian*, has been satisfactorily expounded as from Gaelic **Nineann* (Boyle, 1968, pp.173-175; Brooke, 1989, p.39f), although it may simply be a scribal error: n for u in *Niniau* (Macquarrie, 1997, p.54).

Conclusion:

The name-form *Nynia* is almost certainly derived from the hypocoristic *Niniau* (**niniauos*), the cognate of which, in the Irish sources, is *Mo-nenn*. The element *nin-* occurs with two diminutive suffixes as *Ninnoc* and *Ninine*. A candidate exists for the 'full' name in the forms *Nennyd* and *Ninnidh*, which are found in the names of laymen and ecclesiastics in the 6th century. It is possible to construct a process by which *Nennyd* becomes *Nynia*, thus: [**Nen(n)iat*is > **Nen(n)eda* >] *Nennyd* > **Ne(n)n'd* > **N(e)nd-iau(os)* > **N(i)nn-iau* > *Niniau* > *Nynia*. Of course, both these names may have as their root some late Classical form such as *Ninnius*, but a purely Celtic autogenesis is equally, or, perhaps, more probable.

Acknowledgements:

Although I take full responsibility for any errors in this paper, I would like to thank those who have contributed to my thinking on this subject for their help and encouragement. In particular, Dr Richard Cox and Professor Colm O'Baoill of the University of Aberdeen; Dr Thomas Owen Clancy of the University of Glasgow; and Dr Andrew Breeze of the University of Navarre. I would also like to thank my daughter Rebecca Gough-Cooper, for helping to find material for me in the University Library, Edinburgh; and the staff of the Ewart Library, Dumfries, for their unfailing diligence and courtesy.

Sources for the Name 'Ninian' and Cognates

N.B. The dating of the sources is largely derived from Kenney, 1929, and Bartrum, 1966; and, especially in the case of the Irish material, it is in urgent need of scholarly reassessment. Normally, the date of the surviving source is given, unless, as in the case of Bede, a generally accepted better date is known. The very early date for the first two names, from the *Vita S. Darerca*, follows Esposito (Kenney, 1929, pp.368f) but may well be over-optimistic.

NAME:	DATE OF SOURCE:	SOURCE:
MONINNAE	600 x 650	<i>Codex Salamanticensis</i> (12th cent.)
MONYNNE,	600 x 650	<i>Codex Salamanticensis</i> (12th cent.)
NININE	700	<i>Annals of Tigernach</i> , s.a. 621 (14th cent.)
NYNIA	731	Bede: <i>Ecclesiastical History</i>
NINIA	750 x 800	<i>Miracula N. Episcopi</i>
NINIAM	750 x 800	<i>Miracula</i>
NINIAU	750 x 800	<i>Miracula</i>
NINIE	750 x 800	<i>Miracula</i>
NINIGA	750 x 800	<i>Miracula</i>
NYNIAU	750 x 800	<i>Miracula</i>
NYNIE	750 x 800	<i>Hymnus Sancti N. Episcopi</i>
NINIGA	770 x 804	Alcuin: <i>Epistulae</i>
MONENN	800 x 810	<i>Martyrology of Oengus</i> (Sept. 16)
MONENNAE	800 x 850	<i>Vita S. Monennae</i> (Cottonian MS Cleopatra A ii)
MONINNA	800 x 850	<i>Vita S. Monennae</i> (ditto)
MONINNSEN	900 x 1000	<i>Martyrology of Tallaght</i> (April 18)
NINNIO 'SEN'	900 x 1000	<i>Martyrology of Tallaght</i> (July 25)
MONENN	900 x 1000	<i>Martyrology of Tallaght</i> (Sept. 16)
MONEND	1100 x 1200	<i>Vita S. Enda of Aran</i>
MONENNUS	1100	<i>Vita S. Tigernach</i>
NENNYO	1100 x 1200	<i>Vita S. Eugene of Ardstraw</i>
NYNHYAW	1100	<i>Mabinogi: Culhwch ac Olwen</i>
NYNIAU	1100	<i>Mabinogi: Lludd ac Llefelys</i>
NINIANUS	1156 x 1186	Ailred: <i>Vita S. Niniani</i>
NENNIO	1166 x 1174	<i>Martyrology of Gorman</i> (April 18)
NENNIO	1166 x 1174	<i>Martyrology of Gorman</i> (July 25)
MOENEND	1166 x 1174	<i>Martyrology of Gorman</i> (Sept. 16)
MOINENN	1200	<i>Book of Leinster</i>
NENNIO	?1200	<i>Vita S. Winnen of Kilwinning</i>
NYNNYAW	1350	Jesus College MS 20 (<i>Ach Morgan ab Owain</i>)
NINDED	1400 x 1500	<i>Lebar Brecc: Vita S. Brigit</i>
MONINNE	before 1498	<i>Annals of Ulster</i> (s.a. 519)
NYNYAW	1500	<i>Achau Brehinoedd a Thywysogion Cymru</i>
NYNYAW	1500 x 1600	<i>Hen Lwythau Gwynedd a'r Mars</i>
NYNNIAW	1550 x 1600	<i>Brenhinllwyth Morganwc</i>
NINNIDH	1630 x 1640	<i>Martyrology of Donegal</i> (Michael O'Clery)
MOENENN	1639	Bishop Ussher: <i>Antiquities</i>
NINIAN	1639	Bishop Ussher: <i>Antiquities</i>

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THE PARTITION OF A KINGDOM: STRATHCLYDE 1092 - 1153

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The last British king of Strathclyde, Owein, son of Dyfnal, died in 1018. At that time his kingdom stretched from Lennox, north of the Clyde, as far south as the Rere Cross at Stainmore in the North Riding of Yorkshire. Thereafter the kings of Scots took control, perhaps introduced a small Scottish aristocracy, but did not otherwise greatly alter the British character of the kingdom (fig. 1). Once it became possible for the Anglo-Norman kings of England to maintain a presence in the north the claims and ambitions of Scots and English kings led to a struggle for control of Strathclyde. An established border between 'Scotland' and 'England' did not then exist. The kings concerned were William II Rufus, Henry I and Stephen for England; for Scotland, Malcolm III and his sons Duncan, Edgar, Alexander I and David I. Their successes and failures over sixty years are discussed below.

In the year 1120 William Atheling, recently knighted, the only legitimate son of Henry I of England, received the homage of the English nobles. He then crossed the Channel and did homage for the duchy of Normandy to King Louis VI of France. In this way Henry obtained recognition of his right to hold the duchy without personally doing homage to Louis. William, that same year, married Matilda, daughter of Count Fulk of Anjou, thus ending a longstanding rivalry between Normandy and Anjou.¹

Henry's plans had gone well. Later in the year William prepared to return to England in the *White Ship*. In his company were a daughter of Henry I, the tutor to his sons, many royal servants, including the justice, Geoffrey Ridel, the stewards, William Bigod and William de Pirou, the chamberlain, Robert Mauduit, and Gisulf, a royal scribe, together with many leading men and their wives.² The *White Ship* foundered: there was reputedly only one survivor.

For Henry, grief at the loss of two of his children and of valued royal servants and supporters, was by no means all. His achievements in diplomacy and war over the previous twenty years were at once either undone or seriously undermined. He no longer had the right to hold Normandy unless he himself did homage to Louis VI, which he was still unwilling to do. His widowed daughter-in-law, Matilda of Anjou, returned to France and entered a nunnery. Disputes over her dowry, the county of Maine, renewed the rivalry between Normandy and Anjou.³ Louis VI, who had agreed to abandon his support for the claim to Normandy of William Clito, son of Duke Robert, was freed by William Atheling's death to embarrass Henry by renewing support, if he chose, for William Clito.

Within a few weeks of William Atheling's death, Henry remarried, but his new queen, Adeliza of Louvain in Flanders, did not bring him the son he so urgently needed. As it became increasingly obvious that he would have no male heir, so all Henry's plans had to be adjusted or subordinated to the need to secure the succession. His legitimate daughter

1. Chibnall, 83.

2. Green, *Government*, 123, 170.

3. Leyser, 227.

Matilda had been betrothed as a child to the German emperor Henry V, and married to him in 1114. Leyser recently argued that there may well have been a nascent agreement that the emperor should succeed Henry I as king of England, by virtue of his wife the empress.⁴ The emperor's succession would certainly have given England a powerful and probably acceptable monarch, but any plans which there may have been came to naught when the emperor died in 1125.

The widowed Matilda, childless, returned to England, and was recognised as Henry's heir. Her remarriage in 1128 to Geoffrey, son of Count Fulk V of Anjou, was entirely political, since Geoffrey was her junior not only in age but also in rank, for she retained the title of empress. However, as with the marriage of William Atheling and Matilda, the main causes of friction between Normandy and Anjou had been removed.⁵ Her eldest son was the future Henry II of England.

Even in the far north of England the consequences of the wreck of the *White Ship* were felt. From late in the reign of Rufus the king's man in Carlisle and Cumbria had been Ranulf Meschin, viscount of the Bessin, or territory of Bayeux, in Normandy. His mother was the sister of Hugh, earl of Chester, who had been succeeded by his son Richard who, with his wife Matilda, was in Normandy in 1119. Both were among the passengers drowned in the wreck of the *White Ship*. Thus Ranulf, Richard's cousin, became heir to the earldom of Chester. Henry I allowed him to succeed to Chester, but only on condition that he gave up his lordships in Carlisle and Cumbria. This, as it is hoped to show later, was not merely a change of personnel but led to the abandonment of plans consistently pursued by Henry and before him by his elder brother, William II Rufus, for at least a quarter of a century.

Although Professor Barrow considers that Scotia proper, from which the Scots kings derived their title, lay north of the Forth, the lands north of the Lammermuirs had already been granted by Malcolm III to Gospatric, whose descendants were to hold it as earls of Dunbar.⁶ His lands thus pertained to the kingdom of the Scots, and are therefore shown as part of Scotia in fig.1. Gospatric's lands were also part of Lothian but the status of the remainder of Lothian to the south is uncertain. Nominally under the control of Alexander I, king of Scots, it may in fact have been held, with the support of Henry I of England, by Alexander I's youngest brother David, as will be argued below. South of Lothian lay Northumbria, an earldom and Durham, both parts of England but not sufficiently under Norman control by 1086 to be included in Domesday Book. To the west lay the former kingdom of Strathclyde, which may have come to be regarded as the appanage of the heir to the Scottish crown. Galloway, if not part of, must have been dominated by Strathclyde.

Sometime in the 1050s Scottish control was interrupted when Siward, earl of Northumbria, annexed Cumbria, or at least the southern part of it. Siward died in 1055, and was succeeded as earl by Tostig, brother of King Harold, but in 1061 while Tostig was on pilgrimage to Rome, Malcolm III, king of Scots, invaded and apparently regained control of Cumbria.⁷ Malcolm was still in control when the Normans invaded England in 1066.

4. Ibid., 228.

5. Chibnall, 83.

6. Barrow, *Kingdom*, 151, 161; Lawrie, 356; Duncan, 199.

7. Kapelle, 92-3.



Figure 1. 12th century lordships in Strathclyde (or Cumbria) and Galloway

The first encounter between Scots and Normans stemmed from Malcolm III's two raids into and devastation of Northumbria in 1070, apparently as far south as Teesdale and across the Tees into Cleveland. The first raid drew a response from Gospatric, earl of Northumbria, who in turn ravaged Cumbria, thereby provoking Malcolm's second raid. Malcolm's motives are not clear. In 1070 English resistance in the north was finally broken by the Normans, after which many of the English leaders took refuge in Scotland. Possibly Malcolm had it in mind to support his brother-in-law, Edgar Atheling, in his claim to the throne of England, and was making a reconnaissance in force to find out what the prospects were.⁸ But the insurrection was over by Easter of that year. Waltheof, one of the leaders, made his peace with King William. Waltheof had an ancestral claim to the earldom of Northumbria. William saw in him a man who might with success hold the north. He gave Waltheof his niece Judith in marriage in 1071 and made him earl of Northumbria in 1072.⁹

William was now in a position to deal with Malcolm. In 1072 he penetrated as far into Scotia as Abernethy in Perthshire, where a meeting with Malcolm was arranged. Whether or not Malcolm agreed to become William's man in feudal terms, it is certain that Malcolm handed over as hostage his eldest son Duncan. This implies that conditions were imposed upon Malcolm by William, and the fact that this transaction took place well within Malcolm's kingdom merely emphasises William's superiority. Malcolm, however, seems to have retained his hold upon Strathclyde, presumably under the conditions set by William. For his part, William may have agreed to recognise Duncan as Malcolm's heir, with certain contingent rights in Strathclyde thereby accruing. Duncan's presence in Strathclyde, whatever his status, is attested by his marriage to Octreda, sister of Waltheof of Allerdale, in Cumbria.¹⁰

In 1079 Malcolm ravaged Northumbria as far south as the River Tyne. Again Malcolm's aims are not clear, though the timing was good, in as much as in that year Robert of Normandy was in dispute with his father and his brother William. However, Malcolm's action may have stimulated simmering dissatisfaction in Durham into an open insurrection in which Bishop Walcher, who had been given charge of the earldom of Northumbria, was killed. In 1080 Bishop Odo came north in response, and in turn devastated Northumbria. In the following year, Robert of Normandy, now reconciled with his father, was sent north. He penetrated as far as Falkirk, but having failed to achieve anything by negotiation returned south, pausing long enough on the Tyne to build a stronghold at Newcastle.¹¹

For the next decade no further disturbance was reported in the north, but it is worthwhile to examine the course of events in Wales and the Welsh march at this time, for, as will appear, developments in Cumbria show interesting parallels which are most readily explained by reference to what was taking place in that region. The Conqueror had created three great marcher lordships - of Chester under Hugh d'Avranches, of Shrewsbury under Roger of Montgomery and of Hereford under William fitz Osbern - all experienced soldiers (fig. 2). Earl Hugh of Chester expanded his lordship along the north Welsh coast as far as Anglesey. Shrewsbury and Hereford were consolidated rather than extended at this time.

8. Anderson, *Early Sources*, 23.

9. *Ibid.*, 24, 40.

10. *Ibid.*, 91.

11. *Ibid.*, 46.

In the south of Wales, Welsh princes contended for power. In 1072 Maredudd of Deheubarth attacked Caradog, prince of Gwynllwg, apparently in a struggle for control of Glamorgan, which lay to the west of Gwynllwg (fig. 2). The defeat and death of Maredudd enabled Caradog to become king of Morgannwg. Caradog had had Norman help towards his victory, and there is evidence that from 1072 he was a client king of the Conqueror. However, the contest between Deheubarth and Gwynllwg was not yet over. In 1081 Rhys ap Tewdwr, prince of Deheubarth, attacked and killed Caradog.

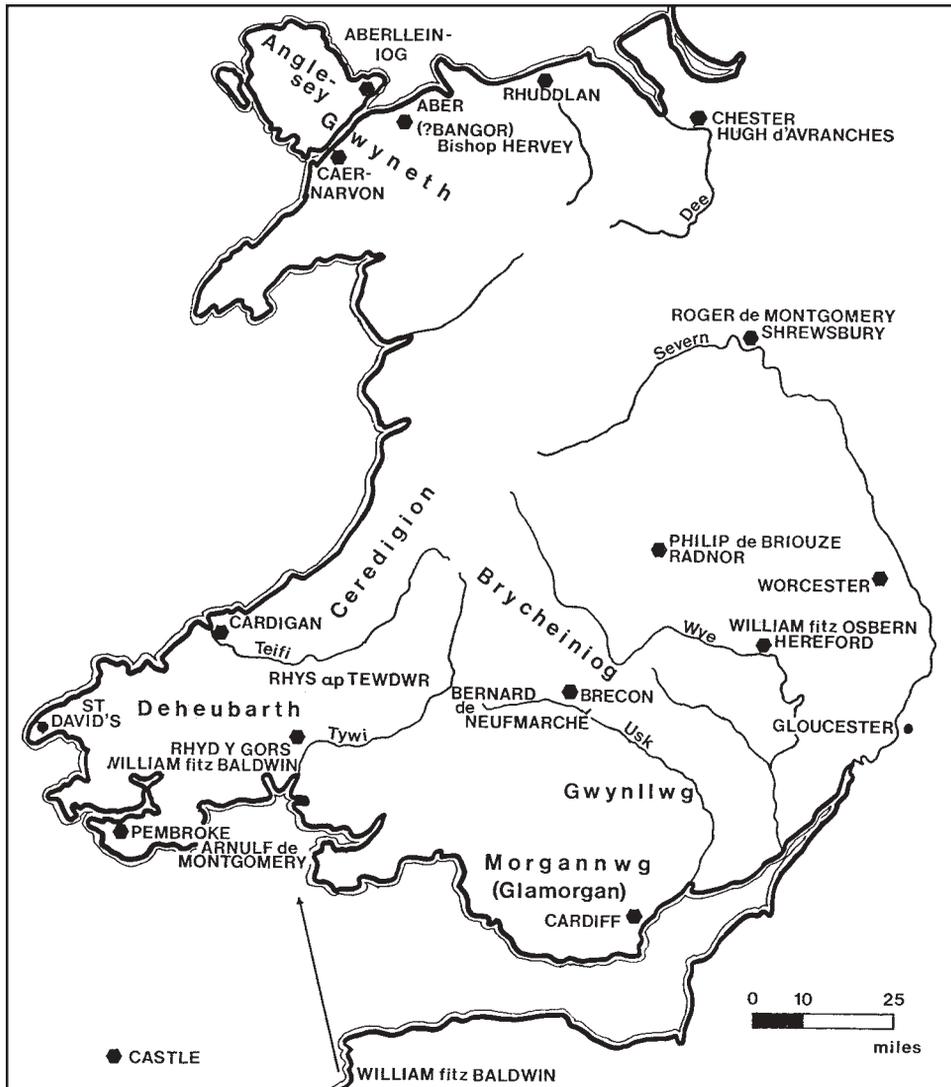


Fig. 2. Initial stages in the Norman penetration of Wales in the 11th century

William made an immediate expedition to St. David's to treat with the victorious Rhys. It would appear that, in return for recognition by William, Rhys agreed to pay £40 per year, but he did not obtain possession of Morgannwg, which William retained in his own hands. There he built a castle at Cardiff, with a territory protected by an outlying arc of mottes. These measures seem to have stabilised the position in south Wales until the end of the Conqueror's reign.¹²

On his accession in 1087 William II Rufus may have required the Welsh rulers to meet him at Gloucester or elsewhere near the border to do homage to him, but there is no record that they did so. The personal agreements negotiated by the Conqueror had lapsed with his death; Norman aggrandisement continued. William fitz Baldwin de Redvers, son of the sheriff of Devon, crossed the Bristol Channel and built a castle at Rhydygors on the river Twyi, near Carmarthen (fig. 2). Further north before 1075 earl Roger of Hereford, son of William fitz Osbern, seems to have penetrated into the Welsh kingdom of Brycheiniog, but it was probably Bernard of Neufmarché who sometime before 1093 seized the Welsh kingdom and established his base and castle at Brecon: it was near there that Rhys ap Tewdwr, no longer protected by his agreement with the Conqueror, was in 1093 drawn into battle, defeated and killed. The death of Rhys opened the flood gates: as Florence of Worcester put it, 'from that day kings ceased to rule in Wales'.

In the same year Roger of Montgomery, earl of Shrewsbury, sent an army across the sea into Cardiganshire to occupy Ceredigion. Then the army struck south into Dyfed. An honour with a caput at Pembroke was created. Philip de Briouze seized Radnor. In the north Gwyneth was being overrun. Castles were built at Bangor, Caernarvon and Anglesey (fig. 2).

Rufus could not stand aside from these events in Wales. In or about 1098 he had granted extensive lands in Gloucestershire to his steward, Robert fitz Haimon. Then in 1093, after the fall of Rhys, Robert was made lord of Glamorgan and allowed to take over the royal castle of Cardiff and its territory.¹³ Rufus also enfeoffed Arnulf, son of Roger de Montgomery, in Pembroke. In 1092 he appointed Hervey as bishop of Bangor.

It is surely obvious that the occupation of Carlisle by Rufus in 1092 ran parallel with the incursions into Wales, and indeed implies an intention on the part of Rufus to deal with Strathclyde on similar lines. But it is quite misleading to argue, as Barlow does, that this was 'the beginning of one of William's most important achievements - his restoration of the historical frontier with Scotland'.¹⁴ What Rufus confronted after the occupation of Carlisle was not Scotland but Strathannan (Annandale), Eskdale and Liddesdale, all presumably lordships of the old kingdom of Strathclyde, recently or still ruled by native Strathclyde lords (fig. 1)¹⁵. Certainly Strathnith (Nithsdale), to the west of Strathannan, not only preserved its Brittonic name but had as its lord Dunegal who, from the Brittonic form of his name, might be considered as a member of a Strathclyde British family.

12. RCAHMW (1991), 9-11 (fig. 5).

13. This summary of events in Wales follows the account given by Barlow, 320-4, but updated from RCAHMW (1991), 8-11. For information as to Brycheiniog and for other comments on the situation in Wales I am indebted to Mr. Paul Remfrey: cf. Remfrey, 2.

14. Barlow, 297.

15. Barrow, *Era*, 51, Map 1.

It is evident from his actions that after 1092 Rufus had no intention of establishing a frontier at the northern edge of his sphere of influence, that he considered that he had no responsibility for respecting the limits of Strathclyde (which he had already violated), that he had anticipated the consequences of his actions and that he did not flinch from facing those consequences. Kapelle draws attention to the muted reaction of Malcolm III to the occupation of Carlisle in 1092, which he made no effort to oppose. In 1093, after laying one of the foundation stones of the new cathedral at Durham, which might be construed as a gesture of independence if not of defiance, in as much as Durham was part of England, Malcolm travelled south to meet Rufus at Gloucester. His intention according to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* was to demand from Rufus that he should fulfil the terms of some agreement, which must have been that reached in 1091 somewhere between the Tweed and the Firth of Forth, and seems to have confirmed the terms of 1080 and of 1072.¹⁶ But it may have been Malcolm who wished to change part of the agreement by persuading Rufus to recognise Edward instead of Duncan as heir to the Scottish throne. For his part, Malcolm may have been quite prepared to continue to render the same homage to Rufus as he had to the Conqueror, for it had allowed him his possession of Strathclyde and a virtually free hand otherwise. This could account for his unusual restraint which Kapelle found so odd.¹⁷ When it became obvious that he and Rufus could not agree, Malcolm declared that he would submit his case only to a court of magnates drawn from each kingdom, meeting on the confines (as he saw them) of the two kingdoms, as had been customary between the kings in the past.¹⁸ This would appear to correspond to *hommage de paix* or *hommage en marche* - essentially a relationship of equals meeting on neutral ground to negotiate a peace treaty, usually in the presence of their respective armies. The *hommage* rendered by no means implied the range of obligations offered by *hommage vassalique*.

It should now be obvious why Rufus behaved as he did, in demanding that Malcolm should submit to the judgment of his court in England and (presumably otherwise) refusing even to see Malcolm.¹⁹ The Scots king's understanding of the confines of the two kingdoms would have been the border between England and Strathclyde. Rufus could not agree to such a meeting on such an understanding, for to do so would have affirmed in advance that the Strathclyde border was Malcolm's (and Edward's?) border - a border which Rufus would thenceforth have been bound to respect. An agreement acceptable to the Conqueror in 1072 was no longer acceptable to his son twenty years later.

Events favoured Rufus. Malcolm returned home in anger, raised an army and invaded Northumbria. There he fell into an ambush laid by Earl Robert de Mowbray just south of the River Aln. The Scots army was defeated. Both Malcolm and Edward were killed.²⁰ However, before Rufus could react Donald, Malcolm's brother, was chosen as king. Donald is usually portrayed as having 'seized' the throne but there was a notable lack of the blood letting which at times accompanied forcible accession of kings. The three youngest of Malcolm's sons, Edgar, Alexander and David, were allowed to go into exile in England, but

16. Kapelle, 150-1.

17. *Ibid.*, 151.

18. *Ibid.*, 152; cf. Hollister, *Monarchy*, 18-19.

19. *Ibid.*, Rufus had probably recognised Duncan as Malcolm's heir; cf. Anderson, *Scottish Annals*, 104.

20. Kapelle, 152-3.

Edmund, the eldest surviving son remained in the north.²¹ This might be construed as a compact between Donald and Edmund whereby Edmund was recognised as Donald's heir, with Strathclyde as his appanage.

However this may have been, Rufus gave his support to Duncan. It was with the aid and by the counsel of Rufus that Duncan was able to enter Scotland and drive Donald out only six months later. But Duncan in turn reigned for only six months, for he was killed by the Scots in 1094, who then restored Donald as their king for a further three years.

It was not until 1097 that Rufus again intervened in Scotland, for he had been preoccupied with affairs in Normandy. Edgar Atheling was placed in charge of an invading army. The Atheling enthroned his nephew and namesake Edgar as king after Donald had been defeated, captured and blinded. It is recorded that both Duncan and Edgar swore fealty to Rufus. At Whitsun 1099, when Rufus wore his crown in Westminster Abbey, Edgar is said to have carried the sword before the king during the ceremony.²²

Although Rufus had failed in his attempt to keep Duncan II on the Scottish throne, and might have expected reprisals from Donald during his three-year reign, there is in fact no record of trouble with the Scots at that time. Thereafter close ties with Edgar would have ensured that Rufus could proceed with his plans without opposition.

The parallel with the course of events in Wales is truly striking. The invasion of south Cumbria, its annexation and the construction of a castle at Carlisle to secure possession, exactly parallel the Conqueror's strategy in Morgannwg, where after annexation he built Cardiff Castle. As for Rufus, his grant of estates in Gloucestershire to his steward, Robert fitz Haimon, to which was added the custody of Cardiff Castle, are precisely matched by his grant to his steward, Ivo Taillebois, of estates in Cumbria, followed surely by the custody of Carlisle Castle. For at a date not recorded, but surely in 1092 or 1093, Rufus enfeoffed Ivo with land in Cumbria which Kapelle would visualise as forming a frontier castlery analogous to Richmond if, as he surmises, these lands were the basis of the later baronies of Burton in Lonsdale, Kendal, Coupland and possibly Furness.²³ Ivo was already a man of substance, for Rufus had given him in marriage the wealthy Lincolnshire heiress, Lucy of Bolingbroke, perhaps the daughter of Thorold, a sheriff of Lincoln. It is probable that Ivo succeeded his father-in-law as sheriff.²⁴ The king's intention must surely have been that Ivo, like his fellow steward Robert Fitz Haimon in Gloucestershire, should have the resources not only to retain his new holdings but also to extend them. However, it is noticeable that Ivo's acquisitions did not include Allerdale (fig. 1), which Waltheof, brother of Dolfin, was allowed to retain. The reason must be that Duncan II had married Octreda, Waltheof's sister. Duncan may well have been supported by Waltheof when he displaced his uncle Donald as king of Scots in 1093, for English as well as French were said to have been in his invading force.²⁵

21. Anderson, *Scottish Annals*, 117-19.

22. Barlow, 399.

23. Kapelle, 148.

24. Barlow, 172, 447; Green, *Sheriffs*, 54.

25. Barlow, 295; Anderson, *Scottish Annals*, 118.

1092 - 'in this year King William with a great army went north to Carlisle, and restored the town and built the castle; and he drove out Dolphin who ruled the land there before. And he garrisoned the castle with his vassals; and thereafter came south hither, and sent thither a great multitude of churlish folk with women and cattle, there to dwell and to till the land'; thus the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* account of the invasion by Rufus.²⁶

It is possible to enlarge upon this terse but clear account in several directions. The first concerns the identity of Dolphin. If, as has been generally assumed, Dolphin was the brother of Waltheof it does seem odd that he, understood to be the brother-in-law of Duncan II of Scotland, should have been so summarily expelled, whilst brother Waltheof retained Allerdale. It may therefore be that, *pace* Summerson, Kapelle was correct in believing that the Dolphin who was expelled was not Waltheof's brother.²⁷

The second point arises from Summerson's observation that the only evidence for the 'churlish folk' settled near Carlisle by Rufus comes from Reginald of Durham's life of St. Godric. This relates that when Godric visited Carlisle, probably in the first decade of the 12th century, he was recognised as their kinsman by some of the inhabitants. Godric was born in either Norfolk or Lincolnshire and spent his early years in Lincolnshire. Summerson further points out that, from one of his Carlisle relatives, Godric received a copy of the abbreviated version of the psalter attributed to St. Jerome.²⁸ This implies that not all the 'churlish folk' were simple peasants. They and their leaders are likely to have come from Lincolnshire and to have spoken a Danish dialect, probably understood by the Norse speakers of Cumbria.

A third and related point concerns Ivo Taillebois. As an experienced royal steward, who had on occasion acted as sheriff and judge, possessing extensive lands in Lincolnshire by virtue of his wife, he must have been an obvious choice to move the 'churlish folk' from Lincolnshire and to resettle them at Carlisle. Summerson notes that Rufus appears to have been at Lincoln in May 1092, the month when Bishop Remigius died, and that Rufus would thereafter have had the revenues of the bishopric at his disposal until the vacancy was filled in 1094. It is quite possible therefore, that some of the 'churlish folk' came from the bishop's manors.²⁹

It seems to be generally assumed that Ivo Taillebois died about 1094, but he may have lived until at least 1098. This would have been long enough for him to have organised the settlement of the Lincolnshire folk in the north. Indeed, Ivo must have been in total charge of Carlisle and Cumbria. Some of the appointments there, attributed to Ranulf Meschin, may in fact have been Ivo's, subsequently confirmed by Ranulf. One of these is of Robert de 'Trivers' to Burgh-by-Sands (fig.3). Kapelle suggests that Robert de 'Trevers (Trivers)' was originally from Trevieres, north-west of Bayeux in Normandy.³⁰ Just possibly, however, the initial 'T' is intrusive before 'r', in which case Rivers should rather be equated with de Reviars (Redvers), the name of a family with lands in Wessex. As Barrow points

26. Anderson, *ibid.*, 108-9.

27. Summerson, 47-9; Kapelle, 151, 273-4, note 117.

28. Summerson, 17, 32.

29. *Ibid.*, 17.

30. Kapelle, 288, note 97.

out, Reviere lies between Bayeux and Caen, in a district from which Ivo Taillebois originated.³¹ If this is so, it would go far to explain why Ivo should have appointed a 'de Rivers' or de Redvers to Burgh-by-Sands.

It is unfortunate that the dates of Ivo's death and of the steps taken by Rufus to ensure the continuation of his task in the north are uncertain. The key seems to lie with Lucy of Bolingbroke, married to Ivo since at least 1086,³² but childless or without surviving children. It was important that Ivo's successor should have the capability, as well as the ability, to take charge in the north. Roger fitz Gerold, lord of Roumare, a close friend of Rufus and a soldier with experience on the Welsh march, where he had been a castellan, was chosen by the king, who gave him Ivo's widow in marriage.³³ Roger was in Normandy in the winter of 1097-8 or the autumn of 1098 and it is possible that he returned to England with the king as late as 1099, which is thus the latest date when Rufus could have placed him in charge in the north. He may soon thereafter have died or have been killed, for nothing is known of his activities there.³⁴ So important was it to have the right man in charge in the north that the unfortunate widow Lucy may have had to remarry within the year. Her third husband was Ranulf Meschin, again an experienced soldier and a valued supporter of Rufus. It will cause no surprise to learn that in 1130, after Ranulf's death Lucy should have accounted to the crown for 500 marks for permission to remain unmarried for five years.³⁵ Roger's infant son William was probably brought up in the household of Ranulf and Lucy, for in Stephen's reign William and Ranulf, his younger half-brother, Ranulf's son by Lucy, were close allies and co-operated in the defence of their lands and interests.³⁶

The statement of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* that the settlers were sent to Carlisle 'there to dwell and to till the land' receives remarkable confirmation from the distribution of 11th and 12th century place-names in north Cumberland and Annandale (fig. 3). The authors and editors of *The Place-Names of Cumberland* drew attention to the number of names ending in *-by* in which Norman, Breton, Flemish and Continental Germanic personal names are embodied. Other place-names, of Goidelic, British or Old English origin, might be earlier, though some may have been given in the 12th century.³⁷

The Norman, Breton, Flemish and Continental Germanic names in *-by* are distinguished by underlining in figure 3. It will be seen that Carlisle and Burgh-by-Sands account for nine. Four, nos. 9, 10, 11 and 18 lie on the southern fringe of Inglewood Forest, a dependency of Carlisle. Elsewhere there are two in the south-west corner of Allerdale. In Annandale there are nine such names, together with Canonbie, which must be contemporary (fig. 3). Here one site lies west of the Annan; otherwise most of the Annandale sites are to the east of the line of the Roman road running through lower Annandale. To the west of the Roman road the lands probably belonged largely to Hoddum, apparently the seat of a bishopric at this time.³⁸ What seems likely is that Carlisle, Cumbria and at least lower Annandale had

31. Barrow, *Era*, 70-1.

32. Barlow, 298.

33. *Ibid.*, 172.

34. *Ibid.*, 395.

35. *Ibid.*, 256.

36. Dalton, *Ranulf*, 39-59.

37. Armstrong *et al.*, xxxi-xxxii. Cf. Barrow, *Era*, 34ff.

38. Scott, *Bishop John*, 37-45.

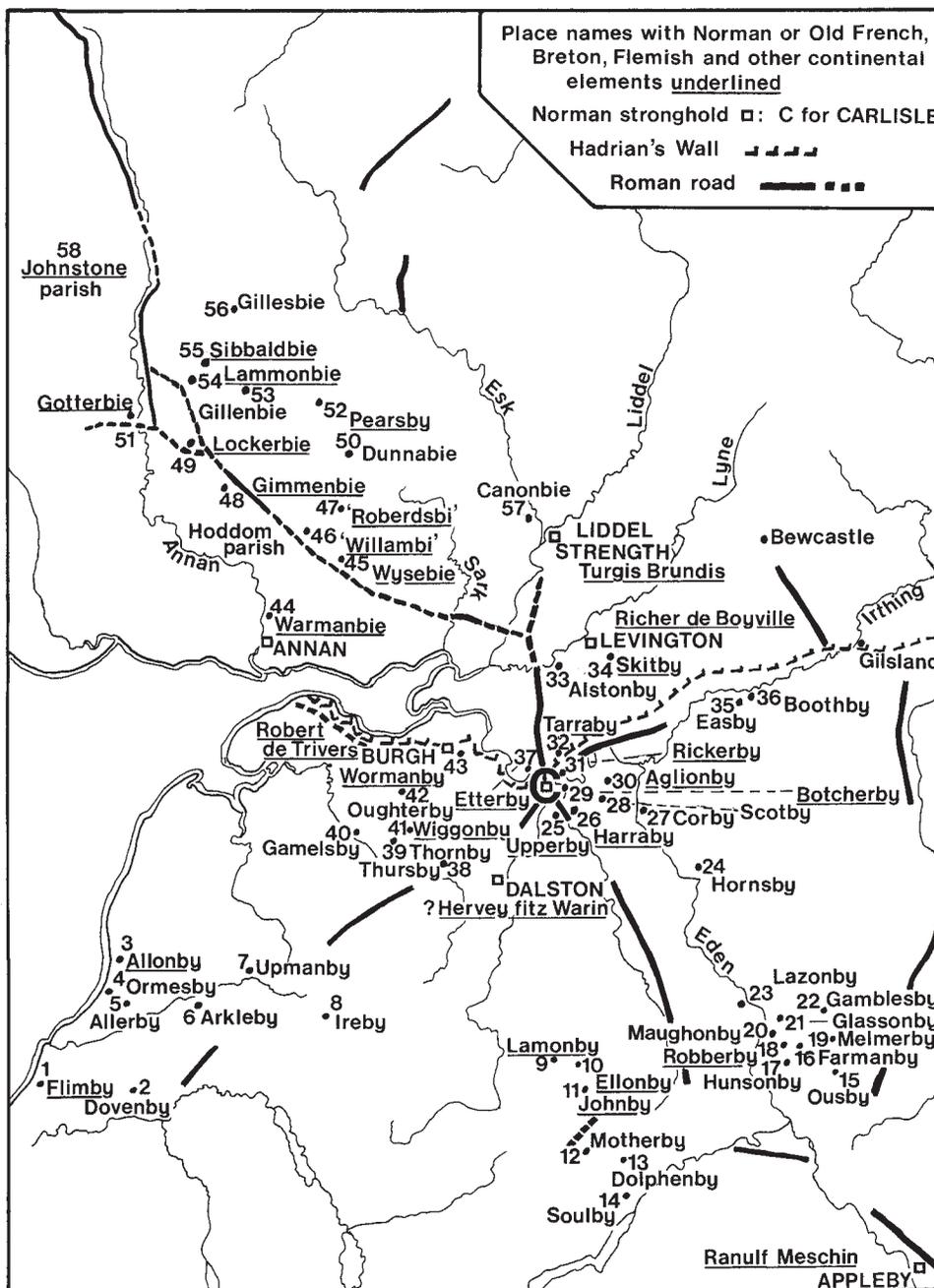


Fig. 3. Place-name evidence for the Anglo-Norman occupation of Carlisle and Annandale. For the assumed sites of 'Roberdsbi' and 'Willambi' see Barrow, *Era*, 47, note 83 and 60, Map 10

formed the expelled Dolphin's lordship, taken over in 1092, and that there was then no such concept as a 'Scottish' border.

What does emerge from a study of figure 3 is that these place-names show that the plantation of settlements in Cumbria and Annandale was a single process, which must have commenced immediately after 1092. Who were these incomers who established these sites in *-by*? Clearly they were not of sufficient status to own fortified dwellings such as mottes or ringworks. Probably they were drengs, 'who must be part of the noble order yet are clearly on its borderline. ... the dreng held by a ministerial tenure, but his services were markedly more agricultural, more personal, even menial. His holding would be typically a single ploughgate, or a small township within a shire, or an outlying dependency of a village. ... he combined the features of a tenant by knight-service or at least serjeanty with that of a ...villein. ... there was no denying that he was a freeman, and might claim lordship over others'.³⁹ Parallels have been drawn between the drengs of the north and the radmen - *radmanni* or *radchenistri* - of the Welsh march, who performed 'riding service' and possibly had some obligation to fight if called upon.⁴⁰ It might be that Roger of Roumare or after him Ranulf Meschin found it advantageous to treat and train drengs in Cumbria as radmen, perhaps providing them with horses, like the radmen. Both Roger and Ranulf would have been familiar with the radman, for radmen are recorded in *Domesday Book* as in Cheshire, where Ranulf must have encountered them, whilst Roger as noted, had been a castellan on the Welsh march.⁴¹ It may be remarked that in 1130 the castle at Burton-in-Lonsdale was garrisoned by a professional knight and serjeants, while the established tenants were not knights but drengs.⁴²

There are two other sites in Annandale to be noted, the motte at Annan (fig. 4) and the nearby settlement at Warmanbie. These surely represent land-taking across the 'border' in exactly the same way and probably, with the king's approval, under exactly the same terms and conditions as in Wales. The presence of a place called Wormanby (Wynmerby in 1279) near Burgh-by-Sands strongly hints that a certain Wilmer or Winmer may have acquired land in Annandale to add to his land in Cumbria (fig. 3).⁴³ The new settlements, together with the lands of Hoddom, may have constituted the territory or 'borland' of a castlery of Annan, created probably by Ranulf and under his control as lord of Carlisle. Castleguard must have been the responsibility of the Annandale drengs, Carlisle garrisoned by the drengs settled in its vicinity.

It will have been noticed that the developments so far described, except those attributed to Ranulf and Wilmer (Winmer), have been assigned to the reign of William Rufus. The appointment of Ranulf Meschin is sometimes attributed to Henry I.⁴⁴ Kapelle's date of probably later than 1106, the year when Henry finally routed his enemies in Normandy, rests on the fact that Ranulf, who played a leading part in the battle of Tinchebrai in that

39. Barrow, *Northern English Society*, 10-11.

40. Suppe, 74.

41. *Ibid.*; Barlow., 172.

