TRANSACTIONS

of the

DUMFRIESSHIRE AND GALLOWAY NATURAL HISTORY

and

ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY

FOUNDED 20 NOVEMBER 1862

THIRD SERIES VOLUME 91
XCI

Editors:
DAVID F. DEVEREUX
JAMES FOSTER

ISSN 0141-1292

2017
DUMFRIES

Published by the Council of the Society

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This is the Wamphray cross-slab taken from the article 'The Early Church in Dumfriesshire' by W.G. Collingwood, in Volume 12 (1926) of these *Transactions*.

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THE TRUCKELL PRIZE

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

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

- The prize is open to all-comers (with the exception of previous winners of the prize) for an original, unpublished (and not submitted for consideration for publication elsewhere) research paper on a human or natural-history topic relating to the geographical area covered by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

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

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

A CASE OF MISTAKEN IDENTITY? MONENNA AND NINIAN IN GALLOWAY AND THE CENTRAL BELT

Oisín Plumb[1]

This paper re-explores the relationship between the cults of Monenna and Ninian in the wake of the significant developments in the study of Ninian over the past two decades. It examines the overlap of their cults, with a focus on Stirling, Edinburgh and Galloway. It is argued that the Scottish journey of Monenna may indeed reflect the cult of a female saint in southern Scotland, rather than that of Ninian as has previously been suggested. Medieval and early modern writers were aware of a potential for confusion between the names. This may have led to the saints becoming associated with one another and, in some locations, resulted in the eventual replacement of an original cult with that of Ninian.

One of the most intriguing saints associated with Galloway is Monenna. The saint's depiction in an eleventh-century *Vita* attributed to Conchubranus has been argued to derive from the confusion of two distinct saints, one active in Ireland, the other in England and Scotland.[2] The activities of Monenna in Scotland are summarised in the final book of the work:

> *Cum uero esset sancta Monenna centorum et decem annorum cepit ire Romam nouissima uice. Duabus enim uicibus ante ad predictam perrexit urbem. Peruenerat etiam in Albania id est in Scotiam in qua edificauerat ecclesias in Christi nomine quarum hec sunt nomina. Una est Chilnecase in Galuueie. Altera uero in cacumine montis qui appellatur Dundeuenel quia sic semper solebat sicut prediximus ut supra nudam petram nudis membris in noctibus orare Deum qui semper orandus est sicut Scriptura ait: 'Orate sine intermissione' et reliqua. Tercia autem in alio montis Dunbreten. Quarta in castello qui dicitur Striuelin. Quinta uero Dunedene qui anglica lingua dicitur Edeneburg. Sexta enim mons Dunpeleder et illic transfretauit mare in Albaniam ad sanctum Andream. Post hec uero exiit ad Aleethe ubi modo est obtima ecclesia quam Lonfortin edificauit cum quodam fonte sanctissimo et mansit illuc aliquanto tempore et multum dilexit illum locum, in quo in finem uite sue ut affirmant Domino uolente emisit spiritum.*
>
> Now when Saint Monenna was one hundred and ten years old she began to go to Rome for the last time: for she had journeyed twice before to the aforesaid city. She had also been to Albainn, that is Scotland, where she had built churches in the name of Christ. These are their names. One in Chilnecase[3] in Galloway.

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1 Institute for Northern Studies, University of the Highlands and Islands, Scott's House, Grainshore Road, Kirkwall, KW15 1FL.

2 This authorship has been disputed, see Bartlett (2002) xv; Boyle (1967) 147; and Wilson (1969) 150. However, the term Conchubranus Life will be used here for simplicity.

3 Alexander Boyle suggests that this refers to Candida Casa (Whithorn), in contrast to Watson's identification of Kilcais to the north of Ayr. Boyle (1967) 149; Watson (2011) 190.

> Another is on the summit of the hill which is called Dundevenal because it was always her custom, as we have said earlier, to pray at night with bare limbs on a bare rock to God, to whom prayer must always be offered, as Scripture says: 'Pray without ceasing', and so on. A third is on another hilltop, Dumbarton. A fourth is in a fortress called Stirling. Yet a fifth is Duneden, which in the language of the English is called Edeneburg. A sixth is the hill of Dunpeleder, and there she crossed the sea into Albainn, to Saint Andrews. Then after this she went to Alyth, where there is now a fine church which she built with a very holy spring at Luncarty and stayed there some time. She greatly loved that place, where at the end of her life, as they state, she breathed her last by the will of the Lord.[4]

In 1967 Alexander Boyle, expanding on a suggestion put forward by James Kenny in 1929, argued that these Scottish activities were originally taken from a life of Ninian that had been mistakenly inserted into the narrative. Boyle argued that this may have been due to the similarity of Ninian's name, when given in the form *Mo-Ninn*, to *Monenna*, and that such a mistake could be inferred by the extent to which the route of Monenna through Scotland reflected a probable route for Ninian as an early missionary. He also pointed to several instances where he felt dedications to Ninian could be shown to coincide with places listed in the *Conchubranus Life*.[5]

Discussion of Ninian has changed significantly since the case was first made for a link between the Bishop and Monenna. Recent scholarship has focused on Ninian's relationship to the saint known as **Uinniau*. It has been argued that a single historical individual named Uinniau or similar lies behind the traditions of both Finnian of Moville and Finnian of Clonard, potentially along with various others.[6] Thomas Clancy has suggested that to these various aliases may be added Ninian himself.[7] The argument that *Nynia* and associated forms should ultimately be understood as a misreading of *Uinniau* provides a convincing solution to the apparent lack of early *Ninian* place names or dedications.[8] Nonetheless, some difficulties remain, most notably how Whithorn itself could accept the renaming of its local saint from Uinniau to Ninian.[9] The notion that the cult of Ninian is entirely derived from Uinniau has not been universally embraced. Rachel Butter posits an 'independent (though obscure) original existence'.[10] The open questions notwithstanding, any plausible picture of a 'historical Ninian' now bears little resemblance to the missionary figure discussed by Boyle in 1967. Nonetheless, Boyle's equation of Monenna in Scotland and Ninian has remained a consideration for those attempting to grapple with questions that surround the identity of *Ninian / Uinniau*.[11] As will be seen, there remains substantial evidence for an association of the cults of Monenna and Ninian.

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4 *Conchubranus Life* Bk. III, Ch. 8, Ulster Society for Medieval Latin Studies (1982) 440–441.
5 Boyle (1967); Kenny (1929) 369, n.250; see also Boyle (1973).
6 Ó Riain (1977); idem (1984); idem (1994) 409; idem (1999) 189; Sharpe (1984) 198; Dumville (1984) 212; idem (1997) 75–76; Clancy (2001) 13–14.
7 Clancy (2001) 1–28.
8 Ibid.
9 Fraser (2002) 54.
10 Butter (2012) xxiv.
11 For example, Geoffrey Barrow (2004), 5–7; Clancy (2003) 402–403; Macqueen (2005) 137–144.

This article aims to revisit the relationship between Monenna and Ninian in the context of the arguments that have been made for Ninian's surviving cult to have derived, at least in part, from that of Uinniau.

One of the greatest difficulties encountered in any attempt to gauge the relationship between Monenna and Ninian is the apparent lateness of almost all surviving dedications to the bishop.[12] This makes any analysis of the, often tentative, links between the Scottish places in the *Conchubranus Life* and Ninian problematic, not least due to the ubiquity of devotion to St Ninian in Scotland in later centuries. The discussion here will focus on three places mentioned in the *Conchubranus Life*, due to their relative promise in contributing something to the discussion of the relationship between Ninian and Monenna. These are Eccles (or St Ninian's) near Stirling, Edinburgh, and Galloway.

Perhaps the most logical place to begin a discussion on the connection between Ninian and Monenna is at Eccles, now part of Stirling. The church here has been suggested by Clancy to hold possibly the earliest evidence of any dedication to St Ninian.[13] It is also given as a stopping point on the journey of Monenna's coffin in the *Conchubranus Life*.[14] Clancy has highlighted that Eccles in Stirling is the only place where an *Eccles* place name and the presence of a dedication to Ninian coincide.[15] *Eccles* names have frequently been argued to be suggestive of the activity of the early church in British and Pictish speaking areas, with 'simplex' forms, such as at Eccles in Stirling, potentially the earliest. However, it has also been suggested that, despite its Brythonic roots, Eccles may often be considered an English name form, including in cases where it is not coupled with an overtly English element. Recent studies have not reached a consensus as to the origin of the specific example of Eccles in Stirling.[16]

The reference to Eccles in the *Conchubranus Life* comes towards the end of the narrative, when two rival parties of pallbearers each believe themselves to be transporting the body of the saint:

> *Et sic factum est ut Scoctigene exirent cum integro feretro et corpus illius super illud sicut eis uidebatur ad ecclesiam que uocatur Allecht cum festinatione. Hibernenses uero et Anglici exierunt cum Athea et uenerunt illa die cum integro feretro et corpus super illud integrum iuxta castellum qui dicitur Striuelin ad ecclesiam que uocatur Eclees. Et postea adduxerunt corpus eius de loco ad locum usque dum uenientes ad predictum locum quam sibi eligit in uita. Nam et baculus suus cum ea illuc positus est. Pellicia uero eius et melotes et cetera utensilia pro thesauris in Hiberniam ducte sunt ad ecclesiam qui dicitur Chellescleue.*

12 Clancy (2001) 9; an extensive summary of dedications to Ninian can be found in the Saints in Scottish Place-Names database: <http://saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk/saint.php?id=530> (last accessed 28/06/17).

13 Clancy (2001) 11.

14 Conchubranus Life Bk. III, Ch. 11, Ulster Society for Medieval Latin Studies (1982) 446–447.

15 Clancy (2001) 11.

16 For discussion focused on the British nature of the name-form, see Barrow (1983); Taylor (1998) 3–7; MacQuarrie, (1998) 42; Clancy (2001) 10–11; Barrow (2004) 10–13. For a consideration of the name-form in the context of English language place-names see Hough (2009) 115-116; James (2009) 127–128; Clancy (2010) 5–9; Clancy (2013) 10–22; Padel (2013) 27–29.

> And it so happened that the Scots went forth with the complete bier and her body on it, as it seemed to them, and they hastened to the church called Alyth. But the Irish and the English went forth with Athea and with the complete bier and her body on it came that day to the church called Eclees near the fortress named Stirling. And thereafter they took her body from place to place until they came to the aforesaid place which she had chosen for herself while alive. For her staff too was placed there with her. But her leather coat and sheepskin and the rest of the things she used were brought as treasures to Ireland to the church called Killevy.[17]

The specific mention of Eccles as a stopping point on the journey of the body of Monenna, described by Robert Bartlett as 'curious emphasis', may suggest that the writer of the original source was attempting to accommodate an existing local tradition or dedication within the narrative.[18] Is there any evidence for such a tradition? As it has been suggested that the Scottish places mentioned in the life are the result of confusion with Ninian's cult, it is worthwhile to look into the connection of Ninian with the church, which can be shown to date, at the latest, to 1241.[19] Daphne Brooke argues that the dedication to Ninian at Eccles is likely to be older than this. She asserts that Alexander I commanded the dedication of the chapel of Stirling Castle at a time when Whithorn and Stirling did not lie in the same kingdoms and that Alexander's 'choice of patron saint' must therefore reflect an existing local practice, argued to have stemmed from a pre-existing devotion to Ninian at Eccles.[20] Her argument appears to rest on a non-stated acceptance that the chapel of Stirling Castle was dedicated to St Ninian. However, there seems to be no evidence that this was the case. Brooke cites a document recording an agreement between Robert, Bishop of Saint Andrews and Gaufrid, Abbot of Dunfermline in the presence of David I which refers to the dedication of Alexander I, and outlines the relationship between the chapel of Stirling Castle and the church at Eccles but this makes no mention of a named patron of the chapel of Stirling, or indeed Eccles.[21] Indeed the only dedication that can be discerned for the chapel of Stirling Castle is to St Michael.[22]

John MacQueen has suggested that evidence for a burial ground consecrated by Ninian at St Ninian's, Stirling, may exist in Jocelin's *Vita Kentigerni*. There is an anecdote where St Kentigern visits a man named Fregus on his deathbed in a town known as *Kernach*. Following his death Kentigern transports Fregus's body, using two un-tamed oxen: *ad Cathures, que nunc Glasgu vocatur* [to Cathures, which is now called Glasgow][23] where he is buried in a cemetery that had been consecrated by Ninian.[24] However, MacQueen

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17 *Conchubranus Life* Bk. III, Ch. 11, Ulster Society for Medieval Latin Studies (1982), 446–447.
18 Bartlett (2002) xvii.
19 Barrow (2004) 11.
20 Brooke (1994) 24.
21 Ibid. 188, n. 28. The text and translation can be found in Lawrie, Archibald. C. (ed.), (1905) *Early Scottish Charters Prior to AD 1153*, Glasgow: J. MacLehose and Sons, 146–147, 403–404.
22 Rodgers (1882), xi; it is argued by Rodgers that the dedication to St Michael may ultimately derive from the relationship between David I and St Malachi, see xi, n. ‡.
23 Jocelin, *Vita Kentigerni*, IX, in Forbes (1874) 179 (author's translation).
24 Jocelin, *Vita Kentigerni*, IX, in Metcalfe (1895) 199–201.

suggests the possibility that in Jocelin's original source for this anecdote *Cathures* did not refer to Glasgow, but may instead have referred to St Ninian's near Stirling. This is due to its proximity to Carnoch in Airth parish, Stirlingshire, his preferred candidate for *Kernach*.[25] Such a hypothesis would have a burial ground connected with Ninian at a location connected with the body of Monenna, thus seemingly furthering the case for a relationship between the two saints. The motif of the two wild oxen would also be notable if held to refer to the same location as the reference to oxen in *Culhwch ac Olwen*, which will be discussed presently. However, the highly speculative nature of MacQueen's suggestion should be noted. Carnoch in Airth parish is only one of three possibilities he suggests for *Kernach*- two in Stirlingshire and one in Fife.[26] His suggestion that *Cathures* did not refer to Glasgow in Jocelin's source is based on his argument that the form *Cathures* for Glasgow is unattested elsewhere, as well as the fact that in the earlier chapters of Jocelin's work, Fregus, and indeed Kentigern himself, is largely connected with Stirlingshire and eastern Scotland rather than the west.[27] The choice of St Ninian's, Stirling, as the potential true identity of *Cathures* is based on its known later association with Ninian and its proximity to one of the potential candidates for *Kernach*.[28] Such a line of reasoning may be regarded as so inferential as to offer little evidence for an association between Ninian and a burial ground at Eccles. Furthermore, MacQueen himself leaves open the possibility that the narrative did indeed originally refer to Glasgow.[29] Brooke's equation of *Cathures* with Cadder in modern Glasgow — a name derived from the Brythonic *cader*, meaning 'fort' should also be noted as further reason for caution here, although this could equally offer a means by which Jocelin could have mistaken a reference to a fort of more easterly location, such as Stirling, for a Glasgow location.[30]

An alternative connection between Ninian and the Stirling area has been suggested by Daphne Brooke. She has pointed to the task in *Culhwch ac Olwen* requiring that two individuals who have been turned into oxen, Nynnyaw and Peibyaw, be yoked together. These live on either side of *Mynyd Bannawg*.[31] Brooke argues that this refers to the Campsie Fells, to the north-east of which lies Eccles.[32] This identification is also held by John MacQueen, following W. J. Watson.[33] It must however be remembered that the location of *Mynyd Bannawg* has been far from agreed, with others arguing that the term may refer to a more northerly location.[34]

N. K. Chadwick suggested a connection between the reference to *Nynnyaw* and *Peibyaw* in *Culhwch ac Olwen* and the account of Ninian and Plebia in Ailred of Rievaulx's *Vita*

25 MacQueen (2005) 69–71.
26 *Carnock* in Fife attested from 1215. Taylor with Márkus, (2008–2012) 1, 210–211.
27 MacQueen (2005) 70–71.
28 Ibid. 71.
29 Ibid.
30 Brooke (1994) 25.
31 Ibid. 28.
32 Ibid. 29.
33 MacQueen (2005) 76.
34 See for example the discussion in Chadwick (1950) 38–39.

Sancti Niniani.[35] This tells of how Ninian and Plebia were reading psalms outdoors while resting during a journey. They were at first miraculously sheltered from the rain. However, Ninian was distracted by 'some unlawful thought' and consequently the rain began to fall on his book. It was only after the 'mild reproach' of Plebia that he regained his composure and as a result, his miraculous shelter was restored.[36] Chadwick argues that the reference in *Culhwch ac Olwen* is intended to depict two 'wicked Pictish princes who were ultimately reformed under monastic discipline' and claims that Ailred used a 'traditional' source for this account that was 'identical' with material in *Culhwch ac Olwen*.[37] Although the use of the term 'identical' may be something of a stretch here, the reference in *Culhwch* at the very least appears to indicate the existence of Ninianic tradition in central Scotland that may have been accepted into the ultimately prevailing narrative of Ninian through its possible incorporation in some form by Ailred. Whether or not any of this is of direct relevance to Eccles, and thus Monenna, is of course dependent on the original intended location of *Mynyd Bannawg*, which remains an open issue.

It may be summarised that concrete evidence of a dedication to Ninian predating the suggested eleventh-century date of the *Conchubranus Life* remains elusive.[38] If the connection between Eccles near Stirling and *Mynyd Bannawg* were to be accepted, then the association of Ninian with the area could be pushed back as far as the date of *Culhwch*. However, as it has been argued that *Culhwch ac Olwen* may be as late as the twelfth century, even this would not necessarily give Ninian priority over Monenna.[39]

One avenue, quite literally, that has hitherto been overlooked in discussion of the relationship between Monenna and Ninian is an Edinburgh street that formerly ran from what is now the eastern side of Parliament Square to the Cowgate. It is of interest to the present investigation due to the nature of what Stuart Harris describes as its 'astonishing number of corrupt forms'.[40] Ignoring unrelated, apparently later, names for the street, the various attested forms are: *St Mennin's Close, St Monan's Wynd, St Ninian's Close, St Ninian's Row*, *St Ninan's Street, Lady St. Minnan's Close, Ladie Sanct Monance Close and Lady St Ninian's Close*.[41]

There has been a tendency to equate the street, insomuch as it has been discussed at all, with St Monan, an Irish missionary of the sixth century whose cult was mainly centred on Fife.[42] In 1886 Peter Millar suggested that the name could indicate that the adjacent

35 Ibid. 41.
36 Ailred of Rievaulx, *Vita Sancti Niniani*, IX, trans. in MacQueen (2005) 117.
37 Chadwick (1950) 41–43.
38 Bartlett (2002) xv.
39 See Rodway (2005) 22, and Charles-Edwards (2010) 45–56.
40 Harris (1996) 548.
41 Perhaps the most comprehensive and meticulously referenced overview of street names in Edinburgh is to be found in the unpublished notes of Boog-Watson at the City of Edinburgh Central Library. This invaluable resource deserves greater recognition and certainly publication or digitisation. The preceding references are discussed in vol. 2, 45–46, 200–202; vol. 5, 206; vol. 7, 258, 342, 348; vol. 13, 342; vol. 15, 289. Unrelated names for the street include *Steil's Close* and *New Bank Close*; see Harris (1996) 548.
42 Penman (2002) 258; the cult of Monan in Fife is discussed in Taylor with Márkus (2006–12) 3, 545–549.

Mercat Cross was dedicated to the saint.[43] The suggestion was made due to the strong personal devotion of David II to St Monan and has been accepted by Michael Penman.[44] However, there are strong grounds to question this proposal, which was in any case only raised tentatively by Millar as a possibility.[45] If it was the case that a dedication to St Monan, a relatively well-known saint over the Forth, was bestowed upon the structure and consequently its adjacent street, it is difficult to understand why such a variety of name forms would accrue. It is also hard to explain why a well-known saint such as Ninian, with no apparent linguistic similarity to Monan in the Scots language, could become confused with Monan in this way. It is even more difficult to explain the instances where both Ninian and Monan are named as females in some of the forms.

It has also been asserted by a number of scholars that the name of the street derives from the former presence of a chapel on the site, which was dedicated to St Monan.[46] The trail of references from all such claims appears to ultimately lead to a lecture delivered by James Augustin Stothert in the mid-nineteenth century:

> In olden times there was a wynd leading from the High Street to the Cowgate, called S. Monan's or S. Mennan's wynd, from a chapel of the saint which stood on it.[47]

Unfortunately, with this statement the trail runs cold. The only reference given by Stothert for his information on St Monan's Wynd is a work that does not mention any chapel there.[48] We are therefore left in the dark as to where Stothert's information came from, if indeed the former presence of a chapel was not simply an inference on his part. I have been unable to find an earlier source making reference to any chapel in Edinburgh dedicated to St Monan, or for that matter Monenna/ Modwenna.[49] A chapel, whoever its patron, must therefore remain an unproven, albeit plausible, possibility.

Norman Dixon argued that the street was in fact dedicated to St Monenna.[50] He pointed to the equation that had been made by Watson between the term *Castellum Puellarum* [castle of the maidens], sometimes used for Edinburgh Castle, and Monenna's apparent foundation on Castle Rock.[51] A connection between the castle and Monenna was also argued by James Grant, who contended that the *Conchubranus Life* was ultimately the source of tales that asserted that royal maidens had once been kept there.[52] Dom Michael

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43 Millar (1886) 389.
44 Ibid. 371–383; Penman (2002) 260.
45 Millar (1886) 389.
46 For example, Harris (1996) 548; Boog-Watson, vol. 2, 200; Mackinlay (1914) 493.
47 Stothert (1847) 114.
48 The work discusses the home of the Hangman of Edinburgh on the street and simply states in a footnote that the street was 'Anciently St Mannan's Close'; see Chambers (1825) 189.
49 Many thanks to Steve Boardman for his assistance in this ultimately unsuccessful search.
50 Dixon (1947) 86.
51 Ibid. 121; following Watson (2011) 342.
52 Grant (1880) 1, 15. Grant pointed to the discovery of apparently female bones and coffins at the site of St Margaret's Chapel in 1853 as potential evidence for some truth lying behind the account. The very short newspaper article he refers to does not provide any further information beyond this: see *Caledonian Mercury* 26 September 1853.

Barrett went so far as to suggest that Edinburgh was in fact named after her.[53] In later years, such arguments have been largely superseded by the claim that the appearance of the term *Castellum Puellarum* in official documents from the time of David I was directly related to the king's involvement in the affairs of his niece, the Empress Matilda, and her half-brother, Robert of Gloucester, to whom Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* (the text in which the term first appears) was dedicated.[54] If the term was introduced to political usage through the work of Geoffrey, the question remains as to the source of the term in Geoffrey's own work, if indeed he intended it to refer to Edinburgh. Roland Blenner-Hassett pointed to Skene's assertion that the tradition of Monenna may have been Geoffrey's basis for use of the term.[55] However, this suggestion was dismissed by Robert Loomis, who instead argued that the use of *Castellum Puellarum* was ultimately due to the influence of Breton storytellers on the Scottish nobility.[56]

It would then seem that any attempt to equate the term *Castellum Puellarum* with Monenna must do so through a Galfridian prism that is tenuous at best. However, the variety of forms of the street's name would seem to suggest some awareness of a female saint of similar name in Edinburgh. Crucially, these variants appear to display some specific attempt to equate this name with Ninian, though in a manner in which the fact that she is female is made clear. The link between these names seems particularly puzzling in a non-Gaelic speaking context where the form *Mo-Ninn* would not be an immediately evident variation of *Ninian*. Consequently, it may be asked if there are grounds for doubting that the bringing in of a 'Scottish journey' into the Monenna narrative was simply the result of a misidentified account of a male Ninian. The name forms of the street would appear to suggest an awareness of a connection between the names, and indeed that either Monan or Ninian could be applied to a female saint. Attempts to grapple with the relationship between the names are also visible elsewhere. One example is to be found in a note added to the ninth-century metrical calendar, the *Martyrology of Oengus*, surviving in the early-fifteenth-century manuscript *Leabhar Breac:*[57]

> *Moninde ꞟrl. .i. moninde slébi cuilind. ocus sárbile ahainm prius. no darercai ahainm fortuus. acht araile file balb rotroiscc aice conid he toisech rolabair nimim [leg. nindin?][58] unde est moninde frisin caillig. Ocus nine écis fair fén .i. monine quasi monanna atbertis nacaillecha fria.*
>
> 'Moninne' etc. i.e. Moninne of Slieve Gullion, and Sárbile was her name previously. Or Darerca was her name at first. But a certain dumb poet fasted with her, and the first thing he said [after being miraculously cured of his dumbness] was ninnin. Hence the nun was called Mo-ninde, and the poet himself Nine Écis. Mo-nine quasi Mo-nanna the nuns used to call her.[59]

53 Barrett (1919) 103–104 (6 July).
54 The case was convincingly argued in Loomis (1958) 8.
55 Blenner-Hassett (1942) 253, n.13.
56 Loomis (1958) 9.
57 Many thanks to Eystein Thanisch for alerting me to this. The notes are discussed in the introduction to Stokes (1905) xlvii–lii.
58 Bracketed section is Stokes's.
59 Stokes (1880) cxvi.

The bizarre onomastic tale emphasises the similarity of Monenna's name to a diminutive form of the name Ninian, in this case that of the poet Niníne Éces.[60] If this example stood alone, it could be argued that a compiler of the Life of Monenna may have mistakenly incorporated material from a male Ninian and, on a separate unrelated occasion, the commentator on the *Martyrology of Oengus* noticed the similarity of the names and felt the need to explain them. However, the fact that an awareness of the confusion of the names also appears to be attested in a street name outside the Gaelic zone may hint that something else is going on.

A further apparent manifestation of an awareness of a link between Monenna and Ninian has been highlighted by Boyle, who has pointed to a life of St Maiden (*Medane*) within the *Aberdeen Breviary* entry for 19 November. In this account, Maiden is an Irish woman who has taken a vow of chastity. She attempts to avoid the pursuit of an enamoured soldier by travelling to the Rhins of Galloway. When the soldier eventually finds her, he tells her that her face and eyes are the reason that he is so enamoured with her, whereupon she tears out her eyes, causing him to repent. Following this Maiden lives the rest of her life: *in sanctitate, et paupertate transigens sub sanctissimo et beatissimo patre Niniano antistite* [in holiness and poverty under the most holy and blessed father Bishop Ninian].[61]

It is not unanimously accepted that St Maiden should be regarded as identical to St Monenna. Helen Brown has pointed to the similarity of this narrative and that of St Triduana, also in the *Aberdeen Breviary*. She has drawn attention to the accounts of both saints' plucking out of their own eyes and notes that this does not occur in any extant life of Monenna.[62] A similarity between Maiden and Triduana has also been highlighted by James A. Ross. However, despite this, he assumed Modena to be the same as Monenna and Modwenna.[63] Caveats notwithstanding, the narrative does appear to offer further support for the notion that a female saint with a name akin to Monenna was known to be associated with Ninian.

If a tradition of Monenna or Medana had at some point become confused to some extent with that of St Triduana, then this could offer a connection between Monenna and St Andrews (one of the Scottish locations presented in the *Conchubranus Life*), as the B version of the *Saint Andrews origin legend* has Triduana accompany St Rule as the relics of the Apostle are brought to Scotland.[64] It may be noted that the burial place for Triduana is given in this account as *Anagles*.[65] Simon Taylor and Gilbert Márkus suggest the possibility that this may derive from an *eaglais* meaning simply 'the church'.[66] It may

60 The relationship of the name *Ninian* and *Ninine* is discussed in Gough-Cooper (1997) 5; the poet Niníne Éces has been connected to the Uí Echdach and assigned a flourit of 700. See Welch (1996) 393.

61 MacQuarrie (2012) 294–297; also discussed in Boyle (1973) 30; and Trotter and Maxwell (1886) 88–89.

62 Brown (2007) in Strickland (2007) 54.

63 Ross (1954) 634.

64 St Triduana's association with St Andrews is discussed in Brown (2007) 55; Version B of the St Andrews Legend is ed. and trans. in Taylor with Márkus, (2006–2012) 3, 564–600.

65 St Andrews Foundation Account B Ch. 6, ed. and trans. Taylor with Márkus, (2006–2012) 3, 575, 579.

66 Ibid. 3, 598.

be possible that a burial at a more specific *Eccles* was the original intended meaning. If this was the case, the argument for an association between Triduana and Monenna would be furthered, as would the case for the priority of Monenna over Ninian at *Eccles*.

Leaving speculation over the relationship between Monenna and Triduana aside, it appears that there are at least three instances where a distinction between a female St Monenna and a male Ninian is known and engaged with: the note in the *Martyrology of Oengus* linking Monenna with the poet *Niníne Éces*; the account in the *Aberdeen Breviary*; and the Edinburgh street name. Because of the acknowledgement of the potential for confusion of the names, a perceived association between Ninian and Monenna may have developed, spreading beyond the Gaelic speaking zone. In some places, Eccles being a notable example, narratives became confused in such a way that it is now difficult to ascertain with any confidence which should be given priority.

Monenna's journey through Scotland is hard to dismiss as that of a third-hand regeneration of Uinniau, who morphed from Uinniau, to Ninian, before taking female form in the text of Conchubranus. There are clearly elements that are ahistorical and arguably parts that may owe their roots to the traditions of other saints, Triduana being one possibility. However, the logical journey through British strongholds (which was what spawned the suggestion of a connection with Ninian in the first place) does stand as potential testament to a tradition that is old. Indeed, it is possible that on occasion an old dedication to a female saint became confused with her more famous male counterpart in local dedications as his fame spread, allowing local traditions of Ninian to gain a foothold throughout the Central Belt. This would help to account for the traces of an awareness of a female counterpart closely associated with Ninian. It therefore remains possible that the *Conchubranus Life* does indeed contain traces of the cult of a female saint in southern and central Scotland.

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ANGLES AND BRITONS AROUND TRUSTY'S HILL: SOME ONOMASTIC CONSIDERATIONS

Alan James[1]

The issues considered in this paper arise from an ongoing study of place-names in and around the Fleet Valley in the south-west Stewartry, brought into focus by the recent excavations on Trusty's Hill and the timely publication of the very thorough and thought-provoking report on the findings (Toolis and Bowles 2017[2]). I shall address in particular some questions concerning what can and cannot reasonably be inferred from the evidence of names regarding the linguistic, and by implication ethnic and political, history of this corner of Galloway during the second half of the first millennium AD, as well as drawing attention to some intriguing possibilities which may add some complexity to the picture.

Northumbrian Old English names

The first question concerns the place-name evidence for penetration and control of the areas around Trusty's Hill in the aftermath of the fort's destruction by speakers of Northumbrian Old English. The distribution of Brittonic, English and Scandinavian place-names was the subject of an important article by Daphne Brooke (Brooke 1991[3]). Concerning Anglian settlement in Galloway and Carrick generally, she cited the judgement of Dr Margaret Gelling that the full-scale replacement in England of Brittonic place-names with Anglo-Saxon ones 'occurs only when the newcomers are farmers rather than, or as well as, overlords' (Gelling 1976, 811; Brooke, 313): she concluded cautiously (ibid., 314) that the quantity and types of Old English names in the coastal and lowland parts indicated 'something more, perhaps, than the impact of "a scattered uppercrust".'

In turn, the authors of the report on the Trusty's Hill excavation (Toolis and Bowles, 134) cite Brooke's findings among the evidence for 'the establishment of flourishing Northumbrian enclaves over the course of the later seventh, eighth and ninth centuries', and go on to say that, notwithstanding Brooke's offering 'some evidence that the Northumbrian possession of Galloway was at least in part a relatively peaceable affair', their archaeological findings and other evidence demonstrate this dominance 'was also achieved through the violent overthrow and subjugation of the native British ruling elite'. On the following page, they refer to 'the rapid exchange of Brittonic and Anglian place-names described by Brooke' (Toolis and Bowles, 135, citing Brooke, 313), and in concluding their discussion they declare that 'the rapid spread of later seventh and early eighth century Anglian place-names … suggests that the destruction of Rheged required a whole scale (*sic*) cultural transformation' (ibid., 149).

It should be pointed out that Brooke took an agnostic view of the relevance to Galloway of the scanty evidence for the Kingdom of Rheged (Brooke, 300), and that she nowhere

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2 Hereafter referenced as 'Toolis and Bowles'.

3 Hereafter referenced as 'Brooke'.

suggested that the spread of Anglian place-names and replacement of Brittonic ones was 'rapid'. Indeed, she only used that word once, referring to the resurgence of the Cumbric language and ethnic consciousness in the tenth century, as evidence of the 'survival of a British population' (ibid.). On the other hand, it must be admitted that, at the end of her discussion of the place-names around the mouth of the Fleet (ibid., 307), she did wax a little rhapsodic:

> It was to be expected that the valley of the Fleet, the warmest, greenest of all the Galloway valleys, should have fallen to the acquisitive Angle. Though much of the place-name evidence is inconclusive, its conjunction with archaeological evidence at Ardwall and Kirkandrews, the naming of the two watercourses, and the identification of a boundary, argues that the Northumbrian Angles were well established on the estuary of the Fleet and in the coastal district between Fleet and Dee.

It is not the purpose of the present paper to subject to critical examination the full range of evidence for Galloway and Carrick presented by Brooke, or the — rightly tentative — conclusions she drew from that evidence, nor to deal with Toolis and Bowles's speculations concerning the supposed Kingdom of Rheged. But it would seem timely to look more closely at the evidence for the parts of the Stewartry closest to Trusty's Hill.

To begin with, I shall examine names which Brooke saw as being of likely or possible Anglian origin. A couple of words of caution must be entered immediately. By 'Anglian', she evidently meant 'Northumbrian Old English'. This was the dialect that had emerged by the eighth century to be the earliest form of English for which reasonably substantial records survive, not least the inscription on the Ruthwell Cross.[4] Moreover, her rather loose usage of 'Anglian' tends to give the impression that the language was not only introduced by, but continued to be used by, an ethnically and genetically distinct population, which she saw as arriving in considerable numbers and occupying zones which she perceived as demarcated from those occupied by the 'British'. This, of course, is not the only possible interpretation of the place-name evidence: even in the 'two or three generations' that she sees separating the initial phase of Northumbrian colonisation and the establishment of the bishop's see at Whithorn shortly before 731 (the date when Bede in his Ecclesiastical History reported this event as 'recently'[5]), there could well have been intermarriage, and the language even of a small élite could have come into use among at least some of the local population as the language of trade and administration, success and power.

Brooke apparently sees the presence of Old English in the coastal and lowland parts of Galloway as being coterminous with the period of Northumbrian rule, which she takes as beginning during the seventh century — Toolis and Bowles of course see it beginning dramatically with the fall of the fort on Trusty's Hill — and ending in the ninth,

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4 It should be noted that the Old English forms cited by Brooke in her article and appendix 1 are not necessarily given in the form that would have been current in our region in the seventh to ninth centuries. Where Northumbrian OE forms would have been significantly different, these are indicated in the present article.

5 *Historia Ecclesiastica* V 23; Plummer 351: *nuper* 'lately, not long ago, comparatively recently'.

presumably with the implosion of the kingdom following the fall of York in 867–9. The questions of the survival of the language in our area beyond that date, and the possible impact of its Scandinavian relation, Old Norse, are outwith the scope of this paper, but the possibility should be noted of a Scandinavian-influenced dialect of Northumbrian English surviving and developing in our area at least during tenth century, and maybe even the eleventh, notwithstanding the spread of Gaelic during that period. Along with that lies the question of the use of Scots. The latter language, though descended in part from Northumbrian Old English, was very much influenced by immigrants from parts of England formerly under Scandinavian rule, especially Yorkshire, Lincolnshire and the Fen Country, who came during the twelfth century in the retinues of Anglo-Norman barons like the De Morvilles and Balliols, and even more as merchants and craftsmen in the new burghs throughout lowland Scotland: whether or not the dialects of such settlers merged with surviving Northumbrian English need not detain us, we can assume that the Scots language was present in our area alongside the dominant Gaelic at least locally by 1200.

Twynholm

Among the 'Anglian' settlement names listed by Brooke in her groups 4 (around the Dee estuary) and 5 (around the Fleet), only one is at all likely to have originated in the earlier years of Northumbrian rule, namely Twynholm. This is *Twignam* 1154×65 (i.e. a year between those dates, inclusive), but *Twenham* 1200×6 and there are 'six forms with ham before 1296', when *Tuinam* is recorded, followed by *Twynham* 1300 (ibid., 317). She suggests two possible etymologies. The first, **(be)twēon-ēam* (Northumbrian **(bi)twīen-*[6]) would mean 'between streams'. The West Saxon equivalent **[be]twēoxn[an]-ēam* occurs in a number of places in south-west England, including *Twinham*,[7] the former name of Christchurch Hampshire (post 1974, Dorset), and Twyning Gloucestershire;[8] Christchurch is indeed situated between the Hampshire Avon and the Wiltshire/Dorset Stour, Twyning between the Warwickshire/Gloucestershire Avon and the Severn. Brooke points out that Twynholm lies between the Tarff Water and the Corraford Burn, but the latter is a very modest watercourse, if travellers in this area were seeking a settlement 'between rivers', they would surely have found it between the Dee and the Tarff at Tongland, not Twynholm.

However the early evidence favours Brooke's alternative proposal for the second, generic, element, *–hām*. This is the English word 'home', Scots 'hame', a habitative term generally taken to refer to a settlement.[9] However it is important to note that present-day English place-name scholars recognise that it applied at least as much to the landholding associated with the homestead and its set of buildings. So in place-names *hām* may have referred to quite a substantial area, comparable to a later parish, and its main settlement may not always have been at or near the place that has '-ham' in its present-day name.

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6 *bituien*, but also *bituen*, in the 10th-century glosses on the Lindisfarne Gospels: Campbell 1959, 101 and 97.

7 *(æt) Tweoxn-eam* (Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (A text), s.a. 901) 10th century, *(at) Twynham* (934) 17th century.

8 *Tweoneaum* (c740) 12th century, *Bituinæum* (814) 11th century, *T(v)eninge* 1086 (Domesday Book).

9 The fullest account of its OE senses relevant to toponymy is in Smith 1956 part I, 226–29.

Barrie Cox has demonstrated that this element was the most favoured habitative term among the earliest Germanic-speaking settlers and that it remained in use up to around the time of Bede, but radical changes in settlement patterns, land-holdings and fiscal systems caused it to fall into disuse as a place-naming term from about the mid-eighth century;[10] Gillian Fellows-Jensen (1990) has argued further that *hām* referred primarily to extensive estates and only came to be attached to particular settlements when these were disintegrating in the later Anglo-Saxon period.

If the name referred originally not primarily to the central settlement but to a substantial estate, that could have extended from the coast up to the head of Glengap, and along the coast from the estuary of the Dee to that of the Fleet, i.e. comprising the whole of what eventually became the parishes of Twynholm, Borgue (itself combining Kirkandrews[11] and Senwick[12]), and possibly Tongland.[13] If so, the first element might have been *twīen-* 'between', and the second either *–ēam* 'waters' or *–hām* 'estate'. Otherwise the first element may be a personal name (as is commonly the case with *–hām*): Brooke suggests *Twiċġa*, which is perhaps favoured by the earliest recorded form, *Twignam* 1154×65.

Either way, it is reasonable to infer that Twynholm was a substantial estate that came into the possession of an English-named landholder at some date before the mid-eighth century, though not necessarily in the immediate aftermath of the destruction of the fort on Trusty's Hill in the early seventh. It certainly suggests, though it is not decisive evidence (as demonstrated by Margaret Gelling 1978, chap. 7), that there was some English-speaking settlement here by the mid-eighth century. But even if Twiċġa is our number one suspect as 'the acquisitive Angle', his domain was centred across the hills to the east, not in the Fleet Valley.

Miefield

In the northern part of Twynholm parish, near Glengap, is Miefield (*Meythfelde* 1456; *Mefelde* 1457; *Meefeld* Blaeu[14]; *Mayfield* first-edition OS 6-inch map; pronounced 'my field'). Of this Brooke writes (ibid., 305): 'The estate of Miefield, on the conjectural Roman roadline running from Loch Ken to Lauriston (sic), may have been a daughter settlement.'[15] Indeed, it probably was on, or close, to the main cross-country routeway through the period of Roman influence and throughout the Middle Ages, heading for the

10 Cox 1973, 55–75; idem. 1976, 61–63; more recent consideration of this element is discussed in James 2010, and by several contributors to Carroll and Parsons 2013, notably the editors at xxiii–iv and 46–7 respectively, and, of particular interest in the present context, Jones in his article 'Settlement archaeology and place-names' at 194–5 with references.

11 See *Purtoun* below.

12 See Senwick below.

13 See Brooke, 322 for early records. The name is probably Scandinavian, *tunga* is commonly used for such locations in Norse place-names, especially in Iceland, while there is no certain evidence for comparable usage of the English cognate *tunge* (Smith 1956, II 198). The pronunciation is, of course, 'tongue-land'.

14 Blaeu 1654, hereafter referenced as Blaeu.

15 Brooke cites Crawford 1952–3, 22–7. While there is still no archaeological evidence for the route from Glenlochar to Barwhill, it is reasonable to suppose the Romans passed somewhere in this vicinity.

crossing of the Fleet below the Roman fortlet north-west of Barwhill, and thence to the Anwoth gap below Trusty's Hill, some four miles, 6.5 km, to the west. It is also close to the route northwards from the coast at Ross Bay via Twynholm, Trostrie (see below) and Glengap.

Now, *-feld* is an element that occurs relatively frequently in early Old English place-names (Cox 1975–6, 58–9; Gelling and Cole 2000, 269–74): if the name was given early in the time of Northumbrian rule it would have referred to a fairly extensive tract of mainly open country with some trees, land used for grazing (by the later Anglo-Saxon period, it can be interpreted as 'common pasture'[16]), the type of landscape we now refer to as 'wood pasture'. It could indeed have been a significant adjunct of the *hām*, not merely a daughter-settlement.

Brooke, perhaps influenced by the form on the first-edition OS map, takes the first element to be *mæġþe* 'mayweed'. This word probably occurs in a few place-names in the south of England, such as Mayfield in Sussex, where Stinking Mayweed was a hated weed of arable fields, causing blisters on harvesters' hands, but it is mercifully very rare in our part of the country. Scentless Mayweed, on the other hand, is very common, but less objectionable.[17] It might have flourished when this location was first cultivated, but that would not have been at an early date: if it is 'mayweed field', it is likely to be a later mediaeval formation. Other possibilities are *mæġþ* 'maiden', or the homophone of the latter meaning 'folk'; 'maiden' might imply the tract was previously unexploited, 'folk' might indicate some kind of common right to pasturage, but both are uncommon in place-names and, like *mæġþe*, apparently restricted to the south of England.

A more plausible, and interesting, candidate would be a Northumbrian ancestor of Scots *methe* (also recorded as *meyth*, cf. *Meythfelde* 1456) meaning 'a boundary marker'. The settlement is situated in a bend of the Glengap Burn, sheltered to the north by Dow Craig Hill. It is reasonable to suppose that the *feld* extended across the whole of the roughly triangular piece of land; the boundary between Twynholm and Tongland runs for a short distance along the Glengap Burn to the east.[18] I am not aware of any surviving boundary

16 Subsequently, in the 'open field' zone of England, shared arable land, and eventually, enclosed farmland.

17 Stinking Mayweed (aka Stinking Chamomile), *Anthemis cotula*, is recorded as *Maitheweed* in the north of England (Grigson 1955, 375), though the name was used of other weeds of too; it is common in S and E England, but now very infrequent in south-west Scotland; it is not listed in Stewart 1990, and the BSBI Atlas of British Flora online at <http://bsbi.org/maps?taxonid=2cd4p9h.f00> shows only a single record for the Stewartry, pre-1939, in the hectad centred on Dundrennan. Scented Mayweed, *Matricaria recutita*, does occur (Stewart 1990, 46), and Scentless Mayweed, *Tripleumospermum inodorum*, is 'frequent' (ibid.), with records in the BSBI Atlas for both plants in the Twynholm and Fleet Valley areas, those for the latter including recent ones in tetrads close to Miefield.

18 Lairdmannoch, the settlement east of Miefield, must be associated with Upper and Lower Lairdmannoch to the north, on the west side of Loch Mannoch and lying in Tongland parish. Some part of this group is *Larmannoch* 1565, which Maxwell 1930, 191, interprets as **lubhgort-manach*, 'kailyard of the monks' of Tongland. He is surely right about manach, his guess at the first element is more speculative: he says this compound (correctly *lubhghort*) is pronounced 'lort'; the word is rare or obsolete in Scottish Gaelic, formerly more common in Irish, though now archaic; it is impossible to judge whether it really underlies *Lar-* in the 1565 form.

marker here, though it is a locality rich in prehistoric archaeology as well as substantial natural boulders. However, *methe* is from Old Norse *mið* (see *The Scottish National Dictionary* svv. *methe* n[1] and v), and would imply a post-Northumbrian formation, indeed probably a Scots name no earlier than the thirteenth century, meaning 'common pasture by a boundary mark'.

Purtoun

Other settlement names listed by Brooke in her 'group 5', around the Fleet, include *Purton*, Girthon, Plunton, and (High and Low) Carleton, all in the area across the river from Trusty's Hill. These may be formations with Old English *–tūn*,[19] though, as Brooke acknowledges (Brooke, 306–7): 'The estate name Plunton (plumtree enclosure) at NX 6050 cannot be ascribed to the OE period with certainty; and this is true of the parish name Girthon.' Elsewhere (ibid., 299) she declares, 'OE settlement names formed with the element *tun* (enclosure, village) … may be as old as the identifiably early settlement names, but they are impossible to date.' But the work of Cox already referred to[20] had actually established a probable terminus post quem: *tūn* is rare, *hām* the favoured term, prior to the mid-eighth century; after that time, *hām* falls out of use and *tūn* becomes the standard term for a farming settlement. That of course is greatly over-simplified, the development of English settlement naming usage during the Middle Anglo-Saxon period reflected radical, complex changes in settlement patterns, land-holdings and fiscal systems. Nevertheless, much work by subsequent scholars[21] has confirmed the likelihood that names like those in this group, even in southern England, are unlikely to date from much earlier than 750, in our part of Northumbria probably a good deal later. They are more likely to reflect Northumbrian colonial settlement on relatively compact estates carved out of a former chieftain's territory around 800. They are very unlikely to have originated in the immediate aftermath of the destruction of the Trusty's Hill fort.

The mediaeval parish centre of Kirkandrews is referred to regularly as Kirkandrews Purtoun (*Purten* c1275; *Porton* 1335x6; *Purtoun* 1413), the second name distinguishing it from Kirkandrews Balmaghie. But its presence implies that it was an alternative, and pretty certainly prior, name for the settlement. Brooke is very probably right in seeing the descriptive element as Old English *port* (from Latin *portūs*).[22] **Port-tūn* here is 'harbour-farm', the reference is obviously to a landing-place in either Kirkandrews Bay or Castle Haven Bay, and it raises the interesting possibility that a trading-place associated with the 'galleried dun' was still functioning well into the time of Northumbrian rule.[23] The

19 It should be noted that '-ton' can reflect Old English *dün* 'hill', but none of the early forms for these places imply that possibility.

20 Cox 1975–6, 65.

21 Scholarship subsequent to Cox's seminal study is reviewed in Carroll and Parsons 2013, especially by Parsons, 54–6; Jones, 194–5; and, importantly for Scotland, by Clancy, 299–306.

22 The best-known example of port as a harbour is its probable use as the name of Portsmouth Harbour, giving its name to Porchester, Portsdown and Portsea as well as Portsmouth; *port* occurs in the sense of 'a trading place' in the names of inland market towns such as the several Newports, but it should be noted that, although it is superficially similar to *Purtoun*, early forms for Porton Wilts make that an unlikely *port*.

23 An annual St Lawrence's Fair was held at Kirkandrews into early modern times, see Glasgow University School of Humanities 2010–13 under Kirkandrews. I am grateful to David Devereux for drawing this fact to my attention.

proximity of the early Christian site on Ardwall Isle should also not be overlooked; we shall return here shortly (see Barlocco below).

Girthon

Girthon (*Girtun* 1296, *Gerton* 1300, *Girtoun* 1306×29, *Girton* Blaeu) is likely to be identical in formation to Girton by Cambridge,[24] another Girton in Nottinghamshire, and Grettons in Gloucestershire and Shropshire. The descriptive element is probably Old English *grēot* 'grit, gravel, lots of small stones', a very fair description of the glacial till that covers much of the surface around the Clauchan and Old Kirk of Girthon and the lower part of the Fleet Valley generally.[25]

As already mentioned, Brooke acknowledged that this name need not necessarily date from the time of Northumbrian rule, it could be later.[26] However, Girthon became the kirktoun of a very large mediaeval parish, extending up the south-eastern side of the valley as far as the headwaters of the Fleet. The possibility that it might have been based on a more ancient bounded territory, and that the later parishes of Twynholm and Kirkandrews together, perhaps with Senwick and Tongland, might have been based on another, is one we shall need to keep in mind.

Plunton

The substantial estate in Borgue parish that is evidenced today by a range of names including Plunton Castle, Burn, Hill, House, Mains, Mill, Bridge, and Lennox Plunton, again cannot 'be ascribed to the OE period with certainty' (Brooke, 306). If Brooke's interpretation, 'plum enclosure', is correct, the name is likely to be mediaeval, though if taken as 'plum-tree farm' it might be from the later years of Northumbrian rule.[27] The earliest records, *Puncktoune* 1457; *Plunctoune* 1458, raise doubts, and, bearing in mind that the vowel is long both in Old English *plūm* and in Scots *ploom*, it is not wholly certain whether that word really is present in *Plomtoun*, *Pluwmptoun* 1461; *Plumtoune* 1482; *Pluntoun* 1484; *Plumtoun*, *Plumptoun* Blaeu.[28] It is a highly problematic name, but can certainly be ruled out of consideration as evidence for early Anglian settlement.

Carleton

Brooke says (ibid., 312): 'As a place-name Carl(e)ton goes back to the Old Scandinavian *Karlatun*, but this is not found in Scandinavia, and generally taken to be a translation of the

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24 Well-documented from the tenth century on, including *Gerton* 1399, cf. *Gerton of Flete.*

25 Formally the name could be Old Norse **grjot-tún*; however it is doubtful whether *tún* occurs at all in place-names in Cumbria and the Solway region, see Insley 2015, 103.

26 *Gre(e)t* remained current in Middle English (though documentation is lacking for Older Scots), but was superseded by the related word 'grit'.

27 Both in OE and Older Scots, the fruit referred to would more probably have been damsons than bullace plums, the ancestors of the modern fruit (see DOST), though there is some evidence for the latter being eaten in the mediaeval burghs (Dickson and Dickson 2000, 215).

28 For the modern form Plunton, cf. Plumton in Cumberland, where all written records show 'Plum-', but the pronunciation was recorded in the English Place-Name Survey as [pluntən]: Armstrong et al. 1950 vol. XX, 234.

OE *Ceorlatun* (the village of the free man or peasants)';[29] this is broadly correct, though it may be more accurate to regard it as a Scandinavian-influenced form of an English name. *Ċeorlas* (modern English 'churls' notwithstanding) were a class of free peasantry of relatively high status in Anglo-Saxon society, and the presence of this name in Borgue parish implies that land was held here by farmers of this rank by the time of Scandinavian settlement in the tenth century.[30] But it is not necessary to infer, as Brooke does (ibid., 314) that: 'There must have been areas where the Angles settled as a whole people, with their own free peasants working the land. The Carl(e)ton place-names[31] hint that this was so'. Apart from the paradoxical notion of 'free' peasants being 'owned', there is no reason to assume that the peasants in question were 'Anglian' migrants. By the time the land was granted to them, they could equally well have been local inhabitants of English, British or mixed ancestry.

Other names with –ton or –toun in the parishes of Girthon, Twynholm and Kirkandrews lack early documentation and show no diagnostic characteristics to suggest an early mediaeval origin: two farms named Ingleston, in Twynholm and Kirkandrews, like at least four others of that name in the Stewartry, were the property of Englishmen at some time when that was distinctive, but of course they were not necessarily Northumbrian Angles. *Purton* is certainly interesting as hinting at a harbour and trading-place in the vicinity of Castle Haven some time before the late thirteenth century, and the fact that the associated Kirkandrews along with Girthon became centres of mediaeval parishes may imply earlier significance. Carleton is evidence of the development of Northumbrian patterns of landholding and associated conceptions of social ranking prior to the Scandinavian incursions. But even allowing a Northumbrian-period origin for Girthon and adding the dubious Plunton only produces a modest 'cluster' of possibly Northumbrian-period names, at most suggesting grants of land to speakers of English at a relatively advanced stage in the development of the Northumbrian state, when relatively compact, directly taxable, units of farming settlement were being established. These English speakers might have been incomers from the Northumbrian heartlands to the east, or descendants of the earlier colonists at Twynholm, but by the time these names were given, they could equally well have been local inhabitants using what was by then the language of power and success. They lend no support at all to suggestions of rapid, large-scale population displacement in the seventh century. Nor are there any further Old English names to indicate any subsequent intensification or extension of settlement: the contrast with patterns of Anglian settlement-names in Cumberland, Northumberland or Berwickshire is, in this respect, most striking, and can hardly be explained away by later Gaelic replacement. The impression is of a colonial outpost, not of large-scale incoming Anglian population at any time during the period of Northumbrian rule.

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29 Note that, notwithstanding Brooke's reference to her appendix 3, this name is not included in that list of Scandinavian names.

30 For reviews of scholarly opinion on *ċeorl* and names of the 'Charlton' type, see Parsons 2004, 19–25, and idem in Carroll and Parsons 2013, 46–52.

31 The other name she refers to is Carlton in Colmanell (sic), in Carrick. This too is absent from her appendices.

Edgarton

A couple more –ton names merit consideration, although they are not discussed by Brooke, presumably for lack of early records. Edgarton stands at some distance from those just discussed, but is of interest not least because it is the site of the nearest identified vitrified fort to the one at Trusty's Hill: with Edgarton Loch and Moat (motte), in Balmaghie parish close to the meeting of boundaries with Girthon and Twynholm, this is a long-established farm site overlooking the route up the Glenkens. It is *Egerton* and *Eggertoun* on Blaeu's maps, but no earlier records are known.

The name could date from the time of Northumbrian rule. Places named Egerton in Cheshire and Kent, and Edgerton in West Yorkshire, (with records from 1260, c1100 and 1311 respectively),[32] all involve an Anglo-Saxon personal name, *Ecgheard* or *Ecghere*, and, while they are all nowadays pronounced 'Edgerton', the Cheshire and Yorkshire ones are regularly Scandinavian-influenced *Eggerton* in mediaeval and early modern records (the surname likewise varies between Edgerton, Egerton and Eggerton).[33]

Eadgar was an Anglo-Saxon name too, that of the first King of all England, who reigned as such 959–75, by his time Galloway was outwith the English realm; more significant for Scottish history was Edgar the Atheling, who came with his elder sister Margaret to the court of Malcolm III Canmore of Scotland, the surviving male heir to the throne of England that had been seized by William of Normandy, and Margaret and Malcolm's son named Edgar was King of Scots 1097–1107. However, recent research has confirmed that a significant proportion of place-names of this form, with a personal name plus '–to(u)n', were formed in southern Scotland and northern England rather later, during the period 1100–1250, especially in the later twelfth century.[34] Edgarton most likely belongs in this category, implying a man named Edgar who was granted land and the right to build the motte during that period. As Galloway was predominantly Gaelic-speaking at that time, he would have been an incomer, most likely in the retinue of the de Morvilles. But the Norse name Edgeirr cannot be ruled out: formation with Old Norse *tún* is unlikely,[35] but the name might have been adopted into Scots and combined with *toun*. On the other hand the present form could be a much later adaptation of *Egerton*, as recorded by Timothy Pont and copied onto Blaeu's map.[36]

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32 Respectively: Dodgson 1971, 33; Watts 2004 under Egerton; Smith 1961, 296. Note that Egerton Lancs. is named from the family name of the Earls of Bridgewater, itself derived from the place in Cheshire, see next note.

33 Reaney 1997 under Eggerton.

34 Edmonds and Taylor 2017, 152.

35 See note 25 above.

36 A few possible parallels are found elsewhere in south-west Scotland: Edgarton in Dunscore parish Dmf is associated in local lore with Eadgar son of Dovenald, a powerful figure in Nithsdale in the early thirteenth century (though unlikely to have any connection with Edgarton in Balmaghie), but Edgar is a local surname and the farm-name could be from this; Edgar's Hill in Kirkmaiden parish on the Rhins was reported in the OS Name Book as named from a former proprietress, presumably Edgar was her surname; Eggerness, with Eggerness Castle, Point and Wood, near Garlieston, is well documented from c1185 *Egernesse* onward. Maxwell (1930) fancies this is Old Norse **eggja-nes* 'headland of eggs', but apart from the lack of any

So, although it is not impossible that the name originated during the time of Northumbrian rule, an early date is very unlikely, and a later formation involving an English or Scandinavian personal name is a good deal more probable.

Hinton

Some 3½ miles (5.6 km) to the south-west of Trusty's Hill stands the farm named Hinton on a relatively level platform on the hillside above Laggan and the A75. Above is Hinton Cairn and Gallows Knowe, with the old road on the far side. It is not mentioned by Brooke, and lacks early documentation.

Hinton is a common place-name in England, Ekwall lists twenty-five in his *Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, most of them being parishes. In the majority of cases, the origin, confirmed by early records, is Old English *hēan-tūne*, 'high farm, which is obviously appropriate to our Hinton. Grammatically it is in the dative case, with a locative sense, '(at the) high farm'; such formations are frequent in Old English place-names, but would not have been used by Scots speakers, so we can infer that this name is likely to date from the time when Northumbrian Old English was current — probably (remembering that *–tūn* was rarely used in the early Anglo-Saxon period) some time between 750 and 870, though possibly as late as 1100. Yet it seems strikingly isolated from the other *tūn* and other potentially Northumbrian English names, on the 'wrong' side of Brooke's proposed boundary between Angles and Britons (see Skyreburn below), and one might expect a 'high farm' to be matched with another *tūn* lower down.

A handful of less likely interpretations should be noted. Several Hintons in England are shown by early forms and historical records have a different origin, *hīna-tūn* 'farm of a (religious) community', but there is no reason to suppose this was the case here. Maxwell suggests the first element is Scots *hint*, for *ahint*, 'back, behind', though he does not say what Hinton is behind: there is a *Behindeby* on record at the back of Great Grimsby in Lincolnshire, and Hindharton in Devon is behind Hartland, but it is a very rare formation. Finally, Cumbric *hint* (Welsh *hynt*) 'way, path' might have passed into local Scots and had *toun* added, but Hinton, unlike most of the other farms in the area, stands off any through route, ancient or modern. None of these is very persuasive.

Senwick

One more name between the estuaries of the Fleet and the Dee is included, like Twynholm, in Brooke's 'group 4'. Of it, she writes (ibid., 305): 'the medieval parish of Senwick comprised a large multiple estate belonging to the medieval lords of Galloway. The lands of Senwick were recorded in the fifteenth century as *Sannak Grange* (now Balmangan NX 6545), *Dunrod Sannak, Nethir Sannak, Ovir Sannak* (all 1458 *ER* vi), and *Mill of Sannak* (1480 *ER* ix) — all valuable cereal-growing land. Senwick is on the western shore at the mouth of the Dee, its burial ground tumbling down the slope to the river's brink. The

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parallels for such a name that I can find in Scandinavian toponymy, *Eger-* in the early forms is very unlikely to have been from **eggja*. A personal name seems more probable, such as *Edgeirr* mentioned above, though a Scandinavianised form of English *Ecghere* would not be impossible in the multilingual context of 10th–11th century Galloway.

parish surrounded the headland and island now called the Ross, where the sea has taken round bites out of the land at Ross Bay and Brighouse Bay. Symson (1692, 43) described Ross Bay (which he called Balmangan Bay) as one of the best harbours in the west of Scotland "for here ships of all sizes are secure, blow the wind which way it will". The landward end of the headland between the two bays is a narrow neck; and this may have given the place its name. The OE *sand-hnecca* (sandy neck) makes both etymological and topographical sense, for unlike most beaches on this coast these bays are sandy.'

However *hnecca* is very rare as a place-name element, known only at Necton in Norfolk;[37] *sand-hnecca* would mean 'sand-neck', not 'sandy neck'; moreover the 'neck' in the headland is not between Ross Bay and Brighouse Bay, but to seaward (south-east) of the Mull of Ross, between Ross Bay and Fauldbog Bay, the latter being distinctly rocky even at low tide; the neck itself is rocky and boggy, it is not a 'sand neck', nor even a 'sandy' one.

In any case, the early forms, *Sanneck* c1275, *Sa'nayk* 1296 (Brooke, 317) can equally well be interpreted as reflecting a Gaelicised form of Old Norse **sand-vík*, 'sand bay', a common name around the north and west coasts of Scotland and in the Isles, appearing in Gaelicised form as Sandaig in Knoydart and on Tiree. The eponymous bay could well be Ross Bay or Brighouse Bay, but the name, like neighbouring Borgue, is likely to be Norse.

The Water of Fleet

If the evidence of English habitative names gives no support to the idea of rapid and large-scale ethno-linguistic change, surely the river-name Fleet is strong evidence for a powerful English presence? After all, river-names are famously resilient, even where all names around them have been changed river-names persist, yet whatever name the Britons gave to the river has been lost, replaced with the only Germanic name of a substantial river anywhere in Galloway.

Indeed the name of our river might be Northumbrian Old English *flēot*; this was the opinion of Daphne Brooke, and it has not been questioned since. But, as Maxwell (1930, 139) acknowledged, it may be Old Norse *fljót*. Both words refer primarily to an estuary and tideway of a river, and both tend to be used especially of relatively narrow outlets to the sea or a larger river, which is appropriate in our case where the acute-angled mouth of the Fleet joins the much wider mouth of the Cree (another river whose British name has been lost,[38] it was replaced with Gaelic *crìoch*, probably at the time of the division of the lordship of Galloway[39]) in Wigtown Bay.

The English word is found in a good many places in the south and east of England, London's River Fleet being the best-known, though now completely hidden underground:

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37 Ekwall 1960.

38 Ptolemy's *Geography* lists an estuary named *iēnã*, to the west of the (Kirkcudbrightshire) Dee, so possibly the Fleet, the Cree or the Bladnoch. There were Roman, Antonine period, fortlets at crossing points on both the Fleet and the Bladnoch, and the route between them would have forded Cree Bay, but the name is wholly obscure, no Celtic or other Indo-European elements or analogues can be found for it — it is either very ancient or very garbled; Rivet and Smith 1989, 375; Isaac 2005, 193.

39 Oram 2000, 56–7.

the name originally referred only to the mouth and lower reach of the Holborn. It seems to have been the prototype of several lesser rivers, streams and creeks on the Thames estuary, recalled in names such as Benfleet in Essex and Ebbsfleet in Kent. Other areas where the element occurs several times include the Channel coast from Portland to Selsey Bill, and around The Wash and the Humber. It is almost absent north of Yorkshire: Fleetham on the Northumberland coast is an outlier, but that is as close as *flēot* comes to Galloway, it is absent from the north and west of England.[40]

Norse *fljót* is not found in river-names in Norway, but does occur quite often in Iceland, where it is still current in the language, though now used to refer to a quiet stretch of a river rather than an estuary or creek. Scotland's other River Fleet, flowing from the Loch Fleet near Lairg in Sutherland down to the Dornoch Firth, is certainly of Norse origin. Either Anglian or Scandinavian seafarers could have named our river in Galloway, but its absence from the north-west of England, and its apparent popularity with the West Norse-speaking Vikings of the North Atlantic, favour the Nordic origin.

There is one tantalising consideration: the English word 'fleet' meaning 'swift' is not recorded before the fifteenth century in the OED, and is not reflected in Older Scots, yet it is unlikely to have been a foreign introduction, it probably had an ancestor in Old English. The Galloway Fleet is indeed a swift river, flowing as the Big Water of Fleet from sources as high as 1640 ft (500m) on the Cairnsmore, and as the Little Water from Loch Fleet at about 1110 ft (335m), down to sea-level in little more than ten miles. It is probably coincidental, though it might have had some influence at least on the survival of the name in preference to any Brittonic predecessor or Gaelic replacement.

Skyreburn

The name of the burn which flows into the Fleet estuary a mile west of Trusty's Hill is seen by Brooke as an Anglo-Scandinavian modification of Old English *sċīr-burna*.[41] The first element could be the Old English noun related to 'share' and ancestral to modern English 'shire'. The *sċīr* was indeed an important unit of territorial jurisdiction in Anglo-Saxon England, though the legal and geographical significance of the term varied over time and space. In the Kingdom of Northumbria, *sċīras* were smaller than the shires that were first formed in Wessex and later created in the rest of England and ultimately Scotland too; the Northumbrian ones were units for assessment and provision of customary rents in kind, military service and hospitality to the king or other overlord, quite possibly a rationalisation of earlier estates of local chieftains.[42] Influenced by important studies of the Northumbrian *sċīr*, especially in Scotland, by her mentor Geoffrey Barrow (Barrow, 1973 and 1981), Brooke was eager to identify *sċīras* in Galloway, and moved in her article from tentative suggestion (Brooke, 307) to confident assertion (ibid., 312) that the Skyreburn

40 Ekwall 1928, 158–9; Gelling and Cole 2000, 16–17.

41 The name was incorporated in the estate name *Glenskireburne*, associated with Rusko; the earliest recorded form, 1494, is found in this context: Brooke, 307 and 317.