42. Greenway, xxii.

43. Armstrong *et al.*, 507, 564 .

44. E.g. Kapelle, 200.

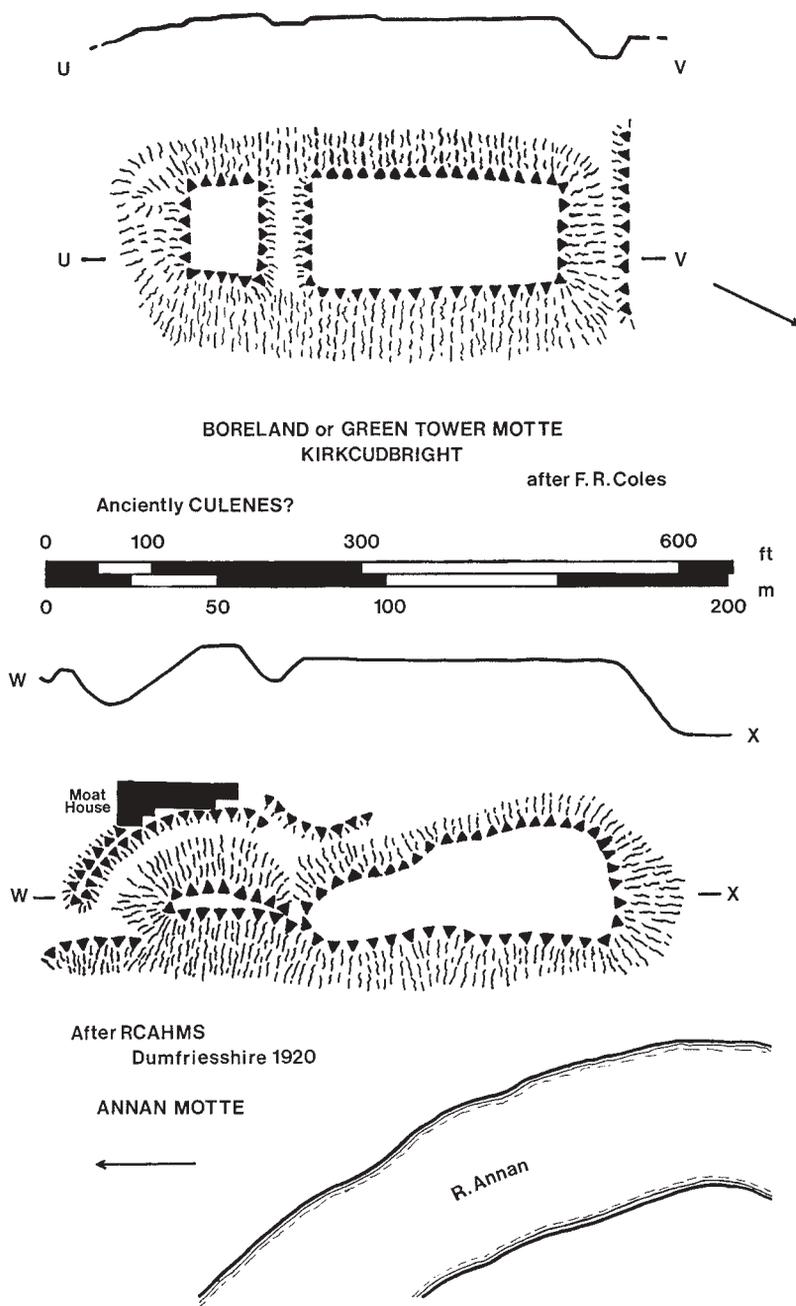


Fig. 4. Mottes with baileys at Boreland, Kirkcudbright, and at Annan (most of the motte eroded by the River Annan), Dumfriesshire

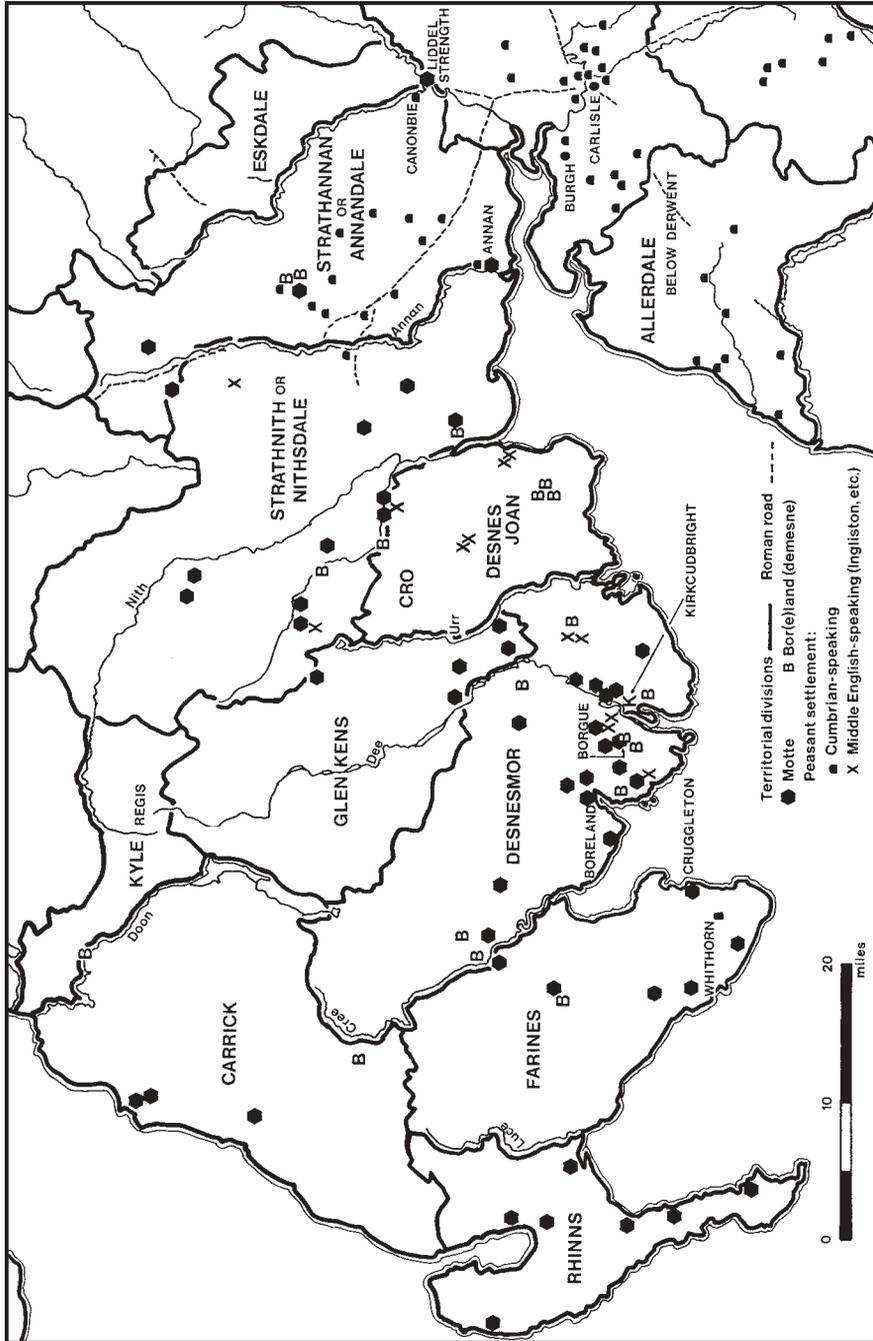


Fig. 5. Distribution of mottes and peasant (?dreng) settlement in Dumfriesshire and Galloway about 1150

year, must have been in Normandy for some time beforehand, in support of Henry. If so there would have been periods between Henry's accession and 1106 when Carlisle, Cumberland and Annandale were deprived of their lord, with all the consequent dangers. One can imagine that a Malcolm III could not have resisted trying to profit from Henry's difficulties. But Edgar, king of Scots from 1097 to 1107, owed his crown to Rufus, and had accepted him as lord. Moreover, one of Henry's first acts on succeeding Rufus was to marry Edgar's sister Matilda. The marriage must have confirmed and continued the friendly relationships with kings of Scots begun by Rufus. The accord must have been of great value to Henry during the first seven years of his reign, for it enabled him to concentrate on dealing with trouble makers in Normandy, and even to summon Ranulf, his man in the north, to help him. Thus there is no need to argue for a post-1106 date for Ranulf's installation in his northern *potestas*.

There are signs of other encroachments to the north apart from the settlement of drengs in Annandale. Immediately to the west of Annandale lay Strathnith or Nithsdale, whose lord, Dunegal, has already been mentioned. It will be noted that the three Dumfriesshire lordships of Strathnith, Strathannan and Eskdale take their names from rivers, but lie to the east of those rivers (fig. 5). West of the Nith lay Galloway, and it is suggested that parts of Galloway lying west of the Nith may have been acquired by Dunegal at this time.

Dunegal is known to have retained his lordship probably for the whole of Henry's reign. He must therefore have been given royal protection, as on occasion had happened with Welsh princes or kings. Dunegal may also have been granted leave by King Henry to extend his lordship. The evidence that this concerned Galloway is that later in the century part of the Deanery of Desnes, in Galloway, was the cause of dispute between the bishops of Glasgow and Whithorn. Eventually the eastern portion of the Deanery, lying between the Rivers Nith and Urr, known as Cro or Desnes Ioan, was retained by Glasgow, probably - it is suggested here - because it had been annexed to Nithsdale by Dunegal (fig. 5), though it was in fact part of Galloway and should have belonged to Whithorn.⁴⁵ It seems possible that Dunegal also acquired land further to the north, west of the Nith, perhaps previously part of Glenkens in Galloway (fig. 5). As in Cro there are few mottes in this area also, which implies that it was not open to systematic Anglo-Norman exploitation.

Like Rufus, Henry I did not acquire land in Galloway but he did find means of gaining influence and even indirect control. Henry is believed to have fathered the largest number of bastards of any English king. William of Malmesbury avers that policy rather than pleasure it was that motivated the king. Certain it is that his natural daughters were to be found married to lords all along the periphery of Normandy, so forming an encircling line of friendly princes.⁴⁶ This policy he extended to the north. Alexander I, David's elder brother, received in marriage a daughter of Henry called Sibyl, who became his queen. Another daughter was married to Fergus, who became first lord of Galloway.

45. Scott, *Galloway 1100's*, 132-3.

46. Hollister, *Monarchy*, 251.

A man such as Fergus, who was thus considered worthy to be the son-in-law of the English king and the brother-in-law of the king of Scots, must have had an impressive background, yet nothing is known of his origins, not even his father's name. Speculation has been plentiful but profitless - 'the descendant and representative of the old chiefs of Galloway',⁴⁷ 'whose antecedents were probably Norse-Celtic and may even have been West Highland'.⁴⁸ There may well be truth in both of these descriptions, but the most that can be done is to list a series of probabilities. Fergus may have been born before 1100, for he died, an old man, in 1161. His roots are more likely to have been in Galloway than elsewhere, with particular associations with Kirkcudbright. In this connexion it is worth noting that Kirkcudbright has Viking links.⁴⁹ There may be a hint of Norse descent here. So far as Henry I is concerned it could have been the Galloway as opposed to a Strathclyde connexion which was important.

It will be accepted that Henry I would not have given his daughter in marriage to Fergus unless he had had the opportunity to assess Fergus personally and to be convinced that the marriage would assist him in his plans for Galloway. Whatever the circumstances and whatever the reasons, it is certain from his actions that Henry decided to place his full support behind Fergus. It is hard to believe that Fergus would have been allowed to pursue his ambitions in Galloway, with a royal bride, without having first done homage to Henry.

A surmise which may be a probability is that Kirkcudbright and Wigtown (Farines and Rhinns on fig. 1) were separate lordships, only Kirkcudbright originally pertaining to Fergus, for possession of Wigtown by Fergus may possibly twice have been disputed during his lifetime.⁵⁰ An agreement reached with Henry I may have permitted Fergus to employ Anglo-Normans to assist in conquering Wigtown, thus creating a lordship of Galloway which had not previously existed. Thus Fergus would have been compensated for the loss to Dunegal in Kirkcudbright itself - of Cro and possibly part of Glenkens.

If this view of his position is correct, Fergus must have been dependent upon Anglo-Norman help, probably for the most part from Cumbria, to gain or regain Kirkcudbright. The heavy concentration of mottes in the neighbourhood of Kirkcudbright suggests that after an initial conquest these Anglo-Norman lords, possibly members of his *familia*, were rewarded with grants of land by Fergus. Of course, the dates when these mottes were built are not recorded, nor when they were used and abandoned. On the map, fig. 5, however, mottes known to have been constructed later than 1150, such as Mote of Urr, Lochmaben and possibly Buittle, have been omitted. It is likely that at least one motte, Boreland near

47. Lawrie, 362.

48. Duncan, 163; Oram, 121-2.

49. Oram, 125; Scott, *Viking Settlement*, 52-5.

50. In 1156 Donald, son of Malcolm MacHeth, was captured at Whithorn - Anderson, *Early Sources*, 233, note 3. It is possible that Malcolm MacHeth himself, in rebellion against David I since 1130, had been captured also in Galloway in 1134. Ailred of Rievaulx attributes to Robert Brus a speech in which Brus tries to dissuade David, before the battle of the Standard in 1138, from committing his forces to battle. Brus begs David to recall how he (David) had sought the aid of the English against Malcolm MacHeth. A meeting with Walter Espec and other northern notables had been arranged at Carlisle, after which (presumably also at Carlisle) ships were got ready for an expedition which resulted in the capture of Malcolm, who had then been handed over to David - Anderson, *Scottish Annals*, 193-4. The requirement for a fleet surely implies operations in the Solway Firth, possibly in Galloway. By 1134 Fergus must have been securing his hold upon Galloway, with Anglo-Norman help: presumably Malcolm was as much his opponent as David's. There is nothing in the evidence to suggest that David provided any forces to take part in operations in a region not then under the control of the king of Scots.

Kirkcudbright, had been built and occupied early in the 12th century, before the arrival of Fergus and such may be the case with one or two others near Kirkcudbright (figs. 4,5). Once Fergus had established himself, however, these incoming settlers would have owed allegiance to him for their lands.

Within Kirkcudbright there is a series of place-names indicating Anglo-Norman settlement. The name Borgue (fig. 5) is interesting in itself. It is usually taken to indicate Scandinavian influence but it is actually the same word as Burgh: perhaps both forms were in current use, one in Scandinavian dialect, the other in Middle English. If so it could be argued that the name Burgh (Borgue) was transferred to Borgue by settlers from Burgh-by-Sands when establishing themselves in the district, for such transfers of place-names are well recorded. The type of settlement in Borgue clearly takes the form of the manor, in the Anglo-Norman fashion, each with a *caput* such as a motte or ringwork. The motte known as Boreland or Green Tower, already mentioned, closely resembles the early motte at Annan, each hard by the shore at the head of an estuary and formed by scarping a natural elongated mound, then cutting ditches across it to create a motte and bailey (fig. 4). The place-name 'bor(e)land' marks the demesne lands of the incomers. Another place-name - Ingliston (in various spellings) - may denote settlements of drengs from Cumbria, the Scandinavian *-by* replaced by Middle English *-ton* in place-name formation (fig. 5).

In Wigtownshire Fergus appears to have chosen Craggleton as his *caput* - a site probably continuously occupied since the Iron Age.⁵¹ He may have held much of the land near Craggleton in demesne, for only four mottes in eastern Wigtownshire indicate likely grants of estates to Anglo-Norman incomers. To the west, however, in the Rhinns, the pattern of mottes is very different. It appears to represent a continuous, deliberately spaced-out series of estates granted to Anglo-Normans by Fergus (fig. 5).

Certainly Fergus gained both power and prestige as lord of Galloway. *Rex Galwitiensium* or *regulus* or *princeps* are used as titles to describe him.⁵² Daphne Brooke points out that Fergus revived the bishopric of Whithorn and founded two abbeys in Galloway, whilst David as prince of Cumbria and king revived the bishopric of Glasgow and founded several abbeys. Each of the two made a grant to a military order.⁵³ Is there a sign here of emulation, if not of rivalry, perhaps starting in the days when each was one of Henry's men in the north? There had been a time when David was only prince of (part of) Cumbria, whereas Fergus had made himself lord of Galloway.

To the east of Carlisle Ranulf granted Liddell to Turgis Brundis. He established himself at Liddell Strength (figs. 3, 5), at the exact point where, at that time, the borders of Carlisle, Annandale and Eskdale met. In the middle of the 12th century his son, known as Turgis of Rosedale, founded a house of Augustinian canons as a cell of Jedburgh Priory. This soon became known as Canonbie. Later he and other members of his family made additional grants to Jedburgh, including land between the Rivers Esk and Liddel at their confluence.⁵⁴

51. Ewart, 12-14; Brooke, *Gall-Gaidhil*, 108-9.

52. Scott, *Dundrennan*, 35.

53. Brooke, *Fergus*, 48.

54. Barrow, *Kingdom*, 146.

Barrow concludes from this evidence that the family held the equivalent of the modern parish of Canonbie in Annandale in the 12th century. The obvious origin for this holding is a land taking in Annandale, between the Sark and the Esk, by Turgis Brundis, probably early in the century (fig. 3). It will be noticed that there are no settlements of drengs in this area of Annandale, which suggests that the two types of settlement were contemporary but different, each respecting the other. Between the Rivers Lyne and Irthing was the lordship of Levington, now Kirkclinton, held by Richer de Boyvill (fig. 3).⁵⁵ Ranulf Meschin is said to have granted Gilsland to his brother William, but William did not succeed in wresting the land from its original owner, Gill son of Bueth (fig. 3).⁵⁶ In compensation William received Coupland.

It would appear that Henry I saw in David a means of achieving control over those areas of Strathclyde beyond Galloway and Lothian, which in David's case bordered upon Scotia proper. Kapelle has pointed out that so long as his elder brothers, Edgar and Alexander, were kings of Scots, David had few prospects - and those in England, where he became a member of the royal household and witnessed royal acts as 'David the Queen's brother'.⁵⁷ In 1107 King Edgar died, and apparently left to David certain royal estates in the Lowlands, but David obtained his legacy only with Anglo-Norman support.⁵⁸ Between 1108 and 1112 David's name does not appear on Henry I's charters, and Kapelle reasonably argues from this that David was then on his northern lands.⁵⁹ Certainly Alexander's hostility seems to be shown in a confirmation and mandate of his addressed to Algar, prior of Durham, about 1110, concerning a grant of Swinton to Durham. The prior is instructed in brusque terms not to allow legal action in the confirmation, and in the mandate to take no legal decisions concerning Swinton until Alexander had had sight of those matters. Alexander adds that he has much to discuss with the prior in confidence. Since Swinton was on David's land, and was later confirmed by him *ex mea parte*, it would appear that, in any matter concerning the Scottish royal house, Alexander was determined himself to take the decisions.⁶⁰

It was presumably at this time that the restoration of the bishopric of Strathclyde, once co-extensive with the kingdom, became an issue. Later the see was to be known as the bishopric of Glasgow, but at this period Glasgow was probably in King Alexander's hands, with Hoddom in Annandale in use as the bishop's seat. Therefore Michael, consecrated between 1109 and 1114, though called bishop of Glasgow, in fact acted merely as a suffragan of the archbishop of York. He died in 1114. It can only be assumed that Alexander was unwilling to co-operate with David and Henry in this matter.⁶¹ Michael's election is usually attributed to David, but Henry may in fact have made the appointment for, as described later, there was provision at almost precisely the same time, both under the authority of Thomas II, archbishop of York, for Whithorn as well as Glasgow. Henry's hand may be in evidence here.

55. *Ibid.*, *Era*, 176.

56. Prescott, 8-9, note 5.

57. Kapelle, 203.

58. Anderson, *Scottish Annals*, 193; *Early Sources*, 141, note 4.

59. Kapelle, 207.

60. Lawrie, 21, 22, 24; nos. XXVI, XXVII, XXX.

61. Scott, *Bishop John*, 39-40.

Robert Brus may have assisted David at this difficult time. Thirty years later, just before the Battle of the Standard in 1138, Robert had been delegated to try to persuade David and the Scots army to agree to terms of peace. Ailred of Rievaulx, in his account, gives a speech by Robert in which Robert says that 'through fear of us' Alexander had agreed that David should have the lands bequeathed to him by King Edgar.⁶² Certainly Henry I probably as early as 1103 had been enfeoffing Robert with extensive estates in north Yorkshire⁶³ and in south Durham, north of the Tees, at Hartness.⁶⁴ David and Robert were already close friends, and it is likely that Robert willingly used these resources to help David extend his lordship into what had been Strathclyde.

Through Robert, Henry may also have helped. Kapelle draws attention to a 'mysterious colony of Flemings, who seem to have been established somewhere above the Tyne', apparently by 1105, and adds that Henry removed the Flemings from Northumberland in 1111.⁶⁵ The Flemings must have been in royal service, raised perhaps under the terms of Henry's treaty of 1101 with Count Robert of Flanders.⁶⁶ It may be suggested that these Flemings had been used to establish David in his inheritance. If so, it may be noted that Robert was associated with them - 'through fear of us' (above). Their withdrawal by Henry in 1111 must be connected with events in Wales.

In his possession at this stage David seems to have had Lothian south of the Lammermuirs, comprising Lauderdale and the Merse, together with Tweeddale, Forest of Selkirk, Teviotdale, Ewesdale and Liddesdale. In a confirmation of a charter of his brother, King Edgar, to Durham, David, in about 1117 according to Lawrie, addressed all his faithful thanes and drengs of Lothian and Teviotdale.⁶⁷ But by 1117 David had a dramatic change of fortune. In either 1113 or 1114 Henry I gave to David in marriage the richest widow in England, Matilda de Senliz, who brought to David her vast estates in the south-western midlands. By marrying Matilda David became an earl, one of the greatest lords in England.⁶⁸ The sheer magnitude of his preferment, of resources not only in wealth but also in Anglo-Norman manpower, henceforth gave David every opportunity of pursuing his ambitions in the north. The marriage was also a shrewd move on the part of Henry I, for it went far towards ensuring David's loyalty, not only because of the magnitude of the grant but also because, in the unlikely event of disloyalty, Henry could revoke his gift and bestow Matilda's lands upon her Senliz son, as yet a minor, by her first marriage. This change in David's fortunes had immediate effect. In a charter which Barrow places about 1114 David made a grant of 100 shillings a year to Glasgow Cathedral, from the lands of Hardingstone in Northamptonshire, to be spent upon construction and restoration of the cathedral. As witnesses to his charter he names his 'eminent men and knights', Robert Brus, Robert fitz Nigel, Hugh de Morville, Hugo Bret (or Brito, 'the Breton'), Robert Corbet, Walter de Lindsay and Walter fitz Winemer. Upon these and other such men David was henceforth to rely: at all times they take precedence over his 'faithful thanes and drengs'.⁶⁹

62. Anderson, *Scottish Annals*, 193.

63. Dalton, *Conquest*, 92-4, Map 20.

64. Kapelle, 199.

65. *Ibid.*, 207.

66. Strickland, 68.

67. Lawrie, 23, no. XXX.

68. Barrow, *Kingdom*, 173.

69. Lawrie, 41-2, no. XLVI.

David's grant to Glasgow Cathedral must mean that his relationship with Alexander I had changed for the better. This may well have been a consequence of the expedition to Wales in 1114, which must have given Henry I the opportunity to make it clear to Alexander what his views were about the status of David in the north. Certainly, except for difficulties with Bishop John of Glasgow, by no means all brought about by Alexander, David seems to have had little if any further interference from his brother.

David ceased to witness royal charters between 1116 and 1121.⁷⁰ Obviously he had to become acquainted with and to organise his new earldom and this presumably occupied him until 1116 or 1117. During this three- or four-year period Robert Brus must have been in charge of Lothian and Teviotdale. When David eventually returned north he would have brought with him in his and his wife's retinue several Anglo-Normans from his new earldom, including a young Hugh de Morville. Many years later Hugh was to become Constable to the king of Scots, but his military responsibilities may well have commenced at this time.

It is possible that he was now made sheriff of Lauder, the castle of which eventually became the *caput* of his fee of Lauderdale.⁷¹ The seemingly odd reason for siting a new castle at Lauder becomes more understandable when it is realised that it sits on the very Lammermuirs edge of Scotia (fig. 1). In fact the siting of the castle makes military sense only in relation to a border with Scotia as it was in the reign of Alexander I.

David now had wealth enough to proceed with another project which he may well have had in mind before his marriage - to establish a community of Tironensian monks at Selkirk. It is recorded that in 1116 or 1117 he travelled to Tiron to see Abbot Bernard, founder of the order. Bernard unfortunately had died before David reached Tiron, but David was able to return to Selkirk with an Abbot and twelve monks to found the monastery.⁷²

The wreck of the *White Ship* in 1120 compelled Henry I to make significant changes in the structure of government in the north. Two immediate problems faced him. Chester needed a new earl, for Richard and his wife, like William Atheling, had perished in the wreck. The obvious heir was Richard's cousin, Ranulf Meschin, but the concentration of Ranulf's responsibilities in the north with those of Chester into a single lordship was hardly practicable and indeed undesirable in itself. Henry allowed Ranulf to succeed to Chester, probably in 1121, but only on condition that he gave up the *potestas* of Carlisle and his other fees in Cumbria and Annandale. Ranulf could not complain that he had lost status by the exchange of his northern lands for the earldom of Chester, but he might have been reluctant to surrender Annandale, which he could have claimed as his by right of acquisition and not by royal grant, even though Henry may have confirmed his acquisition to him.

Whatever Ranulf's claim to Annandale, it was essential to replace him in Annandale with an experienced and reliable man. The choice was for Robert Brus, who, as later record

70. Kapelle, 207.

71. Barrow, *Kingdom*, 299.

72. *Ibid.*, 175.

was to show, must have succeeded under the terms and conditions previously enjoyed by Ranulf. David must have welcomed the choice of his friend. Probably both Henry and David still regarded Alexander I as a potential opponent who might seek to take advantage of the changes in the north. This is suggested by the summoning in 1121, surely at Henry's behest, of a great meeting of northern magnates at Durham. Both Eustace fitz John and Walter Espec, Henry's justiciaries in the north, were present. The occasion must have been the security of the border with Alexander, for in the same year the bishop of Durham built a castle at Norham on the River Tweed, whilst at about the same time Walter Espec was established at Wark on Tweed. David's grant of Lauder to Hugh de Morville, and Hugh's construction of a castle there should perhaps be linked with the building of Wark and Norham.⁷³

In 1122 Henry himself came north with an army, to suppress or anticipate rebellion.⁷⁴ He inspected Carlisle and gave money for the fortification of the castle and towers, the towers perhaps being on the town wall rather than part of the castle. Carlisle was now royal demesne, and it was possibly at this time that Henry made a grant of land for occupation by the townsfolk.⁷⁵ By his resolute action Henry may fairly be said to have stabilised the situation in the north, but in 1122 the death of Sibyl, Alexander's queen, without children, left him with further and more delicate decisions to make. David was now the obvious successor to Alexander, so that Alexander's interests and David's would begin gradually to coincide, to the detriment of Henry's where there was conflict. Then as it became increasingly clear that he would not have a male heir it became the more necessary for Henry to have David's support for the succession of his daughter, the empress Matilda. Henry still had the wealth and power of England and Normandy behind him but the problem of the succession dogged him and progressively weakened his position for the remaining fifteen years of his reign. David, however, had learnt statecraft from observing Henry's methods over twenty years, and was not slow to make use of that knowledge for his own advantage.

Between 1122 and the death of Alexander in 1124 David may have been known as Prince of Cumbria. It was at this time that he was able to agree with Alexander and presumably also with Henry as to the future of the bishopric of Glasgow and of Bishop John. At John's instance he set up an *Inquest* to establish which lands in Cumbria had of old belonged to the bishopric. A list of these was drawn up, after which David convened a meeting at which Leysing and Oggo - described as *Cumbrenses judices* - along with three others, swore that the list was correct. The witness list did not include Bishop John, who returned from abroad in 1123.⁷⁶ It was carefully stated in the *Inquest* that David was not lord of the whole of Cumbria, and that the *Inquest* took place only in those parts of Cumbria which were under his rule.⁷⁷ Since Hoddum and other places in Annandale are mentioned it may be concluded that Annandale came under Glasgow's control when granted to Robert Brus.

The specific reference in the *Inquest* to Cumbria (or Strathclyde) and to the extent of David's possessions therein must reflect the terms and conditions of some agreement which

73. Green, *Relations*, 60.

74. *Ibid.*, note 49.

75. Summerson, 25.

76. Scott, *Bishop John*, 40-41.

77. Lawrie, 46, no. L.

David was at pains not to contravene. Hints as to those terms and conditions appear in David's charter to Robert Brus, given or confirmed probably as soon as he became king in 1124: the agreement can only have been with Henry I. The wording of the Brus charter is crucial. First boundaries are defined, *a divisa Dunegal de Stranit usque ad divisam Randulfi Meschin* - 'from the boundary of Dunegal of Strathnith (Nithsdale) as far as the boundary of Ranulf Meschin'. The grant includes the territory and 'its castle' - *suum castellum* (of Annan). Then the conditions are stated, *cum omnibus illis consuetudinibus suisvidelicet cum omnibus illis consuetudinibus quas Randulfus Meschin unquam habuit in Carduill et in terra sua de Cumberland* - 'with all its rights and privileges that is to say with all those rights and privileges which Ranulf Meschin ever had in Carlisle and in his land of Cumberland'.⁷⁸

To those blessed with hindsight, and accustomed to equating the shifting 12th century marches between England and Strathclyde with the later established border between England and Scotland, the wording and timing of the charter must appear meaningless. Why should a grant of Carlisle and Cumberland, in England, by an Anglo-Norman king to an Anglo-Norman feudatory, who had been dispossessed of it at least three years previously, in any way affect a grant made by a king of Scots to a vassal in 'Scotland'? The explanation, in 12th century terms, is clear enough. Annandale, then in Strathclyde and not in Scotland, in order that it should be given to Brus, had had first to be stripped away from its previous lord, Ranulf Meschin. The link between Carlisle and Annandale, of course, existed only because *it was as lord of Carlisle* that Ranulf had been enabled to acquire Annandale in the first place.

Ranulf Meschin had regarded himself as lord of the *potestas* or honour of Carlisle, and had the possession of the castle of Appleby in Westmorland.⁷⁹ His was a marcher lordship, and must have carried with it the same freedom to acquire territory in Strathclyde as had the marcher lords of Wales on their frontier.⁸⁰ Details of such advances into Strathclyde have been set out above. A marcher lord who took over land in Wales could exercise almost regalian powers therein. Sometimes, but not necessarily, he might be formally enfeoffed by the king, but this seems hardly to have affected the lord's powers, for although the king was recognised to have ultimate suzerainty, he did not have the normal judicial machinery for exercising that suzerainty, so that 'the king's writ does not run on the march'.⁸¹ So far as Annandale is concerned, Ranulf must have exercised special rights and have had special privileges by Henry's grant; when Brus was granted Annandale, David made it clear, perhaps as a gesture to Henry, that Brus should be in exactly the same position as Ranulf had been. The granting away of what he must have regarded as his personal lordship could hardly have failed to incense Ranulf. This may have been the prime cause of the hostility later shown by his house towards David and his family, rather than the loss of Westmorland, which was the decision of Henry I and one which Henry had every right to make. Henry may well have judged it prudent formally to dispossess Ranulf of Annandale so as to forestall any attempt by Ranulf to retain Annandale by force. Henry also knew that Robert Brus was

78. *Ibid.*, 48-9, no. LIV.

79. Prescott, 469.

80. Davies, 42-3.

81. *Ibid.*, 53-6.

still his man, and so could reconcile himself to accepting the transfer from Ranulf to Robert. But the plain fact underlying all these assumptions is that in Annandale the initiative had passed to David,⁸² that Henry must have realised this but because he needed David's support in the matter of the succession he had perforce to acquiesce.

Henry may have considered that, if nothing else, he had got rid of Bishop John of Glasgow and his extravagant claims. In 1072 a council at Winchester, at which a papal legate had presided, had ruled that the church of York ought to be subject to the church of Canterbury, and that Durham and such bishoprics as existed in Scotland should be subject to the church of York. The decision was subsequently confirmed at a larger assembly at Windsor.⁸³ William Rufus seems to have issued orders that in Cumbria, in matters spiritual, obedience should be given to the archdeacon of Durham. This was confirmed by a writ issued by Archbishop Thomas I of York showing that in theory the archdeacon was administering the area on behalf of the bishop of Durham. It would appear, however, that there was a reluctance to obey, but this made little difference, since in 1101 Carlisle was removed by Henry I from Durham's jurisdiction.⁸⁴ Thereafter Bishop Michael of Glasgow, suffragan of the archbishop of York, seems to have carried out his duties, no doubt in Annandale as elsewhere, without difficulty until his death in 1114. However, Bishop John, Michael's successor, had refused obedience to York, and so is unlikely to have been permitted to discharge his duties in territories under Henry's direct control. Hence those duties were probably taken over by Wimund, bishop of Man and the Isles, subject to the archbishop of York.

It may therefore be that from the time of David's *Inquest* Henry was planning to found a bishopric at Carlisle, and that the first step was to set up a house of Austin canons, which by 1124 had as its prior the king's confessor Athelwold, already prior of Nostell, which he was allowed to retain in view of the initial poverty of Carlisle. It was evidently intended that Athelwold should become bishop, and thus presumably the priory the cathedral. Certainly the massive sleeper walls of the nave show that the building was laid out on a substantial scale. But endowment was insufficient to allow other than a slow rate of progress, so that Athelwold did not become bishop until 1133.⁸⁵

Once David had become king of Scots his task would have been to secure control of the remaining Strathclyde lordships south of Scotia. In Cunningham, the two Kyles, Carrick and part of Clydesdale the lordship families are not known; indeed they may have been virtually independent. If so, they would have controlled the routes from north to south and from east to west through and across Clydesdale (fig. 1). Further south, Dunegal may still have been ruler of Nithsdale: the specific reference to his boundary in the Brus charter implies this. If Dunegal had been given Henry I's protection, as has been suggested above, then he would still have been Henry's man, and David would not have attempted to oust him. Indeed, there would have been no point in doing so, for it would have been in Dunegal's interest to co-operate with David rather than to oppose him, thereby enabling him to retain

82. Green, *Loyalties*, 92-5.

83. Stenton, 656-7.

84. Summerson, 33-4.

85. *Ibid.*, 35, 37.

his gains in Galloway. Ranulf de Soules and William de Somerville had witnessed the Brus charter also. Ranulf may already have been established in Liddesdale, but William was not yet in Carnwath, though holding Linton, near Roxburgh.⁸⁶

However, other Strathclyde lords may not have been so well inclined as Dunegal towards David. In 1126 it is known that David spent the whole year in England, during which it is likely that Strathclyde problems were discussed and the decision taken, with Henry's approval, to bring in a force of Flemings. Support for this suggestion may be seen in the witness list of a declaration made by David on the occasion of the consecration of Robert, bishop of St. Andrews, by Archbishop Thurstan at York in 1127. This declaration was matched by one from Archbishop Thurstan. The two witness lists agree closely and the Scottish witnesses confirm the involvement of the king. Among the lay witnesses to both documents are Walter de Gant (Gaunt, equivalent to Ghent), Anshetill (Anketino, Aschetin) de Bulmer, sheriff of Yorkshire, and Roger de Conyers (Eummers, Coyneres), constable of Durham.⁸⁷ According to Ailred of Rievaulx, Walter de Gant brought to the battle of the Standard in 1138 a strong force of Flemings and Normans. It would appear that the conclave at York gave David the opportunity to arrange with Walter the raising of a force of Flemings for service in Strathclyde, whilst at the same time the sheriff of York and the constable of Durham were apprised of the arrangement, because of their obvious concern about the transit of such troops through their territories. The Gant family owned the manor of Bridlington, which was both a borough and a port.⁸⁸ Walter was of Flemish descent himself, and so well placed to negotiate with Flanders for men to serve in Britain.

The course of the campaign, if any, is not recorded, but the outcome of the operation was control of Clydesdale, the two Kyles, Strathirvine and Cunningham,⁸⁹ in other words of all the remaining 'independent' lordships except perhaps Carrick, which it will be argued later may have been taken over by Fergus of Galloway. The success of the operation may be indicated by David's issue of a charter and mandate in favour of Dunfermline Abbey, both dating to about 1130 according to Lawrie, at Strathirvine 'in Galloway' (fig. 1).⁹⁰ The witnesses to the charter were Bishop John of Glasgow, Gillemichel, earl of Fife, Robert Brus and Hugh de Morville. The issue of charter and mandate possibly took place in a newly erected castle at Irvine, which later was granted, probably for two knights' service, to Hugh as part of the lordship of Cunningham.⁹¹ Evidently the previous lord of Cunningham had been dispossessed.

David seems to have established himself at Cadzow (fig. 1), probably an ancient site of Cumbrian royalty,⁹² and from there he perhaps directly supervised the previously 'independent' lordships. There is no evidence to show that Clydesdale was as yet parcelled out into minor lordships as later found in individual possession of Flemings.⁹³ The Flemings,

86. Lawrie, 48-9, no. LIV.

87. *Ibid.*, 63-4, no. LXXV; 64-5, no. LXXVI; for Anshetill cf. Dalton, *Conquest*, 100.

88. Dalton, *Ibid.* 84-5.

89. Barrow, *Era*, 51, Map 1.

90. Lawrie, 69, no. LXXXIV; 70, no. LXXXV.

91. Barrow, *Era*, 72.

92. *Ibid.*, 44.

93. *Ibid.*, *Kingdom*, 329.

however, must have been retained in David's service, presumably as stipendiaries, and used to keep the routes open and safe. Their leader may have been Wice, who was to give his name to Wiston, in Lanarkshire. He was later able to grant to Kelso Abbey the parish church of Wiston and the chapels of Robertson, Symington and Crawfordjohn, which suggests that at an early stage of the operation he had control of the whole of the upper Clyde valley to the west of the river.⁹⁴ To the east of the river lay the two great lordships of Libberton and Crawford. Libberton was granted to William de Somerville, whose son divided it into two portions, which became the later parishes of Libberton and Carnwath.⁹⁵ Libberton's lord had probably been dispossessed, but the lord of Crawford may at this time have been Thor. Whether he was left in possession is uncertain, but undoubtedly he was allowed to retain title to the lordship to pass to his son, for later in the century William de Lindsay, to whom the lordship had by then passed, described himself as 'tenant and heir at Crawford' of Swain, son of Thor.⁹⁶

It is uncertain whether the campaign in Clydesdale should be linked with the invasion of Scotia in 1130 by Angus, a claimant to the throne. That invasion was unsuccessful, for Angus was defeated and killed at Stracathro in Angus by a force led by Edward the constable. However, Malcolm Macheth, who seems to have had some connexion with Angus, was still at large. Before 1130 he had married a sister of Somerled, lord of Argyll, and continued to cause trouble for the next few years. Eventually, in 1134, he was captured with the help of the northern barons of England, who had responded to a request for aid from David.⁹⁷ The mention of ships suggests that Malcolm may have had support from Somerled's fleet, and that Galloway may have been the scene of action. Malcolm spent the next twenty-three years in captivity at Roxburgh.

It was fortunate for David that he had been able to deal with these domestic enemies before Henry I died in 1135, for the unexpected succession of Stephen to the throne of England completely shattered the patterns of alliances built up over the previous thirty-five years. David was compelled, though not unwilling, to fish in the troubled waters of a struggle for power between Stephen and Matilda the empress, Henry's daughter, whom David had sworn to support as sovereign of England. Henry's death had freed David's hands in the north, and he took full advantage of the fact that Stephen had no feudal hold over him, though of course he had ultimately to endure the loss of his queen's Senliz estates in England. But these were to be more than made up by gains in the north, where, when occupying English lands, David could claim to be acting in the name of the Empress Matilda, his niece.

However, David's first task after Henry's death was to settle affairs in Strathclyde. He already had Hugh de Morville in Cunningham as well as Lauder; he may also have bestowed upon Hugh the lordship of Westmorland, with its centre at Appleby, the former lordship of Ranulf Meschin. This may have carried with it some claim to Borgue, in Kirk-

94. Cowan, 38, 172, 194, 211.

95. *OPS*, 136.

96. Barrow, *RRS II*, 64, note 99.

97. Duncan, 166; cf. note 50, above.

cudbright; the strong connexion of the Borgue barons with Cumbria has been noted. Clydesdale, with its centre at Cadzow, David may have retained in his own hands (fig. 1).⁹⁸

1136 was a very important year, which saw the dedication of Glasgow Cathedral. David evidently used the occasion to invite the lords of Galloway and Nithsdale to attend the ceremonies in Glasgow; there David issued a charter in which he granted Partick to the cathedral. The witnesses included Fergus of Galloway and his son Uhtred along with Ralph and Duvenald, the sons of Dunegal of Strathnith. David, Fergus and Dunegal (if he were still alive) were now free of all obligations to Henry I, but Fergus and Dunegal may well have wished to retain their direct independence of David, who in turn may have considered them too strong to coerce. A solution may have been that Ralph and Duvenald be invested by David in those parts of Galloway which Dunegal had acquired, whilst Uhtred was invested with Carrick, all three doing homage to David. Thus Fergus and Dunegal may have gained right to their acquisitions without becoming David's men.⁹⁹ That Carrick came to the lords of Galloway in this manner is suggested by a charter to Glasgow Cathedral of 1139 x 1146, issued at Cadzow by David, in which he granted a teind of his cain or render of beasts and pigs from Strathgryfe, Cunningham, Kyle and Carrick. The witnesses included Hugh de Morville (Cunningham), Walter fitz Alan (Kyle and Strathgryfe) and Fergus of Galloway (?Carrick).¹⁰⁰ Possibly 1136 had also been the occasion when Walter fitz Alan was enfeoffed in Strathgryfe, Renfrew (or Paisley with Renfrew), Mearns and northern Kyle or Kyle Stewart (fig. 1). Thus the incorporation of most of Strathclyde south of Scotia into Scotia would effectively have been achieved, though more detailed feudalisation had still to be completed. But at last David was free of his domestic troubles and free also to take advantage of those of Stephen.

There is little doubt that David's aims were now twofold, firstly to gain possession of Northumbria for his son Henry, who through the queen his mother had an ancestral claim to the earldom as a descendant of Earl Waltheof, and secondly to acquire for himself the remaining portions of the old kingdom of Strathclyde as far south as the River Ribble in Lancashire, and as the Rere Cross at Stainmore in north Yorkshire. Thus David sought neatly to reverse the Anglo-Norman strategy adopted towards Strathclyde by William Rufus and Henry I. There were to be inevitable setbacks, for Stephen had the greater strength. But Stephen had to fight on two fronts, and from time to time had to yield ground in the north in order to concentrate on the south.

David acted with energy and speed, occupying Cumbria and Northumbria within weeks of Stephen's accession, but Stephen was equally determined. In February 1136 he arrived in the north with a large army. Negotiations followed at Durham. Prince Henry did homage to Stephen and received from him Carlisle, Doncaster and the earldom of Huntingdon, but not Northumbria. In 1137 David again planned to invade Northumbria but, deterred by determined opposition, agreed to a truce at the end of which Northumbria was again refused. Early in 1138 David again ravaged Northumbria but had to retire when Stephen

98. Cf. Barrow, *Era*, 51, Map 1; 52, Map 2; 57, Map 7.

99. Lawrie, 85-6, no. CIX.

100. *Ibid.*, 95-6, no. CXXV.

came north with a large army and in turn ravaged Lothian. But events in the south compelled his withdrawal, leaving the way clear for David to invade Northumbria again and to advance through Durham as far as the Tees. He sent a section of his army, led by his nephew, William fitz Duncan, on a raid through Yorkshire and into Lancashire, where William routed an Anglo-Norman cavalry force under Ilbert II Lacy at Clitheroe.

The threat to Yorkshire was serious, for Stephen could not directly help. Thurstan, the aged archbishop of York, however, rallied the local barons, who raised a force to oppose the Scots, reinforced by a contingent sent north by Stephen and by Flemings and Normans brought in by Walter de Gant. David, who had by far the larger army, decided to challenge the Anglo-Normans in the field, but was routed at the battle of the Standard in August 1138. His forces were utterly scattered, but since there was little pursuit he was able to reach Carlisle and there to regroup, while Stephen was still detained in the south. Eventually, in 1139, Stephen agreed to exceptionally favourable terms for peace with David. Henry was granted the earldom of Northumbria, except for the castles of Bamburgh and Newcastle. The lands of St Cuthbert, the later Co. Durham, were excluded. David undertook to remain at peace with Stephen and gave hostages to that effect, one of whom was the son of Fergus, lord of Galloway.¹⁰¹

Early in 1141 Stephen was defeated and captured at Lincoln, whereupon David broke his undertaking to Stephen and joined the empress. In September of that year she was defeated at Winchester in the battle in which David narrowly escaped capture. Nevertheless David and Prince Henry retained their gains in the north.