42 The names of several Northumbrian shires survived as those of various mediaeval administrative districts in northern England and southern Scotland, several remain to this day in informal use, Richmondshire in Yorkshire is still the name of a District Council.

was the boundary of one such unit.[43]

It is not the purpose of this article to examine Brooke's case for Galloway *sċīras* in detail; suffice to say it is plausible but speculative. If the name does involve *sċīr* in a territorial sense, it need not necessarily entail a Northumbrian administrative 'shire', it could simply be a 'division-burn', a boundary in some other sense.[44] If 'division-burn' was the meaning, we can only infer that it was probably recognised by English speakers as a boundary from some date during the time of Northumbrian rule, and of course such a boundary may have been an ancient one even at that time.[45]

But the first element is ambiguous: as Brooke points out (ibid., 307), it could be the homophonous Old English adjective *sċīr* meaning, in stream-names, 'bright, clear', influenced by its Norse cognate *skírr* with the same meaning. Indeed, it could just as well be a Norse name, **skírr-brunnr*, 'a bright, clear spring'.[46]

Anwoth

The parish-name was taken by Brooke (ibid., 321) to be Scandinavian on the assumption that the second element is *–wath*, Old Norse *vað*, 'a ford'. Although it has subsequently been routinely listed among the Scandinavian names in our region, no suggestions have been offered as to what the first element may be, and the early forms leave room for doubt: *Anewith* 1200×6, *Anuith*, *Anweth* 1536, *Annoth* 1559, *Anuecht* 1575.[47]

Maxwell (1930, 6) says 'probably *annoit*, a parent church': while his enthusiasm for finding Gaelic etymologies needs to be treated with caution, and the records do not allow

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43 She sees another part of the boundary of the same hypothetical *sċīr* at Shirmers, on the parish boundary between Parton and Balmaclellan, which she derives, reasonably, from OE **sċīr-(ġe) mǣre*, the second element meaning 'boundary, border' (ibid., 302–3 and 317). But note that her assertion (ibid., 302–3): 'Parton seems to embody another OE term for a territorial division *pearr-tun*, signifying the village in the district (that is within the area the Angles had settled)' is misleading. Hypothetical **pearr* has been adduced (since Ekwall 1922, 109) to explain the place-name Parr in Prescott Lancs., but dialectal evidence, and OE *pearroc*, confirm that the meaning would have been 'an enclosure for animals'. The only, very tenuous, support for 'district' comes from a possible Old High German cognate *pfarrih*. In any case, Maxwell's proposal, **portán* 'a little landing-place', corresponds better to *Portoun* 1426 and suits this historic river-crossing.

44 It probably served as the boundary between the small mediaeval parishes of Anwoth and Kirkdale, though when Kirkdale ceased to be a parish in 1618, the boundary between Anwoth and Kirkmabreck parishes was set just east of Kirkdale, on the burn (un-named on OS maps) between the Kirkdale and Auchenlarie Burns.

45 But note the uncertainty regarding the status of the Skyreburn as a stylistic boundary for stone carving, (ibid., 324 fn.1), and see further note 51 below.

46 Compare Skirbeck in Lincs., Skyer Beck in Yorks.

47 John Wilkinson (personal communication) has suggested a Brittonic compound **onn-wīdh* (modern Welsh **onn-wŷdd*) 'ash-wood'. This cannot be ruled out, there is at least tentative evidence for the Brittonic **wīdh* being confused in place-names by Old English speakers with vað, but compounds of this form are considered by scholars to be very early (unlikely to be later than the fifth century); in the absence of more and earlier documentary evidence, we should be cautious.

for any certainty, his suggestion is worth taking seriously. Forms like *Anewith* could indeed reflect a, phonetically fairly close, transcription from early Gaelic pronunciation of *annoit*, which is ultimately from Latin *antiquitas*, becoming Old Irish *andóit*, modern Scottish Gaelic *annaid*. The word has a rather complex range of meanings in Old and Middle Irish, essentially 'ancient church foundation, church having a special relationship with its patron saint, mother church from which others have been founded', but it does not occur in Irish place-names. It is however quite frequent in Scottish names, including probably Annat Hill in Kirkinner and Annatland in New Abbey, and there has been scholarly debate about its precise significance.

The current consensus[48] is that such names (which, as here, are nearly always simply *annoit*, rarely combined with any other Gaelic element) indicate churches or ecclesiastical sites that were perceived as already 'ancient' at the time the Gaelic names were given, or land belonging to such a church. In the case of Anwoth, if the name is Gaelic, it would probably have been given when the language first became established in the area, say in the tenth century. The church in question might by then have been ruined and abandoned, that seems to have been the case at *annaid* sites elsewhere in Scotland,[49] though they await systematic archaeological investigation.[50]

The proximity of Anwoth Old Kirk to Trusty's Hill and Rutherford's Well, and its location at a strategic point on the main east-west route through Galloway, make the possibility of an even earlier ecclesiastical site a tantalising one. The earliest Christian establishments in northern Britain and Ireland were not necessarily isolated ascetic communities: some were in close proximity to secular strongholds, evidently serving to proclaim the *Romanitas* of their patron chieftains (as observed by Toolis and Bowles, 143–5, albeit with reference to Ardwall Isle). That the church and small parish of Anwoth originated as the home and land of such a religious community is at least an interesting possibility. It would have been part of a chain of early Christian sites around Wigtown Bay; its relationship with the monastic site on Ardwall Isle, and with the (Norse or Scots named) Kirkdale, another mysteriously small parish, to the north-west,[51] and with the major monastery of Whithorn across the Bay, could only be a matter for speculation, but such complex chains of first-millennium Christian sites are familiar on the coasts and offshore islands around the Irish Sea, and indeed from Brittany and Cornwall to the Northern Isles.

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48 Clancy 1995 is the most recent comprehensive discussion.

49 MacDonald 1973, 139.

50 But see Atkinson 2016, 62–77.

51 It should be noted that 'swollen shaft' inscribed crosses found on Ardwall Isle, at Anwoth, and at Kirkclaugh in Kirkdale parish, along with one at Minnigaff on the River Cree, are seen as stylistically distinct, differing from those of the 'Whithorn School' to the west and those in Northumbrian style to the east, by Craig 1991, 41–2; cf. Brooke, 324 fn.1, where she omits to mention that Ardwall Isle is on the wrong side of her proposed ethno-linguistic boundary. Thomas (1967, 152) dates the one found on Ardwall Isle tentatively 'around 1000, the others are likely to be later, possibly even as late as the 12th century' (Craig op. cit. 45 and 58; Collingwood 1925, 228–9 and figs. 42–41, 180; idem 1927, 180). Pace Brooke, their relevance to the situation in the 7th–9th centuries is questionable. The contemporary and overlapping distribution of 'hammerhead' crosses, including one from High Auchenlarie (now at Kirkdale), adds to the complexity, see now Barnes 2017.

Cuthgar

The name *CUÐGAR*, inscribed (with a secondary graffito, *HUTHGA[R?]*) on a piece of stone found during the excavation of the early Christian site on Ardwall Isle (Thomas 1967, 153–4 and pl. XVIII), is important as the only piece of writing dating from the early Middle Ages found in the area around Trusty's Hill with evident 'Anglian' associations. Thomas, on grounds of palaeography and the known approximate date of the creation of the See of Whithorn, dated this inscription to the early eighth century, though the monastic site had been established considerably earlier, probably in the sixth century (and if it was associated with a neighbouring secular power-base, that was at least as likely to have been Castle Haven Dun as Trusty's Hill).

It is certainly evidence that a man with a Germanic, presumably Northumbrian English, name was present in the monastery at that time; the stone appears to be a mason's trial-piece, quite possibly for a monumental inscription. But, notwithstanding Charles Thomas's use of the phrase 'Anglian penetration', we should be cautious of inferences. Cuthgar very probably spoke Northumbrian Old English, though in Thomas's opinion the person who carved his name quite possibly didn't. We know from examples mentioned by Bede that, by this time, it was not unknown for children of the same family to have a mixture of Germanic and Celtic names.

Cuthgar was probably a member of the Northumbrian clerical élite, he may quite possibly have come from a religious house elsewhere in Northumbria, or further afield in Anglo-Saxon England, but to think of him as an 'Angle', as distinct from a 'Briton', is misleading. Still less is it meaningful to label the monastery as 'Anglian' on the assumption that its rule, liturgy and doctrine were in some way distinctively 'English'. We know that Whithorn was LOC[US] S[ANC]TI PETRI APVSTOLI, 'the monastery of St. Peter the Apostle', proclaiming that the orthodoxy of that monastery and see was Roman, and doubtless the same was the case on Ardwall Isle. The dedication of the parish, Kirkandrews, to St. Peter's brother is only documented from late sources, but the pairing of the two saints is not unusual, and might be significant here.

So the presence of Cuthgar, and the continuation of monastic life on the island, is evidence of the incorporation of our area into the ecclesiastical organisation of the developing Northumbrian state. But they are not evidence of any substantial change in the local population or language.

Brittonic/Cumbric names

This brings us back to the vicinity of Trusty's Hill, and to the other side of the evidence, the Brittonic place-names in that locality. I shall refer to the P-Celtic language that was certainly being spoken in the area in the sixth century as 'Brittonic'. This is the general term used by historical linguists to refer to the P-Celtic of (most of) Britain during, and, wherever it remained in use, after, the Roman period. In the sixth to eighth centuries it was more technically 'neo-Brittonic', the label given to the language as it emerged from a series of relatively rapid, fundamental structural changes at all levels from phonetic to syntactic, and began to differentiate into dialects which developed into the earliest forms of Breton and Cornish in the south-west and Welsh in the west; during the same time, the neo-Brittonic of the north developed into a language pretty closely related to Old Welsh,

to which the name 'Cumbric' is applied. Our knowledge of Cumbric is almost entirely dependent on the evidence of names, especially place-names, but it can be compared with the earliest substantial records of Old Welsh, which date from the ninth to eleventh centuries.[52] During those centuries, Cumbric remained in use in much of the Solway region, enjoying something of a revival during the tenth century and in what became the Stewartry probably surviving at least until the end of that century.[53]

To complicate matters, a P-Celtic dialect was spoken north of the Forth in the regions associated with the historical Picts that was apparently, again judging by onomastic evidence, similar to, but with some dialectal differences from, the neo-Brittonic becoming Cumbric to the south. However, the separation of Cumbric and Pictish as two distinct languages is misleading, place-name elements that are particularly associated with Pictland do occur south of the Forth,[54] and phonological features that have been seen as peculiar to Pictish may likewise be detected in place-names further south,[55] so it is more helpful to think in terms of a linguistic continuum.

Cardoness

This somewhat abstruse linguistic consideration is relevant to the name that must have first been applied to the small headland to the south of Trusty's Hill, where Green Tower Mote stands between the mouth of Boreland Burn and the Fleet estuary. It is the southern tip of the lozenge-shaped block of hills, and in the first millennium would have been a more prominent 'nose': the lowering of the relative sea-level and the digging of the Fleet Canal have altered the coastline here.

The final-syllable stress in local pronunciation supports the inference that Cardoness is a secondary formation, Old Norse or Anglo-Scandinavian *–ness* 'nose, point' having been added to a pre-existing name, **Carden*, which is recorded once, as *Karden*, in 1240; later records include *Cardernes* 1536, *Cardeneis* 1556, and *Kardeness* on Blaeu's map.[56]

Carden is a P-Celtic place-name element that is found frequently in the Pictish heartlands of the north-east, from Fife to the Moray Firth, for example in several places named Kincardine (with early Gaelic *cenn-* 'head, end' prefixed), but also at Cardross, the important early ecclesiastical, and later lordship, site on a peninsula on the Clyde close to the British stronghold of Dumbarton (with Brittonic *–ros* 'headland' suffixed). However, Cardoness seems to be the only possible example south of the Clyde or Forth.[57]

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52 It should be noted that in Brooke's appendix 2 (Brooke, 319) 'The modern Welsh equivalent of the Cumbric place-name elements are given unless an ancient form is known.' In the present paper, such elements are shown in a reconstructed form likely to have been current in the sixth century, with the modern Welsh equivalent in brackets.

53 See James 2014.

54 See Taylor 2011.

55 See James 2013.

56 Note that Maxwell 1930, 58, misplaces this in Girthon parish; it is in Anwoth.

57 It should be noted that Glencairn Dmf is recorded once, in a charter of David II, as *Glencardine*; however, other early records are *Glencarn* 1220, *Glenkarne* 1315; Dennistoun 1903, 5, and Johnson-Ferguson 1935, 47.

The meaning can only be deduced from a probable cognate *cardden* found in a small group of Middle Welsh texts, where the contexts imply a secure enclosure of some kind, perhaps a fort.[58] The name **Carden* may, then, indicate some stronghold on or near the headland where Green Tower Mote was later constructed, but it could have been a name for the sixth to early seventh century fort on Trusty's Hill, or for its earlier Iron Age predecessor, or for the site of the later fort after it had been destroyed by fire.[59] In any case, the presence of a name strongly associated with Pictland in the vicinity of the perplexing Pictish-style carvings on the stone outcrop by the fort entrance is tantalising. Like the carvings, it is not necessarily evidence of direct influence from Pictland, still less of the presence of native 'Picts', it could be consistent with the context of cultural hybridity in the sixth-century fort, as envisaged by Toolis and Bowles (129–132), but, again like those carvings, it could have originated at a later date, even as late as the tenth century (Forsyth and Thickpenny in Toolis and Bowles, 100–2). Either way, it is arguably the most interesting and significant name of all in this immediate area.

Trusty's Hill and Trostrie

From **Carden* and Cardoness, we may turn our attention now to Trusty's Hill itself. As Toolis and Bowles explain (1–4), two stories about the place-name Trusty's Hill (also, perhaps significantly, recorded as Trusty Knowe without the possessive 's[60]) were current in the nineteenth century. The Ordnance Survey Name Book (1848 Kirkcudbrightshire vol. 128, 26) relates one that has the typical qualities of a folk-etymology: 'formerly there had been a house at the base of the hill which had been occupied by a man named Carson who had married one of the minister's servants, which servant the minister had always styled (^ her as) his Trusty Servant, from whom it is said the hill took its name.' The other, obviously an antiquarian speculation based on the apparently Pictish carvings near the summit, associated Trusty with a Pictish King Drust (Maxwell 1930, 262, reports this as 'according to tradition'). *Drust* (in fact a Gaelic form for Pictish *Drost*) was the name of several rulers in Pictland, the one associated with the hill being mentioned in the Preface to the hymn *Parce Domine* (Anderson 1990, I.7) as the father of a princess named Drusticc, who was (according to the legend) sent by her father to be educated at Whithorn by the then abbot, Mugint, and got up to some mischief that prompted Mugint to compose the hymn.

Both these are delightful examples of stories made up to explain a place-name, but it is surprising that Toolis and Bowles (4–5) take at face value the 'popular belief' reported by the Ordnance surveyor that the Trusty Servant was the actual origin of the name. Names are not created to suit stories, it is the other way around, both these dinnseanchas must have served to make sense of a pre-existing name.

In the absence of any documentation for the name prior to the Ordnance Survey, we have to trust Trusty, any suggestion as to the real origin of the name can only be very

58 Brooke, 319, gives the meaning as 'a thicket', but, as Breeze 1999, 39–41, and the entry in GPC together demonstrate, this is based on a misconception dating back to the erratic lexicography of W. Owen Pughe.

59 The use of the name for Cardoness House and Wood, both formerly Bardarroch, a mile or so to the south-west, probably only dates from the 19th-century extension of the estate.

60 Maxwell 1930, 262.

tentative. Nevertheless, it is worth comparing this name with the better-documented farm-name Trostrie, with Trostrie Loch and Moat (= motte), in Twynholm, 6km (3¾ miles) to the east of Trusty's Hill. This is *Trostaree* 1456; *Trostre* 1481; *Trostari* on Blaeu's copy of Pont's map, *Trostary* in the seventeenth century.[61] It is certainly a Brittonic (Cumbric) name, formed with **trǭs-* (Modern Welsh *traws*), 'across' and *–trev* 'farm', so 'farm at a crossing-place', cf. Troustrie, Crail, Fife,[62] and *Trawstre* or *Trostre* in eight places in Wales, common enough to suggest it may have been current as a common noun.

Trostrie stands close to where the road north from Ross Bay through Twynholm to Glengap and beyond crossed the ancient routeway from the crossing of the Dee at Glenlochar westwards over Irelandton Moor before dropping to cross the Fleet (in the first millennium, allowing for the higher relative sea-level at the time, the crossing would probably have been close to the Roman fortlet north-west of Barwhill),[63] and continuing through the Boreland gap immediately below Trusty's Hill.

It is of course only speculation, but not beyond reason, to suggest (as I did in James 2014, 27) that Trusty's Hill might perhaps be another Brittonic formation with **trǭs-*, though the generic in this case may have been *-tī* (Modern Welsh *tŷ*). The basic meaning of this is 'a cottage, a small house', but in compounds, 'a shed, a hut, a bothy', not necessarily a dwelling. **Trǭs-tī* would suggest some building on the way through the narrow gap where a watch was kept, maybe some toll levied, on those passing through. If this were the case, the idea in the folk-etymology that the hill was named after an inhabitant of a modest building at its foot would not have been too far from the truth. However, though it is a perfectly possible formation, **Trawstŷ* or *–dŷ* does not seem to occur in Wales;[64] if Trusty had originated as another **trǭs-trev*, or had some other now irretrievable generic, the unstressed second syllable could well have been reduced by the nineteenth century. So the possibility of a Brittonic name formed with **trǭs-* applied to some location in the Boreland gap remains worthy of consideration, albeit (unless earlier records come to light) well beyond proof.

Both Trostrie, **trǭs-trev*, and Trusty, hypothetically **trǭs-tī*, would be 'loose compounds' that could have been formed at any date when Brittonic was current in the area. In a detailed examination of *trev* in place-names in south-west Scotland (James 2014), I have sought to demonstrate that names formed with that element are unlikely to date from before the period of established Northumbrian rule. In particular, I proposed that 'loose compound' names like Trostrie, Ochiltree and Guiltree, while earlier than some other formations, are likely to date from a period that saw the development of chieftains' territories not only to maintain the local lord and his retinue, but also to pay regular renders to some established higher authority, a king or other powerful figure able to exercise ongoing authority, or to the Church. Characteristic of this phase is the increasingly complex organisation of the

61 Watson 1926, 180 and 350; Maxwell 1930, 262; James 2014, 25–7. I think Watson's reference to a Trostrie Wig. is a mistake.

62 Márkus 2007, 89–90, and Taylor 2009, 231–3.

63 Aerial photography suggests that the Roman road crossing was a little downstream from the fortlet, see Cowley 1996, 109. Recent geophysical survey findings seem to support this.

64 To judge by searching Richards 2004.

'multiple estate', with a valuable portion of the territory reserved as the lord's own, and other units tending to acquire more specialised functions.[65]

Notwithstanding the account in Toolis and Bowles's discussion (115–29) of the economic basis of the activity in the fort in the later sixth to early seventh centuries, which indeed seems characteristic of a late Iron Age chiefdom, I still consider it unlikely that place-names implying differentiated, specialised settlements within such complex estates would have been formed in our region until such chiefdoms were incorporated into the developing state of Northumbria from the late seventh century onward, either surviving as small sub-kingdoms (Bede's *regiones*), or appropriated as royal, ecclesiastical or aristocratic estates. It would follow that Trostrie, and maybe Trusty too, were formed at a later date than the destruction of the fort, and, in turn, that the Brittonic language was still current in the area.

Barlocco

Barlocco, with Barlocco Isle, in Borgue parish (earlier Kirkandrews), may well be Gaelic **bàrr-locha* 'summit by a small loch', wholly appropriate to the location. Barloke to the east of Borgue by Kirkcudbright Bay, and Barluka in Twynholm, both have small lochs and probably that is their origin. However, the proximity of Barlocco to the early Christian site on Ardwall Isle raises the tantalising alternative possibility of a Brittonic **barr-logōd.* The latter element (from Latin *locāta*) meant 'a place set aside', but in mediaeval and early modern Welsh *llogawd* (now obsolete) was used for 'a monastery'.[66] The same word may be present just across the Solway in Arlecdon in Cumbria, near St. Bees, if that was formed from Cumbric **ar-logōd* 'beside the monastery'.[67]

The possibility of such an alternative interpretation is somewhat reinforced by another Barlocco, in Rerrick parish (with Barlocco Bay and Barlocco Heugh; this Barlocco is shown as such on Blaeu's map). There is no loch here, being on porous calcareous sandstone, but nor is there any known early monastic site nearby; however, given the liking of the monks for such locations all around the Irish Sea, one nearby on Hestan Isle is surely a possibility.

Enrick

There are three, more definitely, Brittonic names in the vicinity of Trusty's Hill not listed by Brooke, presumably for lack of early evidence: Enrick, Penwhail and Pibble. Enrick is a historically significant location in Girthon parish. Nearby Camp Hill has an Iron Age fort; Palace Yard is a moated site that was probably a property and occasional residence of the Bishops of Whithorn. The house appears on Blaeu's maps as *Ainrick* and *Ainryick*, and is likely to have been in continuous occupation since the Middle Ages.

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65 See Barrow 1973, 7–68; Jones 1979; Winchester 2008; Roberts 2008, 14–28 and 151–72; Britnell 2017; and further references in James 2014, 33 fn.78.

66 Cf. the use of *locus* for 'monastery' on the St. Peter stone at Whithorn; see further James 2011b, and the discussion of 'Logie' names in eastern Scotland in Clancy 2016.

67 Coates in Coates and Breeze 2000, 285.

However the name is likely to be early Brittonic and to refer primarily to Enrick Burn,[68] being probably identical in origin to the Endrick Water that flows westwards from the Fintry Hills into Loch Lomond and forms the border between Stirlingshire and West Dunbartonshire (King 2007, 150–2). In early modern Welsh, *enderig* was 'a steer, a young bullock or draught-ox', but the 13th-century forms *Anneric* and *Annerech* for Endrick Water, and Blaeu's *Ainrick* for that river as well as for the place in Girthon, may imply a feminine **andereg* 'a heifer'.

Words for animals are a feature of Celtic stream- and river-names: to the east we have Tarff Water which is Gaelic *tarbh*, possibly earlier Brittonic *tarwos* (modern Welsh *tarw*), 'a bull'. A tributary of the Tarff marked on present-day OS maps as Spout Burn flows from a hill above Barcaple named Black Enrick. 'Black' no doubt to distinguish this Enrick (in Tongland parish) from the one in Girthon, but again the name probably belonged earlier to the burn, in which case the 'heifer' flowed into the 'bull'.

Penwhaile

The other Brittonic name in the Fleet Valley is Penwhaile. On the 1st-edition OS map 1852 this name is on ground among three minor summits, Mid Hill, Herd Hill and Craigbrack, on the Rig of Drumruck, across the Big Water of Fleet from the Clints of Dromore; later OS maps locate it more closely, though in somewhat varied positions, in the valley between Craigbrack and the west side of the Rig, now under forestry plantation.

It is a name that rings a bell for any student of early place-names in Scotland, recalling the site at the east end of the Antonine Wall that must have been early Brittonic **penn-wal* 'end of the wall'; Bede writing in 731 already called it *Pean-fahel* (as well as *Penneltun*), so even by his time the second element had begun to come under Old Irish influence, changing **wal* to **fāil*, Bede's *fahel*; by the time of *Historia Brittonum* in the early ninth century, the first element was replaced by early Gaelic *cenn-*, hence the alternative forms in the *Historia*: Pictish (and Cumbric) *Pengual, *penn-gwal*, and Old Irish *Cenail*, **cenn-fhàil*, modern Kinneil.[69]

Our Penwhaile is very likely to have had a similar origin. The eponymous wall, and even the precise location, are now lost, but it is conceivable that a wall here (replaced by the time of the Ordnance Survey with the 'improved' straight ones now in the FCS plantation) continued the line of the Clints of Dromore on the east side of the Fleet, marking the boundary between farmed land and hill pasture. If so, **penn-wal* might be better translated 'head-wall', Scots *heid-dyke*, that ancient and vital feature of the Scottish rural landscape since prehistoric times separating farmed and permanently settled land from summer hill-pasture and hunting and gathering country.

Whatever the precise reference, the survival of this name may be another hint that the mediaeval parish of Girthon preserved, at least in part, the bounds of some more ancient territory. Such a territory could have been the domain of an Iron Age chieftain.

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68 Enrick Burn was severely straightened to drive the Waulk Mill shortly before the first Ordnance Survey; it is difficult to visualise its original, natural course. Upstream it is the Littleton Burn, and the parish boundary.

69 Bede *Historia Ecclesiastica* I.12; *Historia Brittonum* 23 (Morris 1980, 23 and 64); see Jackson 1955, 143–4, 161 and 165; and Nicolaisen 2000, 211–12 and 219–20.

Pibble

To the west of Penwhaile and the Waters of Fleet, on the Fleet–Cree watershed, lies Pibble, with Pibble Hill and the nineteenth century Pibble Mine. This preserves a Brittonic word of reasonably certain Latin origin: *pāpiliō* means 'butterfly', but the Vernacular Latin word *papiliō*, perhaps soldiers' slang, is recorded from early third century onward. It was used for 'a tent' and so for the wide range of temporary buildings used in classical and mediaeval times. It was adopted as Br **papil-*, which evolved to give the Welsh analogical plural form *pebyll* 'camp'.

This word is found in several place-names in southern Scotland, including Pauples Hill Wig (Penninghame), Mosspeeble Dmf (Ewes), Cairnpapple Hill WLo, Papple ELo (Garvald), and, best-known, Peebles.[70] In Welsh place-names, *Archif Melville Richards* (Richards 2004) shows some ten examples; it seems to be unknown in Cornwall or Brittany. In place-names in the north, it would be likely to refer to temporary bothies used in connection with summer grazing (or, rather, to the sites where these were regularly erected) — either shielings in the hills, or assembly places where livestock was gathered, and perhaps traded, in spring and autumn.

The intervocalic -/b/- shows lenition ('softening'), implying that the word was current in Brittonic by the sixth century, but the consonant in this context would have been adopted as a fricative, /v/, in earlier Northumbrian Old English, it is unlikely that it would have been treated as a stop before the ninth century. I have argued (James 2011a, 71, and 2014, 12–13) on these phonological grounds that these names are unlikely to have been formed earlier than the tenth century, and, on the basis of landscape history, that large-scale transhumance was a feature of the Cumbric period, the tenth and eleventh centuries, so, although this word was probably current in the P-Celtic of the north from the late Roman period, its use in place-names may be considerably later.

Carsluith

To the north-west of Trusty's Hill, Anwoth and the Skyreburn lay another small mediaeval parish, Kirkdale,[71] and further along the shore of Wigtown Bay, in Kirkmabreck parish,[72] is Carsluith. Recorded as *Carsluthe* in 1422, *Carsluth* 1517, and interestingly *Karsluyth* on Blaeu's map, this may be a Brittonic or Cumbric name. The first element could be *cors*, as in modern Welsh, 'reeds, rushes, sedge', but influenced by Scots *carse* 'marsh, riverside, floodland' (Older Scots *kers* from Old Norse *kjarr* 'brushwood'). –luith corresponds to

70 Peebles was presumably a 'camp' or 'place where a large number of bothies were erected'; given the location and the later importance of the fair here, a seasonal livestock market might well be implied. Papple is likewise not a hill-top site, so perhaps a gathering place. At Pauples Hill, Cairnpapple Hill and Mosspeeble shielings are more likely.

71 See under Anwoth above, with note 44, also note 51 for the inscribed cross at Kirkclaugh. Kirkdale is either Norse or Scots in origin, Kirkclaugh *Curryclauch* 1605 probably, as Maxwell suggests, Gaelic *ceathramh cloch* 'quarterland of stones', with an archaic form of the genitive plural (Modern Gaelic *clachan*).

72 Kirkmabreck is one of the 'Kirk + saint's name' formations peculiar to the Solway region, probably formed by Gaelic speakers of the Gall-Ghaidhil or later, who had adopted Norse *kirkja* as their word for 'church', see Grant 2004.

Old Welsh *luit* (pronounced 'lu-id'), meaning primarily 'pale, faintly-coloured'; modern Welsh *llwyd* is usually translated 'grey', but 'pale reed-bed' is still a strikingly appropriate description for this location by the Cree estuary.

It is undoubtedly a historic place, with the Doon of Carsluith, and traces of old fields, an early slipway and possible fish-trap, pre-dating Carsluith Castle, mill, barn, quay and bridge, all of which are important monuments. Of the tower house, Brooke says (307): 'The site, dominating the tide swirling down from the Cree estuary, lies where a British stronghold might be looked for.' The name could have originated at any date between the sixth century and the tenth or even eleventh, its preservation may be evidence of the likely survival of Cumbric alongside Gaelic for some generations.

Kirroughtree

Kirroughtree House and Forest in Minnigaff parish, *Caruthtre* 1487, *Kerrochrie* etc. 1570, may involve Brittonic **ūch-trev* (Welsh *uwchdre*) 'upper farm', preceded in a secondary formation either by Brittonic/Cumbric *cair*- (Welsh *caer*) or Gaelic *cathair*-, 'a fort', or by Gaelic *ceathramh*- 'a quarterland'. Nevertheless Watson (1926, 367), Maxwell (1930 s.n.) and Brooke (319) all see *Ochtradh*, Uhtred lord of Galloway, here. At the time of Uhtred's struggle with his half-brother Gillebrigte across the Cree, Kirroughtree would have been a strategic location, and a Cumbric name not impossible even in the 1160s, though Gaelic *cathair* would be the more likely generic. Local legends of Uhtred may at least have influenced the development of this name.[73]

Minnigaff

The kirktoun and parish name Minnigaff (*Monygof* 1504, Brooke, 319) is certainly Brittonic in origin. The first element is probably **miniδ*, (Welsh *mynydd*) 'a hill, upland tract, rough grazing, common pasture'. The stage **miniδ* (from earlier **möniδ*) had probably been reached by 600, and is generally reflected in northern place-names, for example Minnygap Dmf (Moffat), Mindork Wig (Kirkcowan) and Minto Rox. Alternatively, it might have been **minju* 'brushwood, bush, scrub, thicket' (not surviving in modern Welsh);[74] which would have followed the same phonetic trajectory. The second element, here as at Minnygap, is **gov* (Welsh *gof*) 'a blacksmith', who would have benefitted from the land as a source of charcoal and furnace-wood as well as grazing for his livestock.

It should be noted that these names of Brittonic origin are likely to have been formed at widely different dates. The burn-name Enrick could well be early Brittonic, prior to AD 500. Penwhaile, if it was 'head wall, *heid-dyke*', would have been a compound which, as at Kinneil, could have been given before the coming of Northumbrian rule, though such a compound could equally well have remained in use as a common noun throughout the currency of neo-Brittonic and Cumbric. Otherwise Penwhaile may be a later name-phrase ('wall's end'), as are Minnigaff, and (if they are Brittonic), Carsluith, and Barlocco. As name-phrases these are unlikely to be earlier than the sixth century, and more probably later. I have argued above (and see James 2014, 35) that Trostrie is most likely to have

73 As well as those of Currochtrie and Garrochtrie and Cave Ochtree, all in Wigtownshire: see James 2014, 25 and fn.30.

74 Breeze 2004, 121–3.

originated during the Northumbrian period; if Trusty's Hill is Brittonic in origin, it would probably have been named around the same time. Similar considerations would apply at Kirroughtree if the underlying form was **ūċh-trev*, though if the name commemorates Uhtred it would have to be a very late Cumbric formation indeed. I have also made the case (James 2011, 88–93) that names implying transhumance, such as the otherwise undatable, single-element Pibble, along with Penwhaile and Minnigaff, may be no earlier than the time of 'Cumbric revival', associated with an expansion of relatively large-scale livestock raising in the hills, in the tenth to eleventh centuries.

Brooke (314–15) noted that names of Northumbrian English (and Scandinavian) origin are to be found mainly in the coastal and downstream parishes, those of Brittonic origin further up the valleys. This is broadly true, but given the above considerations, her case for a formal demarcation, a clear boundary-line between 'Anglian' and 'British' territories, seems less than convincing. The Brittonic/Cumbric names in the hill-country may well post-date the time of Northumbrian rule, the ones that are likely to pre-date or be contemporary with that era (Cardoness, Trostrie, Enrick, possibly Barlocco and Trusty's Hill) are all within the districts she saw as dominated by 'Angles'. Hinton is the only likely Old English name to the north-west of the Skyreburn, but one certain and two possible Brittonic names (Minnigaff, Carsluith and Kirroughtree) on the east of the Cree estuary are not strong evidence for a separate 'British' territory.

Conclusions

The relatively short heyday of the timber-laced fort on Trusty's Hill in the second half of the sixth century, and its dramatic destruction in the early seventh, revealed in the admirable archaeological investigation and exemplary report (Toolis and Bowles, chapters 2–5) was certainly a significant episode in the life of this corner of Galloway. It stands as an important landmark in the emergence of the area from prehistory into the earliest glimpses of documentary evidence. The turn of the seventh century was undoubtedly a troubled time, with profound changes taking place as Iron Age chiefdoms and tribal alliances were melted and moulded into larger, coherent and stable polities that can sensibly be called 'kingdoms'. But can the story be reduced to a simple narrative of the 'violent overthrow and subjugation' of a 'kingdom of Britons' by a 'kingdom of Angles'?

For a start, there is no evidence whatsoever for any 'rapid exchange of Brittonic and Anglian place-names' (Toolis and Bowles, 135). In the Fleet Valley itself, there are no settlement-names that can be ascribed to an early date in the time of Northumbrian rule. Girthon may date from the eighth or ninth century, though it could be later, and the large mediaeval parish of which it became the kirktoun could preserve the outlines of some earlier territory. The Skyreburn, though it could simply have been a 'clear stream' in Old English or Old Norse, probably does refer to a boundary, as it certainly was a parish boundary later. Maybe it was the boundary of a Northumbrian *sċir*, but if it was, it would reflect a mature stage in Northumbrian state-organisation. Fleet was primarily a name for the estuary, a seafarer's name, on balance more likely to be Scandinavian in origin than English; in any case, it is not by itself evidence of a rapid change in toponymy, language or population. 'Greenest of all Galloway valleys' (Brooke, 300) it may be, but there are really no signs of it falling precipitately to 'the acquisitive Angle'.

There is somewhat more support for Brooke's more nuanced vision of the extension of

Northumbrian rule as 'a relatively peaceable affair'[75] developing over an extended period of time in the country south and east of the Fleet. Twynholm, whether it be 'land between two rivers' or '*Twiċġa*'s estate' (or another permutation of those elements) stands out as the solitary piece of reasonably good evidence for the establishment of a substantial estate held by an English speaker by the early eighth century. The names between the Dee and the Fleet formed with *tūn* reflect subsequent division and reorganisation of landholdings within this zone, probably no earlier than the late eighth century, and continuing beyond the end of Northumbrian rule. (Kirkandrews) *Purtoun* is interesting evidence of the use by English-speaking people of a harbour close to the galleried dun, Castle Haven, and to the early monastic site on Ardwall Isle. The archaeologically confirmed continuation or resumption of religious life at the latter site during the Northumbrian period, and especially the presence of English-named *Cuthgar*, add to the impression of English speakers playing leading roles in this district, though Barlocco may hint at a continuing Brittonic-speaking association with the monastery too. Carleton points to prosperous farmers of the 'middling sort' in Anglo-Saxon society holding land here, and using the English language.

To Twynholm, *Purtoun* and Carleton might be added Plunton, Miefield and Senwick, though all these are more or less doubtful. It is conceivable that the mediaeval parishes of Twynholm, Borgue,[76] and perhaps Tongland, together preserved the outlines of the original *hām*, maybe the former territory of an Iron Age chieftain whose power extended from Castle Haven to the Edgarton vitrified fort (though Edgarton is certainly a post-Northumbrian name). And, as mentioned, the large mediaeval parish of Girthon may likewise preserve some earlier territorial unit extending up the south-east side of the Fleet Valley, to the Brittonic/Cumbric-named Penwhaile, perhaps the *heid-dyke*, and beyond to the upland pastures, though Hinton, well beyond the Skyreburn and on the far side of Ben John from the Fleet, remains a problem for any neat delineation of the areas eventually settled by speakers of Northumbrian English.

The evidence Brooke presents, at least for the area of the present study, when carefully examined hardly supports her inference of substantial immigrant settlement. There are no signs of intensification or expansion of English-speaking settlement, none at all for rapid or large-scale immigration by 'Angles'. But neither does it compel us to envisage merely 'a scattered upper crust'. Place-names, it is important to remember, are evidence of the historical distribution of languages, not necessarily of homogeneous groups of people. The Northumbrian English place-names in this corner of the Stewartry — as throughout Northumbria — reflect the spread of the English language, not necessarily of 'Angles'. The names tell us something of the progressive extension of Northumbrian patterns of administration, revenue-collection and landholding, alongside the introduction of ecclesiastical practices favoured by the leading churchmen of that kingdom. This would certainly have involved some travellers from further east, probably at times some degree of coercion, maybe even the 'violent overthrow' and (at least temporary) 'subjugation' of (some of) 'the native ruling élite' (Toolis and Bowles, 134); but in the longer term — as across the Solway in Roman times — much depended on co-operative local leaders who saw that it was in their best interests to submit to the laws, and quite possibly to adopt

75 Toolis and Bowles, 134, referring to Brooke, 130.

76 Combining Kirkandrews and Senwick, see above under Twynholm.

the language and customs, of the new rulers. Within a few generations, some at least of the people of Northumbrian Twynholm and the territory round about could have been substantially 'Anglicised', though that does not mean they saw themselves, or were perceived by others, as 'Angles', nor were their less Anglicised neighbours (and probably kinsfolk) 'Britons'; a good proportion may well have been bilingual, genetically mixed, and as culturally blended in the seventh to ninth centuries as the finds on Trusty's Hill reveal their predecessors — and, very likely, ancestors — to have been in the sixth (Toolis and Bowles, 129–32).

This hybridity is especially apparent in the toponymic landscape around Trusty's Hill itself. The fact that it dominates not only the mouth of the Water of Fleet but also the strategically vulnerable defile on the land-route from the east through the Boreland gap is not insignificant. It was a 'crossing-place', it is possible that the name Trusty itself preserves the Brittonic element **trǭs-* that is certainly present on the same ancient routeway to the east at Trostrie, where the road crossed the trackway from Ross Bay through Senwick and Twynholm towards Edgarton with its timber-laced hill-fort. The name Anwoth, if early Gaelic **annoit*, hints at an early Christian site in the shadow of Trusty's Hill itself (leaving Ardwall Isle to be associated rather with another high-status site, Castle Haven Dun). The Skyreburn, if English-named, indicates a boundary of some importance in Northumbrian time, perhaps of a *scīr*, and this, along with the survival of Anwoth as a small mediaeval parish, may point to some long-lasting special importance for this 'island' cut off on two sides by the tidal estuaries and on the third by high hills, both before and after the time of Northumbrian rule. But Trusty's Hill did not dominate a clear ethno-linguistic dividing-line between areas of 'Anglian' and 'British' dominance: rather, throughout the early Middle Ages, it overlooked a 'crossing place' at the heart of a zone of linguistic and cultural interaction.

Perhaps the most significant and intriguing name of all is *Carden*, preserved in Cardoness, with its apparent parallel at Cardross, another site with hints of high status, early ecclesiastical presence, and association with a prominent power-base, Dumbarton. At both Cardoness and Cardross, we see a place-name element that 'belongs' to the north-east, in Pictland, where it is common. Like the Pictish-style carving on Trusty's Hill, it hints at some kind of association with, or influence from, 'Pictish' regions. But, like the carvings,[77] we cannot be sure whether the name *Carden* was contemporary with the fort or later.

What the place-names do confirm is both complexity and continuity: increasing complexity of languages and manifold hybrid culture throughout the early Middle Ages, and — the spectacular burning of the Trusty's Hill fort notwithstanding — continuity in respect for naturally defined territories, boundaries, routeways and central places, along with adaptation to this framework by successive generations of people who, whether local-born or immigrants, were neither 'Britons' nor 'Angles', but people who, for a range of reasons, spoke Brittonic, Northumbrian English, or both.

77 Forsyth and Quickpenny, chapter 6 in Toolis and Bowles.

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ST PATRICK'S FOOTPRINT — AN EARLY MEDIEVAL ROYAL INAUGURATION SITE AT PORTPATRICK?

Fraser Hunter[1] and Jack Hunter[2]
with a contribution by James E. Fraser

A rock-cut footprint linked in tradition to St Patrick was recorded and destroyed during harbour works at Portpatrick (Wigtownshire) in the early nineteenth century. This paper argues it was an early Medieval royal inauguration site, based on wider Scottish and Irish parallels. The footprint's setting, on a rock in a harbour, created a natural amphitheatre with a backdrop of the Irish coast which may well have been a key element of the tradition. James Fraser's analysis of early Medieval sources for Portpatrick and the wider context of such stones suggests a ninth–tenth century Hiberno-Norse (Gall-Gaidhel) context is plausible.

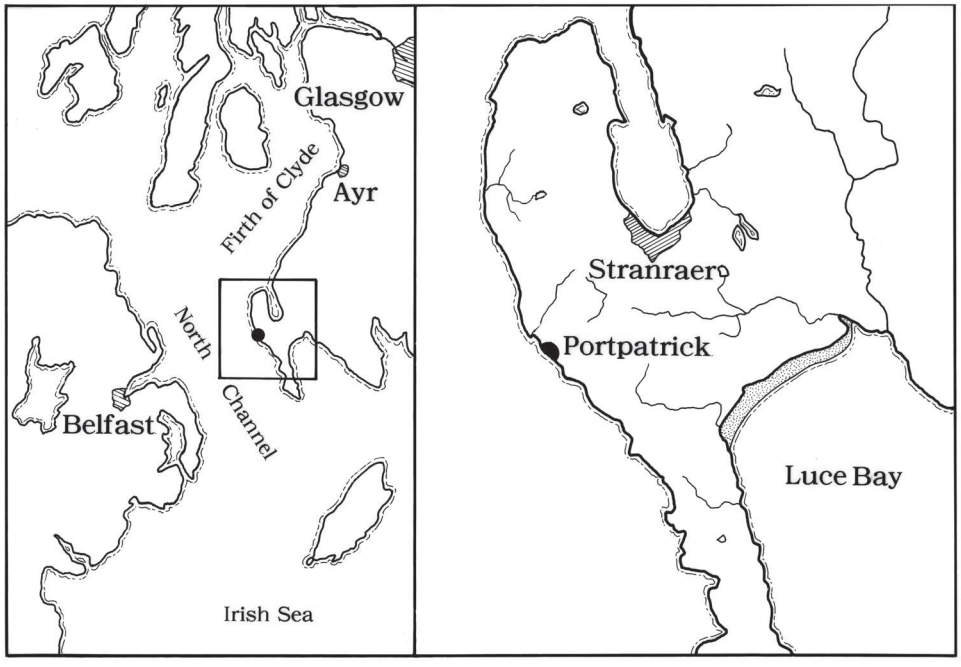

Figure 1. Location map (drawn by Alan Braby).

Introduction

Early nineteenth-century sources record an incised footprint on a rock in the harbour at Portpatrick, the traditional port for journeys from Wigtownshire to Ireland (Figure 1). It

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was linked in legend to St Patrick, and destroyed in harbour works in the 1820s. This intriguing and unusual feature has seen little comment except in local tradition. It is argued here that the footprint was most plausibly an early Medieval royal inauguration site; this paper reviews the evidence, and provides an account of its nature and setting.

Portpatrick is one of the rare natural havens on the rocky west coast of the Rhins of Galloway, forming one end of the shortest sea crossing to Ireland, landing at Donaghadee in County Down. From the seventeenth century it is regularly mentioned in the context of Irish connections; Privy Council records of 1627 term it 'the most usuall and frequentit port within this kingdome' for Irish traffic (MacHaffie 1975, 3). The natural harbour had a number of disadvantages, being exposed to westerly weather, and there were two main phases of harbour improvement, one by John Smeaton in 1770–4, the second under John Rennie in 1821–49 (MacHaffie 1975, 7–13; 2001, 6, 21–2, 28–31).

Early sources and their context

Two key early nineteenth-century sources mention the footprint. The earliest was uncovered by the researches of Fraser MacHaffie (1975, 13). An anonymous correspondent to the *Glasgow Herald* on 19 April 1824 (p4 col 5), during the second phase of harbour works, wrote:

> Though we are all delighted with the improvements that are going on, we have to regret the loss of a number of antiquities, which time has rendered sacred in our eyes — the rock called the Old or St Patrick's Kirk with the impression of the Saint's foot three inches deep on it, have yielded to the merciless attacks of boring-irons and barrels of gunpowder; and his pole upon St Catherine's, from which he unloosed his barge when he set sail for that land — not of milk and honey but of potatoes and butter-milk, and in which his name was to be immortalized — must soon give way to the same sacrilegious powers.

The second source is the local minister, Rev. Andrew Urquhart, who served the parish from October 1831 until his death in December 1890 (McNeil 1956, 24). He wrote the entry for the *New Statistical Account* (1845, 129):

> A marvellous story used to be told here of the famous Irish Saint Patrick having crossed the channel at a single stride, and the mark of his foot was shown on a rock, that has been removed in the operations connected with the construction of the present harbour. Whether this superstition is of Scotch or Irish origin does not appear; but it is probably connected with some historical fact, and with the origin of the name Portpatrick.

The sources seem to be independent: Urquhart was not the *Herald's* correspondent, as he was not in Portpatrick at the time, but as the local minister he was ideally placed subsequently to record local traditions. The earlier source is the more detailed one, but the *NSA* account was the basis of all later references, which are entirely secondary (e.g. McIlwraith 1875, 136; Agnew 1908, 177; Cunningham 1985, 5). No earlier sources have been located; the *Old Statistical Account* would be the most likely candidate, but the Rev. J. Mackenzie (1790) provided a far less detailed account than his successor, and Chalmers (1824, 409, 437) relied on the *OSA* account. Although Portpatrick saw more than its share

of travellers who wrote of their experiences, they tended to focus on the unpleasantness of their passage, and recorded little beyond their journey and the port facilities; there are no useful accounts or illustrations of any other features.[3]

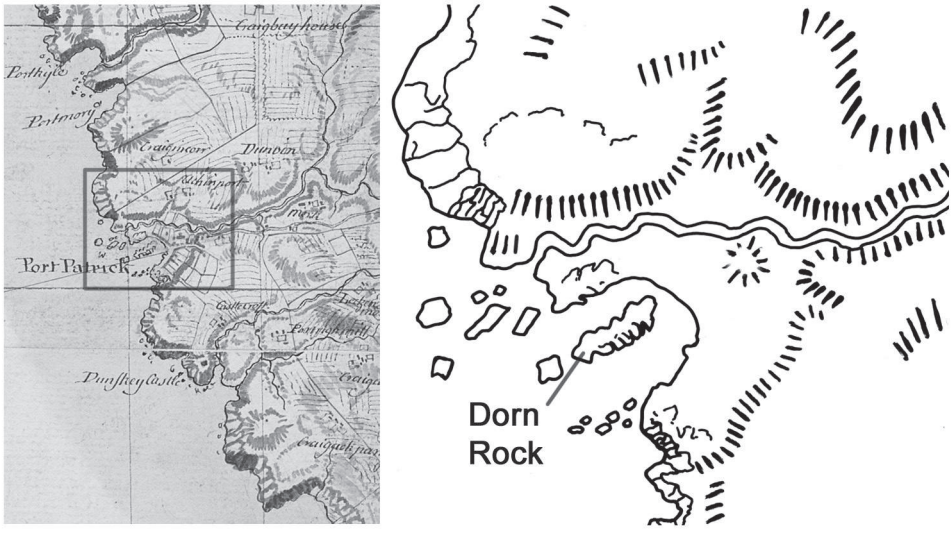

Figure 2. Detail of Portpatrick from William Roy's map of 1752–5 (© British Library Board CC.5.a.441); enlarged detail redrawn to right to show topography alone (by Alan Braby).

It is worth reviewing the original topography of the harbour. The earliest map to show useful detail is that of William Roy, surveyed in 1752–5 (Figure 2). It gives the best sense of the original topography as it predates any improvements, and shows a large irregular rocky island near-central in a broad bay, with scatters of rocks to the south and north. The harbour area was the southern part of this bay, between the island (which joined the mainland at low tide) and the southern rocks, and was the focus of the engineering surveys of Smeaton (1812, vol. III, 60–73, plate VI), Telford (Figure 3; Telford & McKerlie 1809, Appendix, plate II) and Rennie (reproduced in MacHaffie 2001, 34–5). William Daniell provided a pen-picture and illustration from his visit in 1815 (Figure 4; Macleod 1988, 137):

> The harbour of Port Patrick was originally a mere inlet between two ridges of rocks which advance into the sea, forming a bay of about 220 feet clear width, and about 550 feet in extent inland … The ledge of rocks on the north side of the

3 Notable accounts predating the second, more destructive phase of harbour improvements are by Daniel Defoe in the 1720s (Defoe 1989, 210); Bishop Pococke in 1747 and 1760 (Kemp 1887, 4, 11); Robert Heron in the 1790s (1799, 252–3); William Daniell in 1815 (Macleod 1988, 137); and John Keats in 1818 (Walker 1992, 167, 169–71).

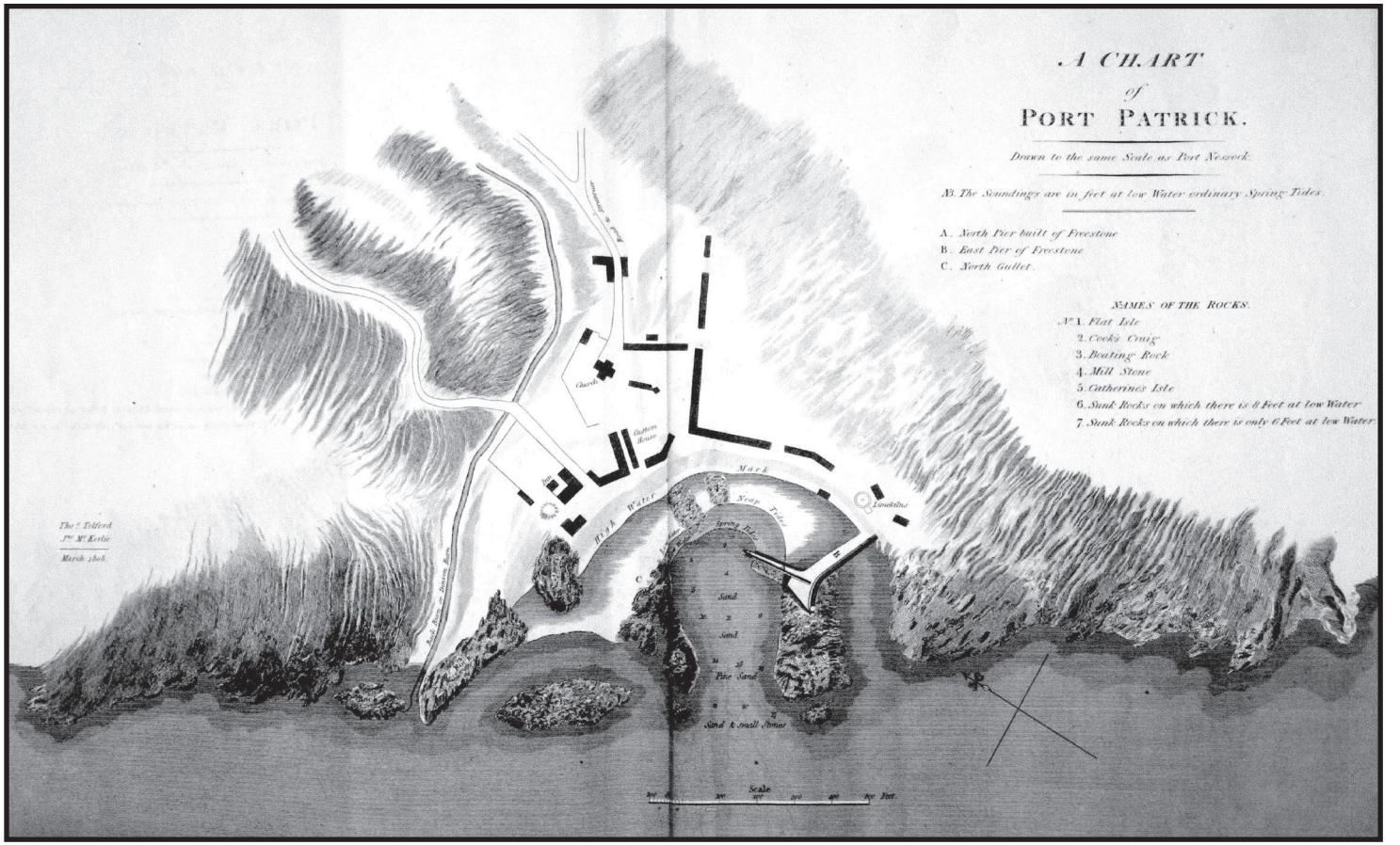

Figure 3. Thomas Telford's survey of Portpatrick (Telford & McKerlie 1809, Appendix, plate II; reproduced courtesy of Dumfries and Galloway Libraries, Information and Archives). The caption on the right names rocks (their numbers barely discernible when reduced in scale), of which the key ones for our purposes are: 1 Flat Isle [bottom left]; 2 Cook's Craig [centre, projecting from beach]; 3 Boating Rock [on beach]; 4 Mill Stone [on beach, beside 4]; 5 Catherine's Isle [bottom right].

> harbour rises considerably above high water … the ledge of rocks on the south side being too low to afford any considerable shelter.

The southern ridge of rocks forms St Catherine's Isle, and was the basis for a pier in both phases of the harbour works. The main island (the northern edge of the harbour) is recorded in Smeaton's survey as McCook's Craig, but this name is not now in local use; it is known as the Dorn rock, perhaps from the Gaelic for 'fist', *dorn*, and presumably reflecting its form (c.f. Watson 1926, 488). The earliest image of the harbour, William Daniell's aquatint, shows the Dorn rock separated from the sandy shore by a few yards (Figure 4).

Figure 4. William Daniell (1769-1837), "Port Patrick, Wigtonshire"; the Dorn Rock is in the right foreground. From 'A Voyage round Great Britain'. Photo © Tate, London (T02771).

No other source preserves the names (Old or St Patrick's Kirk) recorded in the 1824 *Glasgow Herald* article, but the description of the engineering works suggests it was the northern ridge of rocks which bore the brunt of the damage at this time. Another anonymous account provides valuable detail:

> On Wednesday, the 3rd August, I again visited Portpatrick and was quite astonished at the progress that had been made in the short period of 13 months …

> … During the present summer the labours of the workmen have been chiefly directed to the north side of the harbour, and such has been their assiduity that those who knew the place once may truly say they know it no more. Most of the jagged and half-sunken rocks that formed, as it were, the abutments of Crook-ma-Craig have been levelled and removed and about 100 yards of a most formidable-looking pier built and finished with the exception of a small part which is to be constructed of whinstone. At one time it was intended to remove the huge rock I have just named, but this intention has since been abandoned; and though the crag in question is certainly an eyesore, its height and dimensions will certainly be useful in breaking the force of the wind, which blows during the winter with such fury at Portpatrick. The unequal surfaces in the front of the rock have been trimly smoothed and pared down; so that by means of rings sunk in the stone it will become a sort of auxiliary pier should the harbour happen to be crowded with vessels.
>
> (*The Dumfries Monthly Magazine and Literary Compendium, Vol 1, July to December 1825*; August 1825 issue.)

The footprint and its parallels

These sources clearly indicate a well-defined footprint shape carved into a rock in the harbour, most plausibly the isolated, prominent Dorn rock given the description of the harbour works. The greywacke geology of the harbour area is unlikely to produce natural features reminiscent of footprints, in contrast (for instance) to the erosion features or fossils sometimes found in sandstones. The connection to St Patrick is most likely a later rationalisation of an existing feature, probably at a time when connections to Ireland (and perhaps to the cult of Patrick) became significant (on the cult of Patrick see Clancy 2009, 26–31 for the limited Scottish early Medieval evidence; Grant 2004, for 10th–11th century evidence in south-west Scotland; Bourke 1993 for a wider view). Linking footprints to saints or mythical figures was widespread (FitzPatrick 2004, 108–9, 116).

Footprints carved into rocks are a regular feature in Ireland, Atlantic and Highland Scotland (Figure 5). Some are connected to inauguration sites for Medieval rulers or to devotional monuments at churches (FitzPatrick 2004, 108–122), but the matter is complicated by artificial, natural or modified natural 'footprints' in a range of landscape locations which have attracted stories. FitzPatrick (2004, 235–41) listed 27 Irish and 14 Scottish footprint slabs linked to religious or secular sites, and commented on the rather larger corpus of marks related to 'eloquent tales of giants and saints impressing the landscape with their footfall' (ibid, 116), a point emphasised by Bord's (2004) collation of extensive records in this vein.

The symbolism of the act was multifaceted, but a key element was that the ruler-to-be would set his foot in the shape carved in the rock, symbolising the link between the king and his land, and his fitness to take on the role (e.g. Campbell 2003, 46–7). The use of a footprint in inaugural rites is argued to be earlier in Ireland and western Scotland than the use of a seat or throne, and carried very different connotations: the footprint linked the king physically to his land, while the throne (which was a tradition of the early Medieval Continent, drawing on Roman practice) raised him above it, linked perhaps to the idea of a heavenly rather than earthly imprimatur (Campbell 2003, 55; FitzPatrick 2003, 120).

Footprint stones are inherently difficult to date, and could have seen extended use. The Irish evidence and the example from the seat of the Lords of the Isles at Finlaggan on Islay show that the use of footprints in inaugural rites extended through the high Medieval period, but the origins lie in the early Medieval period, as the example from the major centre of Dunadd indicates (FitzPatrick 2004, 128–9). Portpatrick too is likely to be early Medieval in origin; there is no hint of the Lordship of Galloway, with its Anglo-Norman influences, using such a rite.

Figure 5. Footprint stone, Dunadd. Top, the footprint in context; bottom, detail. © Mads Dyhrfjeld-Johnsen.

Given the recognition of the Portpatrick example, the known Scottish corpus has been re-examined. The Appendix sets out an extended listing of 32 examples, although many exist only as verbal rather than visual accounts. Some may be natural hollows shaped like feet, but there is no reason these could not act in the same way; indeed, such a natural hollow might symbolise the link to the landscape more closely than an artificial one. However, given the ease with which natural marks acquire folklore, discussion must focus on examples where context or tradition links them to archaeological sites or inauguration events. (These are indicated by solid dots on Figure 6.) This allows a more extended range

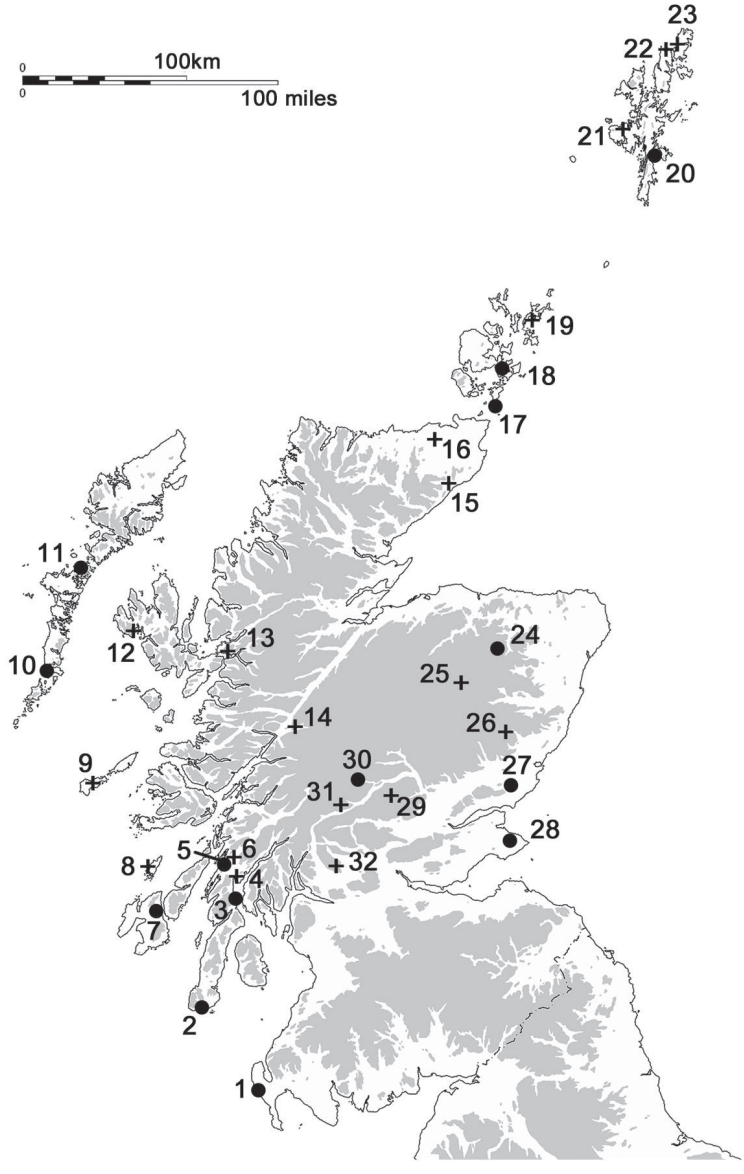

Figure 6. Map of certain or possible footprint stones. Solid dots are those linked to archaeological sites or to traditions of inaugurations, crosses are other footprints or alleged footprints.

of examples with significant associations than FitzPatrick permitted, which are listed in table 1; further research may move some of the remainder into this 'significant' category.

Three of the Scottish examples, from Southend (Kintyre), Burwick (Orkney) and Dunino (Fife), are in or near churches, and thus may be devotional rather than inaugural, but the early history of the sites is obscure. Southend has surviving high Medieval remains and putatively early Medieval sculpture is known near Dunino, while Burwick has records of Medieval origins, though the current churches here and at Dunino are post-Medieval (RCAHMS 1971, 147–51; RCAHMS 1933, 130 no. 220; *Discovery & Excavation in Scotland* 1979, 10; 1997, 38; Thomson 2002, 41). Portpatrick, with its apparent St Patrick connection, could be seen in this religious light, but this is much more likely a later tradition, obscuring its significance. In its setting, its parallels lie instead with the non-religious examples, and a number are connected with places of secular power. At Dunadd (Argyll), rituals connected with the footprint would be skylined on the top of this prominent hillfort, probably a seat of the kings of Dál Riata (similarly the Southend example may originally have been linked to a major hillfort nearby rather than the Medieval church). At Finlaggan (Islay) the stone was connected with inauguration of the Lords of the Isles on an island in the loch. Clickhimin (Shetland) shares the watery setting with Finlaggan and Portpatrick, but also had visible remains of ancient (Iron Age) buildings which would link rituals back to the ancestors. A similarly watery link comes from a poorly recorded example from Boisdale, South Uist, from a causeway leading to a small island, probably a dun. A further example may be linked to a secular power centre: the 'Giant's Stone' at Scurdargue sits on the slopes of the great hillfort of Tap o'Noth, dominating the Rhynie area of Aberdeenshire, a region confirmed by recent work as a major Pictish centre (Gondek & Noble 2011; Noble & Gondek 2014). Two examples from the proximity of later Medieval castles may also be significant, though the evidence is too tentative for bold claims: Eilean Donan (Lochalsh), and an example from 'the parish of Duirinish' on Skye where Dunvegan Castle, traditional seat of the MacLeods, can be found.

Two examples come from places of older ritual significance: one from a probably Bronze Age cairn at Carmyllie in Angus and, most strikingly, an example from Toab on Orkney, in the immediate vicinity of Mine Howe, a remarkable site comprising an artificial underground chamber built into a mound surrounded by a major ditch (Card & Downes 2003; Harrison 2005). This seems a fine candidate for an inauguration site. The chamber is undated, although its broch-like architecture suggests a date in the later first millennium BC, while associated activity around it dates to c. 200 BC – AD 400. A few later finds point to its continuing significance in the later first millennium AD, giving a context for the footprint slab linked to a by-then ancient site. Of the remainder in Table 1, two have traditional associations with meetings or inaugurations (although in the case of the Berneray example the time-depth of the tradition is not clear), while the example from the hill of Cnoc a'Breabadair in Knapdale (Argyll) may be linked to a basin, a connection found also at Dunadd.

Campbell (2003, 51–4) suggested that key elements in this inauguration tradition were the visible, striking location and the role of a crowd to view the spectacle. The use of mounds and/or a watery setting seem to be common features of the Scottish examples, and these are both features of the Portpatrick rock.

The distribution of the footprints, both those suspected to be of antiquity and the wider data set, is interesting, as they lie overwhelmingly in western and highland areas, with a concentration also in the Northern Isles (Figure 6). They are absent from the eastern and southern lowlands with the exception of the Dunino and Carmyllie examples. This might seem to support a link to Gaelic culture in their use and perhaps to Gaelic folk traditions in their naming and mythologising, though the Northern Isles cluster sits rather at odds with this, and James Fraser (infra) postulates that hints in the historical sources suggest a Hiberno-Norse context.