From 1141 until the end of his reign David acted as though Carlisle and the other occupied territories were part of his kingdom. Henry I's walls at Carlisle were raised and the keep completed. Athelwold, appointed bishop by Henry in 1133, was reconciled to David and witnessed his charters. In effect Carlisle became David's capital.¹⁰² David's power and prestige were at their height when Matilda's son, the future Henry II of England, came to Carlisle in 1149 to receive knighthood at David's hands. David used the occasion to extract an oath from Henry that if he became king he would give to David the earldom of Northumbria from Tyne to Tweed, including Newcastle.¹⁰³

In Galloway Henry's relationship with Fergus was not changed by the events of 1120 and the following years, for Fergus was still Henry's man. However, Fergus could not fail to be concerned at the aggressive policy of the church of Glasgow under David and Bishop John, who clearly had ambitions to include Galloway within the bishopric of Glasgow. It may have been because of uncertainties as to the future of the bishopric of Man and the Isles that Fergus, certainly with Henry's support, decided that Galloway needed a bishop of its own, able to counter the claims of Glasgow. So the bishopric of Whithorn was restored, the first recorded appointment that of Gilla-Aldan, who in all probability was already prior of Whithorn and so able easily to assume duties as bishop.¹⁰⁴ Archbishop Thurstan of York in

101. This account summarises Duncan, 219-21. A recent popular account of the battle - J.G.Scott, 'The Battle of the Standard' - appears in *Military Modelling*, 25, No. 2 (Feb., 1995), 18-24.

102. Summerson, 40-1.

103. Duncan, 222.

104. Donaldson, 129; Scott, *Dundrennan*, 41.

1125 obtained a mandate from the Pope, Honorius II, that the bishop-elect of the newly restored see should make his profession to York.¹⁰⁵ The change must have deprived Wimund, bishop of Man and the Isles, of part of his responsibilities if the above sequence of events is correct, and may indeed have led to a violent reaction on his part, for a certain Bishop Wimund is said to have attempted to exact tribute from a bishop, possibly the bishop of Whithorn, but was wounded by that bishop in the attempt.¹⁰⁶ In fact the 'tribute' may have been no more than the episcopal dues which Wimund had been accustomed to receive when acting as suffragan bishop in Galloway before Gilla-Aldan's election. This violent encounter may in turn have influenced Olaf, king of Man, in his decision in 1134 that rather than have his kingdom divided under the episcopal care of mercenary strangers there should be one bishop for the whole kingdom of Man and the Isles.¹⁰⁷

Although Annandale had passed effectively into David's control from 1124 onwards, there are several pieces of evidence which suggest that for the rest of the 12th and into the 13th centuries it retained characteristics of its own. It has been argued here that this was due to its original links with Cumbria as part of the lordship of Ranulf Meschin. Glasgow Cathedral, for example, had a long struggle to gain full control of the rights and possessions of Hoddum Church. It was not until about 1170 that the Brus lords ceded these rights, which the Brus charter shows had been those enjoyed by Ranulf Meschin. It was not until about 1212 that Odard de Hoddum surrendered to Glasgow his right of patronage to the church of Hoddum.¹⁰⁸ In 1189, as seneschal or steward, Odard had witnessed an agreement between his lord Robert II Brus, and Ingram, Bishop of Glasgow.¹⁰⁹ It is tempting to think that his grandfather, also known as Odard de Hoddum, may have been a previous steward of Annandale. This Odard was the son of Hildred of Carlisle, who may have been the sheriff of Carlisle.¹¹⁰

A certain Henry fitz Warin is recorded as another witness of the Brus charter. Barrow corrects Henry to Hervey fitz Warin, whom he would identify with Hervey fitz Morin, who was lord of Dalston, by Carlisle (fig. 3).¹¹¹ Hervey (Henry) was a witness presumably because he had responsibilities in Annandale, possibly as castellan of Annan.

William the Lion granted Annandale to Robert Brus at Lochmaben in 1165 x 1172, for the services of ten knights, but exempted him from the ward of royal castles. The reason for this exemption probably was that Annandale had never been liable for the ward of Scots royal castles, and that Annandale had therefore never been divided into fees allocated to knights on the basis of military service, such as castleguard. Such service, for Annandale, most likely had previously been provided by drengs, under the supervision of a professional knight, as was the arrangement, noted above, at Burton-in-Lonsdale in 1130.¹¹²

105. Anderson, *Scottish Annals*, 159.

106. *Ibid.*, *Early Sources*, 97, note.

107. Watt, 198.

108. Reid, *Wigtownshire Charters*, xlvi, note 3.

109. Bain, 29-30, no. 197.

110. Prescott, 147; Green, *Sheriffs*, 31.

111. Barrow, *Kingdom*, 147. On line 26 read 'Henry' for 'Hervey': I doubt this identification.

112. Cf. note 42.

In the same charter to Robert II Brus, William the Lion was careful to single out and to reserve for himself certain royal rights or *regalia* specified as treasure trove, murder, premeditated assault, rape of women, arson and plunder. But 'the king grants that prosecutions for these causes shall be made by a man of the fief of Robert de Brus chosen by the king, and dealt with and impleaded before the king's justices within the sheriffdom - *comitatus* - of (Roxburgh?). Robert de Brus may take such toll and such custom from the men of the kingdom of Scotland as are taken at Roxburgh, saving the fixed render - *asisa* - of his barony'.¹¹³ The impression given by the content and wording of this charter is that regalian rights previously enjoyed by Ranulf Meschin and the Brus lords in Annandale, together with the Carlisle-based administration set up by Ranulf, were being brought into line with those of other Scottish fees granted by the kings of Scots. Regalian rights in Annandale had long ago been suspected by Dr. G. Neilson, as pointed out by Reid.¹¹⁴

In 1120, before the loss of his only legitimate son in the wreck of the *White Ship*, Henry I may well have begun to envisage Strathclyde south of Scotia as a dependency of England, ruled by a prince of Galloway in the west, a client Strathclyde king (Dunegal) and an Anglo-Norman marcher lord in the centre, and a prince of Cumbria in the north and east, all subject to the king of the English. He could not have foreseen that Alexander would die childless and that David would succeed him. Even if he had foreseen the possibility, he might well have considered that he and his son and expected successor (William Atheling) would have been strong enough to retain their hold over Galloway and Strathclyde. It was not to be.

In the early 1150's David I must have felt that he had achieved for his kingdom more than he could ever have anticipated when launched on his career by Henry I. By an astute use of force and diplomacy he had succeeded in absorbing the whole of the former kingdom of Strathclyde, though not Galloway, into the kingdom of Scotland. Indeed Dalton has convincingly argued that David's ambitions had by no means halted at the North Riding of Yorkshire but had encompassed the whole region north of the Humber. He suggests that David's invasions of Yorkshire in 1138 and 1149 had as their aim the conquest of the county, and that had he succeeded David would have sought permission from Henry of Anjou to add it to his kingdom.¹¹⁵

It was a cruel twist of fate, therefore, that, like Henry I, David, too, should lose his only son and heir, Prince Henry, before he himself died. It is true that Prince Henry left sons to succeed, but they were minors. David must have realised that the scales had tipped in favour of England, and must have foreseen that to hold on to his gains would be as difficult as winning them. That neither David nor Henry achieved his ambition in Strathclyde should not blind us to the fact that, for a time, each was successful. But for unforeseeable mischances the border between England and Scotland would not have been where it is today.

113. Summary taken from Barrow, *RRS II*, 178-9, no. 80.

114. Reid, *Annandale*, 165.

115. Dalton, *Conquest*, 228-9

Note

This paper has benefited greatly from comments made and amendments suggested by Professor A. A. M. Duncan, to whom my best thanks are due. It will of course be understood that Professor Duncan is not to be held responsible for opinions herein expressed.

The text of the paper had been completed before the publication of *Land of the Cumbrians*, by Professor Charles Phythian-Adams (Scolar Press, Aldershot, 1996), which deals in detail with settlement in Cumbria from A.D. 400 to 1120. His full account of Anglo-Norman settlement there may with profit be compared with the necessarily much briefer discussion here.

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KENMURE CASTLE

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When the writer first visited Kenmure in 1954, it still had a roof, it was inhabited, and the grounds were maintained. But its days were numbered; it was too large and costly to keep, and it was being run at a loss. Soon it was abandoned and stripped of its contents, and by the time of my next visit in 1966 it was in a sorry state, an overgrown ruin, an empty shell. It was the sad end to more than 500 years of history, during which time the castle had seen many changes of fortune. In 1910 James Affleck wrote an account of the castle's history for this Society, but he did not give the sources for his information, and few of today's generation will have had the opportunity to read it. This new, albeit greatly condensed, account aims to help redress that situation, as well as adding additional information and correcting some early misconceptions.

Early history

Kenmure Castle is situated on an outcrop of rock, some 50ft high, which rises steeply on all sides from the marshy ground at the head of Loch Ken. Such a site was a natural choice for a stronghold, which was further strengthened by a wide moat cut on the W side and a ditch and ramparts to the N. But although it is said to have been occupied by the ancient Lords of Galloway from as early as the 12th century,¹ and to have been a favourite residence of King John Balliol,² whose mother, Dervorguilla, was a daughter of Alan, the last Lord of Galloway, there is no evidence to support this assertion. The lands of Kenmure certainly belonged to Balliol, forming part of his barony of Kells, which was forfeited after he surrendered the Crown in 1296. The barony was then granted by Edward I to Sir John de St. John,³ whose family held it until soon after Edward Balliol's coronation in 1332, when Edward III, who held the lands in ward while Edmond de St. John was a minor, restored them to Edward Balliol.⁴ Then in 1352, Balliol granted to Sir William de Aldeburgh, his 'valet', his barony of Kells in Glenken, together with 'the granter's castle in *Insula Arsa*',⁵ which is not Kenmure, but Burned Island some 2½ miles further down Loch Ken.⁶ And if it was Burned Island that was Edward Balliol's local base, it was almost certainly that of his father and his predecessors too.⁷

Meanwhile, during the Wars of Independence, the Balliols' lands in Galloway had been claimed first by King Robert the Bruce and then by David II, who granted them to Gilbert Carrick (*alias* Kerr).⁸ Bruce also established a new forest in the Glenkens, immediately to

1 Sinclair, Sir J. (ed.) *Statistical Account of Scotland* (1793), IX, 637; Grose, F. *Antiquities of Scotland* (1797), II, 21; M'Kerlie, P. H. *Lands and their Owners in Galloway* (1878), IV, 39.

2 Ibid; *Imperial Gazetteer* (1865), II, 180.

3 Bain, J. et al. (eds.) *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland, 1108-1516* (1881-1970), III, No.69.

4 Ibid, IV, No.54.

5 Ibid, III, No.1578.

6 According to M'Kerlie, in 1359 David II permitted Balliol to exercise free jurisdiction in the lands of Buittle, Kenmure and Kirkandrews, but the source is not given (M'Kerlie, *op. cit.*, IV, 40).

7 Burned Island probably started life as a crannog, to which a timber stronghold was later added; but it has never been properly investigated.

8 *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, I, App.2, Nos.831, 894, 1100; Robertson, W. *An Index of many Records of Charters granted by the different Sovereigns of Scotland between the years 1309 and 1413* (1798), 40-29, 46-5, 56-9.

the N, and in 1358 his grandson Robert, Earl of Strathearn, granted the keeping of this forest to William Gordon of Stitchill.⁹ All these lands were subsequently included in the Lordship of Galloway granted to Archibald 'The Grim', later 3rd Earl of Douglas, by David II in 1369. Then in 1403, on precept from the 4th Earl of Douglas, Sir Alexander Gordon of Stitchill was infeft in the lands of Kenmure;¹⁰ and around the same time he also received from the Earl a new charter of the lands, possessions and lordships in the Forest of Glenken.¹¹

Sir Alexander was succeeded by his elder son, Roger Gordon of Stitchill, who in turn was succeeded c.1442 by his son William. William is said to have been the first of the family to settle in Galloway. He took the designation 'of Lochinvar', which, it is believed, became the family's first residence and principal messuage, and in 1450 was infeft in the lands. In the same year his eldest son, Sir John Gordon, received a charter of the lands of Kenmure from the Earl of Douglas.¹² It was probably Sir John who built the first stronghold at Kenmure, for, although the Gordons continued to be styled 'of Lochinvar' until raised to the peerage in 1633, it is believed that it was Kenmure that very soon became the family's principal residence.¹³ Sir John later resigned Kenmure in favour of his eldest son, Sir Alexander Gordon, who in 1487/8 was granted a charter of the lands of Kenmure, Laggan and Balmaclellan, called *Le Park*, which were incorporated into the new barony of Kenmure;¹⁴ and this was confirmed by James IV after his accession the following year.¹⁵ Sir John was sometime Armour-bearer to James IV,¹⁶ and his son a Gentleman of the Bedchamber to James III.¹⁷ By his second wife, Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar had a son, Sir Robert Gordon, who married Marion, daughter and heiress of John Acarsane of Glen, and for a while took her family name of Acarsane. In 1494 Sir Robert and Marion had a charter of her father's lands of Glenskyreburn, or Glen, later known as Rusco.¹⁸

On the death of Sir Alexander Gordon at Flodden in 1513, his estates were claimed by his only daughter, Janet. In 1517 she had sasine of the 19 merk lands of Kenmure and Laggan, 'with the tower and fortalice of Kenmure', and of the lands of Balmaclellan and The Park, whilst reserving the liferent to her grandfather, Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar.¹⁹ Then, in accordance with a prior agreement, by which she had been persuaded²⁰ to sell these lands to her uncle Sir Robert Gordon of Glen, the heir male of the family,²¹ she duly disposed these lands to him the next day, while, by way of compensation, her uncle granted her the liferent of Shirmers and certain other lands in the parishes of Balmaclellan and Kells.²² This was the first formal reference to a stronghold at Kenmure, though two charters

9 *The Scots Peerage*, V, 99.

10 *Ibid.*, 100.

11 Fraser, Sir W. *The Douglas Book* (1885), III, 405-6.

12 *The Scots Peerage*, V, 102.

13 *Ibid.*, 101.

14 RMS, *op. cit.*, II, No.1722.

15 *Ibid.*, No.1883.

16 *Ibid.*, No.2100.

17 *Ibid.*, No.1722.

18 *Ibid.*, No.2204. It is believed that Sir Robert either built or greatly enlarged the present castle there (*The Scots Peerage*, V, 106).

19 *The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, 1264-1594* (1878-1903) (ERS), XIV, 592; *The Scots Peerage*, V, 103.

20 Probably by her grandfather, Sir John Gordon, who was still alive.

21 RMS, *op. cit.*, III, No.163.

22 *The Scots Peerage*, V, 104; Affleck, J 'Kenmure Castle', *TDGAS*, 2nd Ser., XXIII, 183.



Fig. 1 The castle from the N.E. in 1790. From Grose F., *Antiquities of Scotland*.

had been signed at ‘the manor of Kenmore’ two years earlier.²³ Sir Robert was succeeded in 1525 by his eldest son, James, who had sasine later that year.²⁴ In 1528 he was appointed King’s Chamberlain for the Lordship of Galloway,²⁵ and in 1543 and 1546 he sat in parliament.²⁶ Falling at the battle of Pinkie in 1547, he was succeeded by his son Sir John Gordon.

Sir John was laird of Kenmure for more than fifty years, holding many offices of state and rebuilding the castle after its destruction by the Regent Moray in 1568. In 1555 he was made Justiciar of the Stewartry,²⁷ and the following year Vice-Admiral for Galloway.²⁸ Three years later, he granted the barony of Kenmure and many other lands to his brother William, later of Penninghame, whilst reserving for himself and his wife the liferent.²⁹ This was confirmed in 1563/4,³⁰ but must later have been rescinded after Sir John had male issue by his second wife, Elizabeth Maxwell, whom he had married in 1563. The following year he obtained substantial grants of church lands from the Bishop of Galloway and the abbey of

23 RMS, *op. cit.*, III, No.51.

24 ERS, *op. cit.*, XV, 636.

25 *The Scots Peerage*, V, 107.

26 *Ibid.*

27 *Ibid.*, 110. He apparently also held this office in Wigtown, so was probably effectively Justiciar of all Galloway.

28 Affleck, *op. cit.*, 186.

29 RMS, *op. cit.*, III, No.1369.

30 *Ibid.*, No.1492: *Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum: The Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland*, V, No.1515.

Tongland.³¹ An English survey c.1565 reported that among the ‘notable places within the nether part of Galloway’ was ‘Kenmure, pertenying to the larde of Lowghinwar’.³²

Sir John was an ardent supporter of Queen Mary. He entertained her at Kenmure in 1563;³³ was the first ‘baron’ who signed the Bond subscribed by her adherents at Hamilton in 1568;³⁴ and after her defeat at Langside, refused to join the Regent, despite the Regent’s conciliatory overtures. ‘The laird of Lowinvar’, it was reported, ‘utterly refused either to come in or give pledges’;³⁵ and when the Regent arrived at Kenmure two days later, during his progress through the West March, he again ‘offered the laird, if he would accompany him “only this jorney” he would save his house and forget the past’;³⁶ but Sir John was steadfast in his refusal. Consequently, the Regent attacked the castle and destroyed it - so completely, it seems, that no part of the earlier castle is known to survive. According to *The Diary of the Regentiscampe of Scotland*, they camped in ‘the Kenmwyre in the howme callit Beisk hawcht’ underneath the castle, ‘swte [?seized] the castell, and haill place wes cassin [cast] downe and brynt [burnt]’,³⁷ while another, contemporary account relates that ‘60 men appeared on a hillside, but enterprised nothing’. The Place of Kenmure was destroyed and cast down, and another ‘proper place a friend’s of Lochinvar’.³⁸ Grose records that, during excavations near the foot of the mount, some 48 cannon balls and some six-pounders were found.³⁹ Some or all of these may date from the later seige of 1650, but there must have been some resistance, as one of those in the Regent’s army was later given compensation for the loss of his horse at Kenmure.⁴⁰ Later that year Sir John was one of the Commissioners acting for Queen Mary in negotiations concerning her release.⁴¹

Little is then heard of Sir John until 1583/4, when he was appointed to the Privy Council.⁴² In 1587, he attended parliament,⁴³ and the following year he was appointed both a Commissioner for proclaiming and holding ‘Weaponshows’ in the Stewartry,⁴⁴ and a Commissioner responsible for preparations for the expected invasion by the Holy League (the Spanish Armada).⁴⁵ Then, in 1589/90, he was appointed to mete out justice to enemies of the ‘true religion’, in accordance with the new Act of 1587.⁴⁶ He was re-appointed to the Privy Council in 1592,⁴⁷ and in 1593 was one of the Commissioners appointed to keep

31 RMS, *op. cit.*, III, Nos.1719, 1743.

32 Armstrong, R. B. *The History of Liddesdale, Eskdale, Ewesdale, Wauchopedale and the Debateable Land* (1883), cviii.

33 *The Scots Peerage*, V, 110.

34 Bain, J. et al. (eds.) *Calendar of the State Papers relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots, 1547-1603* (1898-1969) (Scottish Papers), II, No.650. Other signatories in the West March included the Lords Herries, Maxwell, Carlyle and Sanquhar; the abbots of Holywood, New Abbey, Dundrennan and Glenluce; the bishop of Galloway; and the lairds of Johnston, Closeburn, Comlongon, Bombie and Ryehill.

35 *Ibid.*, No.717.

36 *Ibid.*, No.706.

37 *Ibid.*, No.716.

38 *Ibid.*, No.717. The ‘proper place’ was probably Shirmers Castle on the east side of Loch Ken.

39 Grose, *op. cit.*, II, 22.

40 Dickson, T. et al. (eds.) *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, 1473-1580* (1877-1978), XII, 151.

41 Scottish Papers, *op. cit.*, III, 452.

42 *Ibid.*, VII, No.36.

43 *Ibid.*, IX, 452.

44 *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, 1545-1691* (1877-1970) (RPC), IV, 302.

45 *Ibid.*, 308.

46 *Ibid.*, 465.

47 *Ibid.*, 750.

peace in the West March.⁴⁸ Three years later, he, Lord Sanquhar and Alexander Stewart of Garlies were appointed as joint Wardens of the West March, following a protracted crisis over the office; but they all refused to serve.⁴⁹ He also attended parliament that year under the designation Lord Lochinvar.⁵⁰ He died in 1604. 'Kenmoir Castle' is shown on Pont's map c.1595.⁵¹

The Castle

This has undergone so many changes since it was rebuilt after the siege of 1568, as well as being besieged by Cromwell's forces in 1650, that it is difficult to be precise as to which works belong to each phase. There has also been considerable re-use of older material and mouldings. However, Grose's two views of the castle, as it was in 1790, (fig. 1) give a very good picture of what existed before the major changes of the 19th century.⁵² There were two tall towers near the SE and SW corners of the site, both of which were roofless and described as being 'in ruins'. Each appears to have comprised three storeys and a garret. The former had a corbelled-out turret at the SE corner and the latter a corresponding one at the SW corner; and there may also have been turrets at the diagonally opposite corners, which

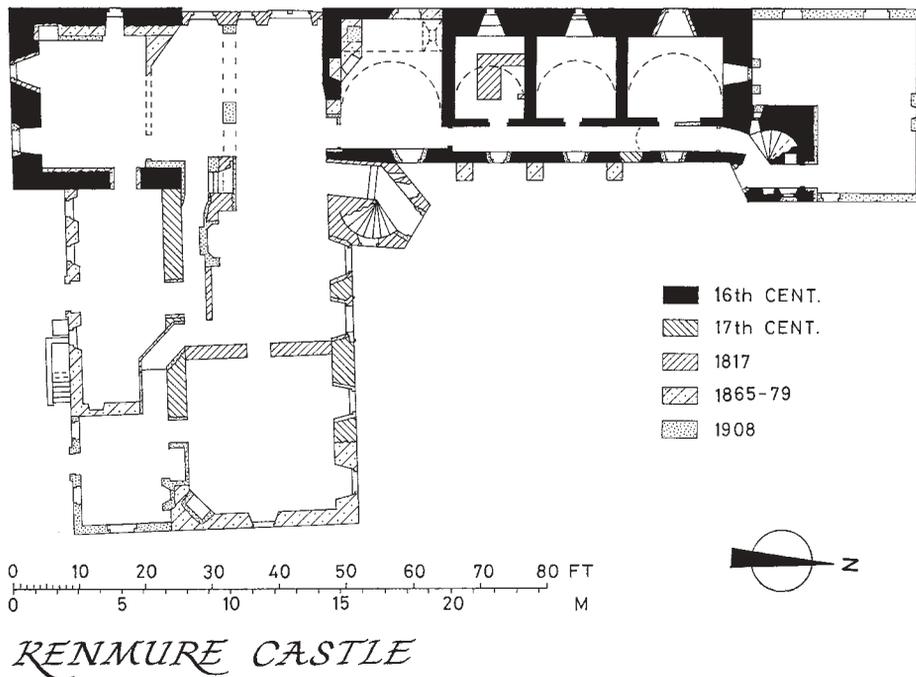


Fig. 2 Plan.

48 Ibid, V, 113.

49 Rae, T. I. *The Administration of the Scottish Frontier: 1513-1603* (1966), 243.

50 *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, 1124-1707* (1844-75) (APS), IV, 104, 106.

51 Blaeu, J. *Atlas Maior* (1662), VI (Scotland), 66, 'The Steuartrie of Kircubright, The most easterlie part of Galloway'.

52 Grose, *op. cit.*, II, 21-2, Plates I and II.

are not shown. To the N of the latter tower there was a large building, three storeys high, running N-S, with a square stair-tower at its NE corner and a small projection beyond. There was evidently a corbelled-out parapet on the N side of the stair-tower,⁵³ while tussing in the N gable of the main building shows that it had been intended to extend it further north, though more than 100 years were to pass before this was realized. Another building of two storeys, which we later learn served as 'stables, hay-lofts and other offices',⁵⁴ extended across the site immediately N of the two towers; but it is not clear whether it was directly connected to either tower, or, indeed, whether the W range was connected to the SW tower: Grose shows a gap here, and all the present masonry in this space is of 19th century or later date, apart from an unexplained, blocked fireplace with QERF- (quirked-edge-roll-and-fillet) moulded jambs at first floor level. Finally, the courtyard formed to the N and E of the main buildings was enclosed by a high curtain wall, with an arched gateway in the middle of the N wall.



Fig. 3 An unusual 'Double Cross' gun loop (blocked) in N. stair tower.

The oldest of these buildings was the W range with its stair tower, the lower two floors of which, although considerably altered, are believed to date from soon after 1568, though one cannot rule out the possibility that the W range may in part be a survival from the original

53 An etching dating from c.1810 in the National Monuments Record of Scotland shows the parapet more clearly.

54 MacGibbon, D. & Ross, T. *The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland* (1887-92), IV, 258.

castle. Measuring 64ft 4in from N to S by 22ft 7in from E to W over walls varying in thickness from 1ft 7in on the courtyard side to 4ft 1in on the W, the basement comprises four vaulted chambers of unequal size and a connecting passage along the E side. The most southerly of the chambers was the largest, and served as the kitchen, with a large fireplace, 15ft 2in wide and some 4ft deep, at its W end.⁵⁵ Originally, each chamber except the kitchen had one small window high up in its W wall, and there was a corresponding small window in the E wall of the passage opposite each door. Most of these windows have since been enlarged. An additional window in the N wall of the northernmost chamber was blocked when the range was extended to the N in 1908. At the foot of the stair, which is 8ft in diameter, there are two splayed gun-loops, both now blocked on the outside, one facing W and the other E: the latter is unique, and presumably more ornamental than practical, as its throat is cut in the form of a double, horizontal cross. There is also at the foot of the stair an entrance doorway, with a QERFH- (quirked-edge-roll-fillet-and-hollow) moulded surround and a cable moulding, which runs round the door and then up and around an empty armorial panel above. This doorway was inserted in the 17th century, at the same time as the building had the second floor added and underwent many other changes. The original entrance, now blocked, was nearer the middle of the building, and led directly from the courtyard into the passage; and there was almost certainly another entrance admitting directly to the kitchen



Fig. 4 View of the castle from S. in 1996. On the left is the S.W. tower, the lower part of which, and perhaps also the corbelling below the turret, probably dates from c. 1570.

55 The later work in the SW corner of the kitchen includes a blocked brick arch that may have been an oven.

at the S end of this range. Some of the walling on the first floor and a small window on its W side also date from the 16th century, but the rest of the windows were either enlarged or added in the 17th century, when they were fitted with cage-type iron grilles, the sockets for which may still be seen. The E wall on the first floor was also increased in thickness from 1ft 4in to 3ft at this time to carry the weight of the extra floor above. The 16th century work at Kenmure is characterized by the use of QER (quirked-edge-roll) mouldings, while, with one possible exception, the more sophisticated QERF mouldings belong to the 17th century work. All the early masonry was of local greywacke rubble, with sandstone dressings and mouldings; it was harled.

The lower part of the SW tower (see fig. 4) probably dates from c.1570 too, though it could have been added early in the following century. It has been so greatly altered that only the recesses for the W window and the more easterly of the S windows in the basement are original. While the latter window has been enlarged and its QERF surround is modern, the W window, with its QERF moulding and bar sockets for iron grilles, would seem to be original.⁵⁶ The basement was originally vaulted, but both the vault and large sections of the walls' thickness were torn out when it was converted to a kitchen in 1817.⁵⁷ This tower is 26ft 11in wide from E to W, and has walls averaging 4ft 4in in thickness: its original length cannot now be determined. As shown by Grose, it was three storeys and a garret in height, and had a corbelled-out turret at its SW corner, which, like its 19th century replacement, may well have been supported on embellished corbelling. Indeed, the corbelling itself may be original, as may be the shot-hole at the turret's NW corner.

The SE tower may also have dated from the 16th century, though it is more likely that it belonged to the following century. It was demolished in the 19th century, and the only record of it is that shown by Grose and other illustrators around that period.⁵⁸ The curtain walls and former entrance gateway were removed in 1817 (*infra*).

Later history and alterations

Sir John Gordon, 4th of Kenmure, was succeeded by his eldest son, Sir Robert Gordon of Glen, a Gentleman of the Bedchamber to James VI.⁵⁹ In 1609 he was appointed one of His Majesty's Justices for the Middle Shires,⁶⁰ an appointment that was confirmed the following year,⁶¹ and two years later he represented the Stewartry in parliament.⁶² In 1617 he was made Provost of Lincluden.⁶³ He also claimed the office of Admiral on the South-West Coast, a claim, however, that did not go unchallenged.⁶⁴ He added many lands to the family estates, and in 1621 received from James VI a grant of the barony of Crossmichael, includ-

56 On the evidence of the N range, the QERF moulding might suggest a 17th century date, but QERF mouldings were by no means unknown c.1570 (e.g. Hoddum Castle and Abbots Tower, New Abbey), and the tower was a more important building than the secondary range to the N.

57 MacGibbon & Ross, *op. cit.*, IV, 259.

58 *Ibid*, 258.

59 *The Scots Peerage*, V, 113.

60 RPC, *op. cit.*, VIII, 814.

61 RPC, *op. cit.*, IX, 77.

62 APS, *op. cit.*, IV, 466.

63 RPC, *op. cit.*, 2nd Ser., I, cxlvii.

64 *Ibid*, 557; *The Scots Peerage*, V, 113.

ing the lands and manor-place of Greenlaw, which thereafter became his principal residence.⁶⁵ One of the first to become interested in the colonization of North America, he obtained a charter of the 'barony of Galloway' in Nova Scotia later in 1621;⁶⁶ and in 1626 he was created a Baronet of Nova Scotia.⁶⁷ In the latter year he had his earlier appointment as a Commissioner for the Middle Shires renewed,⁶⁸ and was made a member of the Council of War for Scotland.⁶⁹

Sir Robert was succeeded in 1628 by his eldest son, Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar, 6th of Kenmure. Sir John had a tragically short life, but in that brief span achieved a great deal. In 1629 he was granted a crown charter for the establishment of a new burgh, to be called the Burgh of Galloway, on that part of the barony of Earlstoun (now St. John's Town of Dalry) that his father had purchased in 1605.⁷⁰ However, before this could be implemented, a new charter was issued establishing the burgh on a different site, in the barony of Kenmure.⁷¹ This became the royal burgh of 'Newton of Galloway', now New Galloway. In 1633 he was raised to the peerage as Viscount Kenmure and Lord Lochinvar.⁷² Although Sir John spent much of his time in England, and like his father made Greenlaw his principal residence, he 'brought Kenmure to the perfection of a complete fabric as it was never before'.⁷³

Sir John's work at Kenmure presumably included the raising of the W range to three storeys and the rebuilding of the central block of stables and offices, although the latter building was so greatly altered in 1817 and subsequently that little more of his work is left than the core of the walls. The W range, however, has suffered less from later changes, at least on the outside. The new entrance doorway already mentioned was inserted in the N stair tower, and the same cable moulding that adorns it was added on the courtyard side of the main block and stair tower as a string course at both first and second floor levels. It is situated at the level of the window sills, and rises up to surround each window frame. In addition, at what was the central window on the second floor,⁷⁴ the moulding is also carried under the sill in an inverted ogee arch. There is also a cornice of diminutive, enriched corbelling at the wall-head, which continues around the S, E and N sides of the taller stair-tower at the same level. All but one of the first floor windows would seem to have been enlarged, or altered, at this time, and, like the new windows on the second floor, fitted with cage-type iron grilles.⁷⁵

A later doorway in the N front of the central block has the same mouldings as the one in the stair-tower, and clearly belongs to the same period. More will be said of this later.

65 RMS, *op. cit.*, VIII, No.176.

66 *The Scots Peerage*, V, 115.

67 *Ibid*; RPC, *op. cit.*, 2nd Ser., I, ciii.

68 RPC, *op. cit.*, 2nd Ser., I, 193, 373.

69 *Ibid*, 337-8.

70 RMS, *op. cit.*, VIII, No.1346.

71 *Ibid*, No.1667.

72 *The Scots Peerage*, V, 119.

73 *Ibid*.

74 The E front of this building was originally symmetrical, with five windows on each of the two upper floors; but the most southerly windows were lost when the stair-tower was added in the re-entrant angle in 1817.

75 Cage-type grilles were rare in the south, and were usually only employed where part, or all, of a window frame already existed, such that a conventional grille could not be fitted without a complete rebuild. Presumably cage-type grilles were also used on the second floor, either for the sake of symmetry, or convenience.

John, 2nd Viscount Kenmure, succeeded his father in 1634, while he was still a minor. The estate was by then heavily in debt, and in 1635 the baronies of Kenmure and Earlstoun, with their respective castles, were appraised by Robert McBair of Almagill.⁷⁶ A further mortgage was raised two years later.⁷⁷ Lord Kenmure died in 1639, and was succeeded by his father's cousin, John Gordon of Barncrosh, who succeeded as the 3rd Viscount. He attended parliament regularly from 1640, when he was still under age, until his death three years later.⁷⁸ He was also appointed to the Committee of War for the Stewartry in 1643, but may never have served.⁷⁹

The 3rd Viscount was succeeded by his brother Robert, 4th Viscount Kenmure. Robert was a regular attender of parliament from 1644 to 1648, and again, after the Restoration, from 1661 until his death.⁸⁰ He was also on the Committee for the South in 1644,⁸¹ and a Commissioner of War for the Stewartry from 1645 to 1648.⁸² In the latter year he was appointed Colonel in charge of 80 horse from Wigtownshire and the Stewartry.⁸³ During the Civil War, he supported the Crown. When Cromwell's forces marched across the Border in 1650, he garrisoned Kenmure Castle against them, and for a while held out; but eventually he was compelled to surrender. Lord Kenmure then undertook to deliver up 'his Castle of Kenmore, with all the armes and ammunition for the use of His Excellency, the Lord Cromwell'.⁸⁴ But he still continued to support Charles II, and in 1651 fought for him at Worcester, where he was taken prisoner.⁸⁵ Two years later, he again took up arms, this time to join in Glencairn's rising, and he remained a constant thorn in the English side, until, in 1654, he eventually gave himself up to General Monck on terms that secured his estates.⁸⁶ The following year he had to raise a further mortgage against the barony of Kenmure.⁸⁷ In 1659 he was imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle, but escaped. After the Restoration he retired to Greenlaw,⁸⁸ but he still attended parliament, and in 1661 was appointed a Commissioner of Supply for the Stewartry.⁸⁹ He died two years later.

Lord Kenmure was succeeded by a distant cousin, Alexander Gordon of Penninghame, who became 5th Viscount Kenmure. Alexander's succession to the family estates was, however, contested by Robert Maxwell, Master of Herries, who claimed them as 'heir of line', his mother having been the sister of the 1st Viscount, and it was some years before the matter was finally resolved.⁹⁰ At this time the estates were still heavily encumbered, and in the same year that Alexander succeeded, David McBair granted his wadset of the Kenmure

76 RMS, *op. cit.*, IX, No.442.

77 Ibid, No.661.

78 APS, *op. cit.*, V, 258, 308, 331, 426; VI, Part I, 3.

79 Ibid, VI, Part I, 51.

80 Ibid, 95, 474, 612; Part II, 3; VII, *passim*.

81 Ibid, VI, Part I, 91.

82 Ibid, 204, 559; Part II, 35.

83 Ibid, Part II, 30, 56.

84 *The Scots Peerage*, V, 121. The full terms of the surrender are given by Affleck (*op. cit.*, 189-190).

85 Ibid.

86 Ibid, 122.

87 RMS, *op. cit.*, X, No.507.

88 M'Kerlie, *op. cit.*, IV, 60.

89 APS, *op. cit.*, VII, 92.

90 RPC, *op. cit.*, 3rd Ser., I, 347; II, 11, 98, 124, 160.

estates to William Gordon of Earlstoun.⁹¹ Alexander was a regular attender of parliament from the time he succeeded in 1663 until his last appearance in 1696, just two years before he died.⁹² He was appointed a Justice of the Peace for the Stewartry in 1663,⁹³ and served as a Commissioner of Supply for the Stewartry from 1667 until 1685.⁹⁴ It was also in 1667 that the Crown approved a commission empowering him to hold courts in the royal forest of Buchan, in Galloway, of which his predecessor had been ‘forester’.⁹⁵ Eventually, in 1676, Alexander obtained a new charter of the lands and barony of Kenmure, having presumably settled his debts;⁹⁶ and in the same year he was appointed Captain of the troop of horse for Wigtownshire and the Stewartry.⁹⁷

Following an uprising by the Covenanters in 1679, Lord Kenmure was, in 1680, ordered to prepare Kenmure to receive a garrison, ‘as being more fitt for the Kings service and convenient for your Lordship’ than Greenlaw, which had previously been suggested.⁹⁸ This was approved by the King in person.⁹⁹ Nevertheless, the garrison did not materialize until after Graham of Claverhouse took over command in the SW in 1682, and proposed to use Kenmure as his headquarters. Claverhouse then wrote to the Marquis of Queensberry that there should be ‘a fixt garison in Kenmur . . . a mighty strong plecte and propre above all ever I sau for this use’.¹⁰⁰ He also reported that, if the king should ‘bestou two or three hondred pounds to repair the house’, Lady Kenmure ‘would be very well pleased his souldiers came to lieve in it’. This suggests that, with the ongoing indebtedness of the estate, the damage sustained during the 1650 siege may never have been fully made good. The following year Lord Kenmure was appointed one of the Commissioners for the Revaluation of the Stewartry,¹⁰¹ and in 1684 one of the Justices for Proceeding against Recusants.¹⁰² In 1685 he was Convenor of the Justices for the Stewartry and Wigtown.¹⁰³ But it was a turbulent time to be involved in politics, and later that year he fell from grace and forfeited the lands and barony of Kenmure for treason.¹⁰⁴ He subsequently served with his regiment in Central Scotland, before holding a command under General Mackay at the battle of Killiecrankie in 1689.¹⁰⁵ Alexander’s forfeiture having been rescinded following the deposition of James VII, he was again appointed a Commissioner of Supply for the Stewartry.¹⁰⁶

91 RMS, *op. cit.*, XI, No.520.

92 APS, *op. cit.*, VII-X, *passim*.

93 Ibid, VII, 505.

94 Ibid, 544; VIII, 228, 469.

95 RPC, *op. cit.*, 3rd Ser., II, 255.

96 M’Kerlie, *op. cit.*, IV, 62.

97 RPC, *op. cit.*, 3rd Ser., IV, 588.

98 Ibid, VI, 605.

99 ‘We have seen a list of houses proposed as most convenient for having garrisons put in them, [including] the houses of Balgregan and Kenmuire in Galloway, . . . all of which we approve’ (*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1680-1681 (1895-1921)*, 70).

100 Historical Manuscripts Commission, 15th Report, Appendix, Part VIII, *The Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Buccleugh & Queensberry, preserved at Drumlanrig Castle*, 265.

101 RPC, *op. cit.*, 3rd Ser., VIII, 207.

102 Ibid, X, 87.

103 Ibid, 140.

104 APS, *op. cit.*, VIII, 490.

105 *The Scots Peerage*, V, 124.

106 APS, *op. cit.*, IX, 74, 144.

He was also re-appointed, first Captain of a troop of the militia, and then Colonel of the regiment of foot for Wigtownshire and the Stewartry,¹⁰⁷ a commission that was confirmed by the Crown the following year.¹⁰⁸ In 1690 he was again made a Justice of the Peace for Kirkcudbright,¹⁰⁹ and in 1691 he was Convenor of the Commissioners of Supply for the county.¹¹⁰ He died in 1698.

Lord Kenmure was succeeded by his only son, William, 6th Viscount Kenmure, who was appointed a Commissioner of Supply for the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright in 1704.¹¹¹ At the outset of the Jacobite rebellion of 1715, William joined the prince's party, and was declared a rebel.¹¹² He was subsequently given the chief Jacobite command in the south of Scotland, and was active in the Border counties, where he proclaimed the Old Chevalier as King James VIII, before marching south to Preston.¹¹³ There he was captured, taken prisoner to the Tower of London, found guilty of high treason, and, in February 1716, executed, with the forfeiture of all his honours and estates.¹¹⁴ It was an ignominious end to what he believed a noble cause.

Lady Kenmure then actively campaigned for the restoration of the family estates to her son, Robert, claiming that they had been held in trust for him. In this she was eventually successful, the estates being adjudged in Robert's favour in 1722.¹¹⁵ They were, however, still heavily in debt, wadsets being granted in 1719 and 1724,¹¹⁶ and it was not until 1737 that Robert had sasine of the baronies and lands of Kenmure, Crossmichael and Gordonstoun.¹¹⁷ By then the castle is said to have been almost in ruins.¹¹⁸ Robert died in 1741, unmarried, when the estates passed to his uncle, John Gordon.

John immediately set about clearing the estate's debts and restoring the castle. He sold the lands of Tongland¹¹⁹ and the barony of Crossmichael,¹²⁰ where the new house of Greenlaw started by his nephew was still incomplete. When Prince Charles Edward came to Scotland in 1745, he wrote to 'Lord Kenmure' requesting his support; but although John attended the Prince at Holyrood House, wiser counsels prevailed, and he declined the offer.¹²¹ He died in 1769, and was succeeded by his eldest son, William, a captain in the Royal Scots Regiment of Foot.¹²² William died unmarried in 1772, and was succeeded by his brother John.

107 Ibid, 26, 56.

108 RPC, *op. cit.*, 3rd Ser., XVI, 291. The commission was actually issued the previous year (State Papers, Domestic, *op. cit.*, 1689-1690, 430).

109 RPC, *op. cit.*, 3rd Ser., XV, 541.

110 Ibid, XVI, 289.

111 APS, *op. cit.*, XI, 149.

112 *The Scots Peerage*, V, 126.

113 Ibid, 127-8.

114 Ibid, 128-9.

115 Ibid, 130.

116 M'Kerlie, *op. cit.*, IV, 95. His mother is said to have cleared the debts, but when he came of age his extravagance soon had him in financial difficulties again (Affleck, *op. cit.*, 193).

117 M'Kerlie, *op. cit.*, IV, 95.

118 Ibid.

119 *The Scots Peerage*, V, 131.

120 Ibid; M'Kerlie, *op. cit.*, III, 365-7.

121 *The Scots Peerage*, V, 131.

122 Ibid, 133.

John also served in the army, and in 1780 was elected Member of Parliament for the Stewartry.¹²³ Despite his father's endeavours to clear the estate's debts, there was still money owing, so in order to pay off his creditors he sold more of the estate, including the family's original lands of Lochinvar.¹²⁴ Fortunately his mother, Lady Frances Mackenzie, was able to assist his finances, when she inherited some of her father's estates in England.¹²⁵ In 1793 John entertained Robert Burns at Kenmure: Burns referred to him in one of his ballads as 'Kenmure sae gen'rous'.¹²⁶ John was appointed Vice-Lieutenant of the Stewartry in 1822, and two years later had the honour, dignity and titles of (7th) Viscount Kenmure and Lord Lochinvar restored.¹²⁷ He died without issue in 1840, when the titles and estates passed to his nephew, Adam Gordon.