Site	Region	Context	Notes
1 Portpatrick	Dumfries & Galloway	Watery location	
2 Southend, Kintyre	Argyll	Church; link to hillfort	
3 Cnoc a'Breabadair, Knapdale	Argyll	Natural (hill)	On same croft as a rock-cut stone basin
5 Dunadd	Argyll	Major hillfort	
7 Finlaggan, Islay	Argyll	Seat of Lords of the Isles; watery location	
10 Boisdale, South Uist	Western Isles	Two stones, one from a causeway 'to a small island', suggesting a link to a dun	Site details vague, but reminiscent of Clickhimin
11 Beinn a'Chlaidh, Berneray	Western Isles	Tradition links it to inauguration of Lords of the Isles	Time depth of tradition uncertain
17 Ladykirk, Burwick, South Ronaldsay	Orkney	Church	
18 Toab, East Mainland	Orkney	In area of Iron Age ritual site of Mine Howe	
20 Clickhimin	Shetland	Built into causeway leading to long-lived Iron Age settlement site on island	
24 Scurdargue, Rhynie	Aberdeenshire	On the slopes of the major hillfort of Tap o'Noth	
27 Carmyllie	Angus	Prehistoric cairn	
28 Dunino	Fife	Near church site	
30 Camusvrachan, Glen Lyon	Perthshire	Overlooks traditional moot spot with early Medieval cross-slab	

Table 1. Scottish footprints with significant associations.

The footprint, Portpatrick and Portree

The rock which preserved the footprint was held in the arc of the bay. It lay slightly off–centre within the natural harbour. Much of the likely rock still survives today, but the eastern edge was blasted to provide more space for steamers to access the northern harbour (Figure 7; MacHaffie 2001, 47–8). It seems the lost footprint lay in this area, and thus was placed to ensure visibility from the shore of the bay. This is a natural amphitheatre; indeed, the rock is used today for concerts. It would make an ideal site for public spectacles such as inaugurations, and could be seen as a highly symbolic location, on the boundary of the realms of land and sea, and with views west to Ulster, perhaps evoking or creating ancestral Irish links.

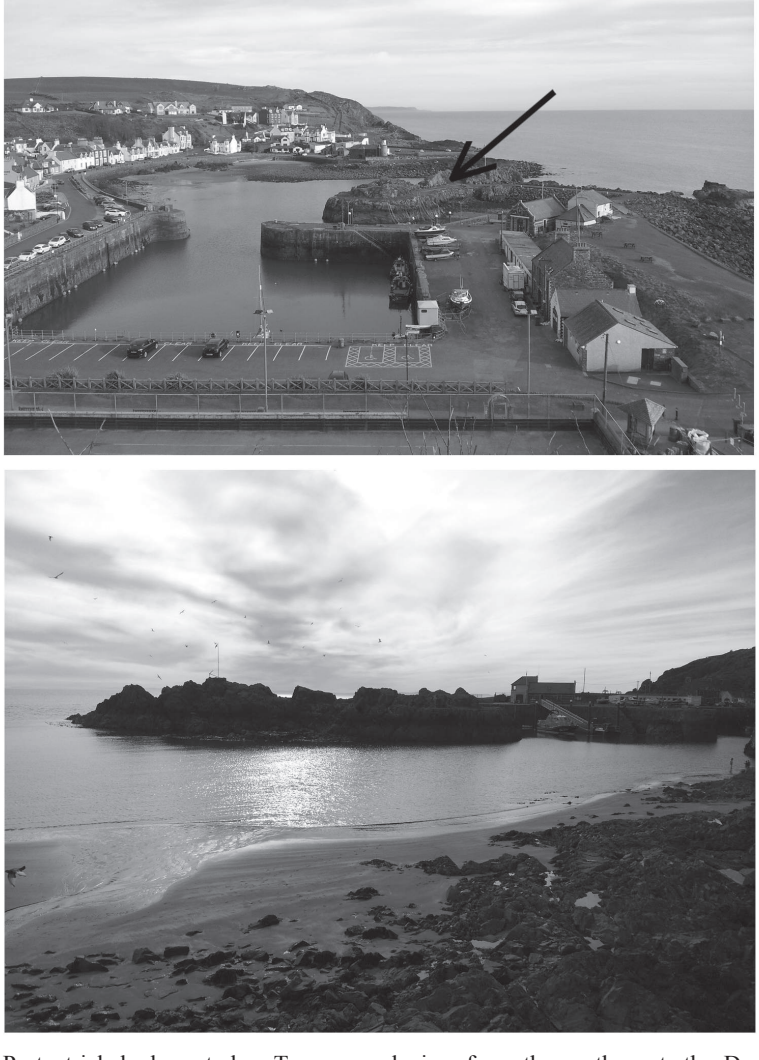

Figure 7. Portpatrick harbour today. Top, general view from the north-west; the Dorn Rock is indicated by an arrow. Bottom, view of the Dorn Rock from the east; the Ulster coastline is visible on the horizon. (Photographs by Fraser Hunter).

The place-name history offers hints of a significant location. MacQueen (2002, 80–1) offered the most recent authoritative treatment, reviewing and commenting on the important work of Watson (1926, 157–8). There are no early sources: the earliest is Timothy Pont (c.1600), who recorded it as *Poirt Fatrick*, reflecting Irish Gaelic pronunciation of Patrick/ *Phádraig* (Pont's map is lost, but it was used for Blaeu's map of western Galloway in his 1654 atlas). However, it sits within the land unit (barony) of Portree, which survives today as a farm name 1km to the ESE. Watson argued for (and MacQueen supported) Portree as the early name, with the name Portpatrick acquired as connections to Ireland grew in importance. This putative early form is highly significant — Portree, from Gaelic *Port Rígh*, the king's port. It provides a royal context for our suggested royal inauguration site, and some hint of date: Gaelic is now argued to have been introduced to Galloway after c. AD 900 (Clancy 2011, 386–8). Watson (1926, 157) and MacQueen (2002, 81) noted Medieval sources which suggested an early significance to Portpatrick, discussed by James Fraser below.

Early Medieval Portpatrick and St Patrick

St Patrick plays a prominent role in traditions around Portpatrick's early history. As well as the footprint, and his 'mooring pole' on St Catherine's Isle (about which we know nothing; was it a natural outcrop, or an earlier standing stone?), there was a holy well and a chapel. The well is the better-known, and is marked on the Ordnance Survey 1849 6-inch First Edition and 1894 25-inch maps to the east of Colonel St, at the foot of the cliffs which frame the village. Conway (1882, 92) recorded oral testament he received in 1860 from two informants who 'had seen on the rock beside the well what tradition said was the impression of the knees and left hand of St Patrick'. This was one of a cluster of holy or healing wells and water sources in the area. A 'spring of strong chalybeate water … much esteemed by the people for its medicinal virtue' (Urquhart 1845, 134) lay on the southern side of the village, and can still be seen today to the east of the path to Dunskey Castle. A cave with healing powers lay beneath Dunskey Castle (McKenzie 1790, 47), while to the north, in Sandeel Bay, water in the cave of Ouchtreimakain or Uchtriemackean was also seen to have healing powers (RCAHMS 1912, 141–2). The antiquity of these healing or holy waters is unclear, but they show a folk tradition of sacred water in the area, and one acquired a connection to Patrick, again with petrified impressions of the saint.

A number of authors also mention a supposed Chapel Patrick, although there are neither Medieval sources nor surviving remains to confirm this. Urquhart (1845, 142) is the most detailed source:

> A chapel, dedicated to St Patrick, formerly stood either on the site of the present church or near to it, and was called Chapel Patrick.

McLean (1997, 102–3) suggested the pre-Reformation church continued in use until the 1620s, when the parish of Portpatrick was carved out of Inch parish and the surviving cruciform church was built. This incorporated an earlier, highly enigmatic round tower; there are no strong grounds to see it as part of an early church, and it was more likely a lighthouse or watch tower (see inter alia RCAHMS 1912, 136–8; Dixon 1977, 37; MacGibbon & Ross 1892, 191–3). This would make a good site for an early church foundation, on a promontory extending from the side of the valley of the Dinvin burn, and

the placing of a new church on an old site is plausible. There is, however, neither structural nor sculptural evidence to confirm this. The churchyard is best known to antiquarians for the discovery of shale-working debris from the manufacture of bangles (Hunter 2016), but while this is attested on early church sites it is not diagnostic of them. Thus, our knowledge of the early Medieval topography of Portpatrick/Portree remains sparse.

There are other traditions relating to Patrick. Urquhart (1845, 129) recorded a story of Patrick having been beheaded at Glenapp, gathering his head under his arm, and walking to Portpatrick. In the absence of a boat, 'he took his head in his teeth and swam across to Ireland'; a feat of anatomical trickery which only a saint could accomplish. It is probably best to see the Patrick name and stories in the light of the later cult of Patrick and pilgrim traffic to his shrine at Armagh (e.g. Bourke 1993), for which Portpatrick would have provided the shortest sea-crossing, though Medieval sources appear to be silent on this (MacHaffie 2001, 5 also speculated on this possibility). In truth, we must agree with McIlwraith (1877, 126): 'The association of the name of Ireland's patron saint with this Parish is involved in obscurity'. It certainly obscures the origins of the footprint.

A final area for speculation is the political context of this suggested inauguration site. Our view of the area's early Medieval geography is dominated by the early Christian sites of Kirkmadrine on the Rhins and Whithorn on the Machars. These sat within a complex and changing political environment. In the fifth and sixth centuries, they may have lain in the British kingdom of *Rheged*, the subject of much scholarly dispute (e.g. Toolis & Bowles 2017, 146–9), but which some would centre in Wigtownshire (McCarthy 2002). Likely power centres of this time are Reregonium (somewhere on Loch Ryan?) and Dunragit, Dun of Rheged, a few kilometres to the east (MacQueen 2002, 91–2; Watson 1926, 156; McCarthy 2002, 372–4), while in its earliest phases Whithorn may have been a secular power centre and burial site rather than a church (Campbell 2007, 117; A. Maldonado, pers. comm.). The elites of early Medieval Wigtownshire drew notably on Roman traditions and contacts for their legitimacy, as seen in the late Antique parallels for the earliest Kirkmadrine and Whithorn inscriptions (Thomas 1992, 4–5, 9; Forsyth 2009; Forsyth & Maldonado 2013). In the later seventh century the area fell under Northumbrian sway, but by the ninth and tenth centuries a distinctive regional identity developed, most particularly in the Machars, seen clearly in the Whithorn School of sculptures (Craig 1991). Sculpture, archaeology and place-names combine to show influence from the Hiberno-Norse world, reflecting perhaps the Gall-Gaidhel of historical records (e.g. Oram 2000, 6–9; Forsyth & Maldonado 2013, 40–1). Consideration of Medieval references to Portpatrick provides some clues to the most likely context.

A reconsideration of the Medieval sources for Portpatrick / Port Ríg

by James E. Fraser

References to Port Ríg in two Middle Irish texts, previously noticed by Watson (1926, 157) and MacQueen (2002, 81), may cast useful light on the obscurities of Portpatrick's early history. The oldest reference is probably that which occurs in *Cath Maige Mucrama* ('the Battle of Mag Mucrama'), a saga from the so-called 'historical' cycle of Medieval Irish tales, about a cataclysmic prehistoric battle in which the allied kings of Tara and Munster are defeated and slain by forces led by the latter's foster-brother, Lugaid Mac Con

(Stokes 1892; O'Daly 1975). The earliest extant copy of the text was made in the twelfth century; the saga itself may be as old as the ninth century (O'Daly 1975, 18). Before the battle Lugaid is forced into exile in Alba, where an army of Britons and Saxons is placed at his disposal by the king (*rí Alban*). Lugaid is said to have mustered these forces 'in Port Ríg in Alba' along with a fleet of British and Saxon ships so enormous that 'they say that there was one bridge of boats between Ireland and Alba' (O'Daly 1975, 48–9, par. 32). These apparently ninth-century references to Alba, the geographical connotations of which gradually changed throughout the Middle Ages, are fascinating; so too is the association in this text between Port Ríg, Britons and Saxons. Sadly, this is not the place to delve deeper into such matters (but see Clancy 2008).

The second reference to Port Ríg occurs in *Immacallam in dá thúarad* ('the Dialogue of the Two Sages'), a wisdom-text written in the tenth or eleventh century, the oldest extant copies of which were (again) made in the twelfth century. The bulk of this text consists of a dialogue that takes place at Navan (*Emain Machae*) in Co. Armagh between two poets contending with one another to become chief-poet of Ireland. The text opens with one poet traveling to Navan with an entourage from Alba where he has been studying. Concerning his journey, the text states that, 'from Port Ríg they passed over the sea until they landed at *Rind Roisc*', a peninsula presumably located in Islandmagee in Co. Antrim, 'and thence across Islandmagee (Semne)' and onwards towards Navan (Stokes 1905, 11, par. V). Curiously, the poet is said to have 'proceeded to Kintyre' at the outset of this journey, 'and afterwards they went to *Rind Snóc*; then, from Port Ríg they passed over the sea'. The peninsular place-name *Rind Snóc* may denote the Rhins of Galloway, since Port Ríg was apparently located there. The placement of Kintyre at the beginning of this itinerary is incongruous with the remainder, and may not be authorial.

The proposed inauguration site at Portpatrick may be deceptively important. It is remarkable that, in his *Life of Columba*, Adomnán exhibited no cognisance of Dunadd acting as a place of royal inauguration. In his well-known story touching on the subject (Anderson & Anderson 1991, 188–90, iii.5), Áedán mac Gabráin comes to Iona seeking *ordinatio*. Adomnán, a kinsman of Uí Néill kings, knew all about Tara; he also had before him Muirchú's *Life of Patrick*, which situates Patrick at Tara to play various hagiographical games linking Patrician blessings to legitimate succession. If Dalriadic kings were customarily inaugurated at Dunadd, why did Adomnán not set his ordination scene there? The reason may be that inaugurations at Dunadd did not become customary until sometime after Adomnán's death.

If *Port Ríg* was an earlier name for Portpatrick, it follows that it cannot have become the usual name of the place until Gaelic became the ordinary tongue in Wigtownshire. This linguistic change took place as a consequence of Hiberno-Norse conquest and settlement; the concentration of *sliabh* names, preserved as the element 'Slew-' in place-names, which was formerly thought to indicate early post-Roman Irish settlement in the Rhins (MacQueen 1954, 90–1; 2002, 33–5; Nicolaisen 1976, 39–46, map 1), has been reinterpreted by Taylor (2007) with very different results. The archaeological record indicates that Hiberno-Norse inroads into the region probably began to be made in the second half of the ninth century (Downham 2007, 173–4). In the early tenth century, 'heathens inflicted a battle-rout upon the crew of a new fleet of the Ulaid, on the Saxon shore, and many fell', including the

king of Leth Cathail, or Lecale, the area around Downpatrick, Co. Down (Mac Airt & Mac Niocaill 1983, 913.5). Woolf (2007,140) argued that the 'Saxon shore' in question was probably the Galloway coast, and that the 'heathens' there were resisting Ulaid ambitions 'to take advantage of the collapse of western Northumbria', a kingdom which had expanded across the north shores of the Solway in the eighth century. A century later, when Cnut (1016–35), the Danish conqueror of England, came in c.1031 to accept the submission of the kings of Scotland (Irvine 2004, 76, s.a. 1031), one of the rulers who submitted was Echmarchach son of Røgnvaldr. When he died on pilgrimage to Rome in 1065, Echmarchach was described as 'king of the Rhins'; Woolf (2007, 245–6) argued that he was originally king of the Hebrides (*Innse Gall*), conquered the kingdom of Dublin, Man and the Rhins of Galloway in 1036 (and again in 1046), but could not hold on to it, seeing his realm reduced to the Rhins alone by the time he threw in the towel and made for Rome. The apparently ninth-century date of the reference to Port Ríg in *Cath Maige Mucrama* raises the possibility that the 'kingdom of the Rhins' ruled by Echmarchach as part of his portfolio of Hiberno-Norse realms originated as a creature of ninth- and tenth-century Hiberno-Norse conquerors and settlers. Seemingly very quickly, Port Ríg became known among the Irish literati as a geographical point of reference linking Ireland to Alba.

This Viking Age horizon seems a plausible context for the Portpatrick footprint, arguably more so than the pre-Viking period, when the inhabitants of Wigtownshire were English- or (possibly) British-speaking and when there is no compelling evidence that the Rhins peninsula was the centre of a kingdom (although it may have been). Once we recognise this, it becomes rather striking that the other footprint-stones are also found in areas with a strong Norse imprint: Orkney, Shetland, Islay, potentially even Dunadd (Woolf argued — or rather suggested — that the Inner Hebrides were conquered by Norse invaders in the 840s; 2007, 99–100). Given the lack of positive evidence for footprint inaugurations in the pre-Viking period, Portpatrick could be hinting that it was a Viking Age phenomenon in these different parts of northern Britain.

Conclusion

The footprint of St Patrick is irrevocably lost. The identification proposed here fits the available evidence, and seems a reasonable one, but it is incapable of absolute proof. The implications, however, are significant, taking us into questions of the political geography of Wigtownshire in the early ninth–eleventh centuries which James Fraser has explored above. This territory we leave to specialists of the period, content to have restored the saint's footfall as a significant mark on Galloway's past. Its setting evokes wider links; an audience on the beach of Portpatrick would watch the new king against a background of the sea with (in reasonable weather) the coast of Ulster visible behind him. Was this a group consciously harking back to, or creating, Irish connections?

Acknowledgements

We are grateful to Ian Cerexhe for local information, and to James Fraser for answering our plaintive cries for assistance on the historical sources; to Adrián Maldonado for very helpful comments on our final draft, and access to unpublished recent work on Kirkmadrine; to Graham Roberts for providing a copy of the Telford plan from the Dumfries archives; to Brian Smith for indispensable advice on Shetland material and

pointers to examples we had missed; to Annie Manson (Orkney Archives) for a copy of material in the *Orkney Herald*; Martin Goldberg for comments on an earlier draft, and the editor for his sharp eye cast over the content.

Appendix: footprint stones from Scotland

This list makes no pretence of completeness, as it is likely that more examples lurk unsynthesised in local folklore traditions and early newspaper accounts. It draws on previous listings (especially Thomas 1879; Wallace 1918; Hamilton 1968, 151–6; FitzPatrick 2004) with additions from various sources, notably the CANMORE database (https://canmore.org.uk; accessed 7.5.16) and National Museums Scotland records. In some instances, conjoined cupmarks of much earlier date could resemble footprints; these have been excluded where possible (e.g. Easter Pitcorthie, Fife; RCAHMS 1933, 48 no. 88, c.f. O'Grady 2008, 305).

South-West Scotland

1 *Portpatrick, Wigtownshire* (this paper; NGR NW 9983 5412).

Western Scotland: Argyll

2 *St Columba's Church, Southend, Kintyre* (NR 674 076; CANMORE NR60NE 1.01): single shod foot carved on an outcrop beside the Medieval church, and a second one carved in the nineteenth century (RCAHMS 1971, 150–1; Fisher 2001, 118 no. 300; FitzPatrick 2004, 119, 238). It lies close to the fort of Dunaverty, and FitzPatrick (2004, 119) suggested it may have been used in inauguration rites for the Cenél nGabrain branch of Dál Riata.

3 *Cnoc a'Breabadair, Stonefield, South Knapdale* (c. NR 85 69): FitzPatrick (2004, 117) noted this as a '… lost footprint stone that once accompanied a stone basin on the summit of Cnoc a'Breabadair', but the original account says only they were on the same owner's land: 'I have been told by Mr Kennedy, on whose ground the basin is located, that there is a lost footprint on a stone in another of his fields' (Mackenna 1971, 4). The link to another object which could have significance in inauguration rites is tantalising but the geography and connection of the two is unclear. The precise findspot is uncertain; the name does not occur in the 1:50,000 map gazetteer (Ordnance Survey 1987).

4 *Loch Loran, Kilmichael Glassary* (NR 910 906; NR99SW 6): '… several flat stones under water … bear probably natural markings which have been improved by light pecking. Two 'footprints' close together, narrow heels, 11½ in. overall, L foot with toes (artificially added?) point across loch' (Campbell & Sandeman 1962, 38 no. 267); known in local tradition as 'fairy footprint'.

5 *Dunadd* (NR 8365 9356; NR89SW 1). The best-known and best-contexted example of a footprint stone is on the summit of the hillfort of Dunadd, a royal centre of Dál Riata with its floruit in the seventh–ninth centuries; it is carved into bedrock, and is one of a series of remains there which were linked to inauguration rites (Campbell 2003). A second, faintly carved footprint on the rock was perhaps abandoned in the course of manufacture owing to a flaw (RCAHMS 1988, 158; Lane & Campbell 2000, 18–20; FitzPatrick 2004, 117–9, 240).

6 *Rhudle/Rudal Hill, Kilmichael Glassary* (c. NR 842 952). 'The mark of a right foot', linked in tradition to Ossian, is likely to be a natural feature which was embraced by legend, with Ossian supposedly leaping from here to Dunadd (Thomas 1879, 36; FitzPatrick 2004, 240).

7 *Finlaggan, Islay* (NR 38871 68129; NR36NE 5): seventeenth-century sources record the use of a large slab with a single footprint, placed on a mound, for the inauguration of the Lords of the Isles at Finlaggan (both are quoted here from Caldwell 2003, 64). 'There was a square stone, seven or eight feet long, and the tract of a man's foot cut thereon' (Hugh Macdonald); 'There was a big stone of seven feet square, in which there was a deep impression made to receive the feet of Macdonald; for he was crowned King of the Isles standing on this stone' (Martin Martin, c.1695). Caldwell (2003, 63–7) noted that this is probably a high Medieval tradition (or creation), as there is no early Medieval evidence from excavations at the site, though the stone could be an earlier one brought from elsewhere. See also FitzPatrick 2004, 119–21, 240.

8 *Upper Kilchattan, Colonsay* (NR 370 953): '… an imagined footprint of the giant, Loosescrubitan — a natural mark in a granite boulder at Upper Kilchattan' (FitzPatrick 2004, 116).

9 *Balaphetrish, Tiree* (NM 013 474; NM04NW 25): 'three human foot-prints occur in line' and were reported to Mann (1922, 122) but not seen by him, and not found by Morris (1968, 65 no. 81). In the absence of reliable authority, and given that three in a line is not otherwise attested in inauguration or devotional contexts, they are considered to be relatively recent.

Hamilton (1968, 151) mentioned a footprint stone from Iona without further reference, but none is recorded by RCAHMS (1982) or Fisher (2001).

Western Isles, Skye, North-West Highlands

10 *Boisdale, South Uist:* 'I have been taken out by a crofter near Boisdale, in South Uist, to look at the footprints of a giant. One was on a boulder on the slope of a little hill; the other was on a stone many yards away, which formed part of a causeway in a loch, lining up a small island. The first footprint was perfectly clear. It had probably begun as a weathering in the stone and had been improved by human agency. The second was not so clear. The first was eighteen inches long and just like the print of a very long foot.' (Lethbridge 1975, 17). Mention of a causeway leading to an island suggests a link to a dun, much like Clickhimin (Shetland), but the site has not been traced in CANMORE records.

11 *Beinn a'Chlaidh, Berneray* (NF 9116 8059; NF98SW 27): 'This stone bears the imprint of a human foot on its top. It is said to be an inauguration stone of the Lords of the Isles' (information from CANMORE; see also Bord 2004, 34). The time-depth of this tradition is uncertain.

12 *Duirinish, Skye:* '… the Rev Mr McFarlane, U.F. Church, Dores, informs me that there is the impression of two feet on a bare rock in a glen in the parish of Duirinish, in Skye' (Wallace 1918, 282).

13 *Eilean Donan, Lochalsh, Wester Ross* (NG 88 25; NG82NE 7): 'An enthusiastic Celt once pointed out to me one [footprint] opposite Eilean Donan Castle, at Dornie, Kintail: but I confess, at the time, I thought he was romancing, as he planted his foot in the impression and struck an attitude of defiance or appeal' (Wallace 1918, 281).

14 *Allt A'Chrois* (Spean Bridge/Lianachan), Inverness-shire (NN 2319 7963; NN27NW 1): '… an isolated flat-topped boulder measuring 2.0m in diameter by 1.0m high, bearing on its top surface an oval depression resembling a foot-print, 30 cms × 15 cms × 3 cms deep' (from CANMORE entry).

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15 *Dunbeath* (c. ND 16001 29858): 'workmen at the new mill, now erecting at Dunbeath … quarrying on a hard rock at the bridge … discovered two human footmarks in the rock. … The stone is now in the possession of Mr. John Meiklejohn, Dunbeath …' (*John O'Groat Journal*, 3 October 1845; we are most grateful to Brian Smith for this reference).

16 *Port-An-Eilein, Reay, Caithness* (ND 0582 5930; ND05NE 11): 'On the W. end of the summit of the hill of Port-an-eilein … is a flat exposed rock-surface measuring some 10′ square. Towards the N. end, near the mesial line, there has been hollowed out the impression of a human left foot. It is exactly 12′ in length, 6′ in breadth across the sole, and 4½′ across the heel, while the depth of the depression is about 1¼′. The foot is regularly shaped, the arch below the instep and the constriction of the sole at that point being clearly indicated. The artificial character of the mark seems quite obvious.' (RCAHMS 1911, 44 no. 162; Thomson 2002, 39; Bord 2004, 34).

17 *Ladykirk/St Mary's Church, Burwick, South Ronaldsay, Orkney* (ND 4399 8427; ND48SW 6): '… a water-worn block of whinstone, which has probably been obtained from the beach close by. It is about 3ft. 8 in. long by 1 ft. 10 in. wide and 9 in. thick, and on one face there are two hollows resembling the impressions of naked feet … Each of the hollows is 10 in. long by 1 in. deep and is 3¾ in. wide at the ball of the foot' (RCAHMS 1946a, 289–90 no. 841). Various traditions were associated with its use to transport St Magnus or 'a certain Gallus' safely to the island (Low 1879, 25–7; '… a large stone which tradition says St Magnus used as a boat to ferry him over the Pightland Firth …'); see Thomson 2002; Windwick 1928; FitzPatrick 2004, 117, 238.

18 *Toab, East Mainland, Orkney* (HY 51 06; HY50NW 22): the *Orkney Herald* (August 10 1880, p.4) records:

> 'ANTIQUARIAN RELIC. — There was found recently in the district of Toab, about five miles from Kirkwall, by a farmer when ploughing hill ground, a stone having a foot print cut out on it in a very decided manner. Size of the stone 22 × 17 × 3 inches. Length of foot print, 9 inches; width, varying from 2 to 3 inches; depth in stone, 1½ to 2 inches, the impression being for right foot. The farmer having a desire for enquiry removed the stone to his house instead of using it for building purposes on the farm, as is generally done with stones taken out of newly ploughed hill. In same locality there are numerous tumuli lying in close proximity to one another, familiarly named in the district as the Lang Howe, Round Howe, Stoney Howe, Stem Howe and Chapel.'

(We are grateful to Annie Manson for providing a copy of this.) Some further details can be gleaned from its publication in *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* 15 (1880–1), 190:

> 'Slab of Undressed Sandstone, 22 inches by 17 and about 3 inches in thickness, containing a hollow resembling the imprint of a human foot … 9 inches in length by 3¼ in greatest breadth, the breadth across the heel being 1½ inch. It differs [from Dunadd] not only by its being so much smaller than an ordinary sized foot, but also in having the bottom and sides of the depression concavely hollowed, and exhibiting an undressed surface indistinguishable from the natural surface of the slab'.

The name Toab is not linked to a specific farm on the 1882 Ordnance Survey 6-inch First Edition nor on the modern map, but the First Edition puts the name 'Tob' over the area around the Iron Age ritual centre of Mine Howe, a mound with an artificial chamber in it. The place-names from the *Orkney Herald* account are in the immediate vicinity of Mine Howe (Harrison 2005, 1). If the stone was not ploughed from the mound of Mine Howe itself, it came from the immediate neighbourhood.

19 *Kettletoft, Sanday* (HY 66 39): a single shod right foot was noted on a slab in Kettletoft Bay in 2008 (Towrie 2011).

20 *Clickhimin, Mainland, Shetland* (HU 4643 4081; HU44SE 2): a slab with two footprints is now built into a structure on the causeway to this long-lived Iron Age site on an island in a loch. 'On the threshold is a stone showing two shallow depressions, shaped like footmarks and placed side by side … Each of them is some 9½ in. long and together they occupy a space about 8 in. across' (RCAHMS 1946b, 64, fig. 571; see also Hamilton 1968, 151–6; FitzPatrick 2004, 240).

21 *Burrafirth, Aithsting, Shetland* (HU 2582 5716): Brian Smith has kindly drawn our attention to the following letter from John Sands which appeared in the *Shetland News* on 11 February 1888 (p8 col 2). It is quoted below in full for interest; the key point is in identifying two footprint-like hollows on a standing stone at West Burrafirth:

> Giant's Footprints
>
> Sir, — On many rocks, blocks, and standing-stones in Shetland there are mysterious marks, exactly like the impression of a foot in a rivelin. These are evidently the work of man, and seem to me to be worthy of more thorough investigation than they have hitherto received. It would be interesting in the first place, to ascertain whether they obtain in every district of the isles. In some instances there is only the mark of a single foot, but in others, as at the Broch of Clickimin and on an upright stone at the head of Burrafirth, Aithsting, there are prints of two feet. These marks are ascribed by the people to giants. I find them associated with the colossal remains of Pagan worship, with which all Shetland seems to be reticulated, and portions of which every one of your readers must have observed in the shape of serpentine walls and cairns of fire-reddened stones. I have no doubt these foot-prints are symbolical, although what they were intended to express I cannot yet conjecture. I am aware that they occur in other countries, Scandinavia included; but they may be studied here with as much advantage at

> least as any where else. I am strongly of opinion that the best Antiquarian Society is a newspaper, to which everyone, irrespective of purse and position, is free to contribute, if he has any information to communicate; and perhaps you will not object to a small portion of your space being devoted to attempts to throw a light upon the marvellous, but as yet unwritten, annals of ancient "Hetland," as the Danes called it. — I am, etc.,
>
> J. Sands

RCAHMS (1946b, 103 no. 1402) considered the marks to be natural hollows on a prehistoric standing stone; their near-vertical position on the stone would make them unfeasible for inauguration rites as normally imagined.

22 *Daeks of Bracon (or Breckon), North Yell, Shetland* (HP 5223 0467; HP50SW 7): 'The "Wartie", recorded by Irvine from "above the Deeks of Bracon, N. Yell, up Hena" is no longer in existence. It was a stone bearing a cavity shaped like the impress of a gigantic human foot. Formerly the people used to wash in the dew or rain-water that had gathered in the cavity and stand in it to get rid of warts. The tradition was that a giant had planted one foot here and the other on a stone at the Westing of Unst. The "footprint" measured 12 in. by 4 in. It is possible that the cavity was a natural one' (RCAHMS 1946b, 168, no 1752; FitzPatrick 2004, 240). The names have been mistranscribed: Brian Smith informs us they refer to the Daeks of Bracon, Up Herra.

23 *Westing, Unst, Shetland* (HP 57 06): the account of the 'Wartie' stone (no. 22) states there was a companion across the sound at Westing; no further trace of it has been located.

A further possible example from Norwick (Unst) appears to be imprints in clay rather than on stone, and may be an accidental (but interesting) survival (Irvine 1885, 387).

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24 *Giant's Stone, Scurdargue, Rhynie, Aberdeenshire* (NJ 4819 2902; NJ42NE 25): '… near the base of the cone, is a large boulder called the Giant's stone. The legend connected with it is, that in the days when giants inhabited this part of the world, the giant of Dunnideer made an assault on his brother of the Tap, who, in defending his fort, pitched this great stone from the rampart against the enemy. Dunnideer to show his contempt put out his foot and checked the boulder in its downward course. The stone remains on the very spot where it was arrested, and the imprint of the giant's foot may still be seen upon it.' (Macdonald 1891, 254–5; see also Bord 2004, 133). The stone sits on the southern slopes of the major hillfort of Tap o'Noth.

25 *Corgarff, Aberdeenshire*: 'I have also heard of another [footprint] in Corgarff Parish, Aberdeenshire' (Wallace 1918, 282).

26 *Turret, Millden, Glenesk, Angus* (c. NO 541 795): 'a small undressed block of granite lies by the side of the mountain stream … upon it the figure of a human foot, of small size, is very correctly and pretty deeply scooped out. This is called the "fairy's footmark"' (Thomas 1879, 39; FitzPatrick 2004, 240).

27 *Fairy Knowe (or Fairyfold), Carmyllie, Angus* (NO 5445 4348; NO54SW 6): in removing what must have been an early Bronze Age burial cairn, workers found 'a

rude boulder of about two tons' weight, on the under side of which was scooped the representation of a human foot' (Thomas 1879, 38; FitzPatrick 2004, 240).