Lord Kenmure had started a major programme of changes at Kenmure in 1817. Advised by one Mr. Carruthers, a Catholic priest,¹²⁸ and possibly using William McCandlish, a local architect and contractor who was working in the area around that time, and who is known to have been employed at Kenmure in the 1840s,¹²⁹ he swept away the old courtyard wall and entrance; landscaped the mound such that the old earthworks were largely destroyed and a new drive formed up to the summit; and demolished 'with gunpowder' the SE tower.¹³⁰ He greatly changed the character of the various surviving buildings, modernizing their internal arrangement and adding the new stair tower in the NE re-entrant angle. The changes are too numerous to detail; but the kitchen in the old W range was replaced by a new one in the basement of the SW tower, after the vaulting and large sections of the side walls had been removed; the cellar next to the old kitchen had a massive stone pillar inserted in its centre, which was necessary to carry a new transverse wall and fireplaces on the floor above; and the whole area between this range and the SW tower was rebuilt, and provided with a further staircase to serve the upper floors. In the new arrangement, the entrance doorway and hall were situated in the E wing. The door surround itself is 17th century work, which was taken from elsewhere on the site, but with a new lintel to provide a wider entrance.¹³¹

Adam Gordon was the 8th and last Viscount Kenmure. When he died in 1872, without issue, the title became dormant, and so it has remained ever since. Adam served in the navy, and as a young cadet was present at the battle of Trafalgar in 1805.¹³² He was invalided out of the service while a lieutenant in 1818.¹³³ It was apparently Adam who, in 1865, had the buttresses added on the E side of the W range to stabilize that wall.¹³⁴

123 *Ibid.*

124 *Ibid.*, 134.

125 *Ibid.*; M'Kerlie, *op. cit.*, IV, 67.

126 *The Scots Peerage*, V, 134.

127 *Ibid.*

128 MacGibbon & Ross, *op. cit.*, IV, 256.

129 Gifford, J. *The Buildings of Scotland: Dumfries and Galloway* (1996), 354.

130 MacGibbon & Ross, *op. cit.*, IV, 258.

131 It has been suggested that this doorway was originally in the W range (MacGibbon & Ross, *op. cit.*, IV, 260).

132 *The Scots Peerage*, V, 135.

133 Affleck, *op. cit.*, 194.

134 Gifford, *op. cit.*, 355. They were evidently the work of Hugh Maclure.

From Adam the estate, which at that time extended to 14,000 acres,¹³⁵ passed to his sister Louisa, who in 1843 had been accorded the title of a Viscount's daughter. She had married Charles Bellamy (d.1823-4) of the Honourable East India Company, and on succeeding to Kenmure took the name and designation Bellamy-Gordon (or sometimes Gordon-Bellamy) of Kenmure. In 1879 she commissioned the architects M. E. Hadfield and Son¹³⁶ to undertake an extensive programme of alterations to the castle, including the extension of the E wing¹³⁷ and the addition of a secondary building in the SE re-entrant angle - though it is often difficult to be sure precisely when the various changes took place. The Hon. Louisa Bellamy-Gordon died in 1886, and was succeeded by her eldest daughter, Louisa, who in 1837 had married the Reverend James Maitland of Fairgirth. On succeeding to Kenmure, she took the name Maitland-Gordon.¹³⁸ It is doubtful whether she ever lived at Kenmure; she was already a widow when she inherited the estate, and went to live at Overton, on the other side of New Galloway, while the castle was let, and none of the family was ever to live there again. After her death in 1899, Kenmure passed to her eldest surviving son, James.

It was while James was laird, in 1908, that an American tenant made the last additions to the castle. These comprised the extension of the W range to the N, the addition of a secondary building in the SE re-entrant angle, and the removal of the main entrance from the E range to the foot of the main stair tower. This work was designed by the architect Christian Eliot.¹³⁹ James died in 1915, and his son John sold Kenmure in 1935.¹⁴⁰

During the Second World War the castle was leased by a General MacEwan. It subsequently served as an hotel for a short while, but did not pay. Towards the end of the 1950s the roof was taken off to save rates, after which a demolition contractor stripped it of every feature that could be sold. Contrary to popular belief it was not burned down. By the time Graeme Gordon, a scion of the Gordons of Lochinvar, bought it in 1961/2, it was no more than an empty shell, and so it remains.

Acknowledgement

The writer is greatly indebted to Mr. Graeme Gordon of Kenmure for letting him carry out a survey of the castle ruin, and also for additional information concerning the property's most recent history.

135 *Scotland: Owners of Lands and Heritages, 1872-73 Return* (1874), 117.

136 Gifford, *op. cit.*, 354.

137 MacGibbon & Ross IV, *op. cit.*, 259.

138 *Burke's Genealogical & Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry, 1937 (15th Edition)*, 919, 'Maitland-Gordon, late of Kenmure'.

139 Gifford, *op. cit.*, 354.

140 Burke L. G. 1937, *op. cit.*, 919.

THE TOWER-HOUSES OF KIRTLESIDE

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The long-awaited history of the parish of Kirkpatrick Fleming has at last appeared, and what a splendid record it is. Roger Mercer and his associated authors, all acknowledged specialists in their respective fields, not to mention their unnamed assistants, are to be congratulated on their scholarly contributions. I was particularly interested to read what Harry Gordon Slade had to say about the buildings, as anyone who had the good fortune to hear his lecture on the subject, which he gave to the Society in Dumfries in March 1992, would know that they were in for a treat. As a professional architect, with a lifetime's experience working with historic buildings, he has a wealth of experience in his subject. Members of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in particular will be familiar with his treatises on the great castles of Aberdeenshire and the north-east, of which he is an acknowledged expert.¹ I feel sure, however, that Mr. Slade would be the first to admit that he is less well versed about the background to the tower-houses of the Scottish Border, a somewhat different breed(!) and I hope that, after a lifetime spent excavating, researching and recording Border towers - both their architecture and their history - I can contribute in some small measure to help clarify, and amplify, some of his observations.

Bonshaw Tower

Date of the Tower

The date of Bonshaw Tower seems to be fundamental to the understanding of the tower-houses of Kirtleside. It must have been built either in the 1560s or, at the very latest, immediately after the Earl of Sussex invaded the West March in August 1570. The evidence suggests it was built soon after Hoddom, which we know from a contemporary account was built in 1565.² It has a close affinity with Hoddom, both of which have exceptionally thick walls for their size, and both of which incorporated the new, splayed gun-loops to accommodate the new type of hakbuts, or handguns, then coming into use.³ The walls at Hoddom are 8ft 10in thick and those at Bonshaw 5ft 9in. It was no idle statement when Lord Scrope, English Warden of the West March, described Bonshaw in 1585 as 'one of the strongest howses of that Border'.⁴ It had every refinement, including strong outer defences, a charter of 1582 referring to 'the gate of the fortalice'.⁵ On the other hand, the other Irving towers also had unusually thick walls for their period, those at Woodhouse being 5ft 8in, and at Robgill, Stapleton and New Kirkconnel 5ft (above the plinth). So what other evidence is there?

1 Gordon Slade, H., *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. (PSAS)*, Vols. XCIX, CIII-CVI, CVIII-CXV.

2 *Calendar of the State Papers relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots. 1547-1603* (Scottish Papers) (1898-1969), I, 155. See also Maxwell-Irving, A. M. T., 'Hoddom Castle: a reappraisal of its architecture and place in history', *PSAS*, CXVII, 183-217.

3 Maxwell-Irving, A. M. T., 'Early Firearms and their influence on the military and domestic architecture of the Borders', *PSAS*, CIII, 192-224.

4 *Calendar of Letters and Papers relating to the affairs of the Borders of England and Scotland* (Border Papers) (1894-6), I, No.321.

5 Bonshaw Charter No.10.

Although the Irvings were not feudal superiors, they were not poor. They were a force to be reckoned with, who in 1547 could put more than 400 armed men in the field, and who by the end of the century had virtual control over some 45,000 acres of territory stretching from Lower Annandale to Eskdale. Ever since William Irving of Bonshaw had been employed to obtain the ransom for William Musgrave of Edenhall after the battle of the Kirtle in 1484, they had been richer by ‘four score angell nobilis of gold’, a princely sum in those days; for they kept the money, and in 1508 Adam Johnston of that Ilk, who had stood surety for the payment, had to pay the money to John Kirkpatrick in Hesilbrae.⁶ It was a strange situation, for Johnston was now Irving’s feudal superior, and one would have thought that he had the power to force William to part with the money; but he didn’t.

So the Irvings of Bonshaw had the means to build a substantial stronghold to replace their earlier one, referred to in a charter of 1529 as ‘the old mound and the syke’,⁷ the principal messuage of the lands of Bonshaw; and such a stronghold was needed to counter English incursions. But clearly the Irvings’ strongholds were of timber at that time, for in September 1544, Lord Wharton reported that: ‘Hodholme . . . and all the peilles, houses, corne, and steyses wythin Hodholm, burned . . . Boonshaw, Robgyll, wyth all the corne fownde by the way, burned’.⁸ And the story was the same throughout the Borders, with stone houses being such a rarity as to merit special mention in English campaign reports.

Improvements in firearms technology, however, wrought great changes, and so did changes in the security of tenure of land, especially after the Reformation in 1560. People who previously felt too insecure to build anything so permanent as a stone house, now started to build them throughout the Borders and beyond. The situation had been aided by the Peace treaty of 1550, though that alone had been an insufficient catalyst to set the change in motion, and soon new tensions arose, both nationally and internationally. What really set the change in motion in the West March was the determination of Sir John Maxwell, 4th Lord Herries, whilst Warden of the West March, to enforce law and order upon an unruly bunch of feuding clans, as well as to guard the kingdom against any future incursions by an ambitious and acquisitive English nation. By building the major new stronghold at Hoddum and the adjacent watch tower of Repentance, he set an example, and around the same time he built a new stronghold at Annan, new towers at his houses of Terregles and Kirkgunzeon, and warden dykes at Annan and Dumfries. He was almost certainly also responsible for building the new tower at Isle of Lochar, which guarded the ford leading to Caerlaverock.

Either at the same time, or soon after, the Irvings got the idea and followed suit, while the Johnstons had, evidently, already done some building of their own at Lochwood. There is a common denominator. Of all the tower-houses built in the Scottish Borders in the 16th century - and there were more than 600 - only four incorporate prisons, and one of those, Comlongon, with its pit-prison, which was built c.1501, was a relic from a bygone age.⁹

6 Reid, R. C., ‘Bonshaw’, *TDGAS*, XX, 151-3.

7 Bonshaw Charter No.2. The late Dr. R. C. Reid suggested that the former stronghold may have been ‘an old manor house surrounded by a stockaded rampart’ (Reid, R. C., ‘The Bonshaw Titles’, *TDGAS*, XXXVII, 50), a form of moated manor, of which no trace now survives.

8 *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII* (1862-1910), XIX, Part 2, No.191.

9 See Maxwell-Irving, A. M. T., ‘The Dating of the Tower-houses at Comlongon and Elphinstone’, *PSAS*, CXXVI, 871-9.

The other three are Lochwood, Hoddom and Bonshaw. They all have prisons, which, although different, clearly have an unmistakable affinity. The one at Lochwood was much the earliest, as the tower there has no gun-loops, and there is no question that the Johnstons would have made such a provision if gun-loops had already been in vogue, as indeed they did at Lochhouse.¹⁰ The idea was later copied at Hoddom, and Bonshaw followed soon after.

Perhaps Bonshaw dates from 1566, the year that Christopher Irving, younger of Bonshaw, married Margaret, daughter of John Johnston of that Ilk, Chief of the Johnstons and Lord of Lochwood. It was no ordinary marriage. It was intended to cement the alliance between the Irvings and Johnstons against their common foe, the Maxwells; and the prospect of such a union so alarmed the Privy Council that two years earlier they had ‘commandit and chargeit the said Johnne Johnnestoun . . . that he on na wayis allyat his dochtir with the said Edward Irrwinges sone’.¹¹ But in 1566 the marriage went ahead regardless, and no doubt Johnston would have wanted a home for his daughter worthy of her station. Interestingly, the marriage contract was drawn up at ‘the Lochhouse’,¹² the earliest and only surviving Johnston tower to be provided with gun-loops - but more of this later.

In 1570, the English again invaded the West March, first in the spring under Lord Scrope and then in August under the personal command of the Earl of Sussex, Lieutenant of the North. Sussex claimed that he had acted with restraint, but that was hardly borne out by the destruction he claimed, when trying to impress Queen Elizabeth with his ruthless efficiency. In his report he stated that he ‘threw down the castles of Annand and Hodoun . . . , the castles of Domfrese and Carlaverock . . . , the castles of Tynhill and Cohill . . . , the castles of Arthur Greame and Riches George Greame, . . . and some other piles’.¹³ Another contemporary report is of even greater significance for the additional details it gives. It relates that the ‘Erle of Sussex . . . entrit the West Border with foure thousand men. He brynt the toune of Annan and demoliest the castell thairof. . . . He caist down the Lord Maxwellis hous in Dumfries, the castell of Hoddome, . . . The Castell of Carlavrok was demoliest and destroyit with gunpoulder, Closburne, Tynnell, Bonshaw, and dyvers uther houssis’.¹⁴ Clearly he did severe damage to the tower at Annan, as Lord Maxwell had to rebuild it in 1579,¹⁵ and the same was true of Maxwell’s Castle in Dumfries, which was rebuilt in 1572; but some at least of his other claims were gross exaggeration intended for domestic consumption, most notably his claim to have cast down Hoddom and demolished Caerlaverock. Any damage to Hoddom was clearly confined to the outer defences, and there is ‘little evidence in the structure’¹⁶ for the damage claimed at Caerlaverock. Closeburn, likewise, shows no sign of damage to the tower itself. Which brings us to Bonshaw. Firstly, the suggestion that gun-

10 See Maxwell-Irving, A. M. T., ‘Lochwood Castle - a résumé’, *TDGAS*, LXV, 93-9.

11 *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, 1545-1691* (1877-1970), I, 306.

12 Irving, J. B., *The Irvings, Irwins, Irvines, or Erinveines: or any other spelling of the name: an old Scots Border Clan* (1907) (Book of the Irvings), 38.

13 Scottish Papers, *op. cit.*, No.436.

14 Irving, J. B., *op. cit.*, 43. The source of this quote has yet to be identified by the writer.

15 Fraser, Sir W, *The Book of Caerlaverock* (1873), I, 243.

16 Grove, D. *Caerlaverock Castle* (1994), 25.

powder was used can only realistically refer to a stone castle, and, as at Hoddom and Closeburn, there is no evidence of any major damage or reconstruction to the tower itself. Thus the most likely scenario is that the present tower at Bonshaw had already been built, say c.1566-8, and that the damage claimed only referred to the outer defences. Perhaps the rebuilt masonry referred to by Slade beneath the east window of the great hall was damaged at this time - it was straight across the valley from the east cliff -, or more likely it was damaged by Lord Maxwell's cannon during the 1585 siege, or even just removed at some much later period to permit the entry of new beams or other materials into the tower. It would have been no easy matter to 'blow up' a building with walls nearly 6ft thick using the sort of gunpowder available in the 16th century.

Plinth Courses

The normal methods of laying foundations in the Borders were, (a) building direct on to bedrock, (b) placing a layer of very large boulders in the ground to project well beyond the outer wall-face, and (c) using a splayed plinth course, though (b) and (c) were sometimes combined. A plinth course may not seem a very effective foundation, especially when it only projects 3 to 6 inches beyond the main wall, but the proof of its effectiveness is that it has worked - for more than 600 years in some cases! When the Ministry of Works were carrying out work at Bonshaw in 1960, they thought they would take the opportunity to see what sort of foundations were used for the tower. It was with absolute horror that they discovered that there weren't any: the tower was built, not on bedrock or any other prepared surface, but more or less straight on to the ground! They couldn't fill up their excavation fast enough!

Plinth courses are certainly common in Kirtleside, where, in addition to Bonshaw, they are also found at Robgill, Stapleton and Ecclefechan (New Kirkconnel). But they were no novelty in the Borders, for in the 14th century they are found as far afield as Torthorwald (now almost entirely below the present ground level) and Sanquhar in the west and Edrington, near Berwick, and Cockburnspath in the east; in the 15th century at Cessford in Roxburghshire; and in the 16th century at Comlongon, Lochwood, Lochhouse, Langholm and Hollows in Dumfriesshire, and at Hutton in Berwickshire. They are also found further afield, as for example at Newbyres in Midlothian and Elphinstone in East Lothian.¹⁷ Another variant found at Closeburn and Hermitage is a splayed foundation course, the former being 8 inches deep with a 5-inch offset.

Gun-loops

Splayed gun-loops with rectangular openings are the commonest type found in the West March, where, apart from the towers in Kirtleside, they are found at Hollows, Auchenrook, Langholm, Hoddom, Repentance, Caerlaverock, Eliock, Auchenskeoch, Drumcoltran and Maclellan's in Kirkcudbright. Examples are also found at Hillslap and Langshaw in

¹⁷ MacGibbon, D. and Ross, T., *The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland*, III, 538-40; Royal Commission on the Ancient & Historical Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS), *Inventory of Monuments and Constructions oin the County of East Lothian* (1924), No.192.

Roxburghshire and Drumelzier (ground floor only) in Peeblesshire. Elsewhere the oval form is more common, but in the West March it is only found at Lochar, Amisfield and Lochhouse. More ornate forms, such as the inverted keyhole, dumbbell and crosslet forms, are confined to Threave, Kirkconnell (New Abbey), Dalswinton, Kenmure and later work in the outer defences at Bonshaw. Dumbbell apertures are also found at Amisfield and Hills, though in these instances it appears that they are merely ornamental slit-windows. What is unusual, if not unique, at Bonshaw are the oval throat apertures in the gun-loops.

Basement Drain

The sloping basement floor at Bonshaw, with a drain to the outside, is certainly unusual, but not unique, for there was another example in the South Tower at Cramalt, in Selkirkshire, now destroyed.¹⁸ The difference is that the one at Bonshaw drains past the prison (possibly to collect effluent from there *en route*) and then through the tower's wall near the SW corner and out to the adjacent ravine, while at Cramalt the floor drained into a central gully (from which the actual point of exit was not located in the time available). One can only assume that, in times of siege, certain animals, such as horses or other prized stock, would be accommodated within the tower itself, and this practice may have been more common than is generally assumed. One could not afford to lose one's horses.

'Arma Christi'

Ian Bryce and Alasdair Roberts have done much research into Post-Reformation Catholic symbolism in the north-east of Scotland,¹⁹ but there are many questions yet to be answered. Some of their work is as yet unpublished. Was it, for example, really only Catholic families who used religious monograms and mottoes in their buildings, and what can we infer from their use?

There is no reason to question that the motto 'SOLI DEO HONOR ET GLORIA' over the entrance doorway at Bonshaw is original, and the pendant boss in the entrance vestibule bearing the sacred monogram 'IHS' is as fine a piece of carving as one could hope to find in such a tower. Bonshaw, however, is not alone. Apart from a similar, but very crude boss, at Robgill, which may indeed be a later insertion, the 'IHS' monogram is also found in the Borders on the lintel of the entrance doorways at Corbet, Darnick and Fisher's Tower, next to Darnick, all in Roxburghshire, and there is another example at nearby Melrose Abbey.²⁰ At Corbet and Darnick, the lintels also bear two sets of initials and the dates '1572' (sic) and '15[9]5', respectively, while the lintel at Melrose bears the date 1573.

Great Hall Fireplace

Presumably the two apertures formerly in the jambs on either side of the fireplace were for supporting a spit or other cooking device, like the aperture still to be seen at Woodhouse (*infra*). The enormous size of the main fireplace in Border and other tower-houses - the

18 Maxwell-Irving, A. M. T., 'Cramalt Tower: historical survey and excavations, 1977-79', *PSAS*, CXI, 412-16.

19 Bryce, I. D. B., and Roberts, A., 'Post-Reformation Catholic houses of north-east Scotland', *PSAS*, CXXIII, 363-372.

20 See RCAHMS, *An Inventory of the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Roxburghshire* (1956), Nos.580, 581, 634, Fig.265; MacGibbon & Ross, *op. cit.*, III, 425.

fireplace at Bonshaw is 7ft 3½ in wide inside the jambs - was not due to a need for excessive warmth. A fire just half the size can be too hot for comfort, and make half the hall uninhabitable - as many people can attest! It also served to roast the meat and boil water, etc. It was not, however, the main kitchen fireplace, which was almost invariably in some outbuilding, where there would also be the oven for baking bread. Such castles as Comlongon and Maclellan's, where the main kitchen fireplace is in the main building, are rare indeed in the Borders. The remains of a large kitchen fireplace in an outbuilding, or secondary building, as well as ovens, may still be seen at Lochwood²¹ and Sanquhar.²²

The Buffet

Bonshaw is almost unique among 16th century tower-houses in having a 'buffet'. Buffets, which are large open-aumbries, usually with an ornamental surround and designed for the display of plate, etc., are more usually associated with the great castles of the 15th century, such as Dirleton or, in SW Scotland, the rather later tower-castles at Cardoness and Comlongon, the last dating from just after 1500. Not even Hoddom has such a feature, so to find one at Bonshaw, with a roll-and-hollow-moulded surround and ogee-shaped lintel, is more than a little surprising. Indeed, the only other examples to be found in late 16th century tower-houses in the Borders are at Elshieshields, which has two in its great hall. Admittedly they are both smaller than the one at Bonshaw, but both have moulded surrounds and one terminates on the lintel in the form of two semi-circles, echoing the great fireplace on the fourth floor of the wing at Hoddom.²³

In view of the religious sentiments expressed by Bonshaw's builder at the tower's entrance, it has been suggested that the buffet may have been intended to double as an altar.

Upper Hall

The fireplace in the Upper Hall is a relatively late work. The Renaissance mantel-shelf has a similar moulding to, and appears to be of the same vintage as, the main house (1770) and other architectural fragments, such as the pediment over the doorway in the cliff-top parapet. In its present position it may be no earlier than 1896, when Col. John Beaufin Irving did so much work. It is perhaps significant that the plans used by MacGibbon & Ross in 1889, although of earlier date, show a window here,²⁴ and there are definite signs in the wall outside of a change in the masonry. If it was not Col. Irving who put the fireplace in, it could only have been the Rev. John Irving, when he put the present roof on and carried out other work c.1841-2. Certainly the garret fireplace is a modern addition, which proves that the chimney stack must have been rebuilt, at least on its inner face, to accommodate the additional flue(s).

21 Maxwell-Irving, 'Lochwood Castle', *op. cit.*, 95-6.

22 Simpson, W. D. 'Sanquhar Castle', *TDGAS*, XXI, 262.

23 Maxwell-Irving, 'Hoddom Castle', *op. cit.*, Illus 14.

24 MacGibbon & Ross, *op. cit.*, III, 400.

The question we then have to ask is, did Bonshaw really have no fireplaces on its upper floors when originally built? Not every tower-house was provided with a fireplace on every floor, as the heat from the chimney alone served as its own form of central heating, but it was very unusual not to have one in the upper hall, and the writer cannot think of an example in the West March. Woodhouse certainly retains an original garret fire, and so must also have had one on the second floor; but it is not so certain that Stapleton had a fireplace on the second floor before the 19th century, when two were inserted.

One of the oddities on this floor is that the recesses for the east and west windows have at some period been filled in, and the stepped sill of the north window has been crudely cut away, such that all three windows have deep sills. It seems to be a retrograde step, and quite pointless.

Garderobes

The secondary, mural flue that rises up to parapet level from the second floor garderobe must surely have been associated with a second wardrobe, or more primitive facility, at parapet level, as Slade states, but this is a rare arrangement not found elsewhere in the Borders, and more usually associated with earlier castles. Examples are found at Drum and Alloa.

Parapet Walk

The parapet walk was 'restored' in the 19th century, and unfortunately we do not have any record as to exactly what was done, or by whom. The way the wheel-stair emerges on to the parapet walk is awkward, to say the least, although the offset gable and doorway appear, from the extent of weathering, to be original. The top step, however, with its bottle-nosed tread is a replacement, and clearly there has been some patching up of the masonry work above the stair, possibly when the pitch of the roof was lowered. Evidence of the garderobe at this level has disappeared, some of the gargoyles are modern replacements, and the parapet wall has been lowered to remove the embrasures, which would have existed.

'1696' Building Work

One of the earlier Bonshaw charters confirms the sale in 1655 of the lands of Bonshaw by James Irving of Bonshaw to his uncle, Herbert Irving of Hairgills, 'for great sums of money'.²⁵ Herbert, who was a younger son of William Irving (d.1646) of Bonshaw by his second marriage to Margaret Kirkpatrick, died in 1660, and was succeeded by his only son, William, who remained in peaceable possession of Bonshaw until James's death in 1682. Then Sarah Douglas, the widow of John Irving of Woodhouse, and her brother, Sir James Douglas of Kelhead, began legal proceedings to 'recover' Bonshaw for Sarah's young son, William Irving of Woodhouse.²⁶ Sarah's husband had been the youngest son, but only son

25 Bonshaw had already been handed over to Herbert, at least nominally, by James' father in 1648, reputedly to save it from the Covenanters, and Herbert had been recognized as 'of Bonshaw' by parliament as early as 1649 (*Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, VI, Part II, 32), but he did not have legal title.

26 The whole story is related in J. B. Irving's *Book of the Irvings* (*op. cit.*, 74-8), though there is some confusion over dates.

with issue, of William Irving of Rockhillhead, the eldest son of William Irving of Bonshaw's second marriage; and with the death of James Irving in 1682, William of Rockhillhead's family had now become the heirs-male of the family. Eventually, in 1696, William succeeded in proving his case, and gained legal possession of Bonshaw.

It is presumed that it was he, rather than the William he ousted, who in the same year initiated some new building work at Bonshaw. What that work was is not known - it may have been a new house or extension to the tower, or something quite different - , but stones from it bearing the initials 'W I' and the date '1696'²⁷ are built into the older portion of Bonshaw Mill; and various other re-used architectural fragments at Bonshaw, such as the fire surround on the tower's second floor and the doorway, with its bolection moulded surround, in the passage linking the tower to the later house, may also come from this work. However, the new work did not survive long, or more likely it was never completed due to lack of funds (for the lawsuit had been long and costly), for when the new mill was built in 1743, only 47 years later, it incorporated in its fabric the carved stones already mentioned.

Robgill Tower (Fig. 1)

It is popularly believed - and often written - that nothing remains of the old tower at Robgill except the basement, but this is not true. The old walls do in fact survive to a level just below that of the original parapet, at the modern second floor level, on the north and east sides, and this can clearly be seen on the outside. The W wall also survives, though, because of later additions, including the addition of the kitchen fireplace in the basement, it

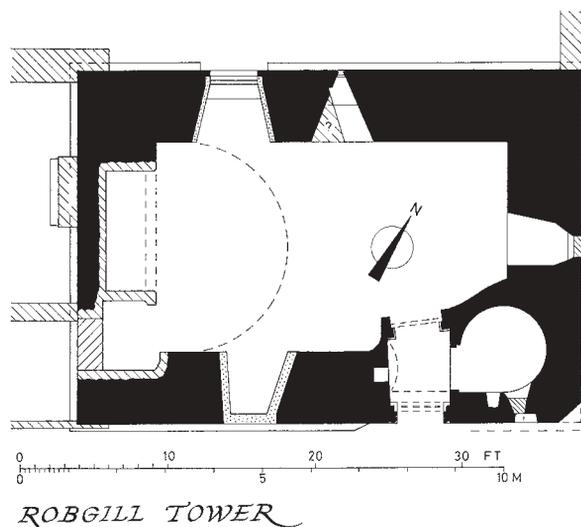


Fig. 1 Plan of Robgill.

27 Due to typographical errors, the date is incorrectly given by Slade as 1698, and the datestone on the mill should read 1743.

has been subsumed within the house and reduced in thickness. However, few original architectural details have survived, because new, larger windows have been inserted at both first and second floor levels on the north side, and the level of the second floor has itself been raised. The only original details that can still be seen are in the east wall, where there was one small window at the level of the first floor, and another at the second. Both are now blocked, but the former still retains its bold, quirked-edge-roll moulding. Another, much larger window was later inserted at first floor level near the NE corner, but this was apparently closed up again when the single storey-extension was added below.

Date of Tower

Despite the apparent similarity of both Robgill and Ecclefechan (New Kirkconnel) to Bonshaw, there is evidence that the dates of these towers is not all that it would seem. Not only is there no reference to the towers in any of the records of the troubles in the latter half of the 16th century, but it is surely not without significance that, whilst Bonshaw and Woodhouse both feature prominently on Aglionby's platte of 1590²⁸ and Pont's survey of Annandale c.1595,²⁹ Robgill and Ecclefechan are conspicuously absent, the only features on Pont's map being a 'settlement' or 'ferm-toun' at each site and a kirk at Ecclefechan. It would seem, therefore, that both Robgill and Ecclefechan were not built until later, although in their construction they followed the general design of their chief's house at Bonshaw - just as Dryhope in nearby Selkirkshire, which was apparently not rebuilt until 1613, followed a design typical of some fifty years earlier.

Basement

As already explained by Slade, the basement has undergone considerable changes, losing all trace of the original gun-loops in the process. The greatest change, however, is the introduction of the 'kitchen' fireplace at the west end and the addition to the left of it of a doorway, now blocked, connecting with the later house. There are no instances of lesser Border towers being equipped with kitchens in their basements, and Robgill was no exception. Indeed, the insertion of this fireplace seriously interfered with the arrangement of the fireplace in the great hall above. The date of this kitchen fireplace is uncertain, but it was probably inserted by General Sir Paulus Aemilius Irving when he restored the tower and added the later house to it around the beginning of the 19th century.

Woodhouse Tower (Fig. 2)

William Graham's Drawing

It is now generally believed that the drawing of 'Robgill Tower' by William Graham of Mossknowe, dated 1823, is in fact of Woodhouse, - though the mistake in the caption is not an error that one would have expected from someone who had lived almost in the shadow of the tower all his life. Nevertheless, the drawing could not be of Robgill, which by that date

28 Hyslop, J. & R. *Langholm As It Was: a History of Langholm and Eskdale from the earliest times* (1912), 320. Aglionby appears to have gone to a lot of trouble to be accurate in recording the tower-houses, especially along the courses of the rivers.

29 Blaeu, J. *Atlas Maior* (1662), VI (Scotland), 57, 'THE STEWARTRIE OF ANNANDAIL'.

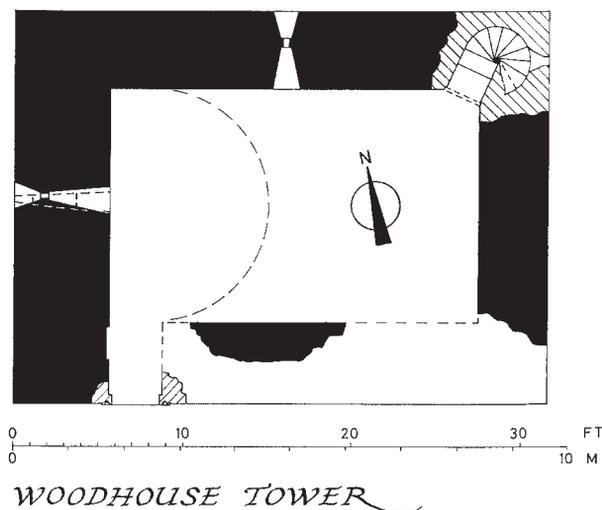


Fig. 2 Plan of Woodhouse.

had been modernized and incorporated into a modern mansion. What the drawing shows is a typical Border tower of the Kirtleside area, with three floors and a garret, a parapet walk supported on 2-stage corbels above a continuous course, and part of a ruinous, crow-stepped gable. It also shows the entrance doorway at what one takes to be the east end of the south wall, with, on its right, the unmistakable slit-windows for a wheel-stair and, on its left, a rectangular, splayed gun-loop of the type found locally. There is also, significantly, a large crack right down the east wall.

In essence, then, this would appear to be a picture of the tower - Woodhouse - whose 'south side fell down, during a stormy night, with a dreadful crash' during the winter of 1830-31.³⁰ And if MacGibbon and Ross's comment that the tower was 'immediately re-erected as we see it now' in 1877 after 'the building fell',³¹ is to be taken as gospel, it must relate to a second fall, presumably of the NE corner, for this corner was completely rebuilt at that time. The abnormally small wheel-stair, just 4 feet in diameter, was installed to give direct access to the partially restored parapet walk, without any openings at the intermediate floors. It was a popular vantage point for locals and tourists alike to view Kirtledale,³² until the farmer deliberately broke the stairs in the middle of the 20th century to put a stop to this pastime. There was no stair in this corner before that date, the stair presumably being at the SE corner, where one would expect to find it, along with the entrance, at the opposite end to the hall fireplace, as in the other Irving towers. But therein lies a problem.

30 *The New Statistical Account of Scotland* (1845), IV, 278-9.

31 MacGibbon & Ross, *op. cit.*, III, 402.

32 Irving, J. B., *op. cit.*. See photograph by writer's grandfather facing page 164.

Graham's picture shows the entrance where one would have expected to find it at Woodhouse, and where it is tentatively shown by MacGibbon and Ross,³³ but that is not in fact where the last entrance was. Exploratory excavations carried out in 1968 revealed the remains of a doorway and entrance passage at the *other* end of the south wall, in the SW corner. The doorway was certainly not original, as the moulding was of elaborate 17th century, bolection type, and the passage was probably also a later insertion, but this must have been the doorway that existed in 1823, when the tower was already a ruin, and only seven years before it collapsed.

Stapleton Tower

Entrance Doorways

The individuality of each of the Irving towers is interesting, and this is demonstrated by the differences in the entrance doorways. Of the three original doorways that survive, the one at Bonshaw, which is the earliest, is the simplest, while that at Stapleton, which is considerably later, is also the most ornate. At Bonshaw the moulding chosen was a simple roll-and-hollow, which is also found repeated at the hall fireplace and buffet, and Robgill is similar, except that it has an added quirk around the outside edge. Stapleton, on the other hand, has the added refinements of a segmental head to the doorway and a quirked-edge-roll-and-hollow moulding, which is enriched by the addition of a stylised leaf-and-stalk decoration within the hollow. Bonshaw, though, is the only tower to have a motto over its door, and while both Bonshaw and Robgill have a pendant keystone with the sacred monogram 'IHS' just inside, it is not so certain that the one at Robgill, which is very crude and apparently loose, is original.

The armorial panel above the entrance at Bonshaw has a simple cavetto moulding on its surround, whereas the one at Stapleton, which is much higher up the wall, has added nail-head decoration. If there is one at Robgill, it has unfortunately been covered up by the adjacent passage ceiling.

Blackethouse Tower (Fig. 3)

Blackethouse is first mentioned in 1459, when John Bell 'de Blakwodhouse' received remission of a fine levied on him at the justice ayre;³⁴ but the present tower only dates from the latter half of the 16th century, and was in all probability built by William Bell of Blackethouse, known as 'Red Cloak', who is first designated 'of Blacathous' in February 1583/4.³⁵ He was the son of Jok Bell of Albie and a tenant of Douglas of Drumlanrig.³⁶ He became prominent in Border life and the acknowledged chief of the clan, a position previously held by the Bells of Kirkconnel.

As Slade says, the tower was originally oblong in plan, probably with a vaulted basement, now collapsed, and with splayed, rectangular gun-loops in each wall, like the other

33 MacGibbon & Ross, *op. cit.*, III, Fig.322.

34 *The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, 1264-1594* (1878-1903), VI, 554.

35 *The Manuscripts of J.J.Hope-Johnstone, Esq. of Annandale*. Historical Manuscripts Commission, 15th Report, Appendix, Part IX (1897), 31 (No.56).

36 Stuart, J, *The Bell Family in Dumfriesshire* (1932), 27-8; RPC, *op. cit.*, IV, 565.

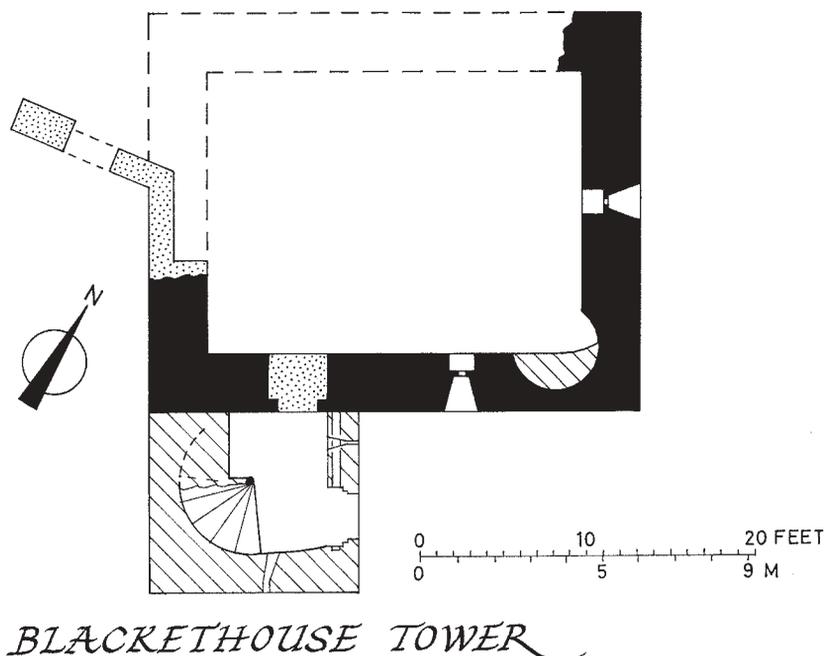


Fig. 3 Plan of Blackethouse.

Kirtleside towers. What is unusual, however, is that the original wheel-stair was in the SE corner (see plan), while the entrance always appears to have been in the SW corner, where the later entrance and wing were added. This is an odd arrangement, and one that it may share with Woodhouse, if Woodhouse's original entrance was also in the SW corner. It is also of note that neither of these towers has the splayed plinth course found elsewhere in Kirtleside. Is it significant that both suffered partial collapse, perhaps because of the absence of this precaution?

Lochhouse (Fig. 4)

Lochhouse, at the other end of Annandale, is in fact very different from the Kirtleside towers. Built some time after the English occupation of Lochwood ended in 1550, it was firmly established as the second most important Johnston stronghold by 1566, when the marriage contract already mentioned was drawn up.³⁷ It is true that it was oblong in plan, it

³⁷ I can find no evidence to support Slade's assertion that Lochhouse was destroyed by Lord Maxwell in 1585-6. Scrope reported that Richard Maxwell burned Lochwood in April 1585 (*Border Papers, op. cit.*, I, No.303), while Woddrington ascribed the raid to Lord Maxwell (*Ibid*, No.304), but there is no suggestion of any advance to Lochhouse, nor is Lochhouse mentioned by Johnston of that ilk when petitioning for restitution in 1590 (*Hope-Johnstone MSS, op. cit.*, 32 (No.64)).

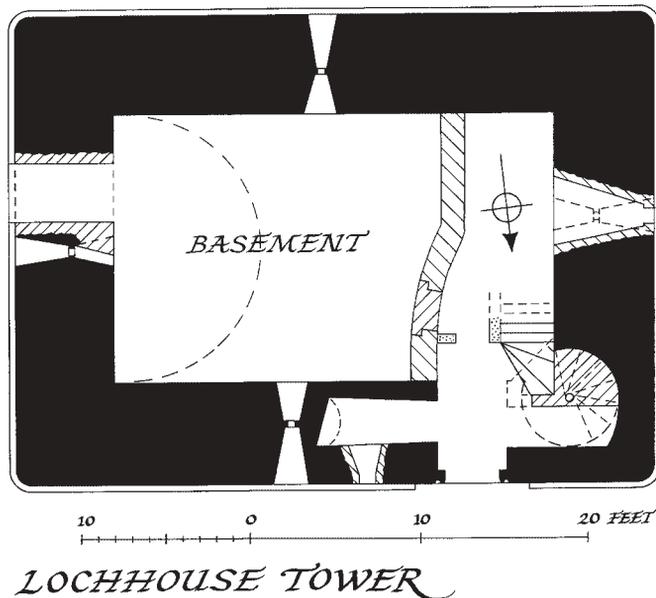


Fig. 4 Plan of Lochhouse.

had a plinth course, it incorporated the new, splayed gun-loops - though oval in form rather than rectangular -, it had the entrance and stair in the same corner, with the same roll-and-hollow moulding around the doorway as at Bonshaw, and it had a corbelled-out parapet walk; but that was as far as any similarity with the towers of Kirtleside went. Indeed, in the main these are features common to many a lesser tower-house elsewhere too. What is significant about Lochhouse is that it had a mural guardroom adjacent to the entrance, like the early basement at Amisfield, and the wheel-stair was reached from the basement itself rather than from the entrance vestibule. The tower also had rounded corners, like other Johnston towers at Lockerbie and Boreland,³⁸ and it had a second offset course at the level of the second floor windows. Even the placing of the garderobe was different, for at Lochhouse it was in the middle of the north wall, and the diminutive corbelling of the parapet makes a poor comparison with the bold, machicolated parapet found at Bonshaw.

So despite the close family connections between the Johnstons and the Irvings, and the undoubted affinity of the prisons at Lochwood and Bonshaw - not to mention the Maxwell stronghold at Hoddom -, one cannot really say that the towers in Kirtleside owed their design any more to Johnston influence, or vice-versa, than to the general trend in tower-house design elsewhere in the Borders, or indeed beyond. At the end of the day, it was the masons who built the towers, and masons were not handicapped by clan loyalties.

This paper, the publication costs of which have been met by the Ann Hill Bequest, forms No. 7 in the series 'The History and Archaeology of Kirkpatrick Fleming Parish'.

38 The rounded corners may be attributed to the difficulty of making quoins from the local greywacke, but sandstone was available - it was used for other dressings, and for the quoins at Lochwood - and greywacke quoins were wrought for the Johnston's tower at Mellingshaw, further up the valley.

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT IN 17th AND 18th CENTURY RECORDS OF DUMFRIES

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Archive Centre, Burns Street, Dumfries.

PART 1: PRISONS, PUNISHMENT AND JAILORS

The records relating to crime and punishment that have survived amongst the archives in Dumfries are remarkably full and extensive. They give a vivid picture of the administration of justice within the burgh and its surrounding area but their interest spreads far wider than that might suggest. The courts and prisons of Dumfries dealt not only with malefactors tried and condemned by the magistrates acting within the burgh's jurisdiction, but also with those sent in for trial from throughout the whole county by the justices of the peace. Furthermore, prisoners from all over south west Scotland whose crimes were serious enough to warrant trial before the High Court of Justiciary were sent into the jails of Dumfries to await the next sitting of the circuit court (which met in Dumfries) or as the first stage in their transfer to the High Court in Edinburgh. Consequently, the records reveal a constant coming and going of criminals and victims, accused and accusers, witnesses, petitioners, jailors and all the administrators of criminal justice from throughout the greater portion of Dumfries and Galloway. And since law and order, and the breach of law and order, impinge upon the lives of such a wide range of people in every facet of their existence, inevitably these activities generate a great mass of archives in which the complaints of the victims, the capture, trial and punishment of the offenders are recorded. Thus we have indictment books, court diet books, jail books, bail bond registers, diligence registers, and court papers of every sort to say nothing of the multifarious entries in the Council minutes and treasurers' accounts pertaining to the maintenance of law and order.

If social conditions within the burgh and county of Dumfries are reflected in the town's records of crime and punishment, so also are wider political events in Scotland and, later, in Great Britain. This is particularly the case during the numerous upheavals of the 17th and 18th centuries when the location of Dumfries on the frontier between Scotland and England and on the main road into Scotland from Ireland made it a microcosm of the situation in the wider kingdom. During this period, Dumfries was the eighth largest and most important town in Scotland with a flourishing trade to other parts of Britain and as far afield as the Americas - certainly no rural backwater.

Although there are court records of Dumfries from the 15th century, with a run of court books starting in 1507, the earliest reference to prisoners being held in the 'pledge chamber' within the old tolbooth¹ date from the 1570s². Within a decade³, work had begun on a burgh jail, built in accordance with the Act of Parliament of 1574 which stipulated the construction in each burgh of a prison that should be 'of three hous hicht with the condemnit prissoun in the boddum of the hous'⁴. Once building was started on this pledge-house, however, the

1 R C Reid 'Notes on the Old Prisons of Dumfries' These *Transactions* Series III, vol VII, pp 160-179

2 *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, 1st Series, 1545-1625, ed J H Burton and D Masson (Edinburgh 1877-98) 24 Aug 1578

3 R C Reid *op cit*

4 *Acts of Parliaments of Scotland*, 1124-1707, ed T Thomson and C Innes (12 vols, Edinburgh, 1814-75), vol iii, 86b; see also *APS*, iv, 141

ground was found to be sandy and stony so the Town Council, fearing that prisoners kept in the basement might dig their way out under the walls and might also plot their escape by talking to their friends through the 'slittis maid laich throw the same hous to let in the air', obtained permission from the Privy Council to keep the condemned prisoners on the middle or upper floor, provided the room for these prisoners was 'suir & sufficiently boltit' ⁵.

In his *Introduction to the History of Dumfries*, written in 1746, Thomas Edgar described this building as having a first floor which was arched and situated above shops that were let out 'named Thieves Hole, and a dark hole with an iron gate called the Pit ... The 2nd floor, being also arched was divided by a timber partition into which Debtors were incarcerated'⁶. As for the old Tolbooth, Edgar tells us that it 'was taken down before the Rebellion 1715, and rebuilt in better method' ... with rooms above the Council chamber 'for cautionary prisoners' ⁷ or debtors.

Between 1703 and 1709, the Council was building the Midsteeple, still the most distinctive building in the High Street. When the Council had been discussing undertaking its construction in April 1703, one of their deciding factors was that 'the toun is not at present provided wt sufficient prisons whereby several malefactors guilty of great crimes and others for debt have made yr escape to ye dishonour and imminent perill of the burgh' ⁸. In fact, there is no record of prisoners ever being held in the Midsteeple although the Tolbooth and pledge house clearly did not provide sufficient accommodation because an agreement had to be made in April 1735 between the Town Council of Dumfries, the Justices of the Peace and the 'gentlemen of the Stewartry of Annandale to build a correction house for the entertaining of beggars and vagabonds' ⁹.

On 16 September 1742 there was a serious fire in the prison of Dumfries which necessitated its extensive rebuilding. The work was undertaken by Thomas Twaddell at a cost of £84 sterling, being completed by November 1743¹⁰. This, incidentally, was not the only fire to break out in the jail. The Chamberlain's Accounts for 27 January 1777 mention a payment of 7 shillings to 'sundry persons for watching the Jail when set on fire 11 December 1776' ¹¹. Such outbreaks were scarcely to be wondered at in view of the fact that straw was being supplied for the prison at a rate of 6 pence per month, presumably for the prisoners to lie upon¹².

By the end of the 18th century, more space for prisoners was needed in Dumfries and the foundation stone for a new jail in Buccleuch Street, to house 30, was laid in 1802, the old pledgehouse being auctioned off for £270 (£30 less than its upset price) and subsequently demolished¹³. Wings were added onto this building in 1812 and 1819 to double its capac-

5 *RPC (op cit)* iv 129

6 Robert Edgar, *An Introduction to the History of Dumfries* ed R C Reid (Dumfries, 1915) p43

7 *Midsteeple Committee Minute Book* (WA2/7)

8 *Town Council Minutes* 30 Apr 1703

9 *TCM* 14 Apr 1735

10 *TCM* 28 Feb and 21 Nov 1743

11 *Chamberlain's Accounts* 1773-78 (GG2/1)

12 *Treasurer's Accounts* 1736-37, passim

13 *Dumfries Weekly Journal*, 2 Feb 1808, p1

ity¹⁴ but growth in the population of Dumfries and the new Burgh of Maxwelltown on the Kirkcudbrightshire bank of the Nith forced the authorities to open a much larger jail in Terregles Street in 1883¹⁵ and this continued in use until relatively recent times.

Such, then, were the prisons of Dumfries. What was life like within them? Well, the answer depended, as with so many other things, upon whether a prisoner was wealthy or poor. It was up to the prisoner - or his friends or relatives - to pay the jailor for his food and lodging. If a prisoner could not sustain his own charges, a Privy Council Act of 1578 stipulated that the bailies or sheriff should allow him (or her, of course, for many of those shut up in jail were female) 1 lb of oaten bread per day¹⁶. In practice, this led to considerable hardship as is evinced by numerous petitions sent from poor prisoners to the Council such as the pathetic plea of Mary McLelan in 1708, begging the Council to show her 'some Christian bounty', describing herself as 'haveing now bein prisoner these nyne weeks and having sufered much fatigue in my body by hunger & cold haveing had none to help mee but god & good neighbours my own mother & grandmother being lyeing on death bed & none to help them likewayes wch makes my caice still the worse, I being shutt up heir and cannot help them nor them help me at this present junctur'¹⁷.

Another hard case was that of Elizabeth Lockhart who, having been sentenced to banishment in 1705 (and, presumably, not having left the town as ordered) had been imprisoned for 12 weeks and reduced to such penury that she had had to sell all her clothes so that she had scarcely enough left 'to cover her nakedness' and worse, the nurse who was looking after her 'poor babe' in the country, being now so long unpaid, was threatening to bring the child into Dumfries and leave it on the pledge house steps¹⁸.

Delay in bringing a case to trial could lead to severe deprivation on the part of those shut up in jail. A petition engrossed in the Council minutes from seven prisoners who had been incarcerated for several weeks, without any charge being brought against them, describes them as 'lying in our prison in ane very sterving conditione' with no food for seven weeks 'except the touns charity whilk being so long is now dried up so that there are none can walk in our streits for ye loud outcryes'¹⁹.

The jailor himself had a vested interest in the financial standing of his charges for he earned most of his income from the money paid him by the prisoners for their food and other necessities. In 1698, a petition was lodged with Dumfries Town Council by James Fraser, who had been appointed 'keeper of the prison keys at midsummer last', complaining that he had only had 'a parcel of gypsies and vagabonds in jail who were as much trouble to keep as persons of another quality but had no profit in them' and requesting the magistrates to send him a 'better class of prisoners'²⁰.

14 *Dumfries Weekly Journal*, 9 Jun 1812, p1 and 6 Jul 1819, p3

15 *Dumfries and Galloway Standard & Advertiser*, 21 Jan 1881, p4c; 9 Feb 1881, p5; 30 Jun 1883, p3 and 15 Aug 1883, p4

16 *RPC (op cit)* ii, 682

17 *Petitions 1655-1710*, number 493

18 *Burgh Affairs* RB2/2/23

19 *TCM*, 30 Jul 1683

20 *Petitions 1655-1710*, number 146

Many of the people held in the town's jails were debtors charged with the "not payment making" of a sum of money. In the nature of things, those imprisoned for debt often had no money to pay the jailor for their aliment. The problem this posed for the burgh authorities was discussed at a meeting of the Convention of Royal Burghs in 1695 'the burghs of this kingdom, havens of prisons, are troubled and overcharged with prisoners thrust into their prisons who have nothing to maintain themselves but must of necessity either starve or be a burden upon the burgh'.

At that time, a draft Act of Parliament was read ordaining that creditors having their debtors imprisoned should provide aliment for them as also should sheriffs and other inferior judges sending prisoners into the burgh jails from their country areas of jurisdiction for civil offences. If no aliment had been provided for such a prisoner within 10 days, he was to be released²¹. If the sum of a debt was quite low, a creditor could well have been out of pocket paying out cash to feed his debtor in prison so many small debtors were unalimented and, being too poor to pay for their own food, were eventually set free. Indeed, this was probably the commonest reason for the release of the poorer debtors held in the jails of Dumfries²².

The better class of debtors, however, might remain in prison for lengthy periods until their cash-flow difficulties were resolved and, at least in Dumfries, they were quite comfortably treated. By law, if a debtor escaped from jail, the magistrates could be held liable to pay the debt for which he had been imprisoned. This had become rather a problem in the 1770s when there was a spate of escaping so, in 1779, the Magistrates took legal advice as to whether their treatment of debtors could be considered negligent. According to the Learned Counsel 'after a debtor is imprisoned he ought not to be indulged with the benefit of the free air, either on his parole or even-under a guard ... that by the 'squalor carceris' [squalor of the prison] he may be brought to the payment of his just debt'²³. In Dumfries, however, the record continues, 'the magistrates ... have been in the practice past all memory' if a prisoner for debt finds sufficient bail 'to remove him to a room or rooms above the present Courthouse where there is no lock upon the prisoner, day or night, nor anything to confine him' except, presumably, his wish not to make his cautioners (sureties) lose the bail money they had put up for him. Apparently, such prisoners were in the habit of going down to the Court room below, from thence going along a passageway onto the roof of the Courthouse and walking around there as long as they wished. This was aptly described as the 'open prison'.

Conditions were, thus, relatively easy for those imprisoned for debt but a different situation faced the vagrants from throughout the area who were brought into Dumfries to be shut up in the Correction House built in the 1730s 'for the entertainment of sturdy beggars'. We have, in the Archive Centre, a set of rules and regulations for the Correction House, dated 1788. All inmates were to be kept at hard labour for 10 hours a day, 6 days a week, the

21 *Extracts from the Records of the Convention of Royal Burghs of Scotland 1677-1711* (Edinburgh, 1880) 18 Jul 1695, pp199-200

22 12 Sep 1774, James Breck, tobacconist, imprisoned for debt 14 Aug, released 'in terms of the Act of Parliament made for the benefite of poor prisoners the magistrats having modified aliment for him of 4d per day but his incarcerator having lodged no aliment for him the magistrats sett him at liberty' *Jail Book 1774-76* (GF4/24)

23 *TCM* 26 Apr 1779

work to be suited to the age, sex and strength of each inmate. Males and females were to be kept apart. Each person was to be allowed 1 lb of oatmeal per day made into pottage. Each inmate was to be allowed half the profits from his or her labour, payable on dismissal. The Keeper was 'to be very watchful that all work and none waste or spoil goods or disobey orders' - such as do, were to be punished by putting them in handcuffs and close confinement. The Keeper was banned from selling or allowing spirituous liquors in the house and enjoined that he should 'change the straw provided for bedding at least once a week and shall be particularly attentive to have the house kept clean and the cells regularly swept in order, as much as possible, to prevent sickness or any infectious disease among the prisoners' ²⁴.

These rules are bound up with the regulations for the Bridewell in Newcastle with which they can be compared. Interestingly, Dumfries seems to have adopted a slightly less punitive tone than that of the establishment in Newcastle whose Keeper was instructed to withhold the 2d per day doled out to his inmates for their subsistence if their work was not up to standard on the principle that 'They that do not work are not to eat'. He was also enjoined to change his prisoners' straw not weekly, as in Dumfries, but 'whenever he pleases' ²⁵.

An altogether grimmer picture emerges when one looks at the earlier prison, the pledge house with its 'thieves hole' - that noisome pit. The Treasurers' Accounts mention several payments for the purchase of iron for 'maneckelees for the prisoners and for claspes to ye wall of ye pit' to which they would be shackled ²⁶. There are numerous bills for mending the prison locks, for providing straw for bedding, for sand and water, for cleaning the prisons (a task performed by John Duff, the executioner, until his death in 1710 and thereafter by a succession of local women) and even an entry for 'swiping the chimneys' ²⁷. The darkness of the building is attested by bills for candles to search the prisons on several occasions, 'after ye prisoners that brocke owt' and to provide enough light to 'clean ye pitt' and to mend it on one occasion ²⁸.

More sombre are the accounts that relate to the harsh treatment meted out to prisoners. '2 fathoms of cord to ty Janet McGron when shee was whipt ... 4 fathwm of small cord to ty Eliz Riolle wt when she was bwrnt one ye cheake on 2 May ... 1/- paid for peats to heat ye

24 *Rules and Regulations to be observed in the House of Correction, built and established in the Town of Dumfries, for the County of Dumfries*, 7 Oct 1788

25 *The Plan of the Bridewell in Newcastle-upon-Tyne*, 1789

26 11 May 1709: 'To William Read for pwting on and taking of ye manickalls of Eliz Lockert 6/-'
12 Oct 1708, 21 Mar 1710 etc TA, (GG3/5, GG3/6, GG3/7 etc)

27 4 Mar 1709: 'To James Watson for drawing of sand and water to ye prison 2/8 14 Oct 1709: for straw to ye prison 2/-
8 Aug 1728: straw to ye prison 10d
2 Jan, 9 Jan, 14 Jan, 3 Feb, 14 Feb, 22 Feb, 11 Mar, 22 Apr and 1 Jul 1707; 7 Jun, 23 Jun and 27 Dec 1710: for clanging of ye prisons 3/-
3 Mar 1737: for swiping the chimneys 6d
3 Sep 1746: for a pail for ye prison 2/6'
TA (GG3/4, GG3/5, GG3/5, GG3/5, GG3/19 and GG3/23)

28 6 Nov 1708: 'to search the prisons ... after ye prisoners that brocke owt
19 Apr 1709: 4 oz of candell to search ye prisons
3 Feb 1707: A candell to clean ye pitt 6d
11 Aug 1746: 1 lib candle for prison while the Rebell prisoners were in toun 6d'
TA (GG3/4, GG3/5, GG3/6 and GG3/24)

bwrning iron ... 1 fathom of cord to ty a boye yt was whipt ... 6/- to Jo Duffe [the executioner] for whipping of ye boye'.²⁹

Torture was still used to obtain confession, the iron boot being probably the most common form employed and on 2 March 1709 the Town Treasurer was paying out 2 pounds 7 shillings for '23lb 8oz of lead for ye boots in ye prison'³⁰.

A further series of grim entries in the treasurer's accounts for April 1711 reads thus:

'For 2lb of lead to fix the iron pike qron Janet Shanks a malefactors hand was exposed & a pint of ale to ye putting ye pike up on ye Tolbooth ... 6/-
To John Fair mason for making a hole qrin ye said pike was fixed ... 7/-
To the slaters for carrying ye ladder & setting it up at ye tolbooth for the putting up of Shank's hand ... 12/-
To the officers & executioner for putting up Shanks hand ... 18/-'³¹

The locking up of lunatics in the prisons did little to improve the comfort of those within them or neighbours close by. The magistrates sought legal advice in 1779 as to whether they were obliged to accept such cases, describing the problems they caused thus 'A mad women named Jean Douglas was committed by a Justice of the Peace about 8 years ago. She was exceeding furious and made a dreadful noise day and night and her language was so obscene that she was a very great nuisance. After the woman had been 2 or 3 years in jail, and not discovering the least symptom of reconvalescence, to get free of so great a nuisance the magistrates were obliged to hire a man in the country to take the charge of her and to pay him for it out of the Town's purse'.

An instance of another mad woman committed by the Justices happened about 2 years later. She was 'such a great nuisance especially to these living in the neighbourhood of the [jail] that they lately raised a contribution to carry her to her friends in the country'³².

Worst of all was the problem caused in the early 1700s to John Kilhaggy, merchant, who had a shop underneath the pledge house. His petition to the Magistrates says it all - 'I being possessor of the shop ... lying under the prison called the Theeveshole where Thomas Crosby a furious & madd person is imprisoned ... am greatly molested and troubled almost continually by the said Thomas his speaking at the window & ignorant peoples attention yrunto at my shop door & particularly by the sd Thomas his throwing out sometimes stones & often the stoups & vessells he receives wt meat And more especially the said Thomas wanting a tubb allowed to such prisoners to ease nature in Does it up & down the said prison qr he had a considerable while been Whereby the walls & pavement will in all probability be consumed & so abused that the shop in my possession will be somewhat endangered & rendered noisome to any people qo comes in to it and already the goods in my shop are greatly spoiled & abused by the same. May it yrfore please your wisdoms [the magistrates] to take ye premisses to your consideration & to remove ye said Thomas & cause cleanse the prison house qr he is ...'³³.

29 TA 1708-09 (GG3/5)

30 TA 1708-09 (GG3/5)

31 *Accounts of Treasurer, John Gilhaggie 1710-11 (GG3/7)*

32 TCM 26 Apr 1779

33 *Burgh Affairs RB2/1/14*

Recalcitrant prisoners were firmly dealt with. Thus the Council minutes of 22 November 1658 relate ‘The whilk day the Counsall ordaines that William Heroun cordinar be incarcerat in the pitt wt a pair of irons wpon him for stealing of his fathers wrytes & abusing the Magistrats & ryveing downe the windows in the pledgehous & lyfting the floore And to be fed vpon bred & water eight dayes & to have no wyr food’³⁴.

A Privy Council Act of 1574 had ordained ‘the making of irnis and stokkis for punisement of offendouris’³⁵. A century later, in Dumfries, in 1684, Alexander Fairbairn, smith was petitioning the magistrates for payment of his salary, claiming that ‘these twelff moneths past [the petitioner] has dewtifullie served your worships anent the yrons in on puting & off taking the same as to prisoners as is verie well knowne to your Lordships and has received noe benefit yefore as yet which the petitioner remitts to your worships discreation’³⁶.

Being made to stand in the stocks as a figure of contempt and ridicule was a common punishment for minor misdemeanours. Occasionally, this indignity appears to have been meted out to more serious offenders such as forgers whose crime could carry the death penalty and frequently led to transportation. Thus, on 28 January 1742, John Wallace in Dalry, imprisoned on a complaint by the Royal Bank of Scotland ‘for uttering of false Bank twenty shylling note’ was made to stand on the Tron from noon until one p.m. ‘with a paper on his breast with these words in great letters “for uttering a false bank note knowing the same to be false”’³⁷.

More harshly, on 5 June 1728, Elizabeth Simpson, imprisoned on 6 February for shop-lifting, was freed and banished after ‘hir lwg being nealed to the troune by the comon excicowtiner and ther to abyd from eleven to 12 o’clock’³⁸.

The Treasurers’ accounts also provide evidence of the regular use of the gallows. Payment to those assisting at an execution was generally made in ale. The Treasurer’s accounts for 1684 record the following sequence of payments:

‘that day ye jeabet was sett up ... to the officers 3 pynts of aill ... 5/-
to ye men that caired ye corpes to the churchyard 6 pynts of aill ... 10/-
to tairking doune of ye jeabet to the workmen & officers 6 pynts of aill ... 10/-’³⁹

Thus also we find 6/- paid out on 27 October 1709

‘for ale to ye workmen yt pwt wp ye gallows’⁴⁰.

Given that a Scots pint was equivalent to about 3 English pints, these payments were not as miserly as they might seem!

It appears that the magistrates sometimes had difficulty in persuading by-standers (or even the burgh officers) to undertake such tasks. The Council minutes of 19 November 1798 include a report from the provost that ‘after the execution of a death sentence against two unhappy criminals upon the scaffold, he had ordered and directed James Kirk an inhabitant of this borough - who carries on the calling, work and occupation of a carter therein,

34 *TCM* Nov 1658

35 *RPC* (*op cit*), ii, 435

36 *Selected petitions* BH2/5

37 *Jail Book* 1741-41 (GG4/20)

38 *JB* 1721-36 (GG4/19)

39 25 Oct 1709 ‘for making of ye lether to ye gallows and seting wp and taking of it down ... £5’, Treasurer’s Accounts 1709-10 (GG3/6) and *Selected Accounts*, 1684 (GG2/15)

40 *TA* 1709-10 (GG3/6)

and who had been previously employed in the matter, to carry from the place of execution, to the Town's lumber house, the Gibbet and timber used for the scaffold; - but which order and direction was not only refused, but insolent behaviour and very unbecoming language had been made use of by the said Kirk to him as Chief Magistrate.'

To make matters worse, 'after his having given orders to the Common Executioner to cut down the unhappy criminals from the Gibbet, on which they had suffered the pains of death, in terms of their sentence, he had instructed the Town Officers to give their aid and assistance in the receiving down and carrying off the bodies from the place of execution, but that such order was refused to be obeyed'⁴¹.

Witches were particularly cruelly treated in prison. In the Treasurer's accounts of 1650, we see various payments made to those trying to force confessions from the witches by clothing them in scratchy hair shirts, keeping them awake all night and pricking them with a sharp pin or prod all over their bodies to find the Devil's mark - the spot on the witch's body where he or she would not feel the pain of the prod. Thus we have: '9/3d payed ffor candells to the watch that was with the wichies the tyme the hair gounes was on them ... £8-06-0 payed to Tho. Crauffourd the Prodder be order of the Provist and baillies.'⁴²

When Dumfries ran out of hair shirts during a particularly busy spell of witch persecuting, 2/6 was paid 'to ane man ffor fetching the hair sarkes to the wiches from the Langham'⁴³.

There were, however, certain acts of charity towards the prisoners. On 25 September 1787, 14 men and women - probably vagrants - were imprisoned, 13 of whom were released and banished the town early in October. One unfortunate, John Ferguson, continued to languish in jail until the following February when he was released on the word of one of the Magistrates who ordered the jailor to buy him a pair of shoes at a cost of 2/9⁴⁴. James Borthwick was an innkeeper in Townhead of Dumfries until his debts brought him to jail in 1783. He was freed and told to leave the town with his family which he failed to do so he was again imprisoned in May 1785. Within a few weeks, he was again released without any punishment (in spite of this disobedience) 'on account of compassion to him and family in their present miserable condition'⁴⁵.

The pity of the magistrates was touched again in 1802 as the report in the Council minutes tells - 'in the wintir season and more particularly during such hard weather as this climate has lately experienced by uncommon intense frost, the poor convicts in the Tolbooth, under sentence of transportation, must be in want and suffer greatly; therefore and that these wants and sufferings may in some degree be alleviated and prevented, the Council resolve to contribute on that account the sum of Four pounds four shillings sterling'⁴⁶.

A more economical way was found of helping a poor prisoner, William Snodgrass in 1663 when the Council 'granted him the liberty of the toun with the Irones on his leggis and ane of the jaylors and ane offser with him for ye space of thrie dayes four hours ilk day from ten a clock to tua eftirnoone upon Tewsdays thursday and Fryday nixt for his seiking of the peoples charity within this brugh for expenses for his liberation'⁴⁷.

41 *TCM* 19 Nov 1798

42 *TA* 1650 (GG2/13/12)

43 *TA* 1650 (GG2/13/12)

44 *JB* 1784-86 (GF4/26)

45 *JB* 1786-88 (GF4/26A)

46 *TCM* 15 Jan 1802

47 *TCM* 14 Dec 1663

The post of jailor seems to have been quite eagerly sought after, being held by a “solid, acceptable member of the community”. In October 1719, John Newall, a barber, was appointed jailor in recognition of his services during the Jacobite Rebellion in 1715 ‘The Council considering that the said John Newal was very serviceable to ye Brugh in the time of ye late rebellion they by plurality of votes do nominat and appoint the sd John Newal to be jaylor or keeper of ye sds prisons, ... and he is to cleanse ye prisons himself without any allowance of ye charges yrof from ye town.’ Like his predecessors and successors, Newall had to find cautioners and lodge a bond with the magistrates ‘for his faithful fidelity & dilligence in the sd office’⁴⁸.

The jailor was entitled to a caption fee [for a formal warrant] from a creditor at whose instance a prisoner had been incarcerated and to a further fee when the prisoner was set at liberty⁴⁹. His main income was derived from the sale of necessities to his charges, particularly of ale. However, when David Anderson, at one time deacon of the shoemakers, replaced John Hoyland as jailor in March 1762⁵⁰ he felt that the income was insufficient compensation for the labour involved. He petitioned the Council in December 1764, complaining that the profit arising from the jail in the two and a half years he had held office had ‘not near been equivalent to what any industrious Person might be intitled to for his labour and daily and hourly attendance upon the jayl ... so that he had not a sixpence certain from year to year but must depend upon chance tho his labour is never a bit the less’⁵¹. The Council agreed to pay him a yearly salary of £5 sterling which had been raised to £10 a year by the time his successor, William Ferguson, was appointed in 1771⁵².

In 1798, the Chamberlain was authorised to pay Thomas Edgar, the under-jailor, a week’s wage of 6/- henceforth⁵³. Presumably, before this period, under-jailors were paid by the jailor himself. As a comparison, Joseph Tait, the executioner in the 1770s, was paid £6 but he received various extras and a free house. The Burgh officers got only £3.15 yearly but had a new suit of clothes each year. The Keeper of the Town Clocks had less than the jailor at only £8 a year and the Keeper of Fire Engines a meagre £6. Further up the scale, the Writing Master had £12-10-2 a year and the minister a princely £35-0-4 3/4⁵⁴.

A further change in the jailor’s emoluments was effected early in the next century when the magistrates, declaring that they ‘had been for some time past anxious to put an end to the practice of the jailor’s selling ale and beer within the jail as they had found it to be attended with very bad consequences’ raised his salary by a princely £35 on top of his existing £30 wage plus his incarceration and liberation fees that amounted to between £5 and £10 per year⁵⁵. The jailor at the time was one John Docherty who had already held office for 14 years. Sadly, he was dismissed 6 months after this change in his fortunes ‘in consequence of his incapacity to discharge the duties ... of that important office.’ To judge from his increasingly eccentric spelling and handwriting, the magistrates’ decision seems quite reasonable.

48 *TCM* 19 Oct 1719

49 Unpublished Paper by Tom McMenemy for Glasgow University Archive Interpretation Course, April 1996

50 *TCM* 8 Mar 1762

51 *TCM* 18 Dec 1764

52 *TCM* 9 Sep 1771

53 *TCM* 31 Dec 1798

54 *TA* 1771-73 (GG3/33), 1778 (GG3/35) and 1789 (GG3/42)

55 *TCM* 1820

There was an element of insecurity about the jailor's post for he was liable to dismissal or even imprisonment himself if his charges should escape. An Act of Parliament of Scotland in 1661 had decreed that the magistrates of a Royal Burgh should be liable to punishment if a prisoner, lodged in their charge under a warrant from a Justice of the Peace should escape⁵⁶. Until 1839, the law said that, if a debtor escaped from prison, the jailor, and, through him, the magistrate who issued the warrant of incarceration, became responsible for the debt⁵⁷. The John Newall who had been appointed in 1719, was removed from office in 1740 having been found guilty of 'sundry neglects and omissions in examining the prisons of this Burgh & the prisoners yrin whereby sundry prisoners made escape'⁵⁸. Indeed, as late as 1812 the three burgh officers were first suspended and then sacked for allowing a prisoner in their charge to escape, being commanded to return their 'cloathing and halberts' when they demitted office⁵⁹.

John Newall was not the only jailor to be dismissed for failing to keep his charges securely under lock and key. When two prisoners escaped from the custody of the jailor John Donaldson in 1758, although they were subsequently caught, Donaldson was himself locked up in jail for 2 or 3 weeks whilst the Council decided whether they could make him reimburse them for the cost of advertising for the fugitives' recapture⁶⁰. The Council reinstated him as jailor, somewhat reluctantly, but Donaldson's tenure of office was not to last much longer. On 26 of March 1760, at about eight or nine o'clock at night, he went up the pledge house stairs to feed his charges, accompanied only by his little granddaughter who was carrying their lantern in her hand. When he opened the door, he was set upon by a prisoner, David Christian, thrown to the ground and pinned down by the body of another prisoner whom Christian had hurled out on top of him, whilst Christian himself ran down the prison stairs and escaped. The unfortunate Donaldson was hauled before the magistrates again and once more imprisoned for negligence. The magistrates were particularly angry because Christian, master of a Manx boat, was an important criminal en route to Edinburgh for serious offences against the Excise authorities. In spite of urgent attempts by the magistrates to recapture him, with messengers sent off at the gallop through the night to Annan, Kirkcudbright and further afield who had been warned not to stop for rest till they had alerted the authorities in these towns to look out for the fugitive, Christian was never caught and the magistrates of Dumfries had to send grovelling letters to Edinburgh to apologise. Donaldson was ordered to hand over the Tolbooth keys and sacked⁶¹.

NOTE: A second article on crime and punishment in the 17th and 18th century records of Dumfries will follow, dealing with the offences that led to imprisonment and methods of release from prison.

56 See Note (4) *APS*, vol vii, 309

57 *TCM* 26 Apr 1779

58 *TCM* 27 Oct and 8 Dec 1740

59 *TCM* 24 Nov 1812

60 *TCM* 9 Jan 1758

61 *TCM* 14 Apr 1760

SOME NOTES ON THE OLD MILITARY ROAD IN DUMFRIES AND GALLOWAY

by Alex. D. Anderson

22 St. Annes Road, Dumfries, DG2 9HZ.

The 'Military Road' from Sark Bridge to Portpatrick is of importance as the first planned and engineered road of any length in Dumfries and Galloway since Roman times. The line was surveyed in 1757, the report¹ being signed by William Rickson 'Deputy Quartermaster General in N.B.' and Hugh Debbieg 'Lieutenant of Engineers'. The report commences 'As the intention of the proposed Road is chiefly with a View, to open a speedy and certain communication between Great Britain and Ireland; especially with regard to the passage of the Troops from one Kingdom to the other; whenever the Exigency of Affairs may require it...'. This makes clear the primary purpose of the road although it is obvious from the report that the authorities were mindful of the advantages to the civilian population, especially in deciding that the route should be by Gatehouse of Fleet rather than New Galloway.

Information on this road has been published by M.C. Arnott (1950)², the present writer (1967 & 1968)³, W.E. Taylor (1976 & 1996)⁴ and J. Robertson (1993)⁵.

The construction of the road westwards to Creebridge took place in 1763 and 1764 in the charge of Major (later Colonel) William Rickson⁶, presumably the same who signed the report. From Sark Bridge to Dumfries the work was not commenced until 1st November 1773⁷. Information on the Wigtownshire section has not yet come to light, except as noted below.

It may be noted here that, although for convenience the title 'Old Military Road' has been used throughout, in fact this name is in ordinary use only between Dumfries and Glenluce. Elsewhere it has no special name other than the 'Low Road' between Annan and Collin and the 'Old Port Road' from Stranraer to near Portpatrick.

The following notes are intended to clarify certain specific points, and are by no means comprehensive.

(a) **The Newcastle to Carlisle Military Road.** (See Figure 1)

The Military road from Newcastle to Carlisle had been constructed between 1751 and 1758⁸. If this road and the Dumfries and Galloway Road are plotted on a map they appear

1 Scottish Record Office ref. nos. 9010/546/1 & 2 and 9010/547 (Broughton and Cally Muniments).

2 Arnott, M C, 'The Military Road to Portpatrick, 1763' *TDGNHAS* vol 28 (1949-50) p 120.

3 Anderson, A.D, 'The Development of the Road System in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright' *TDGNHAS* vol 44 (1967) p 210 and 'The Development of the Road System in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, Part II' *TDGNHAS* vol 45 (1968) p 212.

4 Taylor, W E, *The Military Roads in Scotland*, Newton Abbot, 1976, pp 100-111 and 167-170 and revised edition, Colonsay, 1996, pp 94-103 and 159-162.

5 Robertson, J, *The Public Roads and Bridges in Dumfriesshire 1650-1820*, Wigtown, 1993, pp 50-51.

6 Arnott, *op cit*.

7 Robertson, *op cit*.

8 Hodgson, T H, 'The Military Road in Cumberland' *Trans Cumberland and Westmorland Ant. and Arch Soc*, vol II, 1902 and Lawson, W, 'The Construction of the Military Road in Cumberland', *Trans Cumberland and Westmorland Ant. and Arch Soc*, vol II, 1902.

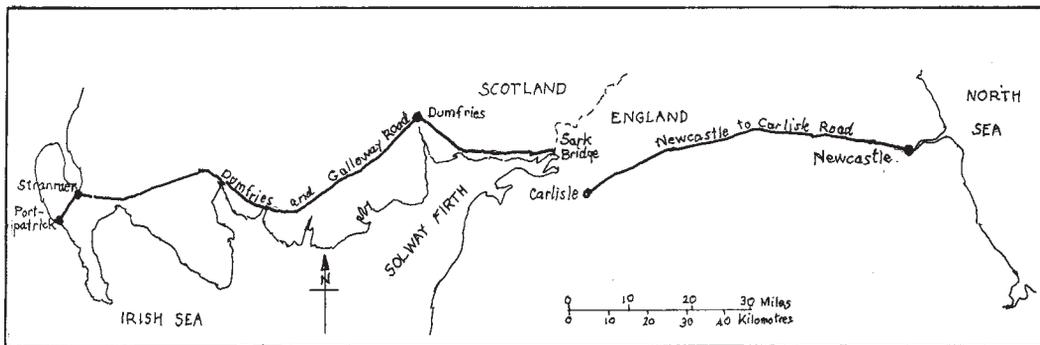


Figure 1: Newcastle to Carlisle Military Road.

almost as a continuous line, but with a significant gap in the Carlisle area. It may be asked whether they form part of a coherent plan. However, the available information so far suggests that this is in fact unlikely, for the following reasons:

(1) The gap between Carlisle and Sark Bridge, adjacent to which the English road takes a completely different direction.

(2) Arnott points out that the Dumfries and Galloway road was a purely Scottish venture and, after its completion, the gap referred to above was the subject of indignant remarks by Mr. Graham of Netherby⁹.

(3) The Military purposes of the roads were completely different. The Dumfries and Galloway road was intended for the movement of troops to Ireland. The Newcastle to Carlisle road was an example of 'preparing for the last war' by facilitating lateral transfer of troops in the event of an invasion of England from Scotland - action which General Wade had been unable to take in 1745.

In fact, the only relationship between the two roads appears to be that Hugh Debbieg was involved in both surveys¹⁰.

(b) The route from Sark Bridge to the Lochar Moss.

The 'Sark Bridge' at which the road officially commenced was the bridge between Springfield and Plumpe on the road to Longtown and thence to Carlisle (NY331680). Over this section the accuracy of Taylor and Skinner's Itinerary¹¹ appears to be high, as virtually every bend in the surviving stretches of road can be identified. Unfortunately, this high degree of accuracy does not seem to have been maintained throughout - see the final para-

9 Arnott, *op cit*, p 121.

10 Lawson, W, *op cit*.

11 Taylor, G and Skinner, A, *Taylor and Skinners' Survey and Maps of the Roads of North Britain or Scotland*, London, 1776.

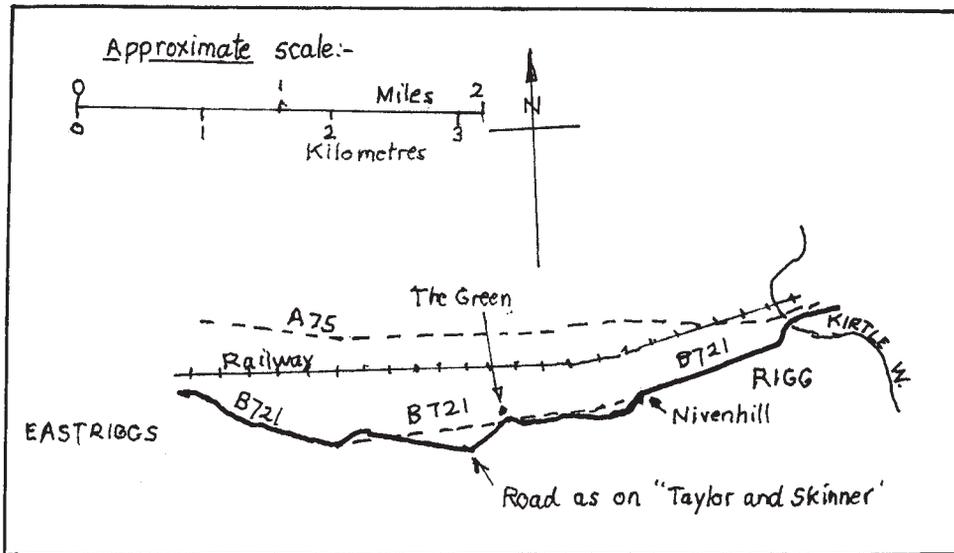


Figure 2: Road in neighbourhood of Nivenhill, Rigg.

graph of section (h) of this paper. Rickson and Debbieg proposed some minor variations to the road as it existed, but the general impression given is that little work was necessary on this section.

The 'Old Military' route survives today (proceeding from east to west) as the road through Springfield, then left to Gretna Church and round the loop by Floshead. The route has been obliterated by the railway and the new A75, but then continues as B721 (the former A75) through Rigg to Nivenhill (NY282664).

At Nivenhill (See Figure 2) Taylor and Skinner show the route passing to the south of B721, probably between the present two buildings, and thereafter lying generally to the south of B721 as far as Woodfield (NY265662). Rickson and Debbieg's route is '...to Kirtle from thence keeping the old Road by the Village of Green; where the new Road should keep on the North side of it...'. Before discussing what this signifies, let us consider the situation at Howes, west of Annan Bridge (NY187669). Here both Taylor and Skinner and General Roy show a circuitous route through Howes in a horseshoe shape leading back to the 'Low Road' (B724). This road is still in existence. Rickson and Debbieg suggest cutting across this horseshoe, as has obviously been done. As Robertson indicates that 'B721' became a turnpike road some time after 1789¹², it may be that the road was altered then, and the military work consisted only of making up the existing road. However, as the military work was only commenced in 1773 at Dumfries, it may be that Taylor and Skinner show the road

12 Robertson, *op cit*, p 100.

at Howes in its 'pre-military' form. The present evidence is inconclusive, but the alteration at Howes is so evidently sensible that it seems unlikely that it was not carried out as part of the military operations.

Returning to Nivenhill, while Taylor and Skinner's evidence is inconclusive owing to the timing, Rickson and Debbieg clearly intended to follow the road as it then was, except for a possible deviation at Green, and therefore it is probable that the present alignment between Nivenhill and Woodfield is a later 'turnpike' one. The adjacent land is arable, so that any remains of the Old Military Road here have been destroyed by ploughing, except for the configuration of the buildings at Nivenhill.

From Howes to Collin the route is generally that of the Low Road (B724) and from thence to Loganbarns that of the former A75, with some minor alterations at railway bridges. In this connection, the name 'Skewbridge' (NY073711) is of interest. Presumably the name refers, not to the technical details of the bridge which is indeed a skew arch, but to the fact that the roadway over the bridge is 'skew' to an originally straight road.

(c) The eastern approaches to Dumfries. (See Figure 3)

In their report, Rickson and Debbieg recommend the 'present road' from the Lochar Moss to Dumfries. This must therefore be one of the two routes shown by General Roy. (The present Annan Road, which follows a series of straight alignments from Gasstown to its junction with St. Mary's Street, is of later construction). The two routes shown in some detail by General Roy are; (1) a northerly route by Loganbarns Road, turning right into Georgetown Road, continuing by Greenbrae Loaning and then left into Lockerbie Road. Although not clear on Roy's map, it is a reasonable assumption that this route would have followed Bane Loaning in order to avoid the Saughtree Moss; (2) A southerly route leaving the above line at the junction of Loganbarns Road and Georgetown Road, continuing thence by Kellwood Place, turning right into Barnton Place, left into Kellwood Road and right again into Eastfield Road. From the north end of Eastfield Road the route continued across what are now housing and supermarket developments and was formerly the railway goods yard and reappears as Hood's Loaning. The two routes rejoin a few metres east of the site of the Lochmabengate Port. The southerly route clearly follows field boundaries.

Rickson and Debbieg give no indication as to which of these routes was to be used, or indeed that any alternative existed. Although both routes largely survive to this day, it is reasonable to assume that only one was 'made up' at the time as the military road. Taylor and Skinner show only what appears to be the southerly route (2), but omit two of the right-angle turns and indicates an alternative 'short cut' across the remaining corner. These variations may be due to surveying errors or possibly a temporary situation due to changes in field use. While Roy's map can, in this context, be accurately related to existing features, this has not been possible for Taylor and Skinner's line. Consequently, the latter has been omitted from figure 3. However, better confirmation that the southerly route was adopted is given by Wood's Map of Dumfries published in 1819 which includes the note 'Old Annan Road' on Hood's Loaning. The early Ordnance Survey maps show the road running directly from Hood's Loaning to Eastfield Road, with the original railway station opening off it.

Some speculation is possible at this point regarding the name 'Bullock's Brig' applied to the railway bridge over Brooms Road. It is not unusual for road bridges to acquire

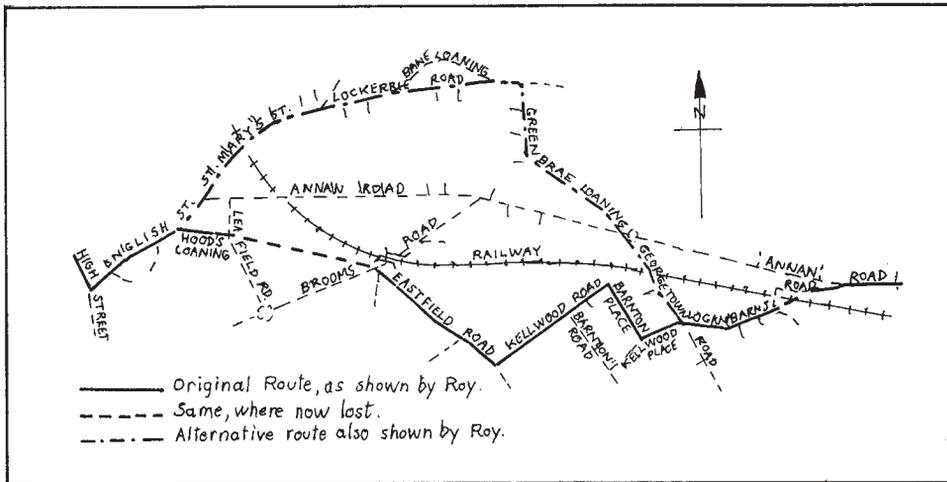


Figure 3: The eastern approaches to Dumfries.

nicknames of this sort, such as Beardie's Bridge in Creetown or the Cuckoo Bridge in Maxwelltown. However, railway bridges, if named at all, are usually designated by the name of the road or river which they cross, or occasionally, if of great importance, by an official title. The Bullock's Brig is in this respect an oddity. However, it is sited immediately adjacent to the point where the Old Military Road would cross the Mill Burn, now in a culvert. It may then be that the nickname has been transferred from the road bridge, if such there was. At present there is insufficient information to confirm or disprove this.