28 *Dunino, Fife* (c. NO 541 109): 'An ill-defined single footprint features on a rock beside a rock-cut basin on the bank of the Dunino burn, below Dunino church site' (FitzPatrick 2004, 238).

29 *Achnacloich, Glen Quaich, Perthshire* (c. NN 84 39): 'a stone in an old dyke … with the impression of two human feet or rather shoes … the stone … measured about 2 feet or 2½ feet square. The foot-prints were encased in a panel, part of which was broken off.' (Wallace 1912, 440–2; 1918, 278; FitzPatrick 2004, 240). The depiction of heels on the shoes and their squared toes suggest this slab is post-Medieval.

30 *Craig Ianaigh, Camusvrachan, Glen Lyon, Perthshire* (c. NN 63 48): 'A poorly defined footprint called *caslorg Pheallaidh* is carved into Craig Ianaigh at the foot of Ruighe Pheallaidh in Glen Lyon'; it overlooks Tom a'Mhoid, 'the moot hill', on which stands an early Medieval cross (FitzPatrick 2004, 121–2, 240; Wallace 1918, 279; Watson 1926, 271; Watson 1930, 289-90; Bord 2004, 83; A. Maldonado, pers. comm).

31 *Murlaganmore, Killin, Stirlingshire* (NN 5432 3483; NN53SW 4): Cash (1912, 268–9) recorded 'an outcrop of rock bearing a curious "footprint" hole, 13½ inches long, 6 inches wide and about 6 inches deep', narrowing to the base. It depicted a right foot. Ordnance Survey and RCAHMS surveyors concurred that it was artificial (CANMORE data).

32 *Spittal, Drymen, Stirlingshire* (NS 507 972; NS59NW 16): '"Footprint" which may be due to natural weathering is located at the western end of a long ridge of natural rock outcrop' (*Discovery & Excavation in Scotland* 1986, 4; FitzPatrick 2004, 241).

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THE SCOTS' DIKE AND ITS BOUNDARY STONES

V.E. Weighill[1]

The Scots' Dike (hereafter the Dike) is unique in Scotland: not only is it one of the earliest man-made national borders but, being the only one that is still legally recognised, it has great significance for the identity and history of the nation. Crossing the Debateable Land (hereafter the Land) lying in the parishes of Canonbie and Half Morton in Dumfriesshire and Kirk Andrews in Cumbria, it forms the westernmost end of the Scottish–English land border. Surveys of the Dike carried out in the early and late twentieth century included details of boundary stones along its length but not their precise locations or, in most cases, their number. This paper reports a survey carried out in June, July and November 2016 which sought to make good these omissions as well as to update the findings of the earlier surveys. A full account of the long and complex history of the Debateable Land is beyond the scope of this paper but, in order to set the survey in context, an outline is given.

Today it is hard to imagine that the peaceful pastures of the parishes of Canonbie and Half Morton in Dumfriesshire and Kirk Andrews in Cumbria were once largely desolate peat moss and wooded marshland, scantily settled and riven by lawlessness, brutality and boundary disputes. Somewhere across this 30,000 acre tract of land, three and a half miles west to east between the Rivers Sark and Esk and about twelve miles north to south from the Tarras Moss to the Solway estuary, lay the westernmost medieval border between Scotland and England.

As early as 1154 the border went along the channel of the Solway and up the Esk, placing the most southerly Kirk Andrews parish, as well as the parishes of Canonbie and what is now Half Morton, in Scotland.[2] In 1237 the Treaty of York established the border between England and Scotland along the Solway–Tweed line to be divided into three Marches on either side, each of which was to be administered by a Warden and deputies. The line across the West March again placed all three parishes in Scotland. This continued to be the case until the beginning of the sixteenth century with these parishes being administered by the Scottish Crown and, despite English pretensions to them and daytime grazing rights across them,[3] recognised as Scottish by the English.

At some time this western border area became known as the 'Debateable Land' (Figure 1), but how and when exactly it derived this name is not certain. It has been conjectured that it may owe its origin to the claims of the Englishman Sir John de Wake of Lydal

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1 Member of the Society; valerieweighill@yahoo.co.uk.

2 Reid, R.C., 'Kirkandrews and the Debateable Land', in *TDGNHAS*, III, XVI, 1929–30, 120–129. The ancient parish of Morton, comprising the present parish of Half Morton, about a third of Canonbie parish and some of Langholm parish, was divided in 1621, with lands in its east annexed to Canonbie and lands in its west to Wauchope parish. Subsequently Wauchope was in turn annexed to Langholm.

3 Graham, T.H.B., 'The Debateable Land', *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society (TCWAAS)*, II, xii, 1912, 33–58.

to the lands in Canonbie and Kirk Andrews which he had forfeited after the Battle of Bannockburn in 1314.[4] His personal claims may have been the foundation for continuing English claims and justification for incursions into these parishes over the next few centuries. The term must certainly have been in use by 1449 when the 'Batable Landez' were referred to in a dispute, possibly over a long-running issue of fishing rights in the lower Esk.[5]

Figure 1. Map of the Debateable Land.[6]
Courtesy of Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society.

4 Ibid.
5 Reid, op. cit.
6 From Carlyle, T.J., 'The Debateable Land', *TDGNHAS*, I, IV, 1865–66, 19–50.

Whatever the official position, until the sixteenth century the border between the two countries was, in practice, fluid with the great border reiver families on both sides resistant to further attempts to fix it and place the area under the jurisdiction of the Wardens of the Marches, some of whom were not above joining in disputes or even ignoring their duties altogether.[7] These families considered themselves subject to neither kingdom's laws nor as owing allegiance to either country. In contravention of the law, they erected fortified houses on the Land and openly flouted their disobedience, the Armstrongs of Liddesdale, for example, stating that 'thay woolde not be ordoured, neither by the king of Scottes thair soveraine lorde, nor by the king of Einglande, but after suche maner as thaire fadres had afore thayme'.[8] Nor did these families necessarily feel any allegiance to their fellow countrymen, extorting 'blak meill' or protection money from them, carrying out retaliatory killings on an eye-for-an-eye basis and raiding across what they had in effect turned into a lawless land of illegally erected towers, the refuge of criminals from both countries. They saw nothing dishonourable about siding with whichever country or clan best suited their interests at any given time[9] and adopting the policy of 'That he may tak wha has the power, And he may keep wha can'.[10]

In 1525, however, England's long-standing claim to Kirk Andrews was formalised by both nations whilst from that time the Wardens of the West Marches agreed that that parish and those of Half Morton and Canonbie should be totally evacuated and laid waste with no one being allowed to dwell, build houses, enclose land or even overnight their cattle there 'upon payne of forfytynng all the sayme, annde at ther uttermoste joperdye annd perell'. Expulsion of rebels and traitors was also ordered, with rewards offered for the 'hede or bodye, dede or quyke, of any rabell or tratoure …'[11] Thus from 1527 tower houses and other dwellings in these parishes were lawfully blown up, burnt or cut down.

It was soon realised, however, that this policy of 'making a wilderness and calling it peace' would fail and both countries soon broke the agreement. Despite its lack of attractions, with population expansion and pressure on the surrounding land, neighbouring Scots inevitably continued to try to occupy the Land whilst in 1535 the Scottish government itself, unable to protect its Borders subjects, actually required landed Scots to build barmkins and towers there. Not long after, in 1547, the English government for its part required Englishmen with a claim to land there to hedge, ditch and fortify it with towers, all financed by the vast profits from raids into Scotland and the weaker districts of

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7 Maxwell-Irving, A.M.T., *The Border Towers of Scotland; Their History and Architecture*, pub. Alastair M.T. Maxwell-Irving, Stirling, 2000, 1.

8 Armstrong, R.B., *The History of Liddesdale, Eskdale, Ewesdale, Wauchopedale and the Debatable Land. Part I,* pub. David Douglas, Edinburgh, 245 and 267.

9 Ibid. 68–9.

10 Quoted by Carlyle, op. cit.

11 A Remembrance of an Order for the Debatable Lannde …, 1537; the inhabitants of both nations could, however, continue to graze their stock there by day (Armstrong, op. cit., 75–6, 231, 245–247, Appendices XXIX and LII). This policy was confirmed in one of the articles of the Treaty of Norham of 1551 (Ridpath, G., *The Border History of England and Scotland*, pub. Philip Ridpath, Berwick, 1848, 394).

the English Middle March.[12]

Tension continued to mount with the Privy Council of Scotland noting in 1551 that 'the Debatabill ground upoun the West Bordouris hes this lang tyme bipast nurist and daylie nurissis ane greit company of theves and tratours to baith the realmes, to the great hurt and skaith of the liegis of the samyn'.[13] Recognising that a remedy needed to be found, two Commissioners from each kingdom appointed in the names of Mary, Queen of Scots and Edward VI met in 1552 in the hope of bringing the problem to an end once and for all by fixing a definite border.

After various differences of opinion and with the aid of Bullock's map (see note 12) and the arbitration of Claude de Laval, the French Ambassador to England, it was finally agreed that the westernmost limit of this border should initially go north from the Solway along the tiny River Sark (east of Gretna parish) as far as the bend a little above where the Catgill Burn crossed Kirkrigg and entered the Sark (NY330738) and thence overland for three and a half miles almost due east via Reamy-rigg (NY334739) to where the Dimmisdaill syke fell into the Esk (NY387732) (Figure 2).[14] Its overland course was to be marked by a non-defensible linear earthen mound, thought to have been 1.8 metres to 2.4 metres high and marked by march-stones, with parallel ditches on either side. This earthwork, the only one on the Scottish–English border, came to be known as the 'Scots' Dike.' From its eastern end it followed the Esk north until it branched off to go along the Liddel Water. Thus Canonbie and Half Morton remained in Scotland whilst Kirk Andrews was confirmed as being in England. The Commissioners directed that a *croix pattee*[15] should be placed at each end of the Dike stating that this was the 'least and fynal lyne of the particion concluded xxiiij Septembris 1552' but whether such crosses were ever erected is not known.[16] Listed among the expenses was twenty-four shillings for 'ane greitt cord of gold and silk to hing the greite seill of the confirmatioun, upon the treatty maid upoun the divisioun of the Debateble land'.[17]

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12 A map of 1552 drawn up specifically for the Anglo-Scottish Commission by Henry Bullock (subsequently Master Mason of the King's Works) indicates that there were at least three towers and several smaller houses on the Debateable Land at that time. By 1579 there were eight or nine fortified houses and about four hundred people living in the area (Reid, op. cit.; Cole, J.R., *The Debatable Land*, Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Manchester, 1982, 3–4, 43–44, 49, 136 (with thanks to Mary Ritchie); Graham, T.H.B., 'The Debateable Land. Part II', II, xiv, *TCWAAS*, 1914, 132–157).

13 *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, First Series, Vol. I, 1545–1569.

14 Graham, op. cit., 1912. Kirkrigg derived its name from Morton Kirk, whose tiny and atmospheric burial ground survives near Sark Tower farmhouse (NY334751). Reamy-rigg was on the English side of the Border and on the eastern side of the present Corries Mill to Sark Tower minor road, slightly south-east of Craw's Knowe (NY335740) which is on the opposite side of the road and on the Scottish side of the Border. A syke is a ditch or trench.

15 A type of cross that has arms which are narrow at the centre and broader at the perimeter. Each arm of the cross was thought to resemble a paw (French *patte*).

16 Mack, J.L., *The Border Line*, pub. Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh, 1926, 90. Some sources mention terminal square stones bearing the royal arms of England and Scotland, rather than *croix pattee*.

17 Quoted by Armstrong (op. cit., Appendix LIV) in an excerpt from the accounts of the Lord High Treasurer showing expenses incurred on account of the division of the Debateable Land during 1552.

Figure 2. Henry Bullock's Plan of the Debatable Land between England and Scotland (1552) showing the proposals of the Scots and the English, Laval's preferred line, the 'linea stellata' (marked with stars), and the final agreed boundary (marked with croix pattee).[18] Courtesy of National Archives, Kew <http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C3982201>.

18 Oriented to the north-west and with a scale bar of 2 inches to 1 mile, this is an early example of a map drawn to scale, although a customary, rather than the standard, mile may have been used. It was signed by Bullock. The enclosure to the explanation in Latin is signed by Claude de Laval.

Inevitably the agreed-upon new border did not immediately transform the area into one of peace and harmony. Life was just as insecure with raids, cattle lifting and blackmail just as frequent and a succession of Wardens and their courts just as ineffective as before. In 1583 the English had to make rules for the defence of the border for 'the keepinge out of the Scottishe theves of Greteney … and others of the Batable Landes … that not onlie breake pore mens howses and onsettes, but bereave them of all that they have … and which is worse their lyves also.'[19]

Raiding across the border continued into the seventeenth century and the land was still officially referred to as 'debeatable'.[20] That this was the case is clear from the need, at the Union of the Crowns in 1603, for James VI and I to establish a commission to bring law and order along the whole length of the border. However, with the two kingdoms united under one crown, James was more easily able to enforce the law.[21] And with its swift and harsh application by George Hume, 1st Earl of Dunbar, the reivers were finally brought under control and the pacification of the Borders largely achieved. With his new Circuit Courts at Dumfries and Jedburgh, James largely succeeded in maintaining law and order so that by the early 1620s he was able to scale down operations.[22]

Disorders continued to be reported, however, until as late as 1641 and a lingering enmity and fear of English supremacy persisted. This came to the fore once again when in the early eighteenth century the Scottish Parliament discussed the possibility of political union with England: Borderers assembled at Dumfries and threatened supporters of the union.[23] With union going ahead in 1707, however, peace was finally established though, of course, the border continued to form the boundary between the two countries and their distinct legal jurisdictions.

This was not to say, however, that the Borderers had relinquished all their former ways. In their contributions to the Statistical Accounts of the 1790s and 1830s, the ministers of Canonbie parish describe how, even as late as the 1770s and despite the efforts of the State and the Church, 'much of the spirit of the borderers [still] pervaded the inhabitants' who were given to idleness, gambling and irregular conduct.[24] The ministers believed, however, that the improvements in agriculture, industry, roads and communications of the late

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19 Gilpin, W., *Observations on Several Parts of Great Britain particularly the High-Lands of Scotland made in the year 1776. Vol. I,* Third Edition, pub. Cadell and Davies, London, 1808, 38–39; Reid, op. cit.; Mack, op. cit., 82, quoting from *The Border Papers* Vol. I, nos. 133 and 162.

20 Ibid. 91, quoting from legal documents published in 1609.

21 Some alleviation of Scotland's economic problems at this time and an increase in Scots' legal rights to enter England no doubt also contributed to James' success; until this time, ordinary cross-border intercourse had been discouraged whilst cross-border marriage and the employment of Scots in England without special permission had been illegal (Armstrong, op. cit., 82).

22 Carlyle, op. cit.

23 Ibid.

24 Rev. John Russel, *Parish of Canonby* in the First (Old) Statistical Account of Scotland, Vol. XIV, 1794, 407–432 ; Rev. James Donaldson, *Parish of Canonbie* in the Second (New) Statistical Account of Scotland, Vol. IV, 1836, 483–498.

eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries had finally civilised the inhabitants and greatly changed the face of the countryside. As previously mentioned, though some enclosure and development of arable land had been encouraged on the English side as early as the mid-sixteenth century, the Scottish side was more pasture-based. This was due in part to there being a smaller acreage of good land for arable on the Scottish side but also to the Scottish Borderers' preference for moveable valuables in the form mainly of cattle. This emphasis, along with the use of the runrig system, persisted until the late eighteenth century when the 3rd Duke of Buccleuch, sole proprietor in Canonbie, modernised and improved his farms.[25] From this period, thanks mostly to his efforts and to those of both his successor, the 4th Duke, and Sir James Graham of Netherby in Kirk Andrews parish, 'a wonderful change' had taken place, their schemes no doubt helped by the prosperous condition of agriculture just before and during the Napoleonic Wars.[26] Waste land had been reclaimed by enclosure, hedging, ditching, drainage, broad ploughing and liming so that even the higher ground of cold wet clays and mosses had become capable of carrying a range of crops.[27] Even the land inundated, in some places to a depth of 40 feet, by the devastating eruption of the Solway Moss in 1771 in Kirk Andrews Parish had successfully been restored by Dr Robert Graham of Netherby to its former 'completely improved' state.[28] Farms had been laid out and re-built, breeding stock had been improved and numerous hardwood plantations had been created.[29] In Canonbie, heavily subsidised by the Dukes, roads and bridges had been made and maintained so that instead of most places being inaccessible except in very dry summers, almost every farm now had a road to it. The improvements in farming had encouraged tenants' industry and provided work for other tradesmen and labourers whilst the manufacturers at Carlisle had provided work for weavers.

As elsewhere, enthusiasm for land improvements continued in south-west Scotland into the 'high-farming' era of 1850 to 1914. This was a period when ever more expensive reclamation schemes were being embarked upon across the land. These involved further drainage of bogs and lochs to extend usable acreage and systematic underground tile

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25 Cole, op. cit., 52–53.

26 Symon, J. A., *Scottish Farming Past and Present*, pub. Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh, 1959, 408.

27 In contrast to this, Roy's map indicates that in the middle of the eighteenth century there were very few roads and very little enclosed land here (William Roy's *Military Survey of Scotland,* 1747–55).

28 Gilpin, W., op. cit., 110; Pennant, T., *A Tour of Scotland 1772*, Vol. II, pub. A Leathley, Dublin, 1775, 64–67; McIntire, W. T., 'Solway Moss', *TCWAAS*, II, xli, 1941, 1–13. Pennant gives examples of eruptions or overflows of other marshes which were usually caused by internal movements, sometimes with disastrous results. The eruption of Solway Moss, which lay above its surrounding cultivated land, was not caused by an internal movement but by the weakening, by peat diggers, of the crust which kept its semi-liquid contents within bounds until, so weakened, it burst under the pressure of these contents, themselves increased by three days of incessant rain; a torrent of mud and water inundated not only the fields below but far beyond, whilst the moss itself took on the appearance of a basin. The Solway Moss, now recognised as an internationally important and rare raised peat bog, takes its name from the now extinct hamlet of Salom or Sollum (*sol-holm* — the muddy island) which was located there.

29 A report on the Eskdale plantations indicates just how numerous they were by 1861 (*Report on the Duke of Buccleuch's Woods and Plantations in Eskdale*, National Archives Scotland GD224/494/14).

drainage according to the scientific principles set out by James Smith of Deanston in 1837. The latter was made possible by Smith's invention of the subsoil plough, the mechanisation of drainage tile production (patented by the Marquess of Tweeddale in the 1830s) and long-term loan schemes set up in 1846 and 1849.[30] By the end of the nineteenth century the English side of the Debateable Land, except for the area now occupied by the Central Ammunition Depot (C.A.D.) near Longtown, appeared much as it does today.[31] In the first half of the twentieth century various Acts of Parliament, Government grants and new inventions brought about further improvements in drainage throughout Scotland.[32] Though extensively damaged by peat extraction, the Solway Moss is now the only area which gives some idea of how much of the Debateable Land might have looked pre-improvement.

But to return to our border earthwork, how and when did it come to be called 'Scots' Dike'? The word 'dike' may be confusing to some Scots since in present-day Scotland it usually means a stone wall. South of the border and in some instances in Scotland, however, the word applies to ditches or earthen mounds, including those linear ditch-and-bank earthworks which were erected across the countryside before, during and after the Roman occupation, perhaps to mark territory, to hinder wheeled or horse-borne traffic or even, like the Scots' Dike, to mark a national border.[33]

When exactly 'dike' was applied to our dike and when the word 'Scots' was first attached to it is not known. As we have seen, the 1552 plan shown in Figure 2 shows the line of the agreed border at this location but at this date the Dike would not, of course, have been erected. Two maps drawn up at the end of the sixteenth century, Lord Burghley's 'platt' of 1590 (Figure 3) and Gerhard Mercator's *Scotia Regnum* of *c*.1595, do, however, mark the cross-country line of the Dike (the former, somewhat inaccurately, with faint dots) though neither so name it. Subsequent maps, from 1654 to the first half of the eighteenth century,

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30 Symon, op. cit., 403–405. James Smith (1789–1850) was a textile industrialist and ingenious agricultural engineer in Deanston in (at that time) Perthshire.

31 Cole, op. cit., 7. This C.A.D. came into operation during the Second World War.

32 Glendinning, M. and Martins, S.W., *Buildings of the Land: Scotland's Farms 1750–2000*, pub. Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, Edinburgh, 2008, 76–77 and 116–118; Symon, op. cit., 405–409.

33 Dumfriesshire has relatively few such earthworks, in contrast to neighbouring Roxburgh, where there are many banks and ditches traversing ridge crests or saddles to mark boundaries or block routes (*Eastern Dumfriesshire*, pub. Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland, Edinburgh: Stationery Office, 1997, 47). The 82 miles of the great earth-wall and ditch of Offa's Dyke, constructed by Offa of Mercia during 780 along the Anglo-Welsh border (<www.englishheritage.org.uk/visit/places/offas-dyke/>), and the most famous of Scotland's earthen boundaries, the 37 mile long Antonine Wall of 142AD, are other, mightier, examples of earthen border dykes. Interestingly, the latter was from the Middle Ages sometimes referred to as Grymisdyke/Graemesdyke and it is only in the last hundred years or so that it has acquired its definitive modern name (Breeze, D.J., *The Antonine Wall*, pub. Historic Scotland, Edinburgh, 2006, 172–173.). Higher than Scots' Dike (three to four metres when built), it was a turf-faced rampart on a stone base.

Figure 3. Platt of the opposete Borders of Scotland to ye west marches of England (December 1590) with a faint dotted line showing but not naming the position of the Dike.[34] Courtesy of the British Library Board, Shelfmark: Cartographic item: Royal MS 18D.111, folio 70.

34 This map is from an atlas that belonged to William Cecil, Lord Burghley, Elizabeth I's Secretary of State. He has annotated it, not altogether accurately, with the names of places, including those of fortified houses in the Debateable Land and along the border. A scale bar of 4 inches to 10 miles is included.

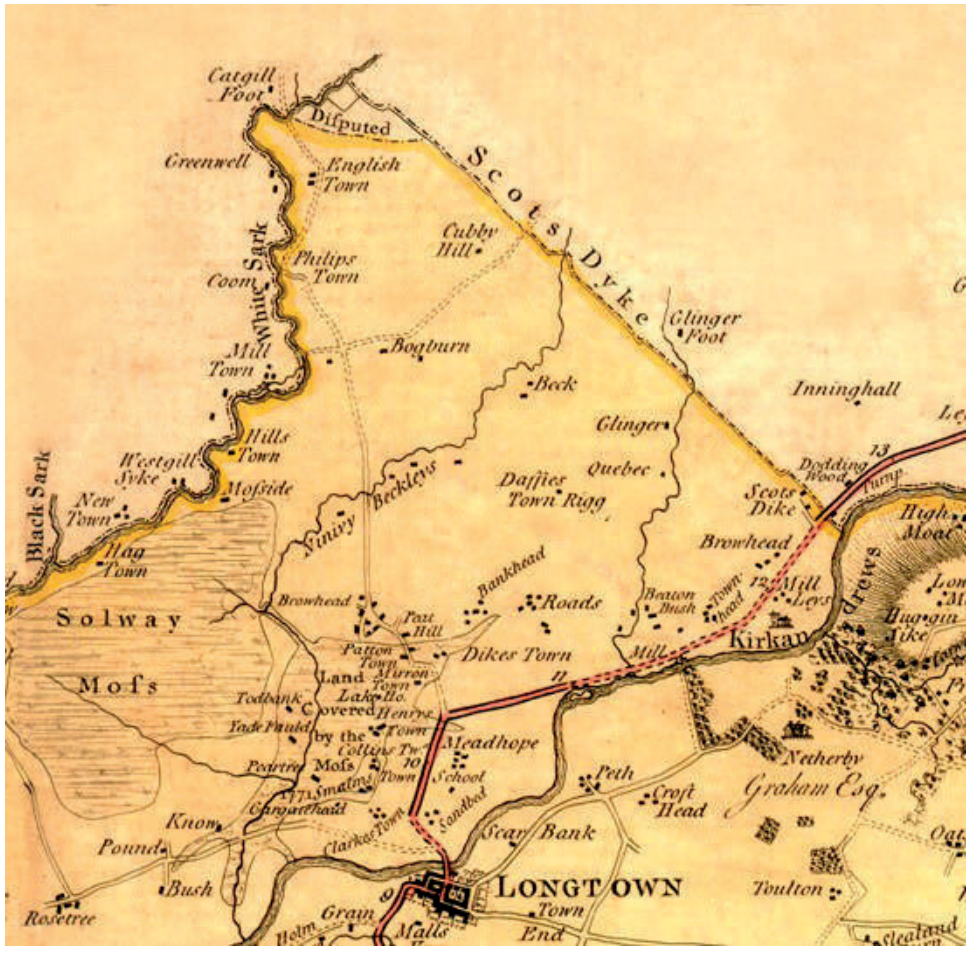

Figure 4. From Thomas Donald's Map of the County of Cumberland, 1770–1771, showing the small parcel of 'Disputed' land between the two westernmost border lines. Courtesy of Cumbria Image Bank © Cumbria Image Bank.

do, however, label it 'the March dyik/dyke/Dyck'.[35] By the time of General Roy's *Military Survey of Scotland*, 1747–1755, the Dike is for the first time labelled 'Scots Dyke' but for how long it had been so called is unknown. In line with the original description of the Dike's westernmost line, Roy shows it joining the Sark almost due west of Reamy-rigg.

Thomas Donald's map of Cumberland, published 1770–1771 also shows this line but,

35 Joan Blaeu's *Atlas of Scotland* of 1654; the manuscript map, *Sulway fyrth Liddesdale Es(kdale)* of Robert and James Gordon c.1636–1652; Hermann Moll's *Anandale: is Part of Dumfreis Shire Eusdale or Eskdale and Liddesdale is the South Part of Roxburgh Sh*, imprinted in 1745, 13 years after Moll's death. Although Moll's map shows the line of the Dike in about the correct position, it marks the border (and Longtown) as being north of it.

in addition, marks a more southerly line running south-west from Reamy-rigg and joining the Sark further downstream.[36] It labels the small parcel of land between the two lines as 'Disputed' (Figure 4). So could it be that, more than two centuries after the Dike's erection, the nationality of some of the land along its length was still being disputed? Thirty years later, however, in 1804, Crawford (who, incidentally, does not name the Dike as such) indicates only the more southerly line.[37]

Surprisingly, in neither of their reports for the Statistical Accounts do the ministers of Canonbie mention the Dike dividing their parish from England, except in passing as the location of a toll-house on the turnpike road between Edinburgh and Carlisle.[38] Yet it must have been a notable feature of the landscape. The Rev. James Roddick of Gretna does, however, draw attention to it in his 1834 report of that parish, naming it as 'the Scotch dike' and describing it as 'a line of plantation between the two rivers' (Sark and Esk).[39]

The Dumfriesshire Ordnance Survey Name Books for 1858 refer to it as Scots' Dike and discuss and reject the spelling 'dyke' as an alternative.[40] It is described as 'An old bank extending from Crawsknowe to Scots Dyke T.P. It forms the boundary between England and Scotland', whilst Scotsdike Plantation is described as 'A long strip of mixed wood […], the property of the Duke of Buccleuch'.[41] The 1862 6-inch O.S. map (Dumfriesshire Sheet LIX), like that of Crawford, showed that, after leaving the Sark at the more southerly point (NY331737), the border initially turned north-east across what are now the fields of Craw's Knowe before going due east from the site of Reamy-rigg (not marked as such) through the three-mile long plantation. There is no evidence of Donald's 'Disputed' parcel of land. On exiting the eastern end of the plantation (NY385733) and following the line of the (unmarked) Dimmisdaill syke, it descended three hundred yards to the present-day A7 and, after a further hundred yards and a couple of bends, joined the Esk. It followed the Esk north before branching off to go along the Liddel Water. Within the plantation it was cut by the steep-sided Glenzier Burn (Glinger Burn on the English side) to its east whilst around its midpoint the Glenzier Beck (Beckburn on the English side) meandered its way along it for one hundred yards. It would seem that the march stones and whatever sort of

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36 Thomas Donald, *County of Cumberland*, London, 1770–1771.

37 William Crawford, *Map of Dumfries-shire*, Edinburgh, 1804.

38 The Scotsdike toll-house is still there, on the present A7 on the Scottish side of the border. Another feature from that era, but on the English side, is a milestone which would have indicated that Edinburgh was 81½ miles distant, had it not lost its iron plate.

39 Rev. James Roddick, *Parish of Graitney* in the Second (New) Statistical Account of Scotland, Vol. IV, 1834, 262–273. Like his fellow-ministers in Canonbie, he points out that 'The habits of the people, however, continued nearly the same till the union of the kingdoms under James VI. …'.

40 As already noted, Offa's Dyke has retained the alternative spelling.

41 *Dumfriesshire O.S. Name Books*, 1858, Vol. 4, OS1/10/4/ 216 and 232. Scots Dyke T.P. refers to the Scotsdike toll-house. Referred to in an 1861 report as the Scotch March Plantation, the wood was at this time planted with larch, spruce and oak to the east (the first two felled in 1861) and with spruce, scotch fir and a few larch to the west. The drains required clearing and the hedges were in need of extra plants. This report makes no mention of the Dike or its boundary stones (*Report on the Duke of Buccleuch's Woods and Plantations in Eskdale*, op. cit.).

terminal markers had been there were no longer evident by 1862 since the map shows none. Nor does it show any boundary stones.

By the time of the survey for the second edition 6-inch O.S. map in 1898, however, boundary stones must have been erected for thirteen are shown along the Dike's length (marked B.S. in Figure 5). Except for two in the middle section, they were fairly evenly spaced through the plantation. None was shown on the open land at either end. A disjointure was shown towards the eastern end of the middle section. The plantation at that time was mixed deciduous on both sides of the border. The western half of the plantation had a path or track along its northern edge. Reamy-rigg was again not marked.

In 1912 Graham noted that the Dimmisdaill syke at the eastern end of the Dike flowed in a culvert under the turnpike road (A7) into a large green pasture where a spring known as Dimmisdaill Well was to be found among some ancient oaks. The Dike was described at its eastern end as going through the plantation in the form of a rough mound measuring four feet in height and five in breadth and for the western one and a half miles between the Glenzier Beck and Reamy-rigg as 'a causeway flanked, now on this side, now on that, sometimes on both sides, by a deep drain, its centre being marked at long intervals by modern boundary stones.' Beyond the ruins of a cottage at Reamy-rigg there were no further signs of it. The banks of where it would have joined the Sark were described as steep and wooded though it was noted that the course of the river may have moved westward since its erection. Any terminal stone was reported to be long since gone[42].

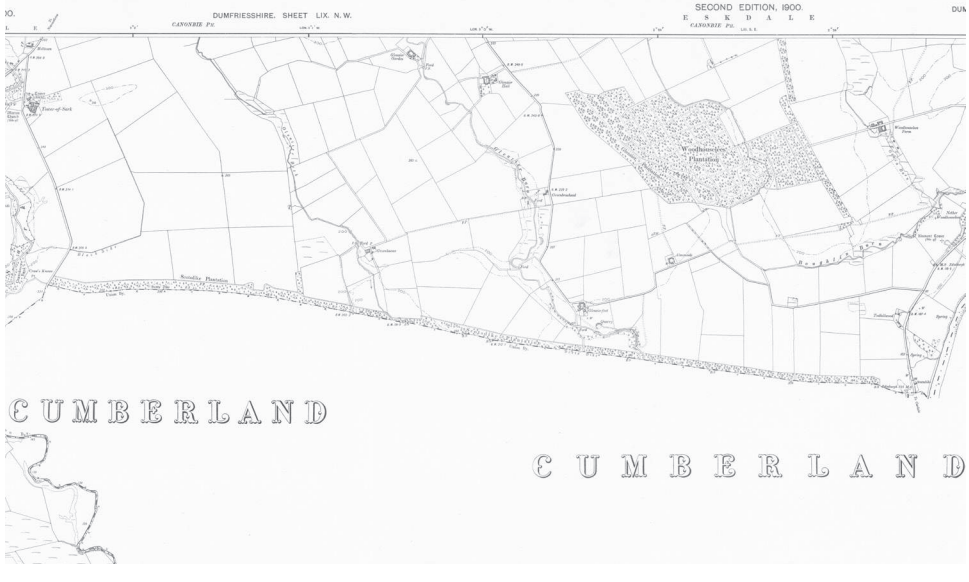

Figure 5. From the Ordnance Survey, Second Edition, Sheets LIX NW and NE, Dumfriesshire, surveyed in 1898 and published in 1900, 6 inches to the mile. Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland.