(d) The Western approach to the Brigend (Maxwelltown).

In the first edition of Dr. Taylor's book¹³ the line of the road westwards from the Brigend of Dumfries is given as 'Maxwell Street and Corberry Avenue'. This was based on information supplied to Dr. Taylor by the present writer and was in turn based on Taylor and Skinner's Itinerary (1776) and Ainslie's map of the Stewartry (1796), both of which show this route. Rickson and Debbieg do not go into details regarding this section. However, on General Roy's map the road turns sharply to the right (north) at the Brigend and then left again on the line of Howgate Street, Laurieknowe and Dalbeattie Road. As Rickson and Debbieg make no mention of a deviation, this must have been the original route made up in 1763.

There is nevertheless no inconsistency. In their minute of 6th. August 1771 the Commissioners of Supply of the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright refer to a 'new deviation of the military road now making' from Cargenbridge to Dumfries and arrange for the purchase of the only obstacle - a small house and garden. Further, a disposition of 16th. March 1773 by 'Robert Watson, tenant in Carruchan to John Biggar, tailor, Burgess of Dumfries' refers to 'the King Street or Highway presently making over Corbelly Hill'¹⁴. The deviation was therefore carried out before both Taylor and Skinner's and Ainslie's surveys were made. The opportunity was taken to correct this in the second edition of Dr. Taylor's book¹⁵.

¹³ Taylor, W E *op cit.* (1976).

¹⁴ Truckell, A E, pers. comm., 25/4/1974.

¹⁵ Taylor, W E *op cit.* (1996).

As for what happened to the original military road, a further minute of the Commissioners of Supply dated 30th. April 1791 regarding the western approach to the 'New' (Buccleuch Street) Bridge refers to the widening of the 'Bullet Loaning' to achieve this. So the present route by Laurieknowe and Dalbeattie Road must be on or very close to the original line, of which there are probably now no physical remains except perhaps Howgate Street.

On 10th. December 1819 a committee was appointed by the Stewartry Road Trustees to consider the formal closure of the section of the road between New Abbey Road and the junction with Dalbeattie Road, the section being already physically closed down, it is not stated how. This closure was formally approved in 1820 and the land sold. There are no known physical remains of the road, except for the stone described below. Corberry Avenue is a later development.

The writer's attention has recently been drawn to a stone near the rear of the back garden of No. 6 Hermitage Drive (see figure 4). This is situated on the probable line of the 1773 road. It is partially buried with two sides hidden in a banking running along the rear of the Hermitage Drive gardens and separating them from the houses built in 1870. Numbers 6 and 8 Hermitage Drive were built in 1933. The stone is a rectangular piece of sandstone with a rounded top and at first sight has the appearance of a gatepost which has been either broken off or buried so as to leave only a short length exposed. It could also be a milestone or boundary stone, although no inscription is visible on the exposed faces. There is a 50mm. diameter depression on one face. It is unlikely that an inscription has eroded away as chisel marks are clearly visible. The stone is exactly half a mile from the Old Bridge, and this corresponds with the first milestone on Dalbeattie Road which is measured from 'Dumfries Bridge'.

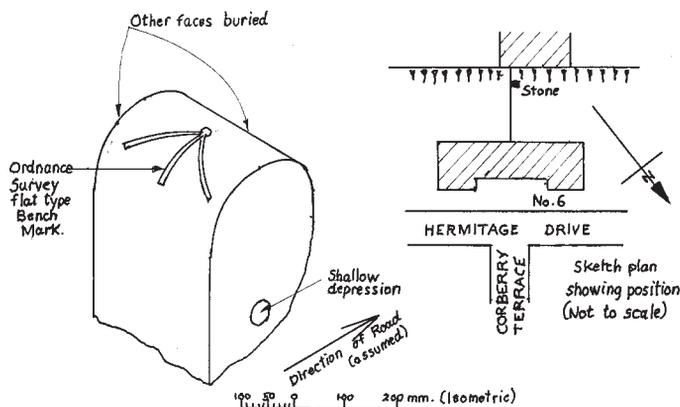


Figure 4: Sketch of stone at Hermitage Drive, Maxwelltown.

However, and to confuse matters, a flat type Ordnance Survey bench mark has been cut on top of the stone. This at least makes it unlikely that we are dealing with a gatepost buried for most of its length, and milestones were not infrequently used to site benchmarks. Unfortunately, however, this road was, as stated above, closed in 1820 and bench marks were not used before 1842. As it is very unlikely that a bench mark would be placed alongside what had by then become a field path, it may be that the stone has been moved from elsewhere. (It may or may not be significant that on the 1909 Ordnance Survey a bench mark is shown about 71 metres away on Dalbeattie Road and that there is no longer a bench mark there.) For the moment, it remains something of an enigma.

The writer would like to thank Mr J.Neilson, Dr F.Toolis, Mr R.Toolis and Mrs G.Meyers for drawing his attention to this stone and assisting him to examine it.

(e) The Courthill to Milton section.

At a point a few metres west of Courthill (NX855714) the present Lochfoot to Haugh of Urr road, which from Doweel westwards follows the line of the Old Military Road, turns to the left (south-west) along a diversion constructed in 1825¹⁶. This rejoins the original line at Milton (NX849706). The line of the Old Military Road can be traced for part of the way along field boundaries, and there are traces of it in the field immediately east of Milton. It also shows up very clearly on the well-known air photograph taken by Dr. St.Joseph¹⁷. The existence of two parallel marks some distance away on either side of the road has led to speculation that there may have been ditches of Roman origin marking the area of land cleared of scrub for military reasons.

However, from a study of the 1864 Ordnance Survey map, 1/10560 scale, Mr. James Williams¹⁸ has found that the two lines appear to be the outer boundaries of a 19th. century plantation, with part of the old road in the centre apparently still in use as a private road. This does not of course mean that road is not Roman in origin, but only that the two lines are not evidence of this. They have not been considered by either O.G.S. Crawford or J.A.Inglis in their notes on 'The Roman roads in S.-W. Scotland'¹⁹, but the present writer must confess to having been more dogmatic in a lecture to the Society in 1968²⁰! This was on the grounds that no other ancient feature of such a width was known, other than a Roman road - I had not thought of a plantation. As Edie Ochiltree said "Praetorian here, Praetorian there, I mind the biggin o't."²¹

The reasons for (a) the 1825 diversion and (b) the temporary retention of part of the road are not known, but it is possible that the old line was something of a switchback.

16 Anderson, *op cit.* (1968), pp 214-5.

17 Reproduced in *TDGNHAS*, vol 31 (1952-3), p 23.

18 Williams, J, pers. comm.

19 Crawford, O G S et al., 'Roman Roads in S W Scotland' *TDGNHAS*, vol 31 (1952-3), p 22.

20 Anderson, A., 'The History of the Stewartry Roads', Lecture delivered to Dumf. and Gall. Nat. Hist. and Antiqu. Society on 8/3/1968.

21 Scott, Sir W, *The Antiquary*, ch 4.

(f) The 'hollow way' at Castle Douglas.

The Old Military Road proceeded westwards from the village of Causeyend, now Castle Douglas, up what is now Carlingwark Street. From the west end of this it is marked by a field boundary leading to Carlingwark House, where it has been obliterated by landscaping. West of Carlingwark house the abutments of a bridge over the Carlingwark Lane remain, although this is probably of marginally later date than the road, being incidental to the canalisation of Carlingwark Lane by Sir Alexander Gordon of Culvennan in 1765²². Thereafter, the road reappears as the service road at The Buchan.

Where the road, as Carlingwark Street, passes behind Threave Terrace, road widening operations in 1978 have obliterated the south bank of a deep hollow way. In order to record this, the writer took photographs of the hollow section, and copies of these have been deposited in the Dumfries Museum, along with a plan and sections of the alterations kindly provided by Mr. Hugh D.B. Murray, at that time Director of Roads and Transportation for Dumfries and Galloway Regional Council. This drawing clearly shows dimensions of the hollow section.

Before this widening the road had of course been subject to considerable modification, including surfacing with tarmacadam and the laying of a sewer along its length, but there is no reason to suppose that it developed as other than a natural hollow road due to extensive use long before 1763. The ground consists of glacial deposits with no solid rock.

(g) The remains of the road between Tarff Bridge and Twynholm. (See Figure 5)

The route proposed in the report of 1757 generally followed an old road from the 'Steps of Tarff' north-west of Ringford via Barcaple and Mark and over Irelandton Moor. On certain earlier editions of the Ordnance Survey this line is incorrectly labelled 'Old Military Road'. When actually carrying out the work in 1763, Rickson altered the route to go by Twynholm Kirk²³.

The road crossed the Tarff by the 'Old Bridge of Tarff'", which was built in conjunction with the military operations, like other bridges, by a civilian contractor²⁴. From the bridge westwards through Valleyfield to near the old Tarff Creamery the line is obscure and is probably overlaid in part by the former A75. However, near the creamery, in a field lying between the former and present routes of A75, earthworks forming a cutting on the north-west side of the Old Military Road are clearly visible (in the neighbourhood of NX675555). West of these the line is again obscured by the present A75 which crosses it, but reappears as a short section of the private road to Baerlochan running parallel to A75 (NX670547). The line can then be traced across a field as a slight hollow, with a small patch near A75 where crops do not grow and then, after crossing A75 at NX666546, along the back fences of gardens in Twynholm Main Street before turning sharp left through a gate to cross Main Street beside the Star Hotel, after which it again becomes a public road leading down to the bridge. Thereafter, it runs past the front of a row of houses near the church and continues as the public road via Barluka to Gatehouse.

22 Donnachie, I, *Industrial Archaeology of Galloway*, Newton Abbot, 1971, p 162.

23 Arnott, *op cit*, p 124.

24 Arnott, *op cit*, p 133.

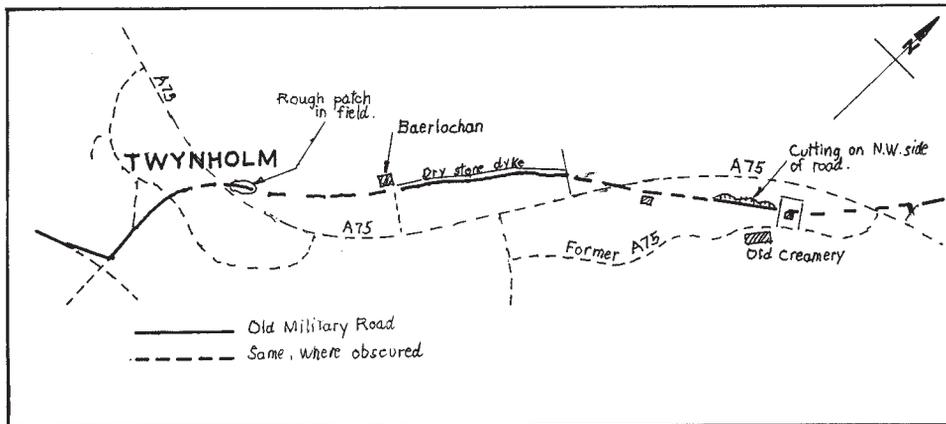


Figure 5: Between Tarff Bridge and Twynholm.

(h) General.

For a general description of the Old Military Road, reference should be made to Dr. Taylor's book²⁵.

A comparison was made of Taylor and Skinner's survey²⁶ and the recent and, in some cases, earlier editions of the 1/50 000 Ordnance Survey in order to ascertain what parts of the road can be regarded as firmly established, what may repay further investigation and, lastly, what must be regarded as totally lost. The results of this comparison are set out as an appendix.

This comparison also gave some indication of the accuracy of Taylor and Skinner's survey. This was in general good. Although only tested by measurement in one or two places, nearly all bends and junctions are clearly identifiable. Notable exceptions are (a) the double bend at Kellwood Place/Barnton Place/Kellwood Road, Dumfries, referred to in section (c), and (b) the sweeping bend between Rhonehouse and Bridge of Dee (NX734597-9), which 'Taylor and Skinner' show as a sharp angle. General Roy shows a curved line similar to the present road.

²⁵ Taylor, W E, *op cit*.

²⁶ Taylor and Skinner, *op cit*.

Appendix.

Sections either obliterated or not yet ascertained:-

	Section	Nat. Grid. Ref.		Note
		East	West	
1	Nivenhill to Woodfield.	NY283665	NY265662	A
2	Dumfries - Bullock's Brig to Hood's Loaning	NX981761	NX976762	B
3	Maxwelltown - N. end of Howgate Street to Cargenbridge.	NX966761	NX954748	C
4	Castle Douglas - Carlingwark	NX761615	NX761614	D
5	Buchan to Furbar	NX760613	NX759611	
6	Greenhall to Ford.	NX730599	NX729599	E
7	Ford to Ringford	NX729599	NX690578	
8	Ringford to Old Bridge of Tarff.	NX689577	NX682563	
9	Old Bridge of Tarff to Baerlochan	NX682563	NX670547	F
10	Bush to Ann Street, Gatehouse	NX615553	NX603563	G
11	Burns to Creetown	NX485589	NX476586	H
12	Barholm Bridge, Creetown to Pulwhat	NX474590	NX470600	
13	Blackcraig to Kirroughtree	NX433649	NX426654	
14	Cree Bridge Hotel	NX412658	—	
15	Old Cree Bridge	NX411658	—	
16	Bend at Knockbren	NX398645	NX383646	
17	Castle Kennedy to Soulseat	NX109597	NX096597	
18	Enoch to A77	NX020551	NX016548	

The above does not include short lengths at crossings of railways, major roads, etc.

Notes to the above table:-

- A See section (b).
- B See section (c).
- C See section (d).
- D See section (f).
- E The line of the village street in Bridge of Dee continues across a field to join A75, and was visible on an aerial survey made in connection with road improvements.
- F See section (g).
- G The Forestry road in this area is part of the original 'A75' made in about 1802 and superseded by the present Gatehouse road between 1812 and 1823²⁷
- H This section ran along the top of the high boulder clay cliff which forms the north bank of the Balloch Burn. This is subject to slips, and no doubt the road became unstable. The road was diverted away from this section via Drumrake in 1811²⁸.

27 Anderson, *op cit* (1968), pp 213-4.

28 Anderson, *op cit* (1968), p 215.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF KIRKCUDBRIGHT IN THE LATE 18th CENTURY

Town Planning in a Galloway Context

by D.E. Marsden

57 Castle Street, Kirkcudbright.

This study of the relationship between the Town Council and the major local landowner in the development of Kirkcudbright in the late Eighteenth Century highlights by comparison the differences in the process of town development between the Galloway towns.

The story of the growth of Kirkcudbright in the 1790s is an account of a partnership between community initiative and individual planning. By contrast elsewhere in Galloway Castle Douglas and Gatehouse of Fleet stand out as examples of town growth by individual initiative. The Revd. John Mackenzie, who ministered in Portpatrick in the 1790s, commented that ‘the origin and the Progress of improvement...is generally owing...to the spirit and exertion of particular men.’ In the case of his own town he identifies this debt as owed to Sir. James Hunter Blair. But even he could not do it alone, for Mackenzie acknowledges that he was, as others, one ‘who happened to live at the critical period when the change began.’ (OSA - Portpatrick Parish)

The essential factors which made the 1790s such a critical period of development were created by the Agrarian Revolution begun earlier in the century. Increase in agricultural productivity, the requirements of new methods, displacement of population and new types of employment brought readjustment in the relationship of towns and countryside. T.C. Smout has observed that ‘lawyers prospered when farmers and landowners flourished.’ (Smout 1969) Builders, craftsmen and merchants too found their services in demand, for new methods demanded improved farm buildings and the new implements coming into use had to be made and repaired. The improved economy stirred other aspirations in various levels of society. Men of substance wanted town houses as well as country mansions. The trades and the emerging middle class of merchants sought better conditions of housing. Whereas in previous centuries of troubled times close proximity had contributed to security and defence, now the demand was for space. Those who wanted to make money and those who sought re-employment looked to industrialisation to achieve their ends. New ideas too were capturing imagination: ideas of democracy, progress and renewal. Even in Galloway there were men who had witnessed the upheaval in France or sympathised with and were stirred by what they heard of it.¹ How these factors held sway in town growth in Galloway we shall see below, but first we should sketch out the account of the growth of Kirkcudbright.

On 16th February 1789 the Kirkcudbright Town Council considered a letter from Lord Daer, the twenty-six year old eldest son and heir of the Earl of Selkirk to whom he had effectively entrusted the management of the St. Mary’s Isle Estate, proposing to feu the High Milnburn and three steads in the low Milnburn in the satellite village of that name. It

¹ Basil Lord Daer is reputed to have been present at the fall of the Bastille, see Gray 1963 & Mackenzie 1978.

is minuted that Council 'are unanimously of the opinion that it will be hurtful to the Town's Interest to feu the High Milnburn considering that there is a considerable extent of Land annexed to the Houses. That the Stead in the low Milnburn next to the water ought not to be feued. But reserved for the purpose of building a manufacture which may at some period be erected there.' (Kirkcudbright Town Council Minutes)

At the same meeting the Provost, Bailies and 'Counsellors' turned their attention to another piece of news concerning a piece of land which lay behind their place of meeting in the Tolbooth. 'It was mentioned to the magistrates and Council that Mr. James McCourtie, Writer, and his wife intended to sell the field and Wyndfoot with their property in the Burrow Road and that it would be for the Interest of the Community were the town to buy said property.' The Magistrates and Council appointed from their number 'a Committee to meet with Mr. McCourtie and commune with him respecting the price and extent of said property and report their opinion on the whole to the next or any subsequent Council.' The group wasted no time because they were able to report to the next Council Meeting on 9th March, that the Land in question will be very useful to the Community in future, in respect that the largest portion of it lies along one of the principal avenues to the town and that Land now in the Burrow Road is not to be purchased at any rate. They have therefore bargained with Mr. McCourtie for the purchase of the said Ground measuring as he believes two acres and Thirty Eight falls ² at the price of Two hundred and fifteen pounds Sterling and a present to Mrs. McCourtie.' The Clerk was instructed to make out the proper Conveyance and examine the progress.

Nine months later on 16th December 1789 when this matter came before the Council again, the Magistrates and Council considered what may be proper to do with the land they had acquired 'so as to turn the same most to the Interest of the Community are unanimously of opinion it will be proper to dispose of the same in feus for the purpose of building houses; and in order that this may be done in a regular and proper manner committ to and appoint a Committee to get the Land measured and planned and to ascertain the feu duty per foot in front the dimensions of the houses to be built and all other articles and conditions that may be proper and necessary to be inserted in the feu Grants and to report the same with their opinion on the whole matter.' The Council considered the property so to be feued to be only the compact piece lying on the East side of the Road leading to St. Mary's Isle. The residue of the property was to be let by the Committee on Meadows 'in such manner as they may think most for the Interest of the Town'.

When a month later on 20th January 1790 the Council 'resumed the Consideration of their former Resolution of granting feus for Building houses on that part of Land bought of Mr. & Mrs. McCourtie lying next the Road from the Vennel to St. Mary Isle,' news of talks outside the chamber was introduced by Bailie Thomson who stated 'That Lord Daer for his father The Earl of Selkirk had intimated to sundry members of the Council the Inclination of the Earl that no Buildings should be made on the side of the said Road if any eligible plan could be adopted betwixt him and the Town for that purpose.' It is recorded 'that a majority of the Members of Council had met with Lord Daer on the 18th current when his Ld^{sp}. made

2 Fall or Fa' = a linear measure approximating to 6 ells or 6.22 yards.

a proposition relative to a new Street from the present one nearly from the Ruins commonly called Coupers Walls, through the Houses and yeards on the North side of that Street (most of which the Earl has acquired) and through his property called Castle yeards to a termination East of the Church, where it would join the present Road from the Town by the Creek Road to the Milnburn.' The minute goes on to record that though the majority of members and Lord Daer came to a mind on the matter, when he consulted his father 'some difficulties had arisen, and it was now proper for the Council to Say what was eligible to be done for the Town's Interest and conveniency.' The Council discussed this news and 'Resolved to invite Lord Daer to a conversation in Council'. When he arrived an eight point agreement was drawn up and its entry in the minute book was subscribed by him and the Provost, Alex. Birtwhistle. The agreement committed the Council on its part not to feu for building the land acquired on the road towards St. Mary's Isle and the Earl on his part 'to open the aforesaid proposed Street and to few ground for houses on each side thereof thro' Castle Yards and the property acquired or to be acquired by the Earl towards the high street to a place nearly opposite to Coupers Old Wall's aforesaid.' The houses were 'to be built on a reasonable plan - all to be slated, and at least two Stories high.' The Earl undertook to get eight houses feued and built within two years from Whitsunday next and four more within the year following. There was more too, for the agreement stated that if the Earl or his heirs shall acquire certain properties specified they shall convey the same to the Burgh 'Provided that the property be applied as an Entry from moat well to the Cross.' Thus both Castle Street and Union Street came into being. (Kirkcudbright Town Council Minutes)

Kirkcudbright was one of four long established towns in Galloway being created a Royal Burgh in 1455. Wigtown had achieved that status in 1351 and Stranraer in 1617, whilst Portpatrick had from time immemorial served as the ferry head for the important military and economic crossing to and from Ireland. All of them were important for the facility they offered as harbours and anchorages. At both Wigtown and Kirkcudbright the defensive advantage of the town's location can be seen. The modern OS map shows Wigtown set upon a hill beside the River Bladnoch. Kirkcudbright until its late Eighteenth Century growth formed a single L-shaped street set upon a low gravel ridge beside the Dee, almost totally surrounded by very marshy ground and encircled by a wall and fosse.³ These historical and physical features shaped thinking about the nature and possibilities of town development, and, with considerations of defence no longer being paramount, left to themselves in the 1790s the Burghers of Kirkcudbright envisaged stretching out their town like a string along the North to South line of the original street, as Whithorn, for example, developed over the centuries. History had determined that property in the town was in private hands, and the old maps of Kirkcudbright show how the land was parcelled out in strips stretching at right angles from the street.

The proceedings of the Town Council reveal a vibrant community structure governing land use and the conduct of life and trade and commerce in the town. They also disclose that Magistrates were not inattentive to their own interests as the business of the town was

3 The evidence for Kirkcudbright's defences and how the drainage and tidal marshes determined the town's original layout, explaining the alignment of High Street, is all set out and carefully examined in Angus Graham : Kirkcudbright : some vanished landmarks, 1976

being transacted. On 9th March 1789 when it was agreed to purchase the land of Mr. & Mrs McCourtie referred to above because it 'will be very useful to the Community in future', 'The Provost mentioned That two Riggs of the above property lay at the foot of the Flesh Market yeard and near the bottom of his father's Garden and that he or his father would purchase from the Town these two riggs provided Lord Selkirk would give him a pasiage from the foot of said Garden or give him Land more commodious in Exchange.'

Other factors of local politics also constituted the context in which the town's growth was being promoted. On 28th March 1789 a row blew up in the Council over the election of an Elder to the General Assembly. Two factions clustered around rival candidates. To ensure that his party won, Provost Laurie resorted to exercising both a personal and a casting vote in the face of protests from other members and officers. When the time came on 28th September for the annual re-election of members of the Council, the Provost and two of his closest henchmen were removed from office and new blood injected in their place. Next summer when a Parliamentary Election was ensuing and the Council met to elect its delegate to the meeting of boroughs which was to elect the MP, an even more serious fracas broke out. The new Provost tried to resort to the ruse of his predecessor to exercise two votes, but in vain for his party were already outvoted nine to seven. They protested that their opponents 'votes were corrupt having been obtained by fear, restraint and violence' and 'that they entered into an illegal Compact and Combination to vote as directed by a Noble person in the neighbourhood of this Burgh in order to support an agreement equally illegal between the above Noble person and a Noble Duke in a neighbouring County.' Could this be the same Noble person with whose representative the Provost had put his name to the agreement about the new street? The Provost's ⁴ protests availed him nothing for come September he too and all his party were ousted from the Council and Lord Daer was elected Provost in his place. Even the matter of the growth of the town was an issue of conflict in some quarters. Former Provost Murdoch voted against the agreement between the Town Council and the Earl of Selkirk, made on 20th January 1790 and executed as a contract on 24th May and 1st June 1790 to lay out the new street, which was to be Castle Street. Further objection was also raised by Robert Maxwell, son of William Maxwell, of Milnton. He entered an action to prevent the road being cut through the Castle Garden. ⁵

By contrast James Murray and William Douglas were able to operate with greater freedom to develop their towns at Gatehouse of Fleet and beside Carlingwark Loch in the self-perpetuatingly named Castle Douglas. They had no historically entrenched Town Councils

4 Alexander Birtwhistle who at least had the sympathy of Robert Burns, "roarin' Birtwhistle / Wha, luckily, roars in the right." The Election : Second Heron Ballad. "Whistlebirt, - / Lang may his whistle blaw." The Laddies by the Banks o' Nith, Election Ballad.

5 This action is noted in the pre-amble to the contract between the Earl of Selkirk and John McClellan on 1st March 1793 to build a house at the top of the new street, where it is stated that should Robert Maxwell prevail in his action a wall would be built 'on the march betwixt these Gardens and the Burgh Lands so as to shut up that street effectually to the North' Although no other record of this action has so far been found the street was made. There is circumstantial evidence for a delay because I. Macleod describes the houses nos. 1-21 & 2-18 at the north end of the Castle St. as 19C and nos. 23-57 & 20-52 to the south as 18C. (Macleod 1973) But the tension between the Dunbar family and sections of the Kirkcudbright community were even then not at an end. In May 1797 meetings of the Volunteers Association and of heritors erupted dissent alluding to political manipulation by the Earl of Selkirk: see *Dumfries Weekly Journal* of 16th May 1797.

to negotiate with, placate or manipulate. Holding tracts of estate lands in their own hands they were able to lay out streets on a grid pattern and to introduce industries of their own choosing. They chose not only the appearance of their towns but also the industries which they wished to introduce. These were for the most part producing cotton textiles like the industries flourishing at the time in Scotland beside the Clyde and in the North of England. In the older towns economic development followed established patterns, in most cases focusing on port improvement in Portpatrick, Stranraer and Wigtown with unequal success. At Kirkcudbright the pattern of the intermingling of personal initiative and community commitment already seen can be discerned in the development of the Harbour. The Burgh Council Minutes record that on 28th March 1789 'The Provost laid before the Council a Letter from Lord Daer dated 24th inst. in which His Lordship repeats an offer he made a few days ago to the Council of fifty pounds towards the repair of the Harbor and building a Quay.' It is recorded that the Council were 'unanimously of the opinion that repairing the Harbour and Building a proper Quay will be greatly for the benefit of this place and that a Sum not exceeding a hundred Guineas should be contributed out of the town's funds toward the Expense of the building.' As usual, a committee was set up and the Provost was authorised 'to write to Cumberland for an Engineer acquainted with building Quays to come here for the purpose of Surveying the Dock and giving a proper plan.' The Committee was empowered to receive subscriptions.

The Agrarian Revolution was having an impact in the increase of trade in farm produce across the Irish sea to the evolving industrial areas in the North of England. Foreign trade, always a factor for the Galloway ports, had a revived significance in the late Eighteenth Century. The Wigtownshire towns found themselves having to absorb a significant Irish immigration. Everywhere the enlargement of farms had displaced population and the towns were even more centres of resource of craftsmanship and the professions as well as commerce and emergent financial institutions. These were the dominant factors in town growth in the historic burghs. Interlaced with these were the social factors and economic aspirations which Smout noted when he remarked 'many towns...were little images of Edinburgh' and 'there were other communities that were closer models of Glasgow.' (Smout 1969) Perhaps Castle Douglas is an example of the latter. Certainly the author of the Second Statistical Account exaggeratedly compared its commercial significance to Glasgow in the mid-nineteenth century.

Kirkcudbright furnishes in a small way an example of the former comparison with Edinburgh. A walk along High Street in Kirkcudbright even today can show the social factors that were at play in all the older Galloway towns in the last years of the Eighteenth Century. Side by side with the vestiges of the original gable-end groups of houses huddled in closes, now attractively quaint but originally defensively designed, there stand gracious, commodious Georgian dwellings like Broughton House, the town house that the Murrays who created Gatehouse erected. The development of these houses ate up the space that was formerly occupied by numerous families. On the other hand such houses must have required a staff of servants to maintain them, thus creating employment for those displaced from the countryside or eking a subsistence living from their rigs within the walls. More generally significant were the higher expectations of living standards assumed in the Eighteenth Century by those who lived in the old houses, requiring better quality housing than that which they had tolerated in the past. The writers of the *Old Statistical Account* bear

testimony to the same process at work in Stranraer where it is recorded, 'New houses, finished in a style that would not disgrace even some of our richer and more populous towns, are rising every year, and demonstrate the increasing opulence and taste of the inhabitants', and Wigtown where 'the better sort of the inhabitants of the town, now generally occupy pretty good houses, and live in a genteel style.' (*OSA Stranraer and Wigtown Parishes*)

Inspired by James Craig's design in Edinburgh, new town construction adopted the fashion of grid development in Galloway too. James Murray and William Douglas adopted this fashion of main streets intersected by cross streets creating blocks of property for the towns they created at Gatehouse and Castle Douglas. Something of this fashion was envisaged by the proposals which Lord Daer and his father agreed with the Kirkcudbright Town Council. The creation of Castle Street and Union Street made with the existing High Street such a pattern. The pattern cannot so definitely be discerned in the development of the other established towns of Galloway which were left more to their own devices. Newton Stewart was started earlier in the century by a second son of the historic family of the Earls of Galloway. The *Old Statistical Account* for Penninghame parish records that he built a house or two and 'the example set by the proprietor prevailed among the people'. When in our period William Douglas took over the estate and introduced cotton manufacture and carpet weaving to the town, so that it became called for a period Newton Douglas, he did not develop the street layout as he chose in Castle Douglas. The topographical restriction of the river valley site would have militated against this even had he attempted it.

The planners of the Galloway towns imposed standards of construction and appearance. James Murray insisted that on the main street of Gatehouse premises must be two storeys high. Single storey buildings could only be erected in the rear streets. In Kirkcudbright the standards set out in the contract of 1st March 1793 between the Earl of Selkirk and John McClellan, Merchant, to build the first house at the South East corner of Castle Street stipulated that it was to be along 'the whole fronts of the subject not under two stories in height making a height of 18 feet at least from the level of the Street, to have a Pavillion roof so that none of them are to have their Gavels to the Streets. They are not to be occupied as barns or byres or stables or butchering houses or candlemaking houses, nor are any part of these next the Streets to be occupied as Smith's forges. They are to be covered with slates or metal only, and have none other than sash windows in either front. The sides and lintels of the doors and windows fronting the Streets shall be built with free stone or granite. No front or out stairs projecting into the Streets nor any Dunghills or other nuisances in front of the same.'

Thus the development of Kirkcudbright in the 1790s was an initiative overseen by its Council inspired by a touch of personal design imparted by the interaction and involvement with the Council of the Dunbar family, significantly in the person of Basil Lord Daer, who died in 1794 at thirty years of age. The Dunbar family lost three more sons within the next three years, leaving the youngest, Thomas, to become the fifth earl in 1799. He succeeded Basil for a time as Provost and played a part in Kirkcudbright affairs but his fame attaches to his work in Canada especially in the Red River Settlement resettling Scottish Highlanders in the New World. Had his eldest brother, Basil, survived to inherit who can guess what continued impact he might have made in the Burgh of Kirkcudbright? In his brief life he

had already stamped his hand upon the development of the road pattern of the Stewartry, for it was the surveyor whom he instructed in the construction of roads on the family estates and in the neighbourhood of Kirkcudbright who was eventually charged by the Commissioners of Supply with the design of the new road between Dumfries and Castle Douglas. The Revd. William Mackenzie recounts 'well we remember, that in our boyhood, his name was never mentioned in the town of Kirkcudbright, without emotions of the liveliest enthusiasm and veneration. He set an example that has been widely followed, and the district in which he resided will long reap the fruits of his disinterested labours.' (Mackenzie 1841)

The plan upon which the Council and the Earl agreed in 1790 shows, not only the New Street pencilled in over the existing pattern of landholding, but also the lines of what were to become St. Mary Street and St. Cuthbert Street are drafted on the map.⁶ Thus the further development of Kirkcudbright was foreseen, to which the two building societies formed in 1808 and 1810 were to contribute 112 houses, 'which have added much to the comfort and convenience of the inhabitants.'⁷ So beyond our period a new pioneering element of community initiative played its part in community regeneration.

Acknowledgment

This paper was originally an extended essay prepared for the Glasgow University Department of Adult & Continuing Education's Course on the History of Galloway 1600 - 1914, conducted from October 1996 to March 1997 by Dr. David Devereux, Curator of the Stewarty Museum.

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6 Map of Kirkcudbright 1790 (tracing by G.H.C. Nicholson in the Stewartry Museum.

7 'Each member contributed, at fixed periods, certain sums, which were yearly expended in building new houses. These houses were disposed of by lot; and the individuals who received them, had each to pay a rent to the society, equal to the interest of the sum laid out on the property. When all the members had obtained houses, the rents and contributions ceased, and the societies were dissolved. Some members who possess two or more shares, employed the whole sums allowed by the society in building one habitation.' (Mackenzie 1841)

JOHN WALKER, AN 18th CENTURY NATURALIST

His life and times in the rural parish of Moffat

By Dr George Thomson*

Introduction

Several biographical sketches of John Walker have been written, mostly in specialist publications (Bower, 1830; Kay, 1838; Jardine, 1842; Thomson, 1859; Scott, 1866, 1915; Boulger, 1899; Taylor, 1959; McKay 1980; Thomson, 1980). Almost exclusively, these deal only with his academic work in the fields of agriculture and the natural sciences, with only token references to his life and work as ‘the mad minister of Moffat.’ Yet Walker spent twenty one years of his life in the Dumfriesshire town, during which time, if we are to believe printed sources, he disliked and neglected his duties as a minister of the Church of Scotland, hated his domicile in the district and was despised by all his parishioners. This paper is an original study of Walker, based on primary documentary and other sources that relate to the period 1762 - 1783 when he worked in Moffat parish.

Source material

Walker’s notebooks survive in the Special Collections of Edinburgh University Library (EUL), together with much of his correspondence. Further correspondence by and with Walker is held in the Scottish Record Office (SRO) and the National Library of Scotland (NLS). Church records, including those of the Kirk Session¹, Presbytery, Synod and General Assembly, provide further evidence of his activities in Moffat. The minute books of meetings of the heritors record relevant information. All available manuscript material written between 1762 and 1783 was consulted. The indices to the archives of the Johnstone family, to whom Walker would have been chaplain and that are still in the hands of the Earl of Annandale and Hartfell, were searched. Although there were entries referring to ministers before and after Walker’s period of tenure, no reference to him was found. The R. C. Reid Collection in the Ewart Library, Dumfries² was searched, but neither Walker nor his church was noted.

Two particular problems were encountered in this study.

Firstly, Walker sometimes used writers or copyists and, occasionally, it is difficult to tell if a particular document is genuinely his work. Copies of apparently the same document

- 1 The Kirk Session minutes are combined with the Old Parish Registers on microfilm in NRH and elsewhere
- 2 The R. C. Reid collection comprises a large number of bound volumes of original papers and notes, principally on the Johnstone family of Annandale. The following volumes were searched.
 Johnstone MSS 1560-1780 volumes 1-4 Miscellaneous (R. C. Reid volumes 88-91)
 Johnstone MSS 1590-1780 volumes 1-3 Campbell Johnstone MSS (R. C. Reid volumes 94-96)
 Johnstone MSS 1595-1780 Parish Registers (R. C. Reid volume 97)
 Johnstone MSS 1600-1800 Johnstone Testaments from Dumfries Commissariat (R. C. Reid volume 98)
 Johnstone MSS 1605-1800 Parish Registers Dumfries and Galloway (R. C. Reid volume 100)
 Johnstone MSS 1671-1780 volumes 1-2 Particular Register of Sasines, Dumfries 3rd series (R. C. Reid volumes 106-107)
 Manuscripts various volumes 1-24 (R. C. Reid volumes 168-192)

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Figure 1 'A queer auld pulpit-pounding buck,
Wi' wits unstead as wind or luck ...'

This, from Kay (1838) and figure 2, are the the only known portraits of John Walker.

survive, sometimes with small, but important differences. Secondly, because Walker's principal interests lay outwith Moffat parish, relatively few of his writings make reference to Moffat and its environs.

Walker's family background

John Walker was born in the Canongate, Edinburgh on the 2 March 1732 and baptised on the 18 March of that year.³ His parents were John Walker, 'master' of the Grammar School and Session Clerk of Canongate and Euphane Morrison, born in Edinburgh on the 17 February 1697, the daughter of George Morrison and Martha Prescott. John and Euphane were married in the Canongate on the 12 October 1723. They had another son, William, who was born on the 12 and baptised on the 17 December 1730 in the Canongate.⁴ Walker married Janet Wallace Wauchope from Colinton⁵, the daughter of 'the late' Andrew Wauchope of Niddry. Janet died on the 4 May 1827.

3 NRH OPR605/3/8/184

4 NRH OPR685/3/8/168

5 NRH OPR677/3/25



Figure 2 Portrait of John Walker from Jardine (1843).

Walker and Moffat

Though somewhat irregularly built, showing that no plan has ever been provided to guide the feuars in the formation of their town, it is a picture of loveliness enhanced much by its hilly environs, and by the rural calm which prevails in and around it.

Thus wrote Turnbull (1871), his description contrasting with that of ‘a writer’ in *Blackwoods Magazine* (1817 - 18).

On the 17th of April 1704, I got to Moffat. This is a small straggling town among high hills, and is the town of their wells. In summer time people come here to drink waters, but what sort of people they are, or where they get lodgings, I can’t tell, for I did not like their lodging well enough to go to bed, but got such as I could to refresh me, and so came away.

Turnbull suggests that this last description is an example of those of ‘English extraction [who] had their eyes jaundiced with prejudices to the self-evident beauties of a Scottish town.’

Into this environment, then, John Walker was called and chose to preach the gospel to the people of the parish. He had studied in Edinburgh and was licensed by the presbytery of

Kirkcudbright on the 3 April 1754. It has not been previously noted that Walker lived in Galloway, but he must have done so for several years. He gave his address as Borgue-House, near Kirkcudbright in his first paper (Walker, 1758). Later, he obtained his first full charge in Glencorse on the 18 September 1758 (Scott, 1866).

Records show that, prior to 1762, Walker had made numerous visits to south-west Scotland, including the Moffat area. The geology of the area appears to have had a fascination for him. Between 1761 and 1764, he had visited the lead mines at Mackrymore (Machermore), the copper mines at Colvend and the mines of antimony at Eskdale, where he discovered strontianite thirty years before it was formally described by T. C. Hope (Walker, 1822). His study and analysis of 'Hartfell-Spaw', discovered in 1748 (Prevost, 1966), provided him with the incentive to write his first scientific paper (Walker, 1758). This documents thirty eight experiments on the supposed chalybeate waters.⁶ We do not know if his familiarity with the area was one of his reasons for moving from Glencorse in 1762, but he certainly would have had a fair idea of what the move entailed.

The range of his explorations between 1762 and 1783 can be deduced from his records of animals and plants, that show that he visited, among other places, half a mile below Moffat 'in a branch of the Annan', a brook above Moffat Well, Kirkbean, Southernness Point, Kennel Holm (Kinnel Holm, near Lochmaben), New Abbey, between Moffat and Thorny Hill (Thornhill), Selcoth (Moffat), Kirkpatrick Juxta, Loch Skene, the Summit of Screap (Scrape) in Tweeddale 'about 2,600 feet above sea level' and Auchinleck (Ayrshire).⁷ These exploits in the district appear to have fostered his interests in animals and plants. His notebooks, written over the period, include many descriptions of plants, including the fungi and lichens, and insects. Indeed, evidence of his entomological pursuits is, perhaps, more apparent in the 1770s than at any other time in his life. A large number of moths are described, together with several butterflies. One of these was then new to science, the Satyrine *Erebia aethiops* (Esper), the Scotch Argus, 'found in abundance in Drifesdaile in the Meadows'⁸ that he called *Papilio Amaryllus* and another, *Celastrina argiolus* (Linnaeus), the Holly Blue, recorded in 'the manse garden'⁹, has been found in Scotland on only two other occasions (Thomson, 1980).

Above all, his interest and knowledge of agriculture and matters concerning rural economy flourished while at Moffat, although much of this was through his much acclaimed trips to the Highlands and Islands.¹⁰ Details of these church-sponsored studies have been repro-

6 The following experiment was conducted by Walker and is described in *An account of a new medicinal well, lately discovered near Moffat, in Annandale, in the County of Dumfries* read to the Royal Society of London on the 10 February 1757 (Walker, 1758).

Experiment 1 Some pieces of gall being added to equal quantities of the water of the two springs, an exceedingly deep and bright blue colour was immediately produced in the water of the upper spring, which in a little time turned to a perfect black. The water of the lower spring, tho' indeed it was turned of the same colour, yet was not of so deep a shade, but was somewhat lighter than the former. The tincture of galls caused the same appearance.

7 EUL DC.2.29-35

8 EUL DC.2.151

9 EUL DC.2.34

10 In a letter to Lord Kames, dated Moffat December 10, 1764 (EUL LaIII.352), Walker recounts the distances travelled on his journey.

Saild	1263
Rowd in open Boat	280
Rode	1087
Walked	528
	3158

However, the same archive has a copy letter that gives different figures

Saild	1894
Rowd in open Boat	420
Rode	1630
Walked	792
	4736



Figure 3 The remains of the original church in Moffat where Walker would have preached.

duced elsewhere (Kay, 1838; Jardine, 1843; Taylor, 1959; McKay, 1980) as well as in the posthumous work printed by his friend Charles Stewart (Walker, 1808). One of his notebooks bound into *An essay on the cultivation of land with marle*, written about 1768, records his thinking on the necessary elements of a parish description.¹¹ This precedes the Statistical Accounts of Scotland by many years and, while it has much in common with the structure of the entries in that work, he may have written it in preparation of one of his reports to the church.