42 Graham, op. cit., 1912.

In 1919 and 1920 Mack walked the whole course of the Dike as part of his 110-mile trek along the full length of the Scottish–English Border between 1916 and 1926.[43] At that time there was quite a deep ditch entering the Sark about five and a half miles north of Gretna[44] which he identified as the Dike's western extremity. There was no sign of the rampart at this point but he states that there was evidence of 'spadework' for the five hundred yards across the fields to Reamy-rigg where the Dike entered the plantation. On leaving the plantation at the eastern extremity he noted that the Dike had practically disappeared though its course could still be traced to the A7 after which it became what he described as a narrow overgrown drain (clearly the Dimmisdaill syke).

During an attempt to traverse the whole length of the Dike in September 1918, aborted due to the normally narrow and shallow Glenzier Burn being swollen, he found the plantation to be dense throughout its two-hundred-yard width with many of its trees being of a great size and age. The eastern end of the Dike was at that time in a good state of preservation. When he succeeded in traversing the whole length of the Dike in April, 1919, however, he found that its western third had been almost obliterated by heavy-handed and unsympathetic timber felling operations. These had included the laying of a railway line along its top to enable a locomotive to drag trunks along it, thus completing its destruction. The middle and eastern thirds, however, continued to be well preserved with some notably magnificent and ancient trees on both sides of the Dike. A year later, however, the middle third of the plantation had been levelled to the ground with the Dike invisible under the lying timber and brushwood and with service railway lines, sawmills and workmen's huts all around.

He noted that the terminal marker stones had long since disappeared. He described, however, a number of uninscribed stones irregularly placed along the top of the dike at intervals of up to four hundred yards, measuring thirty inches by twelve inches by eight inches and in a good state of preservation.[45] Some, however, lay half buried (perhaps as a result of the recent forestry operations) and were raised and set back by Mack and his companions. He reported that he had been informed that these were not the original stones but that they had been erected comparatively recently to replace the original ones. He did not give the number or exact locations of these stones.

Mack concluded his article by expressing surprise that the Dike was at that time so little known, even locally, and with the belief that the eastern third too was soon to be destroyed by felling operations. The editor of the *Transactions* in which his article appeared had, however, appended a note indicating that a previous publication of the article in the press had resulted in the matter of the Dike being taken up by the Ancient Monuments Board for Scotland and that the proprietors had agreed to do no further felling and so prevent further destruction of the Dike.[46] By 1926, however, Mack was reporting that further felling and

43 Mack, J.L., 'The Old Scots Dike: its Construction A.D. 1552 and its Destruction 1917–1920', *Hawick Archaeological Society Transactions*, 1923, 3–5; Mack, 1926, op. cit., 65, 94–97.

44 Mack, 1926, op. cit., Figure 5.

45 Mack, 1926, op. cit., Figure 6.

46 J.H. Haining was Honorary Editor of the Hawick Archaeological Society in 1923. The newspaper article he referred to was on page 7 of the *Scotsman* of 11 December, 1920. That article resulted in the publication of further articles in both the *Scotsman* and other newspapers

replanting along the entire south side had resulted in further damage.[47]

Still owned on the Scottish side by the Buccleuch Estates, the Dike was recommended for scheduling by the Ancient Monuments Advisory Board in 1934. The process was not, however, straightforward because of the Dike's dual nationality and it was not until 1950 that sixty-three and a half acres of Buccleuch land extending from its northern half were scheduled. Surprisingly, a plan of the Dike drawn up in 1937 during the process did not show the boundary stones.[48]

By the end of the twentieth century the Dike was reported to be traceable only for the stretch lying within the plantation (a planting of spruce on the Scottish side, mixed deciduous on the English) (Figure 6). It consisted of a bank with a maximum height of 0.8 metres, with slight ditches on either side, which varied in width from 3.3 metres at the eastern end to 5.8 metres at the western end. According to a survey of the Dike by English Heritage field investigators in June, 1999,[49] dense vegetation rendered detailed survey impossible and investigation was limited to surface examination. The form and preservation of the Dike at that time varied considerably along its length and it appeared that little survived in its original form though its course was preserved in later boundaries and drainage ditches. Long sections of the ditches, especially the northern ditch, had been re-cut. Where the Glenzier Burn crossed its course there were no traces of the Dike; whether it had simply not survived or whether it was never constructed across the burn was not apparent. At a number of points along the length of the Dike there were disjointures suggestive of a shift in the line of the original boundary, perhaps due to diggers from each end not quite meeting in the middle or to later land use. The boundary stones within the plantation were reported as remaining in situ but their dimensions, number and date were not given. They were noted to be uninscribed. At the time of re-scheduling the Dike in 2008 the number of stones was given as ten, rather than thirteen as marked on the second edition 6-inch O.S. map.[50]

The author's present survey carried out in June, July and November 2016 confirmed that there is no evidence of the westernmost end of the Dike across the open fields to the Sark.[51] At the easternmost end, however, from the end of the plantation the tiny Dimmisdaill syke still flows along its line between two gardens to the A7 and, once under the road, follows what looks like a deeper, wider bed to the Esk though it is hard to gauge just how wide and deep it is due to a tangle of thick undergrowth.

The land along the length of the plantation was not entirely level and the vegetation was surprisingly varied: dense conifer plantings interspersed with areas of scrub, mosses, lush

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over the following few weeks. The Ancient Monuments Board, established by the Ancient Monuments Consolidation and Amendment Act of 1913 in order to improve the protection afforded to ancient monuments and the lands around them, had the power to issue preservation orders and extend public right of access (Wikipedia).

47 Mack, 1926, op. cit., 97.

48 Ministry of Works file 22961/1A (NAS: DD27/3680).

49 Canmore *Archaeology Notes* <https://canmore.org.uk/site/67548/scots-dike>.

50 Entry in the Schedule of Monuments <http://portal.historicenvironment.scot/document/600003549>. The Dike is a scheduled monument under the terms of the Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act 1979.

51 Of the ruins at Reamy-rigg, mentioned by Graham (op. cit., 1912), there is also no evidence.

grasses and ferns and dissected by the two small water courses and many ditches. With this diversity and on the brilliantly sunny days of the survey (even the one in November) the whole place had a magical quality to it.

However attractive, the vegetation is still, unfortunately, a major hurdle with fallen trees, brambles, ferns and other thick undergrowth making the search for the mound and hence the boundary stones, (the main focus of the present survey), very difficult. Much of the mound is flattened so that the Dike's course is mainly represented by a ditch (and in some places ditches) of varying depth and width but even this was sometimes difficult to follow. Luckily, the present survey was attempted during periods of dry weather so that it was possible to cross both the steep-sided Glenzier Burn and the wider area of marsh around the Glenzier Beck without much difficulty though no traces of the Dike were found in their immediate vicinities.

Figure 6. Aerial photo of Scots' Dike Plantation. © Crown Copyright: HES.


1


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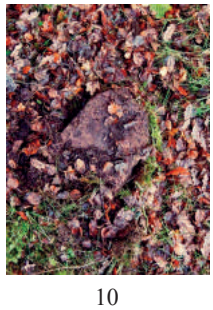
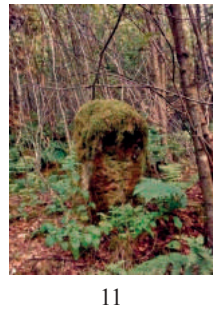
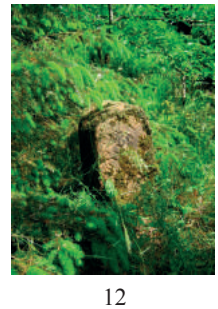

10


11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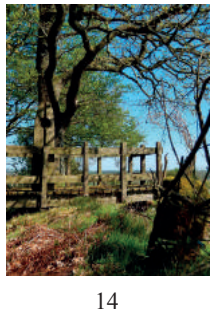
14


15


16

Figure 7. 1 to 13 show boundary stones 1 to 13 (west to east), 14 and 15 show the footbridge over the ditch and the modern marker at the eastern end, 16 shows the sign by the A7 road.

This paper is pleased to report that, contrary to the Schedule of Monuments, all thirteen of the stones shown on the second edition 6-inch O.S. map (1900) were found to be in situ and that all except two were standing along the centre of the bank. All are of a rich red sandstone with rounded tops and no inscriptions (Figure 7. 1 to 13). Stones 1 and 10 (counting from west to east) lie entirely out of the ground. Their lengths are 90 cm and 92 cm, respectively. Stone 10 was elusive and it was only on the fourth attempt to find it, when the vegetation had died down in November, that it was discerned, but only just, lying in the ditch at the English side with its complete covering of moss suggesting that it had lain there for some years. The heights above ground of the stones still in situ inevitably vary considerably, ranging from 30 cm to 66 cm with the mean height above ground being 48.45 cm. Presumably the unburied height of each stone was approximately 90 cm, the same as the unearthed stones. Most have a width of 26 cm (range 25 to 28 cm) and a depth of 20 cm (range 18 to 20 cm).[52] The grid references, determined with the use of the Global Positioning System (G.P.S.), and metric dimensions of all the stones are shown in Appendix I. The weight of each stone would be about 90 kg (based on their dimensions and the density of sandstone).

Without surveying equipment it was not possible on the ground to measure the intervals between the stones, which might in any case have been difficult given the constant necessity of going off course to avoid the many blockages along the way. By feeding the grid references into mapping software, however, it was possible to calculate the length of the intervals which range from 175 m (between stones 7 and 8) to 516 m (between stones 10 and 11) (mean = 420.4 m). Judging from their grid references, the two unearthed stones are very near where they were originally erected. It seems surprising that the stones were not placed equidistance apart: perhaps accurate spacing was not important enough to justify the effort of accurate measurement on such difficult terrain whilst the relatively short distance between stones 7 and 8 would perhaps suggest that they were laid by two teams starting from each end and that by some miscalculation the two teams met too closely together. Figure 8 indicates the position and altitude of each stone and how the Dike varies in altitude along its length. Only the stone at the eastern end is marked on the current 1:25,000 Explorer map. There are no stones along the short stretch to the east side of the plantation.

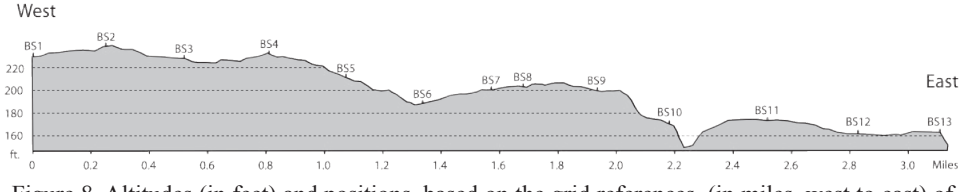

Figure 8. Altitudes (in feet) and positions, based on the grid references, (in miles, west to east) of each boundary stone along the Dike.[53]

52 Presumably the stonemason was aiming for roughly 10" × 8" × 36" in the imperial units used at the time of fashioning; such dimensions would be typical of many of the similarly shaped milestones of the period.

53 With thanks to M. Lunghi.

The presence, style, number and locations of the boundary stones raise many questions. It seems reasonable from their style and from cartographic evidence to assume that they were erected in the latter half of the nineteenth century, but when exactly? On whose authority and at whose expense and for what reason? And why so many so closely, but not evenly, spaced? They could hardly have added to the visual impact and boundary-marking function of the then, apparently intact, earthen mound since, as we have seen, according to the Rev. Roddick, the plantation had been there since at least 1834 so that they would have been hidden by trees. And from which quarry did the stone originate, who quarried it and by which mason was it fashioned?[54] As we have seen, the plantation was owned in the mid-nineteenth century by the Buccleuch Estates but a search of the catalogue of the estate's papers held by National Archives Scotland (NAS) shed no light on these issues; searches elsewhere in the catalogues of NAS and in those of National Archives UK, Dumfries and Galloway Council Archives, Cumbria County Council Archives and the British Newspaper Archive have been equally unrewarding. As we have noted, previous literature has been silent on these issues too.

With the exception of the Debateable Land and a small area around Berwick-upon-Tweed, which was taken by the English in 1482, the Solway–Tweed line of 1237 remains the border today and is thus one of the oldest extant borders in the world. Yet, despite being described as a rare example of a sixteenth-century earthwork,[55] the Scots' Dike seems not to have been valued or protected until relatively recent years[56] and even now it seems that locally it continues to be little known; even the signage to it is minimal with no sign at its western end (possibly because passage along it soon becomes very difficult) and only a discreet modern wooden fingerpost marked 'Scots' Dike' at its eastern end (Figure 7. 16.) This is near the parking lay-by on the Scottish side of the A7, indicating the footpath up to the plantation. Once at the eastern end of the plantation, another more decorative wooden sign on a small footbridge straddling the Dike indicates its start (Figure 7. 14 and 15). It would be desirable if this situation were remedied though, one hopes, not at the cost of spoiling the Dike's special character through introducing excessive signage etc.

With today's constitutional upheavals in the wake of the United Kingdom's decision in 2016 to leave the European Union and the push from the present Scottish National Party Government for Scottish independence, it may be that our Dike, erected at a time of dispute in the reign of Mary, Queen of Scots, will, in any case and without the need of intervention from heritage bodies, emerge from its centuries of obscurity and once more come into its own as a marker of the divisions of our own time.

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54 The area is underlain with a bed of New Red Triassic Sandstone. The Rev. Donaldson (op. cit.) writing of Canonbie in 1836 reported that 'Freestone of every kind is everywhere found in this parish, — which is well adapted for building, as being durable and easily wrought' though he makes no further mention of quarrying or specific quarries. There were, however, a number of sandstone quarries in the immediate vicinity, the nearest being at High Moat (NY397739), operating from 1868, at Glinger Burn (NY367736), just north of the Dike, and at Cadgill (NY305752) as well as in the nearby parishes.

55 Historic England, List Entry No.1016860, not to be confused with List Entry 1013306, the longer linear earthwork in North Yorkshire, of sixth and seventh century date, also called Scots Dyke. This 14km dyke was probably built to consolidate territorial and economic units in response to changing political circumstances. Why it was called 'Scots' is not clear.

56 It is now recorded in the English National Archaeological Record as ancient monument NY37SE 14 and in Scotland by the RCAHMS as NMRS No. NY37SE 6.

Appendix I

Grid references and dimensions (in centimetres) where H = Height, W = width and D = depth. The stones are counted from west to east.

1	NY 33508 73961	H 90	W 26	D 20
2	NY 33907 73934	H 30	W 26	D 18
3	NY 34338 73905	H 33	W 26	D 20
4	NY 34804 73847	H 40	W 26	D 20
5	NY 35224 73777	H 45	W 26	D 20
6	NY 35638 73689	H 48	W 26	D 20
7	NY 36006 73616	H 55	W 26	D 20
8	NY 36173 73564	H 50	W 25	D 20
9	NY 36578 73502	H 66	W 28	D 20
10	NY 36998 73452	H 92	W 25	D 20
11	NY 37507 73362	H 66	W 27	D 20
12	NY 38000 73284	H 50	W 25	D 20
13	NY 38494 73264	H 50	W 25	D 18

Appendix II

Distances apart of boundary stones (in metres) W to E.

Stones	Distance apart
1-2	400
2-3	432
3-4	470
4-5	426
5-6	423
6-7	375
7-8	175
8-9	410
9-10	424
10-11	516
11-12	499
12-13	495

WIGTOWN BURGHS, 1832–1868: A ROTTEN BURGH DISTRICT?

Gary D. Hutchison[1]

The existence of corrupt 'rotten boroughs' in England is a well-documented phenomenon before the 'Great' Reform Act of 1832.[2] Similarly, many Scottish constituencies possessed characteristics which made them particularly closed, even by the limited standards of the pre-Reform political system.[3] The Wigtown District of Burghs, (hereafter the Wigtown Burghs), which was almost entirely controlled by a number of prominent local families, was one of these. By using its politics after 1832 as a case-study, it is possible to question how far the Scottish Reform Act went in creating a more open and democratic political culture.[4] Moreover, it raises the possibility that the political culture of non-contiguous Burgh Districts, which were unique to Scotland and Wales, possessed characteristics which set them apart from other types of constituency.

Through an examination of the Wigtown Burghs between the First and Second Reform Acts, it can be demonstrated that many of the features of pre-Reform Wigtown politics survived, and that the representation of the Wigtown Burghs in fact remained under the control of landed magnates until the late-nineteenth century. As such, the extent to which the Wigtown Burghs remained a 'rotten burgh' can be established. This can be done through an examination of the MPs who sat for the constituency in this period, and of the unsuccessful candidates. Moreover, the continuing but changeable influence of powerful local families can be exposed. The practices and culture of electioneering also revealed the political character of local politics, and, finally, the increasing role played by local constituency parties contributes to the understanding of local electoral politics. Before these can be examined, however, it is necessary to explore the history and character of the constituency.

Constituency Background

The Wigtown Burghs, both before and after 1832, was a non-contiguous burgh constituency, covering the Royal Burghs of Wigtown, Whithorn, Stranraer, and New Galloway. Before 1832, it was widely recognised to have been largely in the pocket of the Stewarts, earls of Galloway, whose influence prevailed in Wigtown and Whithorn. The Dalrymples, earls of Stair, prevailed at Stranraer, while at New Galloway influence was maintained by the Gordons of Kenmure.[5] Each burgh chose one commissioner, a nominee of these families,

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1 Postdoctoral Research Associate, School of Government & International Affairs, University of Durham. This research paper was awarded the Society's Truckell Prize in 2016.

2 See, for instance, O'Gorman (1989).

3 This is explored in Fry (1992).

4 The most comprehensive existing work on Scottish politics in this period is Hutchison (1986), 1–59.

5 *History of Parliament* [hereafter cited as HoP], 1754–1790, Wigtown Burghs, <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1754-1790/constituencies/wigtown-burghs>, [accessed 25 August 2016].

who voted for the representation in parliament; in effect this meant that the constituency had only four voters. The four burghs presided in turn, and the vote of a presiding burgh in a tied election was decisive. This meant that, in certain circumstances, the combined power of the Dalrymples and Gordons could overcome the Stewarts if either Stranraer or New Galloway presided. Though the Wigtown Burghs were never entirely in the pocket of one interest, it was by no means an open constituency, even by the limited standards of the era. By the 1820s, the Stewart interest generally held sway over the constituency.[6]

Nevertheless, the (mostly non-voting) inhabitants of the towns displayed some independence, sending several petitions to Westminster in favour of the abolition of slavery and the reform of the electoral system in 1830 and 1831.[7] In this respect, opinion in the constituency was similar to that in the rest of Scotland, as there was overwhelming popular support for Reform.[8] The *Scotsman* could claim in 1834 that 'even previous to Reform, an independent interest had arisen which broke in a little upon the ancient Tory quietude', though it may well have been more pertinent that Lord Garlies, who was by then managing the Stewart interest, favoured both Reform and Whig principles.[9] During negotiations over the redistribution of Scottish seats in the post-Reform parliament, the Wigtown Burghs came close to disfranchisement; even with an expanded franchise that would grant the vote to one in eight adult men, the population of the combined burghs was thought to contain only 279 potential electors.[10] Though royal burghs, by the 1820s Wigtown and Stranraer were relatively small towns when compared to the rapidly expanding towns and cities of an industrialising Scotland. Whithorn consisted 'almost entirely of one street', and New Galloway was by then more village than town.[11] Various solutions were posited, including the addition of Port Glasgow to the group, and the addition of nearby Kirkcudbright.[12] With disenfranchisement looming, the boundary commissioners generously expanded the outer electoral limits of each town, ostensibly to allow for future urban expansion.[13] Thus, with the addition of outlying rural lands, the ostensibly urban district became even more penetrated by rural interests associated with various local landowners.

The slightly altered Wigtown group thus entered the Reform era with an electorate of only 316 in 1832, even with these expanded boundaries. By 1865, this had expanded moderately to 518.[14] In fact, the burgh of Stranraer had overtaken the principal burgh of Wigtown in population by 1837, with 4,000 inhabitants, compared to Wigtown's 2,337. Whithorn had a population of 1,300, while New Galloway had only 1,128.[15] By 1865, it was estimated that the combined population of the Group was 'perhaps … 15,000 inhabitants'.[16] In comparison, the population of Dundee, which also returned one

6 *HoP*, 1820–32, Wigtown Burghs, <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/constituencies/wigtown-burghs>, [accessed 25 August 2016].
7 Ibid.
8 Pentland (2006), 103.
9 *Scotsman*, 20 December 1834.
10 Hutchison (1986); *HoP*, 1820–32, Wigtown Burghs.
11 *HoP*, 1820–32, Wigtown Burghs.
12 Dyer (1996a), 29.
13 *HoP*, 1820–32, Wigtown Burghs.
14 Craig (1977), 563.
15 *Scotsman*, 5 August 1837.
16 *Scotsman*, 7 July 1865.

member to parliament, was 90,417 by 1861.[17] The Wigtown Burghs was a particularly small constituency, even by the erratic standards of the post-Reform Scottish political landscape. This definitely contributed to the strong and continuing influence of local landowners in constituency affairs. Its survival as a separate seat was partly the result of successful Conservative and Whig efforts to keep urban voters in small towns out of county contests.[18] With the Liberal-leaning electors of the burghs removed from the surrounding county constituency of Wigtownshire, it was thought that this would enable the Conservatives to maintain their hold on the rural seat.[19]

Constituency MPs

The character and background of the MPs who represented the Group, as well as unsuccessful candidates, is in many ways indicative of the nature of local politics. Their background would appear to be closely linked to their positions on the political spectrum of Liberalism, between moderate Whiggism and uncompromising Radicalism. The themes of locality, patronage, landownership and influence, and family connection, all illustrate the extent to which the power of landed magnates remained central to local politics.

It is notable that the Group elected Liberal MPs to Westminster without interruption for the entire period in question. The first, Edward Stewart, sat from 1831 to 1835, beating Sir John McTaggart, also a Liberal, in 1832. McTaggart won the seat in 1835 after Stewart's withdrawal, holding the seat for twenty-two years until 1857. During this time, he saw off challenges from other Liberals — John Douglas in 1835, and Sir Andrew Agnew in 1837. In 1841, the first Conservative, Patrick Vans Agnew, unsuccessfully contested the seat. McTaggart won all other elections uncontested, with one notable exception. In 1852, the Conservatives put up James Caird, who lost to McTaggart by a single vote, 139 to 140. After McTaggart's resignation in 1859, the constituency was then represented for seven years by Sir William Dunbar, all of whose elections were uncontested. After Sir William's resignation in 1865, the seat was taken over, again uncontested, by George Young. Young did however see off a Conservative challenger in 1868, Robert Vans Agnew. Overall, the Wigtown Burghs saw twelve elections between 1832 and 1868, which included two by-elections. Of these, six, half of elections, were contested. Of the six contested elections, only two, in 1852 and 1868, took place after 1841. Also of note was the lacklustre Conservative presence in the constituency; during the whole 36-year period, only three Conservative candidates went to poll.[20]

Candidates often stressed their locality in elections; it was considered to be advantageous if a politician originated in the local area. The *Dumfries Herald*, when urging Sir Andrew

17 Vincent and Stenton (1971), 96.

18 Dyer (1996b), 292.

19 It is generally accepted that the Liberal party did not come into formal existence until 1859, though the more recent work of Joseph Coohill (2011) has argued that the party (and Liberalism more generally) substantively coalesced decades earlier than this. The Conservative party, by contrast, is generally thought to have existed as a coherent entity before the middle years of the century, but was arguably split both in organisation and ideology by the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846. For the sake of consistency, however, the parties and their creeds are capitalised regardless of their then-current state at different points between 1832 and 1868.

20 All electoral data was sourced from Craig (1977).

Agnew to stand for the Group in 1847, stated that 'We understand that a strong desire to be represented by one of their own townsmen prevails among the electors, and that a large number of them, including not a few of the present member's usual supporters …'. The paper stated that local voters were unhappy with having a relative outsider, McTaggart, representing their local interests. It was thought that Agnew might have an advantage as he was a 'citizen of one of the burghs [Wigtown], and connected by parentage with two of the others'.[21] Moreover, in 1852 the Liberal-Conservative candidate, James Caird, was a native of Stranraer.[22] He was also 'well known as the Times' agricultural commissioner, and a resident in that district'.[23] Indeed, George Young, in his 1865 election address, made much of the fact that 'It had ever been his pride to identify himself with Dumfries and Galloway — with the former as his place of birth, and with the latter as endeared by many early associations'.[24] Caird and Agnew were actually brought up within the burghs themselves. Moreover, this was within the two most populous burghs, which effectively decided the results — Whithorn and New Galloway were electorally insignificant. Inter-burgh rivalry could play a major role in voting tallies, and as such it was necessary for candidates to navigate these political cross-currents.[25] However, it is notable that of these three men, the first two were not elected, and the last, Young, had the most tenuous association with the locality — though Dumfriesshire bordered Wigtownshire, it was not the same county, let alone within burgh limits. Young felt it necessary to speak at the hustings while surrounded by 'a large number of gentlemen connected with Wigtown, Whithorn, Stranraer, and New Galloway', in order to boost his local credentials.[26] While locality was an advantage to candidates, it was by no means decisive.

Perhaps more important was the ability of a candidate to procure patronage for the constituency; When Agnew's candidacy was urged in 1846, this was partly because local electors were 'anxious to induce a professional' to stand against McTaggart.[27] Moreover, when Sir William Dunbar was appointed a Lord Commissioner of the Treasury, the Provost of Whithorn asserted that 'We possess the services of a representative whose position is listened to in the House of Commons with respect, and which carries with it weight and influence'.[28] George Young's position as Solicitor-General for Scotland may well have been the main reason that he was invited to stand for the Group. Young certainly made sure to dwell on his ability to procure advantages for his prospective constituents: 'as one of the law officers for Scotland, I am connected with the present Government … in the expectation that in my present professional position I may be serviceable to you and the country in Parliament'.[29] The ability, or potential ability, to procure places for local electors was therefore a definite advantage in contesting the Wigtown Burghs.

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21 *Dumfries Herald*, reproduced in *Scotsman*, 14 January 1846.
22 G. E. Mingay, 'Caird, Sir James (1816–1892)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [hereafter ODNB], <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4339>, [accessed 26 August 2016].
23 *Caledonian Mercury*, 14 March 1853.
24 *Caledonian Mercury*, 14 April 1865.
25 Dyer (1996b), 291.
26 *Glasgow Herald*, 17 April 1865.
27 *Dumfries Herald*, reproduced in *Scotsman*, 14 January 1846.
28 *Glasgow Herald*, 29 June 1859.
29 *The Times*, 12 April 1865.

Nevertheless, this was not the most common attribute of successful candidates — with the single exception of Young, all of the MPs for the Group were aristocratic gentlemen with significant land holdings in Wigtownshire, or were closely related to local landed magnates. The first post-Reform MP, Edward Stewart, was a grandson of the seventh Earl of Galloway, and a cousin of Lord Garlies, who by 1831 controlled the Stewart interest in the constituency.[30] Sir John McTaggart, in addition to representing the Wigtown Burghs, also possessed influence in them.[31] His estate at Ardwell comprised 5,998 acres in 1883, valued at £7,537 a year.[32] His successor, Sir William Dunbar, became a major landholder in the county when, in 1859, he 'purchased the estates of Grange and Tourhouskie' for £43,000.[33]

Though a strong local connection was a preferable trait, it was patronage, and most importantly, landed connections which were the most prominent characteristics of MPs for the Wigtown Burghs. As such, the group generally elected candidates more suited to the espousal of rural, rather than urban, interests. This suggests that the local political culture was heavily influenced by the nature of the surrounding county, the wishes of local magnates, and the ability to procure benefits for electors.

Elections

In an 1844 survey, it was estimated that over half of the electorate in the Wigtown Burghs were tenants.[34] In the political age before the secret ballot, when every vote was publicly known, influence over tenants by their proprietors was therefore central to determining the outcome to electoral contests. This pattern of influence, was, however, neither monolithic nor static. Rather, different proprietors combined to make up a patchwork of overlapping influence networks, which were prone to change over time as estates were bought and sold, and local magnates changed.

The Gordons of Kenmure, who held the predominant influence over New Galloway at the beginning of the period, suffered from the death of John Gordon, tenth Viscount Kenmure, in 1840.[35] His only heir, Adam Gordon, died shortly after in 1847 without issue, resulting in the extinction of the viscountcy.[36] Despite this, the estates were inherited by his sister Louise, who managed to maintain their influence in New Galloway up to 1853 at least.[37] This may have been due to the very small number of electors residing in that burgh. The case of the Stewart family, the earls of Galloway, also illustrates that influence was subject to change over time. Long dominant in the Wigtown Burghs, it was thought by the Conservative party in 1834 that 'Lord Galloway's interest predominates in this county'.[38]

30 *HoP*, 1820–1832, Edward Stewart, <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/member/stewart-edward-1808-1875>, [accessed 26 August 2016].
31 Hanham (1972), 344.
32 Bateman (1883), 294.
33 *Scotsman*, 13 August 1859.
34 Dyer (1996b), 35.
35 *John Bull*, 26 September 1840.
36 *Stirling Observer*, 9 September 1847.
37 Hanham (1972), 344.
38 'Memorandum of the State of the Scotch Representation', Nov. 1834, Buccleuch MSS, GD224/582/2/21, National Records of Scotland [hereafter NRS].

In 1837 however, it was clear that Lord Galloway wanted Agnew to be elected, yet he lost to McTaggart.[39] In 1852, the last concerted effort was made by the family to promote the candidacy of James Caird, who was in fact a 'tenant and protégé' of the Stewarts.[40] Their interest was gradually eclipsed by that of another major family — the Dalrymples, earls of Stair.

The Stewarts had greatly reduced their holdings in the local area by selling estates valued at £120,000 to the Dalrymples in 1840, who had had been steadily increasing their interest in the county: 'Within the last twenty years his lordship has by himself, and as trustee for a former earl, made additions to the estates of Stair to the extent of above 400,000l'.[41] They were also in the ascendant because their existing influence was concentrated at Stranraer, as that burgh had grown at a faster rate than the other three. The accession of John Hamilton Dalrymple to the earldom in 1840 proved to be auspicious for the family. Upon his accession, he immediately announced plans for an ambitious restoration of Castle Kennedy, earning much local praise.[42] As he was a known Liberal, a dinner in his honour was proposed by the local Liberal electors, which he refused to countenance, 'as I differ in my political views from most of the gentry around me … [they might] misunderstand the spirit in which I had come among them, and a bar to our future friendly intercourse might thus be established'.[43] Despite this public snub, the *Caledonian Mercury* could nevertheless state that 'No friend of the Liberal cause can fail to have been gratified at the succession of the present Earl of Stair to his title and estates, and at the reception which has greeted his arrival at his property, from all classes and ranks in the county of Wigtown'.[44]

Later that same year, Lord Stair threw a lavish dinner for his tenants in Wigtownshire, inviting 400 guests, and made a speech in which he asserted that, when his tenants voted, they should 'do so honestly and manfully — not allowing themselves to be dictated to by me, were I disposed to attempt it'.[45] By the December of that year, the Conservatives thought that 'Lord Stair's influence is now not so great as it promised to be'.[46] The extent to which Lord Stair stood by these wishes is questionable; after the hotly contested election of 1852, Caird asserted in a speech that 'An attempt was made by strangers to bully and ride roughshod over the quiet and industrious people of Stranraer, and all this was boastingly done in the name of Lord Stair.[47] The *Caledonian Mercury* went so far as to state that Sir John McTaggart was a 'nominee of Lord Stair', and that Caird's defeat was due to the exertion of 'all the influence of Lord Stair — [including] his bailiffs, factors, and land-agents'.[48] Even after the subsequent death of both the eighth and ninth earls, a supporter of George Young at the hustings still thought it necessary to refute accusations

39 'Memoranda', 6 Jul. 1837, Buccleuch MSS, GD224/582/2/25, NRS.
40 *Scotsman*, 3 February 1859.
41 *John Bull*, 2 August 1840. (Here 400,000l is £400,000).
42 *Caledonian Mercury*, 23 April 1840. The castle was never restored, and is still a ruin today.
43 *Morning Chronicle*, 29 April 1840.
44 *Caledonian Mercury*, 30 April 1840.
45 *Caledonian Mercury*, 14 Sepember 1840.
46 Donald Horne to Duke of Buccleuch, 14 Dec. 1840, Buccleuch MSS, GD224/581/14, NRS.
47 *Morning Post*, 2 October 1852.
48 *Caledonian Mercury*, 14 March 1853.

that 'the learned gentleman, in coming forward for these burghs, was merely the nominee of a noble Lord at the other end of the county (Lord Stair)'.[49] Young himself stated vehemently that 'I had no communication with or from Lord Stair, directly or indirectly, prior to my election, or for many months after… I don't believe that I ever had five minutes conversation upon politics with Lord Stair in my life'.[50]

It is evident that the role of prominent landowning families played a significant, and perhaps even a central role in determining the outcome of elections in the Wigtown Burghs, despite frequent protestations to the contrary. What is also apparent, however, is that this influence was subject to change over time, and required extensive landholdings, careful diplomacy, and some personal popularity for it to have a marked effect. Influence was a largely top-down political phenomenon in the Wigtown Burghs, but there was an element of negotiation present.