The church, in which Walker preached, was rebuilt in 1790 on a new site, itself being replaced by the present St Andrew's Church in 1867, just in front of the earlier building (Boyd, 1987).

The principal heritor with responsibility for its upkeep was the Marquis of Annandale. The minutes of the meetings of the heritors of the parish of Moffat¹² show that they met on

11 EUL DC.2.39-2 includes Walker's *Queries relating to the natural history of the parish*.

12 HR428/1 The minutes of a meeting on the 6 September 1770 record that 'there had never been any regular Book kept . . . for Minutes of Meetings of the Heritors, at least that none such could be found and that the Minutes had been all lost or mislaid.'



Figure 4 The 'Pouch' or 'Gouk' Tree, reputed to have been planted by Walker.

only four occasions between 1762 and 1783. At a meeting on the 9 September 1762, only a few months after his appointment, Walker complained about 'the State of the Church and Churchyard Dykes.' The heritors agreed that 'some small Repairs [were] necessary for the Roof and Windows' and that the dykes should be 'rebuilt with Stone and Mortar and cast with Lime, of a proper height.' They further decided that

the Kirk Stile or Entry to the Church Yard, now upon the South Side, shall be built up, And that another proper Gate shall be built at the north west Corner facing toward the Market Place as being much more convenient than the present entry.

The cost of the repairs was not to exceed £40. The actual cost reported to a meeting on the 6 September 1770 was £35 15/-. At the same meeting, it was agreed that some of the church doors were 'very insufficient' and that a small window should be made in the church in the Alton Aisle. The heritors noted that the belfry was in 'a very tottering condition, and much shaken by the Big Bell.' The bell was moved to a steeple of the schoolhouse.

They also agreed that the manse was beyond repair and that a new one should be built 'upon a new situation farther west, where it will stand dry.' The manse was completed by 1772, exceeding the estimated cost of £600 by £84 10/-. Strangely, Tait's maps of 1758 and 1780 show the manse in the same position. The manse was a substantial building that stood on the site of the present parish church. On the 15 October 1772, Walker reported that, although the glebe was enclosed, the manse was not. At a cost of £30 the heritors agreed to

building a stone wall six feet high and at least twenty inches thick, coped with flagg stones, from the East end of the Offices to the street and then along the East side of the Ground to the extent in whole Ninety six yards in length And to inclose the remaining part of the ground with a drystone facing of four feet and a half thick.

The manse garden is reputed to have been superb, planted with rare specimens of flowers, shrubs and trees.

One great source of delightful amusement to the Doctor was horticulture, and both his gardens of Moffat manse and Colinton bore ample testimony, in the rarity of these plants and the beauty of their arrangements, to his taste . . . (Jardine, 1843)

Jardine lamented the fact that the garden was destroyed.

. . . but his successors in each, preferring the *utile* to the *dulce*, delved up the rarities, and planted, in their stead, turnip and carrot, kale and potatoes.

The glebe in Moffat, that extended from Vicarland, Town-foot feu and Kerr and Hamerlands to the river Annan, afforded Walker the opportunity to develop his horticultural and arbocultural interests. The land where the glebe stood is now the Station Park, a housing scheme and a car park. An oak tree, known locally as the 'Pouch' or 'Gowk' tree is said to have been planted by Walker. However, according to Marchbank (1901), the 'Pouch' tree was 'a spreading fir', so called because it was brought from Edinburgh in the minister's 'pouch'. Black's *Guide to Moffat and its vicinity* (1879) refers to 'several fir trees, of the *Pinus pinaster* species [Maritime Pine] planted by him and called by the villagers "'pouch-fir" still growing in the glebe.' Marchbank also recalls that the plane tree, planted by Walker,

was known as the 'whistle-wud' from the bark being easily moved when whistles were made.

Muir (1870), in the preamble to his rather affectionate poem *The Pouch Tree*¹³ writes

The two trees, a plane and a fir, the respective claimants of this distinction, stand in Moffat Glebe, by the Dumfries roadside.

13 *The Pouch Tree* is a forty-five verse poem about Walker written, appropriately, in a Burns-like style. Typical of the poem are the following stanzas.

A queer auld pulpit-pounding buck,
Wi' wits unstead as wind or luck,
But lear aneuch to lade a truck;
And, for a talker,
At Lamma's spate wad sooner stuck
Than Dr Walker.

...
Thus far the Plane: when, strange to see,
A drowse cam' owre the douce auld tree;
And one by one each leafy ee
Was slowly closed:
As sound asleep as age could be,
By labour dosed.

The Umbrella Fir, his neighbour near,
(Friend arm in arm for three score year),
Wi' that began to smudge and leer,
And half to cackle:
Using his needly foliaged gear
For laughing tackle.

...
For me, nae child was I o' chance;
I caught the Doctor's knowing glance;
A man a century in advance
In taste and breeding:
He might hae led the mode in France
In wit or cleiding.

Neither grow there today and it seems likely that the surviving oak has fallen heir to the title this century.

There is no record of Walker's stipend in Moffat, but in 1793, after he had moved to Colinton, he received £56 per annum.¹⁴ This was somewhat less than the average for Scotland of £60 or nine and two-thirds chalders in 1750 (Singer, 1808).

It is generally believed that Walker was virtually hounded out of Moffat by his parishioners and fellow clergymen. Walker was certainly unhappy in the parish at times, especially in the few years before his move to Colinton. In the winter of 1778, he wrote to Lord Kames that he was

. . . blocked up with snow and not within 18 miles of a person [he could] converse with.¹⁵

Clearly, Moffat had not turned out to be what he expected. In a letter to Lady Kames about his interest in the post of Professor of Natural History at Edinburgh University, he wrote

I have been in Several Quarters disappointed. I am for several reasons sick of this place and anxious to leave it; and was even thinking to give it up if I could have but procured a chaplancy to go with a regiment to America.¹⁶

However, the picture of the 'mad minister' being totally isolated from his congregation and from his colleagues in the church is a false one. The comments by Thomson (1859) appear to have nurtured the criticisms of Walker's ministry and him as an individual.

Dr Walker is said to be a person of eccentric character and singular habits. When at Moffat, it was said by one of his parishioners, that he spent the week in hunting butterflies, and made the cure of the souls of his parishioners a bye job on Sunday. Whether this be true or not, he appears to have had little of the elevation of mind which characterises the genuine naturalist. He evinced the most extreme jealousy of the attempt of Smellie to teach Natural History in any form, and great hostility against all who favoured his pretensions . . .

It has been said that his ministry was restricted to preaching dry sermons on the Sabbath (Grant, 1884) and that he hardly ever attended meetings. In fact, Kirk Session minutes for the parish¹⁷ show that he hardly missed a meeting of the session. The minutes of the Synod show that he almost invariably was present and his odd absence was unquestionably 'excused'¹⁸ Walker was elected moderator of the Synod in 1762. However, his attendance at meetings of the Presbytery were few and far between. For example, we read that on the 4 December 1764 he was 'absent for the 4th time' and on the 5 March 1772 he was 'absent for the 11th time'.¹⁹ He was also remiss in his attention to preaching in other churches when he had apparently agreed to do so. Even as early as 1763, he had not fulfilled an appointment to preach at Dalton²⁰ and in 1765, he failed to meet a similar obligation at Mouswald. Per-

14 EUL LaIII.352.2

15 SRO GD24/1/517/12-19

16 SRO GD24/1/581/3-4

17 NRH OPR842/2

18 CH2/98/3-297

19 CH2/297

20 CH2/247/6

haps this was part of the reason for his reputation. It is likely that his mannerisms did not appeal to some of his parishioners who, perhaps, did not approve of the time he spent on his attire and on his hair. Kay (1838) gives the following account.

There was another prominent trait in the demeanour of the Doctor, which no doubt had its due weight in countenancing such an extraordinary soubriquet. This was an extreme degree of nicety in the arrangement of his dress, especially in the adjustment of his hair, which it is said occupied the village tonsor nearly a couple of hours each day.

The antagonism between Walker and the Presbytery is well illustrated in the fight to have him removed as minister because of his application for the post of Professor of Natural History at the University of Edinburgh that was considered to be 'incompatible with his continuing to be minister of Moffat.' But Walker had his supporters in the Presbytery. At a meeting on the 2 November 1779, the Reverends Mr David Donaldson, minister of Wamphray, Dr William Brydon, minister of Dalton and Dr John Burgess, minister of Kirkmichael 'dissented from the sentence and procedures'.²¹ Bower (1830) believed that 'those opposed to him [did] not seem to have been very zealous.' The support of the Synod and the General Assembly in this affair demonstrates that Walker was respected by many as a churchman and as an individual, support that culminated in his being appointed Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1790 (Scott, 1915).

Further evidence that he had earned some respect in the parish can be concluded from the fact that he was invited back to Moffat to preach after his move to Colinton and met with the elders and clerk on the 19 October 1783.²² Would this have been the case had the schism between Walker and his parish been as great as we are led to believe?

McKay (1980) describes his lot in Moffat as 'social and intellectual isolation', but over this period in Moffat, Walker was in regular correspondence with intellectual acquaintances, such as Lord Kames and William Cullen as well as with some of the great biologists of the time, including Linnaeus, Brugmans, Fabricius and Pennant.²³ Walker's biographers describe his relationship with Kames as one of mutual admiration and respect, but this friendship might not have been as close as supposed. A letter written by Kames to Walker on the 2 February 1778²⁴ is less than friendly.

I lay a second charge against you, which probably you will think more serious than the first, which is, that you are dilatory in the affairs of other people, as well as your own. When you left Blair-Drummond I gave you a note in writing of the plants I wanted. You promised the moment you got home, upon consulting your books, to find me that note: and the promise is not yet fulfilled.

Cullen (*ibid.*) also rebuked Walker

Tho' you seem to be obstinately resolved against answering letters I venture to write you because I am a little indifferent whether you answer or not.

21 CH2/90/4/14-141

22 NRH OPR842/3/77

23 EUL LaIII.352

24 EUL LaIII.352/2

Whatever the reason for his departure from Moffat, Walker took a charge in Colinton on the 13 February 1783²⁵ where he spent the rest of his life. Throughout his time in Kirkcudbright, Glencorse, Moffat and Colinton, he retained a house in Canongate. He was awarded an Honorary Doctorate of Medicine by the University of Glasgow in 1765 and, in 1771, was made a Doctor of Divinity by the University of Edinburgh.

Walker died at the age of seventy two on the 31 December 1803 and was buried 'in his own ground' in Canongate on the 3 January 1804.²⁶ The Disposal and Settlement of Walker's affairs includes a substantial library, now in the possession of EUL.²⁷

Acknowledgements

I thank the staff of the University of Edinburgh Library for access to their Special Collections, the staff of the Scottish Record Office and Mrs Jane Boyd for their help in the preparation of this paper.

Abbreviations

CH - Church Records, Scottish Record Office; EUL - Edinburgh University Library; HR - Heritors' Records, Scottish Record Office; NLS - National Library of Scotland; NRH - New Register House; OPR - Old Parish Registers of the Established Church of Scotland; SRO - Scottish Record Office

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25 CH2/247/10

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TWO LATE MESOLITHIC SITES IN THE LUCE BAY AREA
by P J Cherry BA, FSA and J Cherry BSc, FSA

The purpose of this note is to record the existence of two more Late Mesolithic sites in the Luce Bay area.

The first of these was found in 1965 at Gillespie Farm near Auchenalg, map ref NX 2248 5519. It has been briefly mentioned in *Discovery & Excavation (Scotland) for 1965*. Flints were found in plough soil slightly inland from what appeared to be a raised beach feature at about 30 metres O.D. The finds are summarised in Table 1. The collection includes 3 microliths, all battered-back blades, which were the first to be noted on coastal sites in the Luce Bay area (cf. Coles 1964) although microliths have subsequently been found on sites at Low Clone (Cormack and Coles 1968) and Barsalloch (Cormack 1970), on other sites around Luce Bay, on the west shore of Wigtown Bay and on the west side of the mouth of the river Nith (W F Cormack pers. comm.).

A further group of flints of Late Mesolithic appearance was found in 1970 in tractor tracks at a height of 30 metres O.D. on the edge of woodland to the south of Craignarget Hill, some two miles south west of Auchenalg, at map ref NX 2261 5513. We were led to this discovery by finding a water-rolled flint blade core in the small burn below the site, close to where it passed under the coastal road.

These finds also are summarised in Table 1 and include a battered-back blade microlith. Clearly much more material must lie buried here. Table 1 also includes a group of surface finds from the site at Low Clone excavated by W F Cormack (Cormack and Coles 1968). The reported totals of unexcavated material from this site should be increased to include these flints.

The raw material used on these sites is beach pebble flint with the exception of one chip of black chert from Gillespie. We have noted elsewhere (Cherry and Cherry 1973) that the cores from Gillespie are significantly heavier than those on West Cumbrian coastal sites. The assemblages closely resemble in all respects the published coastal Late Mesolithic industries of the Luce Bay area.

All the flints referred to in this note have been deposited at the Burgh Museum, Dumfries.

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Table 1

	Gillespie	Craignarget	Low Clone
Waste – Patinated	246	39	91
Slightly patinated	42	6	10
Burnt	8	0	2
Cores	40	4	6
Core rejuvenations	8	1	3
Blades	32	6	8
Retouched and utilised blades	17	0	2
Bulbar rejects*	7	4	2
Microliths	3	1	0
Scrapers	11	0	4
Awls	8	0	1
Knives	10	0	0
Miscellaneous retouched and utilised pieces	7	0	2
	439	61	131

* This term denotes bulbs of percussion removed from blades by direct snapping, as opposed to the microburin technique.

TWO POLISHED FLINT KNIVES FROM GALLOWAY

by John Pickin

Stranraer Museum, Stranraer DG9 7JP

The archaeological collections at Stranraer Museum include two polished flint knives of Late Neolithic date. These high status items, probably originating from specialist workshops in Yorkshire, are comparatively rare in Scotland.

Discoidal knife, Calgow, Minnigaff (Figure 1)

This fine knife was found in the Calgow area (NX 4265) sometime in the 1970's. The exact find spot is unknown but it is possible that it was discovered during the construction of the Newton Stewart by-pass (pers. comm. J Murray).

The knife has been fashioned on a large corticated flake of mottled grey flint and measures 87mm x 69mm x 12mm. Secondary flakes have been removed from both faces to give the tool a uniform thickness and the semi-circular cutting edge has been finely ground and polished. Polishing extends on to both surfaces and is especially noticeable on some of the reduced ridges between flake scars. The single straight edge is unpolished and has been roughly worked by removing short flakes from alternate surfaces. This retouch appears to be contemporary with production of the knife and may have been a hafting modification. The knife is unpatinated and, with the exception of some (post-deposition?) damage at the edge of one corner, appears complete. It belongs to Clark's Type 1 category of discoidal knives (Clark 1929).

Rectangular knife, Luce Sands (Figure 1)

This knife was found in the area of Luce Sands at some time before 1967. No further information is known about the find spot or of the circumstances surrounding the discovery.

The knife forms an almost perfect rectangle measuring 78mm x 100mm and has a maximum thickness of 11mm. It has been made from a large flake of dark grey mottled flint and is unpatinated. Both faces have been ground to a uniformly flat surface with a fine overall polish. The long sides have been ground to a steeply angled faceted edge and the convex short side has a more rounded cutting edge. A similar rounded edge survives in two places on the opposing side but most of this original edge has been removed by bifacial retouch. This retouch would seem to represent a reworking or reuse of the knife. It belongs to Clark's Type 4 category (Clark 1929).

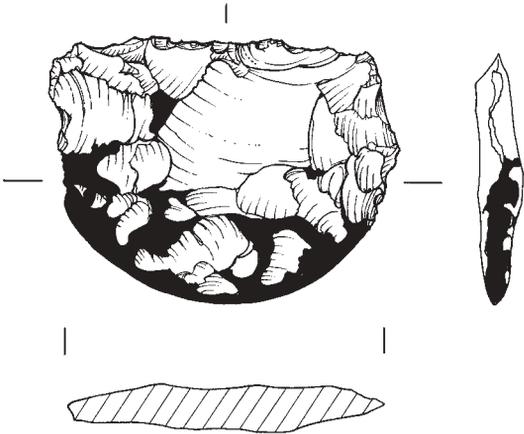
Discussion

Discoidal flint knives, although relatively rare, are known as chance finds from much of Britain. Only three other examples are known in Dumfries and Galloway and these are from Tarras (Fell 1970), Milton Mains (Corrie 1930) and Luce Sands. The closest parallel to the Calgow knife in size, shape and manufacturing technique is a discoidal knife from Huntly, Aberdeenshire (Wickham-Jones 1987).

Rectangular polished knives are also widespread, if generally uncommon, finds and as an artefact type are best represented by the superbly finished, wafer-thin examples from Duggleby Howe Burial D and Aldro Barrow C75, both sites in East Yorkshire (Manby 1988, 89). Only two other rectangular knives are known from Dumfries and Galloway. The piece from Torrs Warren, Luce Bay (Maxwell 1885, fig. 4) is very similar in size and treatment to the Luce Sands example described above and the example from Leswalt (Scott 1966, fig. 13) is of similar craftsmanship although only two of the edges have been ground.

Polished flint knives and similar well finished lithic pieces are now increasingly interpreted as distinctive prestige items within the material culture of Late Neolithic Britain. The production of these knives called for precise technical skills requiring high levels of individual craftsmanship and Edmonds (1995, 102) has suggested that both production and ownership was socially restricted. There is now increasing evidence (Durden 1995) to indicate that polished discoidal knives and other high-quality pieces, such as ripple flaked and polished oblique arrowheads and certain types of polished flint axes, were made at a small number of specialist production sites in the Yorkshire Wolds. The occurrence at Stoneykirk, Wigtownshire of a Duggleby-type adze (Stranraer Museum unpublished, acc. no. 1988.292), a characteristic Yorkshire product, is further evidence for the use of these specialised flint tools in Late Neolithic Galloway.

Calgow



Luce Sands

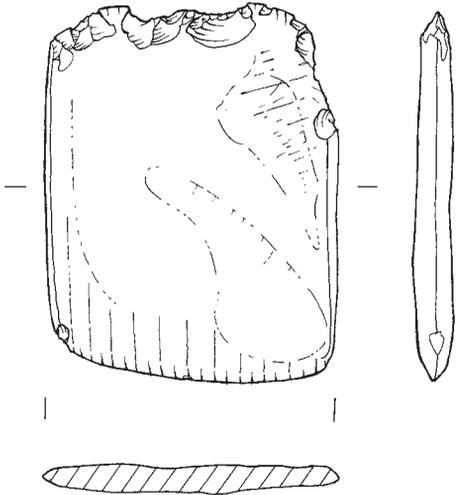


Figure 1 Two polished flint knives from Galloway. Scale – one half.

It is unfortunate that none of the local polished knives have been found in an archaeological context. It must be significant, however, that three of the seven recorded pieces come from Luce Bay, an area long known to be of special significance in the late Neolithic and one which has previously produced high status objects such as jet belt-sliders, faience beads and Grooved Ware pottery. It may also be significant that the recently discovered Late Neolithic pit complex at Dunragit, an obvious focus for ritual activity requiring restricted material, is so close to the shore of Luce Bay. The Calgow knife is also of interest as the find spot lies within or very close to the Minnigaff cairn group, one of the few examples of a lowland cairn cemetery in the region. Yates (1984, 2-3) has argued by analogy that most of the Dumfries and Galloway round cairns date from the second millennium but he does not preclude the possibility that some may be earlier. If this was the situation with the Minnigaff group it could provide a context for the Calgow knife. Alternatively it could be an example of a distinctive Late Neolithic object being deliberately curated and ritualised as part of early Bronze Age ceremonial activities.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Jane Murray and Alison Sheridan for providing much help with references.

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EXTRACTS FROM DUMFRIES BURGH COURT RECORDS

by A.E.Truckell
Castlerag, Carsethorn, Dumfries.

Part I.

The Burgh Court Records of Dumfries appear from 1453 in extracts of assault and battery cases written in to the 1509 volume as evidence in the case against Lord Crichton who claimed that the burgh court had never had the right to try such cases: the town won its case.

The records take up in full in 1506 and continue with one break until the 1580s, resuming in the early 17th century. In the 16th century they are the general book of entry, covering not only court cases proper - mainly small debt cases and 'trubulance of the town' - assault & riot, and incursions by Border clansmen - but foreign and domestic trade, property lists, marriage contracts, statutes as to prices of food, ale, wine, candles, etc. (constantly being broken!) - giving in all a vivid and complete picture of life in the town - in the 1530s a man applies to be made salaried town barber: the Council - for the Court Books are also Council Minutes - saying that 'the comond

purs is bot weik & superexpendit' - as always! - grant him the use of a shop and forbid anyone else to cut hair or shave - but he gets no pay from them. Offenders against the peace have to beg pardon in sackcloth on bended knee in the parish church during Sunday service: and the Minister has a high profile: a young man breaks into his house and abuses him and his wife: and in the midst of the political crisis recorded below, space is made for the trial of a man who said 'he wald leifer heir the mekill devill of hell' than Master Peter Watson the minister!

The town is virtually a little republic, its Acts much more prominent in the citizens' minds than those of the Parliament - but from time to time letters arrive from the Regent or the Privy Council and the town sends the provost and other delegates to Edinburgh (as well as sending men 'outriked in feir of veir' - armed for war - for 'raids' or to a 'rendezvous' at Stirling, Dalkeith, or elsewhere).

The following entry shows its reaction to a more serious event: the young King James VI has been captured by a group of nobles and another group ask the town's help in setting him free. The reaction is to guard the town itself by strengthening its defences, reinforcing the night watch, and summoning the watches from the whole area to Blackshaw on the road to England in case England should be tempted to invade.

Page 719 v.

'Sexto augustii 1578

The quhilk day convenit proveist bailzeis & consell in the tolbuythe of drumfreis & thare beand advysit upon ane letter directit to thame be the Erlis of argyle Atholl Muntroiss the lordis maxwell & Setone requyring thare ayde & supplie for seking of the Kingis libertie & debate of the comoneweill. Hes appoyntit James wallis to ryde to the sadis lordis to Edinburch with thare anseris & the sade James to have xx ss on the day & to have ten pound in hand & gyf he hes done in that besines within x dayis he to mak compt of the rest of the sade ten pound And gyf he remanis vpon the townis besines farther nor the sadis ten dayis The towne sall pay him daylie xx ss And gyf he chanseis to be trubillit be theif or trator the town sall releve him And herevpon the Jugeis & consell decernit act

Comone Weill

The quhilk day It is ordanit be provest bailzeis & consell that the hale town at vj hours & first straik of the swasche be in redines with spaidis schuillis & barrowis to pas with proveist & bailzeis for casting & bigging of the Wardane dykis as thai salbe comandit & that na wemen nor laidis be send to the sade work vnder the pane of viij ss to be tane vnforgevin And thare eftir that the poirtis be made sufficient & lokfast the Inwart dykis to be cassin sufficientlie & that all maner of man frie & unfrie be within this burght be reddie thareto provydit as sade is as they salbe comandit be straik of swysche and herevpon the jugeis decernit act.

Comone Weill

Quarter maisteris for biggyng of the dykis & keiping of the waiches

Sowth quarter	West quarter	Northeast quarter
Johne Rowll	Johne thomsone	Johne Richartsone
william dalrumpill	dauid Rawlyng	Thomas Johnstone
william gledstanis	James welsche	Andro morresone

The eist quarter

James Ryg

William Irwyng

Herbert maxwell at poirt

It is ordanit that the towne sall walk quarterlie Ilk nycht furth quhill they be farther commandit And that four abill men be put nychtlie to the dore bank or wadden dykis And four to the day waich.

722 The xiiij day of the moneth of august anno Dlxviiij yers

Commoneweill

The quhilk day provest bailzeis & consell at desyre of my lady maxwell hes & for the comoneweill hes [?] apporcit to send four hagbuttaris to the blaikshaw this nycht before evin thare to remane & kepe waich day & nycht as they salbe comandit be the gudeman of bowhouss with the rest of the waichmen of the baronie of carlauerok traquere Newabbay kyrkbene Suthik & colven for the

space of viij dayis & Ik man to have [] on the day And presentlie delyverit to the sade four hagbuttaris be herbert Ranyng bailze at comand of the provest & counsell viij lis to ane gude compt gottin in maner as followis

Item payit hereof of the borrowit silver that was appoyntit to the provest & his cumpanie to the Raid of streveling the tyme the kyngis grace resavit the government of this realme

fra Rob havik	xx ss fra John blaik
fra Johne blaik	xx ss
fra Johne thomsone at brigend	xx ss
fra andro hewchane	xx ss
fra david Rawlyng thesaurar of the townis maillis	xlj ss

Item borrowit fra herbert Ranyng bailze xl ss and he to be payit thareof vpon tysday nixtocum

Maxwell

The quhilk day william sawrycht grantis him to have borrowit fra Andro maxwell gluver ane culvering to thom sawrycht his sone for the space of ten dayis and byndis & obleisss him as cautioner & souertie for the sade thomas his sone to delyver the sade pece agane to the sade andro at the end & Ische of the sadis ten dayis alss gude & alss sufficient as he resavis hir & gyf scho beis tynt brokin or Inlaikit. In that case the sade william sall pay fortie schillingis for the pryce of hir to the sade andro the sadis ten dayis being bypast and is chargit to fulfill this act vnder the perell of the law & poynding and herevpon the sade andro requyrit act

726. Secundo die mensis septembris the zere of god Jai v^e lxxvij zers

Comoneweill

The quhilk day at comand of the sade proueist comprysit be the foresadis prysaris ane pan of patrik newallis tane for his absens fra the casting of the dykis of doresloppis contenand twa pound wecht the pryce of the pound x d.'

Part II

On 19th November 1578 and page 760 of the Burgh Court Book of Dumfries Schir John Bryce, Vicar of Dumfries and William Paterson produced and had minuted in the Court Book documents relating to the family of Carruthers of Warmanbie extending backwards to 1472, mentioning several other properties besides Warmanbie, and a bond by the Grahams 'to be friends' to Carruthers of Warmanbie. They then delivered the documents 'in a kist' to Thomas Carruthers of Warmanbie. As most of this predates the Register of Sasines and it is likely that no other record of the documents has survived it is felt that publication would be desirable. Another point is that all the earlier notaries mentioned have the honorific 'schir' and so are likely to be papal notaries.

Page 760. 'Carrutheris. wormanbie [19 November 1578]

The quhilk day Schir Johne bryce vicar of drumfreis & william paterone producit in Jugement ane precept of sesyng made be vmquhile robert lord maxwell to thomas carrutheris of warmanbie of all & hail the hundreth schillingis land of nether wormanbie with the pertinentis of the date the nynt day of the moneth of february the yere off god Dxxxvi zers ane Instrument of sesyng of the samyn landis vnder the syng & subscriptione of Schir Johne oliver notare of the date the viij day of the moneth of marche the zere of god Dxxxvij zers ane Instrument of sesyng of sex markland of flemyng raw of ane vmquhile thomas carrutheris of the date the xxvij day of the moneth of maij the zere of god Jaj iiij^e iiij^{xx} xij zers vnder the sygne & subscriptione of Schir Johne weill notare ane Instrument of sesyng of vmquhile cuthbert Irwyng of robgill gevin be vmquhile herbert corrie of newbie superior thareof be vmquhile Schir Johne walker notare transumptit furth of the sade Schir Johne prothogall be vmquhile Schir Johne turnor officiale of nyth & vnder the syng of Schir thomas conelstone notare as the sade transumpt of the date of the zere of god Jai v^e xxxj zers & the viij day of the moneth of marche & the principall Instrument tharein Ingrossit of the date the xvij day of february 1530, ane charter made be ane vmquhile

roger carrutheris of wormanbie to vmquhile Johne carrutheris his sone of all & hail the sextene ss land of raffellis & four ss annuell rent furth of the landis of robequhat of the date the first day of marche 1472 with ane Instrument of sesyng procedyng tharevpon vnder the sygn & subscriptione of Schir william chapman notare of the date the vij day of marche 1472, ane contract betuix betuix thomas carrutheris of wormanbie & richie Irwyng of gretnayhill for the set of xx aiker of land of beltenement with certane vther **bandis** of under the subscriptione off herbert cunyghame notare of the date at drumfreis the xxvij day off marche 1566. Item ane band off richie the grahame of netherbie dik the grahame will grahame geordie grahame thom grahame & hew grahame his sones bindand thame to be freynds to thomas carrutheris of wormanbie as the samyn off the date at netherbie the xxij day off maij 1565 at mare lenth proportis & [?]& the sade Schire Johne bryce & william paterstone Instantlie in Jugement delyverit the same in ane [?]**koist** to the sade thomas carrutheris & protestit the same suld be minutit in ane act of court for thare discharge of the samyn And tharevpon descryt Instrumentis.'

FOUR ANNANDALE MEDICAL MEN

by J.B.Wilson

The Whins, Kinnelbanks, Lochmaben, DG11 1TD.

Annandale has produced many medical men who have sought fame and fortune far from their place of birth. In 1959 Dr James Harper chose as the subject of his presidential address to the Society the 'Careers of some Dumfriesshire Doctors'. In that address he included the names of James Mounsey and John Rogerson who gained high office in the Imperial Court at St Petersburg, Sir Andrew Halliday from Boreland, Sir John Richardson from Dumfries and Dr Benjamin Bell¹ and Dr Archibald Arnott² from lower Annandale. To this distinguished list has been added the name of Sir William Fergusson from Lochmaben³. The careers, all meriting an entry in the Dictionary of National Biography, of a further four Annandale doctors are described below.

William Beattie M.D.

Beattie was born, in 1793, in Dalton, 6 miles south of Lochmaben. His father was an architect and surveyor who had died in an accident when William was only 16 years old. He was educated at Clarencefield School and Edinburgh University where he qualified in medicine in 1818⁴.

Thereafter Dr Beattie moved south to London and was preparing to set off for Russia to make his fortune when he married and set up in practice in the Hampstead area. Here he prospered and in 1832 met W. H. Bartlett an illustrator of travel books. Together they produced many beautifully illustrated and popular volumes about their extensive travels through England, Scotland, the Danube, Switzerland and the Waldenses. So popular did these volumes prove that they were translated into French and German. The intrepid travellers also visited America and Turkey.

Dr Beattie must have become well known in London medical circles for he attended the Duke of Clarence, later William the Fourth, on his travels on the Continent. These journeys are described by Beattie in his book *Journal of a Residence in Germany during a professional attendance on their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of Clarence*.

In their travels Beattie and Bartlett must have visited Lochmaben for one of the best known prints of the Castle Loch comes from Bartlett's pen. He depicts a group of harvesters with the Loch in the background and the Castle in the distance⁵. After Bartlett's death Beattie wrote a short memoir of his friend.

1. Wilson J.B. 'Benjamin Bell 1747-1806' *Practitioner*, 1977, 21, 886-892.
2. Wilson J.B. 'Dr Archibald Arnott' *B.M.J.* 1975, 3, 293-295.
3. Wilson J.B. 'Sir William Fergusson' *Scot Hist of Med*, 1987, 28.
4. Brian Hill, 'Dr William Beattie' *Practitioner*, 1975, 715, 669.
5. Beattie William *Caledonia*, 2 volumes, illustrated by W. H Bartlett (1855)

Dr Beattie was also a great friend of Thomas Campbell, poet laureate and well known as the writer of the 'Mariners of England'. He was with him when he died in Boulogne in 1844, was an executor of the poet's will and wrote his biography. Another friend and neighbour in London was his fellow Scot, Thomas Telford the bridge builder and road engineer. Dr Beattie died in 1875.

Sir William Linton K.C.B. (1801-1880)

William Linton was the eldest son of Jabez Linton of Hardrigg Lodge near Annan. He studied medicine at Edinburgh University and as a student made four trips as a surgeon on whaling ships. Thereafter, in 1826, he joined the Army Medical Department as Surgeon to the 66th Regiment of Foot serving in Canada, the Mediterranean, the West Indies, Turkey, the Crimea and India.

Linton was one of three doctors who were dispatched by the War Office to the Crimea Peninsula to survey the ground over which the ensuing campaign was to be fought. In his report he 'thought the smoking of tobacco should be recommended and the growth of that natural respirator, the moustache, which could not fail to be of service in a malarious country, should be encouraged' ⁶.

Linton was present at every action in the Crimea War till the Battle of Balaclava and was a witness of the charge of the Light Brigade. He commanded the great hospital in Scutari from 1855 till the end of the campaign and in 1856 was promoted Inspector General of the British First Division. In spite of his senior position Linton does not seem to have met Florence Nightingale for he wrote 'Miss N. is now flitting, I am told, about the wards less and less, as yet I have not made her acquaintance'.

Subsequently he became Senior Medical Officer and in 1858 Inspector General of the Hospitals during the Indian Mutiny. He is said to have spoken at least eight languages ⁷. He retired in 1863 to Skairfield in Hightae where he lived with his sister and brother. He died, unmarried, there on 9th October 1880.

Sir William Rae C.B.

William Rae was born at Parkend near Hightae in 1786 and after qualifying M.D. he joined the medical service of the East India Company but was transferred as a surgeon to the Royal Navy the next year. Whilst serving in the 'Leyden' (1812-13) Rae was so successful in his treatment of troops suffering from yellow fever at Carthagina and Gibraltar that he received the thanks of the Commander in Chief for his efforts.

He must have returned to Lochmaben, probably on half pay, for in 1818 William Rae surgeon, described as practising in Lochmaben, Master of the local lodge of Freemasons, laid the foundation stone of Lochmaben Parish Church. He was elected to Lochmaben Town Council in 1821 but was voted off two years later. His first wife and two small children are interred in Lochmaben Old Kirk Yard.

In 1824 he was recommissioned and posted to the Bermuda station ultimately attaining the rank of Inspector General of Hospitals and the Fleet. He was awarded the C.B. and retired to a small country practice in Barnstaple where he died in 1873.

Dr James Currie 1756-1805

Currie was born in Kirkpatrick Fleming where his father was parish minister. On completion of his education he obtained a post as apprentice in Virginia with a firm of tobacco growers trading with Glasgow. Unfortunately trade declined, the colonists began their struggle for Independence and Currie had to return home. Back in Scotland he studied medicine at Edinburgh though he graduated from Glasgow University in 1780 to enable him to take up a post in Jamaica. However, after visiting London Currie determined to set up practice in Liverpool where he built up an extensive practice. On Merseyside, the home of the slave trade, he developed strong radical views, advocating the abolition of the that trade and vigorously opposing the war with France.

In his practice Currie developed a keen interest in hydrotherapy and wrote several articles on the merits of cold water applied externally in the treatment of fevers, especially 'typhus'. Each patient was treated by throwing cold

6. Shepherd, John *The Crimea Doctors*, 1991, vol 2 p 531.

7. *Annandale Observer* 15th October 1880.

water from a bucket upon the body, not allowing females even their shift to save their delicacy! If this did not succeed in reducing their fever the treatment was repeated⁸. So respected did Currie become in medical and literary circles in Liverpool that in 1792 he was elected F.R.S. In the same year he bought the mansion and estate of Dumcrieff near Moffat with the intention of retiring there⁹.

Currie's main claim to fame however lies not so much in his medical work as in the *Complete works of Robert Burns with an Account of his Life* which he wrote at the request of Burn's widow and which is accepted as a faithful picture of the poet and his life, though Currie only spoke to Burns once, in the street in Dumfries in 1792¹⁰.

In an attempt to cure his chronic chest disease Dr Currie travelled from Liverpool to Bath where in spite of his illness he wrote his biography of the poet. He died in Sidmouth of pulmonary tuberculosis on the 31st August 1805.

8. R D Thornton *James Currie, The Entire Stranger and Robert Burns*, 1963.

9. *Ibid.*, p.249

10. *Ibid.*, p. 282

LOCHMABEN'S SHAM AND PRETENDED COUNCILS

by J.B.Wilson

The Whins, Kinnelbanks, Lochmaben, DG11 1TD.

On two occasions in Lochmaben's chequered history rival town councils functioned at the same time. On two others doubts about the authenticity of the council were expressed.

Two of these disputes have already been described in the *Transactions*. In 1721, when Sir William Johnstone of Westerhall protested to the Convention of Royal Burrows about his 'turning out' of the town council by the provost and the 'pretended' magistrates of Lochmaben¹ and on the occasion of the election in 1790 of a commissioner to choose a member of parliament for the Dumfries Burghs when two town councils were opposed. After various shameful and illegal actions by the sham council the Lords of Council and Session found the council led by David Dickson to be the only legal one².

Lochmaben town council met on the 29th September each year to elect two new members before electing their office bearers. Thereafter two members were 'purged', or put out of the council, in the election for a member of parliament the voters were the commissioner chosen by each burgh to elect a member for the five Dumfries burghs (Annan, Dumfries, Lochmaben, Sanquhar and Kirkcudbright). On the passing of the Reform Acts of 1832, the franchise was widened and the town councils freed from outside influences so that by 1841 thirty eight Lochmaben residents were eligible to vote to elect a Member of Parliament.

A Sham Riotous Pretended Election in 1704

At the meeting of 29th September after the election of William Marquis of Annandale as provost the Town Council considered the objection of George Kennedy of Halleaths 'against their choosing the Marquis of Annandale in respect he was Constable of Lochmaben Castle'. The council replied 'that the Castle although called Lochmaben Castle yet the same is without the territories of the burgh and the burgh has no dependence thereon nor it upon the burgh and the Marquis his being Keeper thereof can be no objection for the Marquis's ancestors had from time to time been provosts of this Burgh'.

At the next meeting of the Town Council, with the provost, in the chair, representation was made by the Dean of Guild 'for himself and in name and on behalf of the bailies and town council anent the sham riotous pretended election of magistrates made by George Kennedy of Halleaths and eleven others' who 'had fined the said John Ferries fifty pounds for not delivering up to them the Court and Council Book'. The provost thereupon ordained

1. Wilson J.B. 'Lochmaben Council Minutes' *Transactions*, Series 3 vol lii (1977) p 153-4

2. Wilson J.B. 'Lochmaben Burgh Politics' *Ibid* vol I (1973) p 91-95

Kennedy and his associates 'to cease and desist from their exercising any further sham and usurped authority within the said Burgh' and the town council nominated two members to 'raise letters against George Kennedy and his associates before the lords of Her Majesties Privy Council that they may suffer condign punishment for their foresaid riotous election'.

Unfortunately the records of the privy council for this period are missing and no further reference is made to this dispute in the town council minutes.

A Pretended Election in 1831

The town council at their meeting of 29th September 1830 elected Robert Henderson as provost and William Mitchell, William Harkness and Robert Bryden as bailies. However, irregularities must have occurred in connection with the sederunt for six months later bailie Mitchell laid before the council 'an extract of the Dean of the Court of Session setting aside the 'pretended' election of magistrates and council made by the minority on the 29th September, and stating that the provost and bailies Harkness and Bryden would not now act as magistrates of the burgh under the election made by the majority of the council on that day'.

On the 17th May a Petition and Complaint, relative to the election of magistrates the previous September, against the provost and council at the instance of William Mitchell and others by William Murray of Henderland was debated by the council. The petition was defeated and at the next meeting the council resolved 'that the present unjust attempt on the part of Mr Murray of Henderland is fraught with very serious consequences to the burgh', the provost pointing out that if this process was not resisted the result would be very dangerous to the 'Rights and Privileges of the place as a Royal Burgh'.

These events were closely followed by the *Dumfries Courier* when it reported that at the meeting of 17th May Mr William Murray of Henderland was given an enthusiastic reception by the large crowd which filled the chamber but that Mr John Henderson's speech was interrupted by hissing, hooting and yelling. The announcement of Mr Henderson's election was greeted with frantic rage by the populace and their groaning continued for several minutes! Fortunately the authorities had mobilised the local militia and a troop of the 4th Dragoon Guards had been drafted in to the area in case of any civic disturbance.

Murray was a supporter of General Sharpe while Henderson supported Mr Keith Douglas, a Tory and the sitting candidate. The latter opposed the Reform Bill which, if passed, would change for ever the character of the councils of the Scottish Royal Burghs.

Discussion

The origins of the dispute in 1790 and that between Annandale and the Westerhalls would seem to lie in the power of patronage available to the holders of the posts for which the elections were held. Most of these votes could be bought either by the promise of a favour or with a suitable gift. Once elected to Parliament the successful candidate could use his position to bestow favours on his supporters and to further his own interests³.

The authority of the Marquis of Annandale would seem to have been used in a quite arbitrary manner in 1721 to dismiss Westerhall from the council.

The basis of the last dispute in 1831 is difficult to determine, related, as it was, to the imminent passage of the Reform Bill. How did a minority and a majority exist in the council? In the sederunt only half the councillors were listed while a paragraph at the end of the same minute lists the others.

Certainly over the years the Lochmaben town council minutes contain evidence that undue influence was exerted during council elections and the subsequent election of a member of parliament but how prevalent were these influences in other Scottish burghs? Murdoch described rioting during the burgh elections in Dumfries in 1758-60⁴ and Ferguson gives a vivid account of actual armed combat during the burgh elections in Dingwall in 1721; where in 1725 two soidisant councils existed side by side⁵. Perhaps Lord Cockburn was not far wrong when he wrote of the Scottish Royal Burghs 'In general they were sinks of political and municipal inequity steeped in the baseness which they propagated and types and causes of the corruption which surrounded them⁶.

3. Sunter, Ronald M. *Patronage and Politics in Scotland 1707-1832*, 1986, Chapter 10.

4. Murdoch A.J. 'Politics and the People in the Burgh of Dumfries 1758-60' *Scot. Hist. Review* xxx 2 190 (1991) p 151-171

5. Ferguson W. 'The Reform Act (Scotland) of 1832 Intention and Effect' *Ibid* xv 1 139 (1966) p 105-114

6. Cockburn, Henry *Memorials of his Time, 1821-1830*, (1856) p 91

Excavations at Navan Fort 1961-71 by the late D M Waterman - completed and edited by C J Lynn. Depart. of Environment for N. Ireland Monograph 3, 1997 HMSO. A4 format, 239 + xvi pp, 4 figs, 28 plates and 25 tables. Soft cover. Price £25.

The early literature of Ireland is full of references to *Emain Macha* which is described as the provincial centre of the people of *Ulaidh* (Ulster) and the inauguration place and probable residence of her kings. About 2.7 km west of Armagh is a complex of sites which folk tradition has always identified with *Emain Macha*. Among these sites is a large henge-like feature, enclosing about 12 acres and known as Navan Fort - Navan being an Anglicisation of *Emain* while 'Fort' has long been considered a misnomer for a probable ritual centre. Accordingly between 1961 and 1971 excavations to test these traditions were carried out by Dudley M Waterman, Principal Inspector of Ancient Monuments Archaeological Survey, Ministry of Finance (N.I.). His untimely death in 1979 has delayed publication but this has now been completed by Dr Chris J Lynn now an Assistant Director in the Environment and Heritage Service who pays tribute to Waterman's 'exemplary excavation technique, management and recording standards'. Although he left a 'meticulously detailed record of the excavation' completion and publication has been an onerous and difficult undertaking which has fallen on the shoulders mainly of Dr Lynn.

Preceding the 'henge-like' enclosure, itself Bronze-Age in date, were signs of Neolithic occupation. Within the enclosure were two circular features - A, a ploughed-down ring-barrow surrounded by a ditch, about 37 metres in diameter, with a low external bank. This ditch cut the foundation slots of a circular-plan timber building Late Bronze-Age or Early Iron-Age in date. The other feature, B, which before excavation was a large mound 50 metres in diameter and 6 metres high, on excavation yielded a most remarkable series of structures.

Firstly, in the late Bronze-Age, a circular ditched enclosure had been constructed about 45 metres in diameter. 4 metres inside the line of the ditch was an inner ring consisting of 28 large posts possibly the equivalent in timber of a stone circle. Then, secondly, after the ditch had accumulated some silt, a succession of pairs of ring-slot circular-plan buildings had been erected within the enclosure - the southern of the pair being about 10 to 13.5 metres in diameter and communicating on the north with a similar structure about twice the size, the pair thus forming a figure-of-eight plan. Both had been rebuilt from time to time but not simultaneously. Finds including animal bone, glass beads, iron, bronze, stone and bone objects and the skull and mandible of a Barbary ape. These pairs of buildings were dated to between the 2nd and the 4th centuries BC and had been superseded by a succession of single ring buildings.

Thirdly, erected on the circular ditched enclosure was a most unusual structure - formed of a series of five internal penannular and concentric circles of posts with a sixth within a ring slot some 60 metres in diameter forming an external timber wall around the circumference. At the centre had been a massive post (dated by dendrochronology to 95 BC), leading to which had been a ceremonial approach from the west between parallel lines of posts inside the structure. Apart from these posts, the posts in the five concentric circles, as well as supporting a roof and, with the outer wall, making five penannular aisles, had mostly been inserted radially with the consequence that the floor area of the building was divided into sectors each with a relatively uninterrupted view of the central post and the immediate area round it. This reviewer trusts he will be forgiven for saying that the structure must have looked somewhat like an auction ring protected from the elements by a very large parasol. The building was however eminently suitable for a large number of people (perhaps with higher status groups in the inner 'aisles' in each sector) to watch a ceremony taking place at the centre.

Finally, at a time when the upright posts of the building were starting to rot, the whole interior had been filled by small boulders to form a low cairn with the posts standing up through it - boulders which may have been reused from a nearby earlier cairn. Then after the upper part of the posts and the roof had been burned down, the whole structure was covered with soil and turf. This final episode was dated to early in the Christian era and thus some centuries before the first written accounts of *Emain Macha*.

Dr Lynn has to be complimented on firmly grasping the nettle of interpreting the foregoing, particularly in view of the lack of any clear contemporary parallels. However, notwithstanding the long time span between the closure of this part of the site and the written traditions, he concludes that the historical accounts of a royal residence, an inauguration site and a tribal or provincial centre are basically correct traditions. Thus he sees continuity from a Bronze-Age ritual centre (the henge) to an Iron-Age royal or priestly residence (the figure of eight and later houses), followed by a ceremonial temple for the inauguration of the kings (the roofed structure with the concentric circles of posts) and finally a ritual closure of the 'temple' (the erection of the cairn then the burning and the covering over with turf). Dr Lynn gives possible explanations for this ritual closure based on a Celtic outlook on life and the world suggested by cultural anthropologists elsewhere in Europe.

This long and somewhat superficial review might perhaps be concluded with some comments on the relevance to readers in south west Scotland. Like Ireland, we have a pagan Celtic past between which and us a veil has been dropped by the coming of Christianity but where, in the case of Britain, the veil is even less penetrable as a result of the arrival of successive incomers. The Romans must have discouraged, to put it mildly, customs and practices of the Britons conducive to independence or resistance while subsequent cultural and linguistic infiltration or takeover by Angles, Scots from Ireland, Norse and Anglo-Normans have probably extinguished virtually all remaining early traditions. None the less it is possible that similar sites, if less prestigious than Navan, await discovery and this seminal report may well contain useful leads to that end.

W F Cormack.

Discovering Galloway. Innes MacLeod. John Donald Publishers, Edinburgh. 284 pages + preliminaries. Softback. Price £9.95. ISBN 0 85976 114 2.

Innes MacLeod's *Discovering Galloway* was originally issued in 1986 and has successfully gone through at least four re-prints. The present re-issue is a welcome up-dating and revision of a volume which clearly has a proven track-record with both visitors and residents. For the former it provides a working tool and easily followed introduction to the sites, towns and areas of interest which are to be visited for the first time. For the latter it remains a useful modern reference source for those questions of 'where was that place or site?' - and a reminder of how to reach them - indeed many would regard it as a natural and a worthy late 20th century successor to Malcolm McL.Harper's *Rambles in Galloway*.

The guide covers Galloway in the modern sense, i.e. the county of Wigtown and the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright. The opening seven chapters, covering some 113 pages, set the scene and cover the background to the area - in terms of the physical environment, the archaeology and the history down to modern times: 1, The Sea, the Shore and the Islands; 2, The Rivers and the Lochs; 3, The Land, the Hills and the Forests; 4, Beasts and Birds; 5, Hunters and Farmers; 6, Warriors and Peacemakers and 7, Castles, Country Houses and Coo Palaces.

The remaining 13 chapters, 165 pages, take the reader through the parishes and districts from Terregles, Kirkpatrick Irongray and Lochrutton in the east to Portpatrick, Stoneykirk and Kirkmaiden in the far west. The text is detailed, the range of material covered wide and the directions to guide the traveller clear and obvious to follow. The consistent use of grid references and road-numbers is an invaluable aid.

The book has been carefully revised and edited to bring it up to date. There are few discrepancies and those are, by and large, only apparent to a reviewer making a detailed scrutiny between the old and the new. The choice and range of illustrations remains excellent but the format of many has been reduced to a smaller 'framed' presentation which in some ways reduces the visual 'dimension' of the book - but again this is a complaint of one who has seen the original!. The more prominent bold page 'headers' are a useful improvement and make for an ease of finding sub-areas by 'skimming' the pages. The index remains accurate and sufficient for the job it has to do. The volume is cleanly and well printed.

There is one difference which might prove a real detriment: The original binding process has been changed from the original sewn one to a glued, or 'perfect' format. Bearing in mind its end use as a visitor's guide it shall be interesting to see how well the volume stands up to routine wear and tear - in the jacket pocket or on the car floor! Certainly this writer's experience with other newer issues of the 'Discovering' series does not augur well for as long and as useful a life as the first edition. This would be a great pity as it is a book with excellent contents and presentation.

James Williams.

Sir William Burrell's Northern Tour, 1758 ed. John G Dunbar. Tuckwell Press, 1997 143 + vii pp incl. 2 maps 7 figs. Soft back. Price £14.99

This, the sixth in the Tuckwell series *Sources in Local History*, is a welcome addition to the published diaries of visitors to Scotland only a few years after the '45 rebellion. Burrell's tour commenced in London and continued up the east to Newcastle before crossing to Carlisle on the 'military road' which he reckoned the finest in England. Entering Scotland, he deplored the standard of the first cottages, saw and copied (incorrectly) the inscription on the Bruce stone in Annan but praised the King's Arms Hotel in Dumfries 'the best in Scotland', disapproved of the architecture of Drumlanrig and positively loathed his accommodation in Newton Stewart and his landlord to boot. While in Wigtownshire he made a flying visit to Ireland to see the Giants Causeway and back. He continued up the west coast to Fort William then to Inverness and back down the east coast to Berwick and England.

He has many useful notes on land values and wages also pertinent comments on buildings and occasionally antiquities. His chief interest was in the laying out of policies round the larger houses which were then just coming into full swing. He seems to have made very brief notes as he went along which he perhaps carelessly wrote up later. Thus he repeatedly refers to the Forth as the Tay. Mr Dunbar (former Secretary of the RCAHMS) tidies up most of these slips and provides an excellent introduction and index. This book will be of help to all who are interested in this period.

W F Cormack

Anne Strachan Robertson

Archaeologist and Numismatist 1910-1997

In October 1997 the Society lost an eminent Fellow, Professor Anne Robertson, a Roman archaeologist and numismatist of international stature. Following schooling in Glasgow, she entered Glasgow University where she obtained a first class honours degree in History with particular emphasis on Roman History which she studied under S N Miller. While there, her outstanding abilities came to the notice of Sir George Macdonald, at that time the leader of Roman studies in Scotland. In 1933 she went to London University where she studied archaeology with Sir Mortimer Wheeler also gaining experience in the Coin Room of the British Museum. On being appointed Dalrymple Lecturer in Archaeology, she returned to Glasgow where, in 1952, she became Under Keeper of the Hunterian Museum and Curator of the Hunter Coin Cabinet. Other major appointments followed.

As well as publishing definitive works on Anglo-Saxon and Roman Coins in the Hunterian, she excavated widely in Scotland on Roman sites and published many valuable reports, particularly on the Antonine Wall - her popular guide to this running into four editions and many reprints. Her main excavations in Dumfries and Gallo-way were at Raeburnfoot in 1959-60 (*Transactions* vol 39) and, as a Director of the Scottish Field School of Archaeology, working at Birrens from 1962 to 1967, not only training students but carrying out the archaeological research which formed the basis for her interpretation of that complicated site which was to be embodied in her *Birrens (Blatobulgium)*, published under the aegis of the Society in 1975. She established that there had been four occupations namely Flavian, Hadrianic and two Antonine but could find no evidence of anything later. She kindly donated to us, for the benefit of the Society's funds, a substantial number of volumes (now, not surprisingly, all sold). This was typical of the way she helped and encouraged local societies, as well as furthering Roman studies.

She remained throughout her life an example of high principles, not just in scholarship, but in standards of conduct generally and expected these in her colleagues and students. This was not always understood or appreciated but none the less were traits of character for which she should be remembered to her credit and held in our respect.

W F Cormack

Proceedings 1996-1997

11th October 1996

Speaker: Mr.D.Laurence - 'Kruger to Cape Town'.

25th October

Speaker: Dr.J.Shaw - 'The Changing Structure of Farm Buildings'.

8th November

Speaker: Mr.S.Spray - 'Bats of Dumfriesshire'.

22nd November

Speaker: Dr.A.Sheridan - 'The Rotten Bottom Bow and Prehistoric Archery'.

6th December

Speaker: Mr.D.Mitchell - 'Kinabalu - Summit of Borneo. Exploration and Plant Life'.

10th January 1997

Speaker: Mr J.McCleary - 'Miniature Worlds - Insects and other Arthropods'.

24th January

Speaker: Ms.L.Botten - 'The Impact of the Munition Works at Gretna, 1915-1924'.

7th February

Members' Night

Speakers: Mr.F.Toolis - 'A Trip to Russia'.
Mr John Neilson - 'Christie's Well'.

21st February

Speaker: Mr.J.M.Tyldesley - 'The Work of the Scottish Maritime Museum, with Special Reference to South-West Scotland'.

7th March

Speaker: Mr.L.Masters - 'Petra - 'A Rose-Red City Half as Old as Time''.

22nd March

Speaker: Dr.D.H.Caldwell - 'Recent Research at Finlaggan: The Centre of the Lordship of the Isles'.
This meeting was held in Kirkcudbright.

LIST OF MEMBERS -
as at 8 /4/1998

Those marked * are Fellows of the Society under Rule 10
Members are requested to notify the Hon. Membership Secretary of any errors.

Honorary Members

Number	Name & Address (Year of joining)
0316	Mr* A.E.Truckell, Castlerag, Carsethorn, Kirkbean, Dumfries. DG2 8DS. (1947)

Life Members

Number	Name & Address (Year of joining)
0037	Dr.R.Baguley, 48 Albert Road, Grappenhall, Warrington. WA4 2PC. (1978)
0040	His Grace Duke of Buccleuch, Drumlanrig Castle, Thornhill. DG3 4AQ. (1975)
0099	Mr & Mrs R.Coleman, 4 Lovers Walk, Dumfries. DG1 1LP. (1978)
0115	Mr K.H.Dobie, The Manse, Broughton, Biggar. ML12 6HQ. (1973)
0043	Mrs J.T.S.Ferguson, Laggan, Dunscore, Dumfries. DG2 0UF. (1986)
0044	Dr J.D.Floyd, British Geological Survey, Murchison House, West Mains Road, Edinburgh. EH9 3LA. (1970)
0045	Mr D.R.Gaskell, Auchenbrack Farm, Tynron, Moniaive, Thornhill. DG3 4LF. (1975)
0442	Mrs Joan Gibson, 2 Amisfield Cottages, Amisfield, Dumfries DG1 3NZ. (1991)
0136	Dr.J.A.Gibson, Foremount House, Kilbarchan, Renfrewshire. PA10 2EZ. (1968)
0046	Mr J.Gordon, Whaup Croft, The Lake, Kirkcudbright. DG6 4XL. (1969)
0162	Mr W.F.Horsburgh, Burn Grange, Ecclefechan, Lockerbie. DG11 3DR. (1978)
0520	Mr Jack Howdle, Westpark, Beeswing, Dumfries DG2 8PE. (1994)
0166	Mr Donald Hyde, P.O.Box 25747, Colorado Springs, Co 80936-5747, USA. (1978)
0168	Dr.W.Graham Jardine, 14 Burnside Court, Bearsden, Glasgow. G61 1BS. (1966)
0047	Mr.J.J.Johnston, P.O. Box 65, Marshall, Arkansas, 72650. USA. (1972)
0405	Mr.K.Johnston, Allanton Mill, Auldirth. DG2 0UB. (1990)
0048	Mr.A.Kennedy, Craigmullen, Dundrennan, Kirkcudbright. DG6 4QF. (1943)
0049	Dr.A.Mackie, Viewfield, Mauchline, Ayrshire. (1976)
0220	Miss J.M.Maton, Cargenholm House Nursing Home, New Abbey Road, Dumfries. DG2 8ER. (1970)
0050	Mrs F.McCulloch, Ardwall, Gatehouse of Fleet. DG7 2EN. (1985)
0051	Dr E.J.Perkins, Grove Cottage, Birkby, Maryport, Cumbria. CA15 0RG. (1964)
0418	Dr E.V.W.Proudfoot, Westgate, 12 Wardlaw Gardens, St. Andrews. Fife. KY16 9DW. (1990)
0054	Hon. Sir Steven Runciman, Elsiefields, Lockerbie. DG11 1LY. (1967)
0055	Prof. Etienne Rynne, Department of Archaeology, University College, Galway, Ireland. (1964)
0058	Mrs O.M.Stewart, 30/5 Colinton Road, Edinburgh. EH10 5DG. (1978)
0057	Mr F.J.Stewart, 30/5 Colinton Road, Edinburgh. EH10 5DG. (1978)
0059	Mr M.Stirling, 20 Westbourne Terrace, London W2.
0304	Mr.T.Stothart, 3 Walter Street, Langholm. DG13 0AX. (1978)
0061	Mr.J.Thomson, Summerhill House, Annan. DG12 6SH. (1977)
0579	Mr Ronan Toolis 3F2, 16 Dalkeith Road, Edinburgh. EH16 5BP. (1996)
0327	Dr* & Mrs J.B.Wilson, The Whins, Kinnell Banks, Lochmaben, Lockerbie. DG11 1TD. (1967)

Ordinary Members

Number	Name & Address (Year of joining)
0063	Mr* & Mrs Duncan Adamson, 39 Roberts Crescent, Dumfries. DG2 7RS. (1972)
0062	Mr.D.Adamson, Highfields, Barrhill Road, Dalbeattie. DG5 4HT. (1981)
0518	Mr & Mrs R W.Addison, Newbie House, Newbie, Annan DG12 5QT. (1994)
0066	Mr J.M.Aitkenhead, Kilquanity House, Castle Douglas. DG7 3DB. (1969)
0387	Mrs.E.D.Allan, Inch Cottage, 18 Station Road, New Luce, Newton Stewart, Wigtownshire. DG8 0AL (1990)
0067	Mr* & Mrs Alex Anderson, 22 St Annes Road, Dumfries. DG2 9HZ. (1962)

- 0451 Mr.David Anderson, Lavender Bank, Tinwald Shaws, by Dumfries. DG1 3PW (1992)
- 0068 Dr D.G.Anderson, 24 Ainslie Road, Girvan, Ayrshire. KA26 OAY. (1978)
- 0069 Mr I.G.Anderson, Gribton, Irongray, Dumfries. DG2 0YJ. (1982)
- 0545 Mrs Sandra Andrews, Glenbrae, Crocketford Road, Dumfries. DG2 8QN. (1995)
- 0072 Mr A.Archibald, Eriskay, St Annes Road, Dumfries. DG2 9HZ. (1970)
- 0074 Mr*James Banks, Scarknowe, St Annes Road, Dumfries. DG2 9HZ. (1960)
- 0390 Miss H.Barrington, Norwood, 30A Noblehill Avenue, Dumfries. DG1 3HR. (1989)
- 0075 Mr & Mrs Timothy Beard, 108 North Street, P.O.Box 269, Roxbury. CT06783-0269. USA. (1970)
- 0607 Mr Neil C.Beattie, 35 Park Road, Hale, Altringham, Cheshire. WA15 9NW. (1997)
- 0609 Mr John L.Bell, 20 Packington Street, Islington, London. N1 8QB. (1997)
- 0440 Mr D.Black, 17 Wakes Meadow, Bunbury, Tarporley, Cheshire. W6 9SH. (1991)
- 0392 Mr & Mrs.Wm.B.Blyth, Blowplain Open Farm, Balmaclan, Castle Douglas. DG7 3PY. (1989)
- 0519 Ms Lesley Botten, 29a Station Road, Annan. DG12 6AT. (1994)
- 0612 Mr W.S.Brack, 1 Burns Street, Dumfries. DG1 2PS. (1997)
- 0244 Mrs E.J.Brann, Troston, New Abbey, Dumfries. DG2 8EF. (1988)
- 0082 Mrs F. & Mrs R.Brewis, Ardwell House, Stranraer. DG9 9LY. (1958)
- 0459 Mr & Mrs.J A.Brooker, Holehouse, Drumburn, Kirkbean, by Dumfries. DG2 8DL. (1992)
- 0083 Mrs D.Brooke, Craignair, Auchencairn, Castle Douglas. DG5 4LX. (1984)
- 0086 Mr & Dr.K.D & S.M.Brown, Duncraig, 3 Hermitage Drive, Dumfries.DG2 7QF. (1984)
- 0085 Dr Gavin Brown, Sea View, 9 Main Street, Port William, Newton Stewart. DG8 9QM. (1981)
- 0084 Mr A.J.M.Brown, Roberton, Borgue, Kirkcudbright. DG6 4UB. (1972)
- 0087 Mr William L.Brown, Taynord, St Georges, Castle Douglas. DG7 1LN. (1970)
- 0592 Dr Colin Brydon, 2 Elmwood, Dundanion Road, Moffat. DG10 9AH. (1997)
- 0089 Dr.Isabel Bryson, Alma Bank, 15 Lovers Walk, Dumfries. DG1 1LR. (1977)
- 0510 Miss GM.Campbell, Barnboard Mill, Balmaghie, by Castle Douglas. DG7 2PE. (1993)
- 0092 Miss Denise J.Carruthers, Moss-side, Troqueer, Dumfries. DG2 8NB. (1967)
- 0096 Mr J.D.Clark, 41 Auchencrieff Road South, Locharbriggs, Dumfries. DG1 1BX. (1971)
- 0543 Mr I.G.C.Cochrane-Dyett, Craigs Farmhouse, Craigs Road, Dumfries. DG1 4QC. (1995)
- 0615 Mr Richard Colbeck, Isa Cottage, 8 Park Road, Dumfries. DG2 7QD. (1997)
- 0463 Miss Jean Comrie, 33 Alva Place, Edinburgh. EH7 5AX. (1992)
- 0616 Mr Murray Cook, AOC(Scotland), 4 Lochend Road, Edinburgh. EH6 8BR. (1998)
- 0433 Mr & Mrs J.Copland, Rostherne House, 35 Doune Road, Dunblane. FK15 9AT. (1991)
- 0101 Mr* & Mrs W.F.Cormack, 16 Dryfe Road, Lockerbie. DG11 2AJ. (1951)
- 0103 Dr Derek J.Craig, Dept. of Archaeology, University of Durham, Science Laboratories, South Road, Durham. DH1 3LE. (1985)
- 0104 Mr & Mrs.Patrick Crichton, Mundeville, Tinwald, Dumfries. DG1 3PL. (1989)
- 0105 Mr T.G.Crosbie, 69 Moffat Road, Dumfries. DG1 1PB. (1981)
- 0515 Mr Chris Crowe, 46 Vincent Street, Macclesfield, Cheshire. SK11 6UJ. (1992)
- 0587 Mr Richard Cunningham, Craig Farm, Balmaclellan, Castle Douglas. DG7 3QS. (1996)
- 0502 Mrs S.H.Cunningham, The Marks, 53 Albert Road, Dumfries. DG2 9DL. (1992)
- 0137 Mrs H.M.Dalzell, Woodend, Sandyhills, Dalbeattie. DG5 4NP. (1957)
- 0528 Miss Agnes Dalzell, The High Field, Kirkland, Tinwald, Dumfries. DG1 3PL. (1994)
- 0110 Mr E.J.M.Davies, Cairnmill, Penpont, Thornhill. DG3 4LX. (1973)
- 0111 Mr J.W.S.Dearness, Whistlebare, Sanday, Orkney. KW17 2AZ. (1979)
- 0444 Dr David Devereux, 25 Fleet Street, Gatehouse of Fleet, DG7 2JT. (1991)
- 0547 Mr R.C.Dickson, Lismore, New Luce, Newton Stewart. DG8 OAJ. (1995)
- 0113 Mr David Dinwoodie, Applegarth, 31 Glendale Close, Carlton, Nottingham. NG4 4FD. (1982)
- 0555 Dr Hugh Dinwoodie, 75 East Trinity Road, Edinburgh. EH5 3EL. (1995)
- 0114 Mr Alex Dobbie, 1 Georgetown Crescent, Dumfries. DG1 4EQ. (1976)
- 0121 Miss R.Dundas, Caddam, Kinnordy, Kirriemuir, Angus. DD8 4LP. (1966)
- 0122 Dr J.F.Eden, Buittle Bridge, East Logan, Castle Douglas. DG7 3AA. (1980)
- 0585 Miss AA.Fair, Teal Cottage, Low Road, Hightae, Lockerbie. DG11 1JT. (1996)
- 0125 Mr G.Fazakerley, Coniston, Carsethorn, Kirkbean, Dumfries. DG2 8DS. (1970)
- 0600 Mr S.D.S.Ferguson, Firparkneuk, Kirtlebridge, Lockerbie. DG11 3LZ. (1997)
- 0126 Miss E.M.Ferguson, 14 Gordon Street, Dumfries. DG1 1EG. (1968)
- 0564 Mr E.R.Forshaw, Holm of Drumlanrig Cottage, Thornhill. DG3 4AT. (1996)
- 0130 Dr & Mrs Iain. Fraser, Windrush, 42 Rotchell Park, Dumfries. DG2 7RJ. (1963)

- 0561 Mr Alastair Gair, Old Post House, Newbridge, Dumfries. DG2 0QY. (1996)
- 0132 Mr* J.H.D.Gair, Clairmont, 16 Dumfries Road, Lockerbie, DG11 2EF. (1945)
- 0512 Mr J.R.Gelston, The Coach House, Westoe Hall, Westoe Village, South Shields, Tyne & Wear. NE33 3DZ. (1993)
- 0133 Mrs Mary R.Gemie, Chestnut Grove, Hetland Way, Carrutherstown. DG1 4JX. (1970)
- 0134 Miss B.Gerdes, 27 Ardwall Road, Dumfries. DG1 3AQ. (1967)
- 0135 Dr Allan Gibbs, Oldhall, Fenwick, Ayrshire. KA3 6AR. (1968)
- 0533 Mr Ehrich Goebel & Ms Julia H Muir-Watt, 3 George Street, Whithorn, Newton Stewart. DG8 8NS. (1995)
- 0402 Mr I.C.Gordon, Druidhill Mill, Thornhill. DG3 4AR. (1989)
- 0438 Mr & Mrs H.&L.Gough-Cooper, Fraserford, Dunscore, Dumfries. DG2 0UU. (1991)
- 0139 Mrs E.M.M.Graham, Mansefield, Whithorn, Newton Stewart. DG8 8PE. (1989)
- 0588 Mr Alan Graham, 16 Bowfield Road, West Kilbride, Ayrshire. KA23 9JY. (1996)
- 0399 Miss A.G.Graham, West Bretton, Annan. DG12 6RN. (1990)
- 0552 Mrs Agatha A.Graves, Carse of Trostrie, Twynholm, Kirkcudbright. DG6 4PS. (1995)
- 0548 Mr RAGregory, 23 Friary Avenue, Solihull, West Midlands. B90 4SZ. (1995)
- 0439 Rev & Mrs Scott C.Hall, 5508 South 37th St Terrace, St Joseph, Missouri 64503 USA. (1991)
- 0141 Mr A.G.Halliday, 1 Noblehill Drive, Dumfries. DG1 3HH. (1988)
- 0142 Mr B.Hanraads, Ravelston, Laurieston Road, Gatehouse of Fleet, Castle Douglas. DG7 2BE. (1988)
- 0144 Mrs B.Hargreaves, Straith Cottage, Moniaive, Thornhill. DG3 4DZ . (1983)
- 0145 Dr* & Mrs J & M.Harper, 18 High Street, Kirkcudbright. DG6 4JX. (1947)
- 0146 Mrs M.I.Hastings, 15 Milehouse Crescent, Dumfries. DG1 1JZ. (1983)
- 0525 Mrs Sheila Henderson, Coruisk, Jenny's Loaning, Castle Douglas. DG7 1JA. (1994)
- 0149 Mr I.G.Henderson, The Hermitage, St Brydes Terrace, Lockerbie. DG11 2EJ. (1951)
- 0501 Miss M.A.Heywood, The Hollies, Barningham, Richmond, North Yorkshire. DL11 7DW. (1992)
- 0158 Mr P Hill, Tonderghie Cottage, Isle of Whithorn. (1985)
- 0161 Rev W. & Mrs Holland, The Manse, New Abbey, Dumfries. (1986)
- 0164 Mr Fraser Hunter, Dept. of Archaeology, National Museums of Scotland, Chambers Street, Edinburgh. EH1 1JF. (1985)
- 0165 Sir E.T.Hunter-Blair, Parton House, Castle Douglas. DG7 3NB. (1965)
- 0354 ICI Metal Detecting Club, c/o Mr J Clow, 2 Burntscaith Road, Locharbriggs, Dumfries. DG1 1UJ. (1979)
- 0611 Dr J.B.Irving, Bonshaw Tower, Kirtlebridge, Lockerbie, Dumfriesshire. DG11 3LY. (1997)
- 0404 Dr & Mrs J.K.Johnson, 65 Rotchell Road, Dumfries. DG2 7SA. (1989)
- 0437 Dr J.H.Jones, The Archivist, Balliol College, Oxford. OX1 3BJ, (1991)
- 0408 Ms Elaine Kennedy, Gilnockie, 10 Park Road, Dumfries. DG2 7PW . (1990)
- 0409 Miss Ina Kirkpatrick, 85 Terregles Street, Dumfries. DG2 9DS. (1990)
- 0180 Mr George Kirkwood, 11 Georgetown Crescent, Dumfries. DG1 4EQ. (1986)
- 0504 Mr Peter Kormylo, Abbot's Tower, Landis, New Abbey. DG2 8HH. ()
- 0183 Mr T.R.Laurie, Linnpark, 17 Leonard Crescent, Lockerbie. DG11 2BE. (1987)
- 0556 Mr & Mrs H.M.Leslie, 10 Garden Street, Gatehouse of Fleet. Castle Douglas. DG7 2JU. (1996)
- 0410 Dr J.C.Little of Morton Rigg, Fearnhill, Bankend Road, Dumfries. DG1 4TP. (1989)
- 0188 Mr D.Lockwood, Balmaine, 15 Dalbeattie Road, Dumfries. DG2 7PE. (1977)
- 0506 Mrs Ethel B.Mac Brair-Koller, 3100 College Drive, Berkley, California 94705. USA. (1969)
- 0550 Mr Keith W.MacLellan, 331 Island Park Drive, Ottawa, Ontario. CANADA. K1Y 0A6. (1995)
- 0207 Mr Innes.F.MacLeod, Lower Glengorn, 14 Station Road, Biggar, Lanarkshire. ML12 6JN. (1963)
- 0208 Mr M.A.MacLure, Redholme, 69 Edinburgh Road, Dumfries. DG1 1JX. (1983)
- 0210 Prof. John I.MacQueen, Slewdonan, Damnaglaur, Drummole, Stranraer. DG9 9QN. (1952)
- 0462 Mr A.E.MacRobert, 2 Winchester Drive, Glasgow. G12 ONE. (1992)
- 0215 Mrs Mary H.Martin, Bank House, Ruthwell, Dumfries. DG1 4NN. (1986)
- 0217 Miss M.Massie, 1 Greenlea Drive, Collin, Dumfries. DG1 4PP. (1978)
- 0218 Mr* L.J. Masters, 18A Newark Drive, Pollockshields, Glasgow. G41 4QE. (1966)
- 0570 Mr P.Matthews, Roughtree Cottage, Drumpark Road, Irongray, Dumfries. DG2 9TS. (1996)
- 0225 Mr Stuart Maxwell, 16 Dick Place, Edinburgh. EH9 2JL. (1966)
- 0223 Miss M.V.Maxwell, 97 Newchurch Road, Rawtenstall, Rossendale. Lancs. BB4 7SU. (1981)
- 0580 Mr A.J.M.Maxwell-Findlater, The Grammer House, Langport, Somerset. TA10 9PU. (1996)
- 0226 Mr A.M.T.Maxwell-Irving, Telford House, Blairlogie, Stirlingshire. FK9 5PX. (1987)
- 0191 Mr & Mrs R.H.McArthur, Windlehurst, 96 Pleasance Avenue, Dumfries. DG2 7JX. (1986)

- 0412 Mrs A.R.McAughtrie, 5 Kellwood Avenue, Dumfries. DG1 4HQ. (1990)
- 0453 Dr & Mrs B. & H.McBrayer, 23488 SW Pony Ridge Drive, Rainbow Lakes Estates, Dunnellon, Florida. USA. 34431-2761. (1986)
- 0193 Mr Peter J.D.McCall of Birkenshaw, Crawford Villa, Johnstone Park, Dumfries. DG1 4AE. (1970)
- 0194 Ms Celia L.McCallum, Greenwood Hall, Moffat. DG10 9BZ. (1983)
- 0195 Mr A.McCracken, Tarras, 3 Alexandra Place, Annan. DG12 5DJ. (1961)
- 0586 Mrs V.McEwan, 27 Primrose Street, Dumfries. DG2 7AU. (1996)
- 0198 Mr R.H.McEwen, Seaforth, 13 Douglas Terrace, Lockerbie. DG11 2DZ. (1969)
- 0199 Mr J.A.C.McFadden, 54 Moffat Road, Dumfries. DG1 1NY. (1969)
- 0200 Mr J.McFadzean, Airylick, Elrig, Port William, Newton Stewart. DG8 9RF. (1981)
- 0202 Mr B.E. McGarrigle, 22 Nethercliffe Avenue, Glasgow. G44 3UL. (1972)
- 0204 Mr & Mrs G.McKean, 58 Cardoness Street, Dumfries. DG1 3QZ. (1975)
- 0413 Madam McKerrell of Hillhouse, Magdalene House, Bruce Street, Lochmaben. DG11 1PD.
- 0505 Mr M.J.McMullen, 12 Hoskings Close, Stone, Staffordshire. ST15 8FS. (1992)
- 0582 Miss Biddy Melville, The Sheiling, Monreith, Port William, Newton Stewart. DG8 9LJ. (1996)
- 0228 Miss Ruth M.Meyler, Marlin, Chapel Street, Moniaive, Thornhill. DG3 4EJ. (1967)
- 0416 Mr & Mrs N.S. & M.Miller, Dinwoodie Toll Bar, Lockerbie. DG11 2SL. (1990)
- 0602 Mrs Margaret Moffat, Bodesbeck, Moffat. DG10 9LQ. (1996)
- 0559 Mrs M.M.P.Mudd, 42 Westley Court, Austcliffe Lane, Cookley, Nr Kidderminster, Worcs. DY10 3RT. (1995)
- 0232 Mrs Jean Muir, North Wing, Carzield House, Kirkmahoe, Dumfries. DG1 1SY. (1981)
- 0526 Mr Liam Murray, 24 Corberry Park, Dumfries. DG2 7NG. (1994)
- 0608 Mr Edward Murray, 25 St Annes Road, Dumfries. DG2 9HZ. (1997)
- 0233 Dr B.J.Murray, 4 Moray Place, Edinburgh. EH3 6DS. (1979)
- 0235 Mr J.Neilson, 2 Park Street, Dumfries. DG2 7PH. (1977)
- 0236 Mrs Nancy Nevay, 27 Lover's Walk, Dumfries. DG1 1LR. (1987)
- 0237 Mr P.J.Newell, 27 Grove Road, Acton, London. W3 6AW. (1985)
- 0539 Mr Peter Newsome, Woodside, Auchencastle, Beattock. DG10 9SJ. (1995)
- 0614 Mrs Minnie Nodwell, Tippet Hill, 23 Rhonepark Crescent, Crossmichael, Castle Douglas. DG7 3BN. (1998)
- 0241 Mr D.W.Ogilvie, Lingerwood, Nelson Street, Dumfries. DG2 7AY. (1976)
- 0242 Dr Richard D.Oram, Rosevalley, Mid Street, Hopeman, Morayshire. IV30 2TF. (1986)
- 0563 Mr & Mrs K.J. & C.E.Palmer, Craiglemine, Whithorn. DG8 8NE. (1995)
- 0246 Dr J.G.Parker, Rose Place, 11 Park Avenue, Chelmsford, Essex. CM1 2AA. (1979)
- 0578 Mr Kevin Parker, 1 Peelmuir Road, Nethermill, Parkgate. (1997)
- 0247 Mr Robert Pate, Willowbank, Minnigaff, Newton Stewart. (1969)
- 0542 Dr & Mrs J.Paterson, Glencaple House, Church Street, Glencaple, Dumfries. DG1 4QY. (1995)
- 0575 Mr George Paterson, Oakland House, Copland Street, Dalbeattie. DG5 4EU. (1996)
- 0249 Mr A.W.H.Pearsall, 71 Parkside, Vanbrugh Park, London. SE3 7QF. (1969)
- 0251 Mr M.Pedreschi, Carse of Clary, Newton Stewart. DG8 6BH. (1983)
- 0253 Mr & Mrs A.Penman, Lochaber, 65 Academy Street, Castle Douglas. DG7 1EE. (1987)
- 0254 Mr D.J. Perry, 25 New Forest Drive, Brockenhurst, Hampshire. SO4 7QT. (1972)
- 0598 Mr Brian Peters, 9627 - 79 Street, Edmonton, Alberta, CANADA. T6C2S1. (1997)
- 0544 Mr John Pickin, High Weirstone House, Leswalt, Stranraer. DG9 ORQ. (1995)
- 0257 Mr & Mrs W. Prentice, 51 Albert Road, Dumfries. DG2 (1966)
- 0258 Miss J.Primrose, 33 St. Mary's Street, Sanquhar. DG4 6BW. (1970)
- 0259 Mr & Mrs K.Prince, Shealladh, Wallaceton, Auldgirth, Dumfries. DG2 0TG. (1986)
- 0597 Mr James H.Rae, 18 Glenburn Road, Bearsden, Glasgow. G61 4PT. (1997)
- 0521 Miss Siobhan Ratchford, 78 Church Street, Dumfries. DG2 7AS. (1994)
- 0419 Miss Alison Reid, 2 Alba Way, Avongrove, Hamilton. ML3 7QT. (1985)
- 0572 Mr Stephen Riddell, 1 Swanston Road, Edinburgh. EH10 7BB. (1996)
- 0270 Mr Gordon Robertson, 18 Cardoness Street, Dumfries. DG1 ()
- 0272 Mrs W.Robertson, 253 Annan Road, Dumfries. DG1 3HB. (1971)
- 0268 Mr Alex* Robertson, Kenyon, 45 Albert Road, Dumfries. DG2 9DN. (1957)
- 0274 Mr & Mrs D.C.Rochester, Hillcrest, Kirkton, Kirkmahoe, Dumfries. DG1 1SL. (1983)
- 0276 Dr & Mrs W.J.B.Rogers, Achnaha, Barclay Road, Rockcliffe, Kirkcudbrightshire. DG5 4QJ. (1980)
- 0606 Mrs I.J.Rogerson, Knowe Village Newton Stewart. (1997)

- 0584 Mrs D.A.Rolls, Crown Lane House, Jedburgh, Roxburghshire. TD8 6AH. (1996)
 0581 Mr David Rose, Comebye, Amisfield, Dumfries. DG1 3LR. (1996)
 0420 Mr J.E.Russell, Drumwalls, Gatehouse of Fleet. DG7 2DE. (1990)
 0283 Mr D.L.Sainty, Waterside, Ringford, Castle Douglas. DG7 2AU. (1956)
 0285 Mr* J.G.Scott, Woodrow Bank, Creebridge, Newton Stewart. DG8 6PW. (1977)
 0286 Mr W.W.Scott, Whitethorn, Hardgate, Castle Douglas. DG7 3LJ. (1986)
 0288 Miss Janet Shankland, 43 Kirkland Road, Lochvale, Dumfries. DG1 4EZ. (1978)
 0610 Mrs S.F.Shannon, 5 Parkhead Loaning, Dumfries. DG1 3BX. (1978)
 0421 Dr W.D.Sloan, Woodhouse, Wallaceton, Dumfries. DG2 0TF. (1990)
 0541 Mr J.A. Steel, Quaywood, Gatehouse of Fleet, Castle Douglas. DG7 2EH. (1995)
 0299 Mr Geoffrey Stell, Beechmount, Borrowstoun, Boness, West Lothian. EH51 9RS. (1983)
 0302 Miss M.M.Stewart, Waterside, Front View, Glencaple, Dumfries. (1987)
 0301 Mr C.W.Stewart, 1 Ritchie Court, 380 Banbury Road, Oxford. OX2 7PW. (1979)
 0303 Dr J.C.Stone, 20 Springfield Road, Aberdeen. AB1 7RR. (1958)
 0447 Mr & Mrs W.S. & P.M.Taylor, McCubbington, Auldgirth, Dumfries. DG2 0JX.
 0309 Mr M.J.Taylor, St Colms, 91 Glengate, Kirriemuir, Angus. DD8 4JH. (1985)
 0422 Mrs J. Taylor, 2 Hardthorn Cresent, Dumfries. DG2 9HS. (1991)
 0423 Mr M.G. Taylor, 10 Rotchell Park, Dumfries. DG2 7RH. (1989)
 0516 Prof & Dr R.J.Terry, Fairview, Rockcliffe, Kirkcudbrightshire. DG5 4QF. (1994)
 0591 Mrs J Thom, Ashbank, Shearington, Dumfries. DG1 4RT. (1997)
 0311 Prof. A.C.Thomas, Lambessow, St. Clement, Truro, Cornwall. TR1 1TB. (1961)
 0314 Miss E.L. Thornton, Maryfield, Aldern Way, Bakewell, Derbyshire. DE45 1AJ. (1978)
 0558 Mr & Mrs W.E. & S.M.Todd, Mid Glen, New Abbey, Dumfries. DG2 8DT. (1995)
 0445 Dr & Mrs F. & E.Toolis, 25 Dalbeattie Road, Dumfries. DG2 7PF. (1991)
 0449 Dr D Richard Torrance, 1 Strathfillan Road, Edinburgh. EH9 2AG. (1991)
 0551 Dr Ross Trench-Jellicoe, 101 Sibsey Street, Lancaster. LA1 5DQ. (1995)
 0613 Mr Philip Tweedie, 19 The Green, Ashley, Newmarket, Suffolk. CB 8 9EB. (1998)
 0319 Miss A.L.Vaughan, Linnhead, Tundergarth, Lockerbie. DG11 2PV. (1989)
 0562 Miss D.E.Walker, The Hollow, The Stell, Kirkcudbright. DG6 4TH. (1996)
 0424 Mr G.Waters, Bank Cottage, 99 Lanark Road, West Currie, Midlothian. EH14 5LB. (1990)
 0443 Mr & Mrs D.M.Watson, Knockbain, Tongland Road, Kirkcudbright. DG6 4UT. (1991)
 0527 Mr & Mrs C.J.Watson, Dalgonar, Scaur Water, Penpont, Thornhill. DG3 4NN. (1994)
 0455 Mr & Mrs Mark & Anna White, Smithy Cottage, Crocketford Road, Milton, Crocketford, Dumfries. DG2 8QT. (1992)
 0324 Mr* & Mrs J.Williams, St Albans, 43 New Abbey Road, Dumfries. DG2 7LZ. (1964)
 0325 Mrs M.Williams, Merkland, Kirkmahoe, Dumfries. DG1 1SY. (1976)
 0537 Mrs Ann D.Wilson, Glebe Cottage, Boreland, Lockerbie. DG11 2PB. (1995)
 0560 Mrs Christine Wilson, Tall Trees, London Road, Stranraer, DG9 8B2.
 0328 Dr Olive Wilson, Eversfield, Rockcliffe, Dalbeattie. DG5 4QF. (1981)
 0332 Mr & Mrs A.C.Wolffe, The Toll House, Gatehouse of Fleet. DG7 2JA. (1959)
 0167 Mr J.W.Wyllie-Irving, The Glebe, Manse Road, Lochrutton, Nr Dumfries. DG2 8NH. (1957)
 0334 Mr M.J.Yates, 36 Ty Mawr Road, Llandaff, North Cardiff, South Wales. CF4 2FN. (1974)

Subscribers

Number	Name & Address
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