The everyday practices of electioneering in the burghs are also a crucial element in uncovering the nature of local politics, and the extent to which the voters of the Wigtown Burghs were able to exert a degree of electoral independence. Focal points such as the hustings and nomination of candidates were important, as was the practice of canvassing voters. Similarly, the presence of features such as intimidation, offers of patronage, and outright bribery played a role. These all paint a mixed picture of local politics, one which contains elements of independence, influence, and coercion.

The hustings and nomination of candidates, long a common feature of English elections, would appear to have been a relatively novel event in the previously closed Scottish burghs. Indeed, the *Scotsman* commented that the local nomination meeting in 1832 was 'rather a new thing in a Scottish Burgh' — yet, despite the potential for ribald and participatory proceedings, it appeared that the first open contest was a 'quiet election'.[51] The low rate of contested elections meant that the nomination was merely a formality in half of all elections, greatly lessening the chance for excitement. This was the case in uncontested elections such as that of 1859, as described by the *Glasgow Herald:* 'few persons were present, and there was no excitement of any kind'.[52]

Nevertheless, even in seemingly uncontested elections this event could be a vehicle for popular participation in politics, even for those who did not possess the franchise — the audience at the hustings often comprised a majority of non-electors. In 1857 for instance, though he did not go forward to the poll, Austen Layard spoke at length at the hustings, to great effect. Layard was himself a well-travelled politician with an interesting past, having been an archaeologist, explorer, and diplomat.[53] In a speech described as 'spirited and telling', Layard used his formidable oratorical powers to, among other things, imply that his opponent Dunbar was a 'jackass', to the great delight of the audience.[54] This sort of hustings was, however, exceptional; it would appear that Wigtown Burgh politics did not

49 *Dundee Courier and Argus*, 17 April 1865.
50 *Scotsman*, 15 September 1868.
51 *Scotsman*, 22 December 1832.
52 *Glasgow Herald*, 29 June 1859.
53 Jonathan Parry, 'Layard, Sir Austen Henry (1817–1894)', ODNB, (2006) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16218>, [accessed 26 August 2016].
54 *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 12 April 1857.

have the vibrant hustings which were characteristic of many other constituencies.

One lively aspect that did feature in constituency politics was the intimidation of voters. In the aftermath of the fiercely fought election of 1852, numerous examples of the tactics used by local party officials to corral votes were brought to light. One Mr Galbraith, because he had not voted for McTaggart, found that his landlord had sold his property out from under him, and, moreover, that £300 in rent arrears had been called in.[55] This was, however, exceptional; the main mechanism by which the Liberal party garnered votes for their candidates was through the use of patronage, favours, and, on occasion, outright bribery.

The 1853 election brought to light more examples of positive coercion than of negative intimidation. Three voters, Andrew Wallace, John Macadam, and William Frazer, were persuaded to vote for McTaggart after they had been sold some sheep at a bargain price, netting them a profit of £10 — Macadam was said to have joked afterwards to Frazer that 'he never knew the value of a vote'.[56] In a case of outright bribery, a Mr McGooch and his wife, who were in financial distress, were called on by an agent for McTaggart, who 'offered them l.6 or l.7'.[57] Though this was a fairly isolated case, it does call into question the present scholarly consensus that bribery was almost non-existent in Scotland, in comparison to English elections.[58] William Irving, a mason, was promised by an employee of Lord Stair that he would be given work by the peer if he voted for McTaggart, and Mr Ingram, one of McTaggart's agents, offered a voter a better house if he voted for Sir John. A Mr Ferguson was promised that if he voted for Sir John, then McTaggart would 'make him landlord of the Ardwell Inn'.[59] However, voters were not entirely innocent and passive in this regard; knowing the monetary value of their vote, they often actively sought advantage by offering their allegiance. One instance was that of Henry Watt, whose brother had obtained employment at the Glasgow Customs House through Sir John's patronage. He sent a letter to Sir John, in which he stated that 'if he got the situation for his son, he should feel called upon to support him in future'.[60] Overall then, the most common method of garnering votes was through the promise of places, employment, or other emoluments. This suggests that the Wigtown Burghs was in many ways a venal constituency until at least the mid-nineteenth century.

Parties and Voters

Though these traditional practices for garnering votes continued after 1832, the increased electorate, now comprising several hundred, complicated matters. While politics was still largely conducted on a personal level, it was now necessary to employ intermediaries and officials in order to maintain the complex system of patronage and favours which underpinned the Liberal hegemony. As such, though much of this work was done by the estate officials of local magnates, the part-time party agent increasingly came to the fore.

55 *Caledonian Mercury*, 14 March 1853.
56 *Morning Post*, 11 Mar. 1853.
57 *Caledonian Mercury*, 14 March 1853.
58 Fergusson (1947), 129.
59 *Caledonian Mercury*, 14 March 1853.
60 *Morning Post*, 11 March 1853.

Indeed, a newspaper hostile to James Caird blamed his defeat not on the use of sharp practices by McTaggart's agents, but rather on the fact that 'he had only one law agent throughout the contest, except on the day of the poll, and then his opponents had eight or nine'.[61] Party agents and, therefore local party organisations, were increasingly in the ascendant as the nineteenth century progressed.

One of the main functions of the newly powerful political parties was attending to the registration of voters. The decision of whether or not individuals owned enough property to qualify for the vote was decided in special registration courts, held each year.[62] By attempting to get their own supporters added to the electoral roll, and objecting to the addition of those who supported the opposition, political parties were able to materially affect electoral outcomes. In the Wigtown Burghs, the first election after 1832 saw 411 new claims for the franchise lodged — 229 in Stranraer, 107 in Wigtown, 60 in Whithorn, and 15 in New Galloway. In that same year, there were objections made to 303 of these — around two-thirds of all claims.[63] This indicates that local parties were hard at work in building up favourable registers from the very beginning of the Reform era. This continued throughout the period — even in 1868, at the end of the period in question, it was reported in the *Scotsman* that the local Conservative and Liberal parties continued to battle each other in the Registration courts, though the strength of the parties was 'not materially affected' in that year.[64]

Parties did not exist, of course, merely to win elections; rather, they were coalitions grouped around shared ideological principles. Though elections in the Wigtown Burghs may have owed more to influence of various kinds than to ideological allegiances, a section of voters nevertheless voted according to their ideological convictions. They did so overwhelmingly for the Liberal party. It is notable that each of the burgh members was consistently Liberal in inclination. Indeed, when George Young was first running to replace McTaggart, he asserted in his hustings speech that his 'opinions … [were] identical … [to] those of every representative of the burghs since the passing of the Reform Act'.[65] However, each of the MPs were decidedly on the moderate Whig wing of the party — during the 1857 election, the other Liberal challenger, Layard, was considered to be a 'man of the people'.[66] He lambasted Sir William Dunbar for prevaricating on many Radical issues: 'His (Mr Layard's) position there [was] greatly dependent upon the principles his opponent professed, but for the life of him he could not understand what he meant'.[67] Though he received great cheers from the crowd, he withdrew when it became clear he did not have any chance of success. Thus, while the electors were Liberal in inclination, only a Liberal who could command patronage and the support of landed magnates that was certain of success.

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61 *Morning Post*, 2 October 1852.
62 Ferguson, (1966), 49.
63 *Scotsman*, 22 September 1832.
64 *Scotsman*, 9 October 1868.
65 *Caledonian Mercury*, 14 April 1865.
66 Jonathan Parry, 'Layard, Sir Austen Henry (1817–1894)', ODNB, (2006) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16218>, [accessed 26 August 2016].
67 *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 12 April 1857.

Indeed, the depth of Liberal feeling in the Wigtown Burghs is illustrated by the fact that the closest a Conservative came to winning the seat, James Caird in 1853, was achieved because he was a Liberal–Conservative. Though he ran as a Conservative, he stated that, with regard to the Corn Laws, he acknowledged the 'impolicy and impossibility of reverting to that now obsolete principle'.[68] Though formerly a Protectionist, he had by then converted to the policy of Free Trade, thus appealing to moderates across the spectrum.[69] A great many means were used to ensure Liberal victories. Public opinion was already generally in favour of that party anyway, though this opinion was perhaps less moderate and Whiggish than election results indicate.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the politics of the Wigtown District of Burghs contained a great many aspects which make it an interesting case study. The character and background of its MPs suggest that those with aristocratic connections and landholdings in the surrounding county of Wigtownshire were the only type of Liberal who could achieve success. However, as in the case of George Young, a lack of landed connections could be excused, provided the candidate held a position which enabled them to dispense significant amounts of patronage. Landed magnates, most prominently the earls of Stair, effectively set the bounds of constituency politics — without their influence over the tenantry, who made up the majority of electors, it was almost impossible for a candidate to win the seat. This factor was bolstered by the application of various means of influence — intimidation to a limited extent, but mostly the offer of employment, or of other financial incentives. The small number of electors were well-compensated for their votes, especially when elections were contested. The period also saw the rise of political parties as a force in the constituency, undertaking the work of canvassing, influencing, and attending to the electoral registers. While party was of increasing importance, however, it had not overtaken that of landed authority by 1868.

The Edinburgh Liberal Duncan Maclaren, when making a speech on the eve of the Second Reform Act, asserted that 'the Wigtown Burghs — [were] small, rotten, nomination burghs — in the hands of the Earl of Stair'.[70] In fact, it may have been unique in this regard — the Conservative candidate in 1868, Robert Vans Agnew, agreed to stand because a requisition to him from local electors stated that they 'could no longer submit to be members of a constituency which was the only nomination burgh constituency in Scotland', and therefore wished to 'throw off the stigma'.[71] It would appear that, even to contemporaries, the Wigtown Burghs appeared particularly undemocratic.

Nevertheless, George Young was likely correct in stating that 'The Liberal party was in possession of every burgh in Scotland, and the non-electors might well be satisfied with that state of matters'.[72] Even if the effects of the landed magnates were entirely removed, the constituency, like every other Burgh District in Scotland, would almost

68 *Morning Post*, 2 October 1852.
69 For the split between Scottish Protectionists and Peelite Conservatives, see Millar (2001).
70 *Scotsman*, 25 July 1868
71 *Scotsman*, 5 September 1868
72 *Glasgow Herald*, 14 April 1865.

certainly have returned Liberal candidates. The type of Liberal candidates, however, may have been less likely to hail from elite or rural backgrounds, and more towards the Radical end of the ideological spectrum. Given the massive change in the character of the constituency brought about by Reform, it would be unfair to characterise the Wigtown Burghs as completely unchanged — party politics were on the rise, and the affiliation of MPs (broadly) coincided with public opinion among the electorate. Nevertheless, when compared to other Scottish constituencies, which possessed larger electorates, and a greater independence from influence, it was perhaps the least open constituency in Scotland. Overall, the political culture of the Wigtown Burghs (and perhaps Burgh District constituencies more generally) was curiously liminal, caught between the more independent and ideology-driven political culture of the larger single burghs, and influence-driven political culture of many Scottish counties. Not big enough to escape the effects of elite influence, the Wigtown Burghs nevertheless possessed sufficient autonomy to ensure that these elites were Liberal. This, with a handful of isolated exceptions, was true of all Scottish Burgh District elections of the era.

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THE CHARTIST MOVEMENT IN DUMFRIES AND GALLOWAY

W. Hamish Fraser[1]

Dumfries and Galloway was caught up in the struggle for political reform that became focused on the 'People's Charter' in the 1830s and 1840s. The most significant mobilisation of working people in the nineteenth century attracted skilled craftsmen whose earnings and status were being diminished by industrial change. They saw it not simply as a campaign for political rights, but as a means of transforming social as well as economic relationships largely through their own combined efforts. Although none of the Dumfries leaders came to national prominence, the town was a regular venue for Chartist lecturers. Almost all commented that they found a stable and committed group of activists there, who established a very successful reading room and co-operative society and who continued the struggle for the cause despite internal divisions and external hostility.

It is nearly forty years since Colin Troup's study of 'Chartism in Dumfries 1830–50' was published in these *Transactions*.[2] In this he concentrated particularly on the internal tensions within the movement between so-called 'physical force' and 'moral force' Chartists. Since that time there has been a huge expansion of Chartist studies that has brought new perspectives on the movement.[3] It was an extraordinary movement, mobilising working people of both sexes for more than a decade in the 1830s and 1840s into political activity, social organisation and self-education. It is best known as a political movement, focusing on petitions for the famous six points: universal male suffrage, annual parliaments, vote by ballot, equal electoral districts, payment of MPs and no property qualification for MPs. But it was always more than a political movement. It was a religious movement in that there were Chartist churches in many towns where working people worshipped in surroundings in which they felt more socially comfortable than they generally did in either the Established Church or in the main dissenting churches. It was a social movement, in that it was about education, self-improvement and social contact. It was also an economic movement, not of the poorest and not, to any great extent, of factory workers. Rather, it attracted mainly groups of skilled craft workers who felt their standard of living and social status declining. These were the people who were feeling the effects of factory competition and of the growth of national markets, all part of increasingly rapid industrialisation, coupled with declining living standards in the 1830s and 1840s. A fresh look at the activities and the people involved in Dumfries and Galloway seems justified.

Dumfries has some claim to have played a part in triggering the movement since it was largely through the activities of Robert K. Douglas, editor of the *Birmingham Journal,* but previously with the *Dumfries Times*, that a new campaign was launched in 1837. The aim was to revitalise the Birmingham Political Union that had played a key part in bringing about the first Reform Act of 1832 and to petition for further political reform. A

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1 Braehead, Culvardie, Nethy Bridge, PH25 3DH.

2 Troup (1981).

3 For example Brotherstone (1989), Allen and Ashton (2005), Chase (2007), Fraser (2010).

great rally in Birmingham in June 1837 called for household suffrage, the ballot, triennial Parliaments, payment of MPs and the abolition of property qualifications for MPs. Emissaries were despatched to assess the level of potential support for a campaign in Scotland. They found a country in a state of considerable social tension. 1837 was a time of widespread industrial unrest, culminating in a huge strike of west of Scotland cotton factory spinners. The leaders of the spinners' union were arrested and in January 1838 given the deterrent sentence of seven years transportation for 'mobbing and rioting'. It left Scottish trade unions critically weakened and strengthened the traditional radical argument that the primary need was for *political* change.

Meanwhile, a more radical movement got underway in London, which called for universal male suffrage for those aged over twenty-one, equally sized electoral districts, annual parliaments elected by secret ballot and a salary for MPs. The tone of this body was that working people could not depend on middle-class leaders to fight their cause, these having betrayed the workers in 1832. In any new movement the workers had to rely on their own efforts. There were signs that the call for *universal* male suffrage was the more attractive to many skilled working men and there were popular meetings calling for this throughout the country, including Dumfries and Galloway.

A Dumfries and Maxwelltown Working Men's Association was in existence from January 1838.[4] As early as February the flamboyant Ayrshire republican radical, Dr John Taylor,[5] was in Dumfries 'speaking more treason than was ever strung together or heard in the town of Dumfries'.[6] In April, he was in Stranraer, probably on his way to Ireland, where he lectured on political economy and on the 'Political Rights of Women'.[7] At a Glasgow rally in May 1838, attended by what was claimed to be 200,000, including supporters of both the Birmingham plan and the London Working Men's Association, the recently issued People's Charter produced by the latter was adopted as the focus of the reform campaign.

There was also very quickly a Chartist press that not only generated and propagated ideas, but helped create the sense of a nationwide movement. The press was effective in catering for Scotland's relatively literate working population. From November 1837 the Leeds-based *Northern Star*, owned by Feargus O'Connor, reported local activities, but from July 1838 there was the *Edinburgh Monthly Democrat and Total Abstinence Advocate,* which within a few months changed its title to the *True Scotsman*. It was a title specifically aimed at the Whig *Scotsman* newspaper, which had regularly derided the intellectual abilities of the Chartists. For many there was a link between the growing support for total abstinence, that to a great extent had been pioneered in Scotland, and Chartism: the personal transformation that abstinence from alcohol would bring could be linked to a political transformation and a new kind of manhood. From Glasgow, in July 1839, there was the *Scottish Patriot*, also in favour of abstinence but with a clever linking of nationalism and democracy. Also from Glasgow there was the *Chartist Circular*, selling

4 *Northern Star,* 30 January 1847.
5 See Fraser (2006).
6 *Glasgow Chronicle*, 14 February 1838.
7 *Glasgow Saturday Post*, 7 April 1838.

at only a halfpenny a week, intended to educate its readers in the arguments for political reform. These and other papers helped create the sense of a radical tradition that was both national and international going back to William Wallace, the Covenanters, through to the Scottish reformers and Irish rebels of the 1790s.[8]

The Chartist press was also where working men and women could express themselves, sometimes in letters, but more often than not in poetry or in new songs set to traditional tunes that would be sung at Chartist gatherings. William McDowall, a bookbinder and one of the leading Dumfries Chartists, had one such in the *Chartist Circular* set to the air 'Oh! For one hour of Wallace wight'.[9] It looked back to past wars that had seen off invaders and ended,

> Alas! that freedom, bought with blood —
> Our father's blood, should pine and perish;
> Alas! that Wallace dauntless stood
> To win what we have failed to cherish.
>
> Our fathers fought, and tyrants fell;
> They rose in might to red the chain;
> And Bannock's sacred sword can tell
> They did not spend their strength in vain.
> But, heedless of these gallant sires,
> The sleep of shame is o'er us stealing,
> To quench the fastly smouldering fires —
> The glows of patriotic feeling.
>
> Not by, in bondage base, they lay
> Upon their brow the Helot brand;
> Oh! Could we but resolve as they,
> To shake our chains, and freemen stand!
> To fire the tame submissive breast —
> To rouse to rage the cold and callous —
> To bring the burdened people rest —
> "Oh! For one hour of glorious Wallace.

It was September 1838 before the Dumfries and Maxwelltown Working Men's Association went public with its activities. Placards around the town summoned the working class to a meeting at 4pm on 28 September on Corbelly Hill, next to the Observatory, in a field owned by Provost Shortridge. It was chaired by Jeremiah Knight, a hatter, who claimed that it was the first public meeting of the working classes in Dumfries to express their political opinions. The aim was to adopt the People's Charter

8 The Scottish Chartist papers are available in the National Library of Scotland and in various local libraries, but the Northern Star can now be found digitalised in the British Newspaper Archive.

9 *Chartist Circular*, 20 June 1840.

and to dismantle a system whereby, in that time-honoured sentence: 'The interests of the many were sacrificed for the good of the few'. The meeting saw the first appearance of Andrew Wardrop who, for the next decade and more, was to be the key figure in Dumfries' Chartism. Described at this time as a sinker-maker and later as a framework setter,[10] Wardrop, a total abstainer, referred to a particular grievance in the Borders whereby fictitious votes, 'faggot votes', could be created by a landowner by distributing ten-pound holdings for their nominees on their property. At a later stage, Wardrop explained the accumulation of grievances that had turned him to the Charter:

> It was misgovernment; and good government would not be obtained without the Charter. When he saw that wealth and not labour was represented, — and when he saw the wealth of the few gained at the expense of the many, and, above all, when he saw that those who were rolling in luxury received the whining adoration of those who called themselves the guardians of the poor and followers of Him who was the patron of the poor.[11]

There was a flurry of activity across the country. A visit to the town by Robert Lowery from Newcastle and Abram Duncan from Edinburgh, two campaigners for reform, brought a torchlit meeting in the market, which attracted 3000, it was claimed. It was not just that evening meetings were necessary to attract working people, but they were important for the effect. A torchlit parade looked good; it was an exciting spectacle, but was also vaguely threatening. According to Lowery, the local Whig and Tory middle classes were astounded by the outburst of Chartist activity: 'they are like the old Austrian generals when opposed to Napoleon, they never were used to such a mode of fighting'.[12]

Right from the start there were differences of opinion on tactics within the movement. Should the campaign be confined to petitioning and education or did there need to be an implicit threat of force? Dr John Taylor frequently suggested that it might be necessary to arm, since the Whigs had declared there would be no more reform. Many felt that it was best not to make too much of the issue, but some of the best known Scottish leaders such as Duncan and the maverick Paisley clergyman, Patrick Brewster, still hopeful of attracting middle-class support for reform, were determined to reject any hint of the use of physical force. A meeting in early December 1838 on Calton Hill in Edinburgh passed resolutions condemning the use of physical force under any circumstances. It split the movement to the extent that people were being pushed to take sides. It caused division in Dumfries. Abram Duncan's supporters called a meeting without making it clear that the intention was to select a delegate to the national Chartist Convention to be held in London and without consulting the Dumfries and Maxwelltown Working Men's Association. Duncan's nomination was unanimously agreed, but Duncan took it as his election. The Association summoned another meeting in January and called on Duncan to resign, which he refused to do. The Association then disowned him, but in a further meeting in February this, in turn, was overthrown and Duncan was declared elected. Objections continued to be raised to his presence at the Convention.

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10 A sinker was a weight used in stocking-frame machines.

11 *Dumfries Times*, 8 November 1841.

12 *Northern Liberator*, 3 November 1838; *Dumfries Times*, 21 October 1838.

July 1839 saw the presentation of a petition to the House of Commons containing some 1,283,000 signatures, 2,180 of which were from Dumfries. The peremptory rejection of the petition by the Commons revived talk of alternative tactics, what were called 'ulterior measures'. There were various suggestions, from holding a general strike to a run on savings banks; a boycott of excisable items such as alcohol to exclusive dealing only with shopkeepers and other tradesmen who supported Chartism. These ideas were discussed in Scotland, but were met with little enthusiasm. A two-day strike in August received only patchy support. The arrest of many relatively moderate Chartist leaders in England brought an appeal to the Queen for clemency from the Dumfries and Maxwelltown Working Men's Association.

However, November 1839 saw an armed uprising at Newport in Wales and the shooting by the military of twenty people. Death sentences for high treason were passed on three of the leaders. The events coincided with a visit to Dumfries of George Julian Harney, a journalist member of the Convention, who had been very critical of those who said there should be no physical force at any cost. As he argued:

> It was not the moral-force psalm singing section of the Covenanters that gained religious freedom for Scotland. No! It was the men who took to the hills for their homes, and had the heather for their bed. They prayed, I grant you, but it was with the Bible in one hand, and the claymore in the other.[13]

Harney addressed enthusiastic meetings in Ecclefechan and in Dumfries, dubbed by him 'a fortress of freedom'. At public meetings, which included some of the middle class as well as the Chartists, there was a call for clemency and a condemnation of 'class legislation'. Comparisons were made with the treatment of Thomas Muir and Joseph Gerald in the 1790s. William McDowall, who had joined Harney's Democratic Association (see below), contrasted the treatment of the Newport leaders with the lenient way in which members of the Orange Order in Ireland, who had plotted to keep Victoria off the throne, had not even been brought to trial.[14] Andrew Wardrop, who generally was on the moral-force side of the movement, warned that it was 'so abhorrent to justice, and so provocative of revengeful feelings' that it might incite some 'perhaps at no distant date, to imitate the example' of the Newport men. The Chartist protests at the sentences attracted the support of two local solicitors, J. C. Dawson and T. Johnston, who condemned the 'class legislators and designing men' who were enacting 'unjust and sanguinary laws'.[15] The commutation of the death sentences to transportation for life helped reduce the tension.

While this was going on, the campaign for repeal of the Corn Laws, led by the Manchester Anti-Corn Law League, was gaining momentum. How Chartists should respond led to a new issue of debate. Many took the line that the motives of the middle class in pushing this issue were essentially selfish and intended to weaken the campaign for political reform. This was the view taken by John Bell, the joiner secretary of the Dumfries and Maxwelltown Working Men's Association, when they participated in an Anti-Corn Law League meeting in January 1839, that had, at least as part of its aim, the

13 *Scottish Patriot*, 7 March 1840.
14 *Northern Liberator*, 1 February 1840.
15 *Northern Star,* 1 February 1840.

denunciation of Chartism. The Provost, chairing the meeting, brought it to an abrupt close rather than allow a vote on a Chartist motion, although Bell, Wardrop and their Chartist associates continued with their own meeting.[16] Later League meetings were often held in the middle of the day to exclude working people, but Dumfries Chartists made their way to these. Their tactic was to propose motions in favour of the Charter. Such tactics guaranteed publicity, even if hostile, in the local press. But it was also about a principle of the right of the working class to have access to public meetings and about how these meetings should be run. There was no longer a willingness to accept that the Provost or some other middle-class figure should automatically chair such meetings.

The Chartists had no obvious models of organisation to follow and they were having to learn from experience. In April 1840 the Dumfries and Maxwelltown Universal Suffrage Association (as the Working Men's Association now frequently called itself), issued an 'Address to the Male and Female Chartist Associations of Great Britain and Ireland' analysing the problems facing the movement and triggering a national discussion on organisation. The address condemned the debates over moral versus physical force that had divided the movement from top to bottom 'neither to the honour of the parties nor to the good of the cause'. It looked at ways in which the organisation could be more efficiently organised to raise the necessary funds, but also to involve more people. The information from Chartist newspapers and from lectures needed to be more widely dispersed. One recommendation that was consistently followed in Dumfries was that the committee of the association should be changed every two months to give as many people as possible experience and responsibility. Finally, its key suggestion was that every association should have a reading room. The Dumfries and Maxwelltown Working Men's Association quickly followed this up by acquiring a reading room on the High Street.

There was also another group, inspired by Harney, and a little more radical and ambitious than most in the Working Men's Association, called the Dumfries and Maxwelltown Democratic Association. In November 1840, it issued an 'Address to the Working Millions of France'. It hailed French workers as 'the pioneers of patriotism and philanthropy' in their revolutions and warned against being seduced by emissaries from Birmingham that called for collaboration between social classes: 'Let us ever remember that CLASS power is the withering curse under which we have for ages groaned, unheeded and unpitied'. The middle classes had 'joined the ranks of our oppressors' by either exiling or imprisoning 'three hundred friends of liberty, simply because they exposed our wrongs and claimed our rights'. The conclusion was 'Let us trust in ourselves'.[17]

The summer of 1840 saw debates continuing. The Irish leader Daniel O'Connell backed a campaign to reduce the demand from universal to household suffrage, but it was quickly rejected by most Scottish Chartist groups. When O'Connell stopped off briefly to change horses in Dumfries in January 1841 he was heckled by a crowd of some 200 people.

Local issues played their part in strengthening demands for reform. There were angry protests in the spring of 1841 against plans to increase the power of the rural police force and to allow them to involve themselves in the burgh. Wardrop condemned the

16 *Northern Star,* 2 February 1839.
17 *Northern Star,* 28 November 1840.

idea as ‘grossly unnecessary and unconstitutional, while McDowall regarded the plan as ‘destructive of the social, moral, and political condition of the people’. Plans to revive the Riding of the Marches were scorned as ‘so little in accordance with the spirit of the age’ and boycotted.[18]

There was an opportunity to show the strength of Chartist support in the general election of July 1841. At the public nominations hustings, John Bell proposed Andrew Wardrop against two Liberal candidates, William Ewart and Sir Andrew Johnstone. In a show of hands around the hustings Wardrop won overwhelmingly.[19] The whole exercise had clearly impressed other Chartist leaders because in July and August Wardrop undertook a lecture tour of Manchester and Liverpool and other parts of the north of England, ending in York in time to meet Feargus O’Connor on his release from 18 months in jail for the publication of seditious libel.

O’Connor embarked on a Scottish tour where he was hailed as ‘the uncaged lion of freedom’. He reached Dumfries by public coach on the afternoon of 5 November and was met with an open carriage by Wardrop and William McDowall. There was a huge march by the Incorporated Trades displaying their colourful trades’ banners accompanied by the Lockerbie band. His speech in the evening in the Relief Church was chaired by John Bell.

There were attempts to recruit outside Dumfries. Wardrop had apparently tried to lecture in Kirkcudbright in 1840 but was driven from the town. However, in December 1841 he was lecturing in Gatehouse, with a local grocer, John Donaldson in the chair and, in 1842, Robert Somers, a moderate reformer undertaking a lecture tour of Galloway, found existing Working Men’s Associations in Castle Douglas, Gatehouse and Newton Stewart. Gatehouse he regarded as ‘a splendid little town that teems with pure and ardent Chartism’. In Castle Douglas Chartists were refused access to normal meeting places, but successfully gathered at the Market Cross, with a Mr Martin, a shoemaker, as chairman.[20]

There were undoubtedly continuing tensions within the local movement. A Birmingham Liberal, Joseph Sturge, launched a new campaign called the Complete Suffrage Union aimed at uniting middle-class and working-class reformers. It attracted many and there were rumours in the spring of 1842 that Wardrop, Bell and McDowall had all joined. Such divisions, coupled with bad economic conditions – there was a meal riot in the town in July 1842 — certainly led to apathy amongst the rank and file. The rejection of a second petition to Parliament with 3,317,000 signatures in May 1842, added to the gloom. The historian Thomas Babington Macaulay, who sat as the Whig MP for Edinburgh, led the onslaught, declaiming that universal suffrage was ‘utterly incompatible with the existence of civilisation’ and would lead to barbarism. It dampened much enthusiasm for looking to the middle class, and in the summer of 1843 Wardrop was back in action this time chairing a lecture by Harney on ‘the fallacy of free trade’ and Harney found in Dumfries ‘some of the most ardent and thorough-going democrats’.

Crucial to maintaining the movement in the town was the existence of the Chartist reading room in ‘an antique-looking building in the High Street’. For a penny a week the

18 *Northern Star*, 4 June 1842.
19 For this election, see Craig (1949).
20 *Northern Star,* 12 March 1842.

members had a meeting room decorated with prints from the *Northern Star* and later with maps, 'alike ornamental and useful'. There were also newspapers, periodicals and a cheap book or two. A neighbour cleaned out the room and lit a fire in wintertime and workers could meet in the snug surroundings from about six in the evening. There was chess and draughts available – 'the former may be considered almost a national game in Scotland' according to the report. Some would be playing, some reading, 'while round the fire is collected a more lively group discussing the events of the day, or some knotty point in political and social science'. For many it was an alternative to the pub, a place for self-improvement as well 'an outpost of the democratic phalanx constantly in the field and on the watch'.[21]

There were signs that the movement was being rekindled. Harney, addressing a large open-air meeting in August 1843, found 'some of the most ardent and through-going democrats in Dumfries that it has ever been my good fortune to meet with'.[22] At the end of October Feargus O'Connor was back. It was the aftermath of the Disruption of the Church of Scotland and the new Free Church, without a building, was using the old Assembly Rooms for their meetings. The Rev. John Robertson Mackenzie refused the Chartists admission to the building, but O'Connor was able to use the showroom of a local coachmaker, Bailie Beck.

1844 and 1845 were relatively lean years for the movement. The nation was deeply divided in the aftermath of the Disruption and much energy was put into embedding the new Free Church. The movement lost McDowall, an ardent Free Church man, who left for Edinburgh to work as a journalist, before eventually returning to edit the *Dumfries Standard*. But other activists in Dumfries were not idle, recruiting and organising and educating new recruits, as well as trying to raise money for a renewed national agitation. Wardrop regularly held meetings in Queensberry Square, continuing to condemn the handing over of policing in the town to the county authority as 'abominable, unconstitutional and un-English [sic]'. The creation of a new Poor Law in Scotland after 1845 saw Wardrop calling for a board of commissioners, quite separate from the Town Council, to fix poor rates. Courage was never lacking. When the Presbyterian Churches in the town united in June 1845 in fervent protest against the support for Maynooth College in Ireland, which trained some Roman Catholic priests, Wardrop found himself physically attacked when he boldly suggested that the answer was to ensure that no church received state funding.[23] When he protested about the setting up of militias, which he believed would lead to possible conscription of workers, he was forcibly ejected from a meeting in Maxwelltown. But the Chartists continue to assert 'No Vote! No Musket!' He also launched what he clearly hoped would be a series of pamphlets entitled *Peeps Behind the Curtain* to attack the extravagance of the Town Council.[24]

There seemed to be limited interest in Dumfries in the Land Plan that O'Connor launched in 1845 to purchase an estate and to divide it into small holdings to provide

21 *Northern Star*, 30 January 1847.
22 *Northern Star,* 26 August 1843.
23 *Northern Star*, 7 June 1845.
24 *Northern Star*, 18 July 1846.

employment. But, interestingly, a rare venture of Andrew Wardrop into poetry was on the rights of the people to the land, and entitled 'Rhyme for the Times':[25]

Fame let the trumpet sound,
Tell kings and tyrant crown'd
And priest with "grace" profound,
The Land belongs to all.

God defend our natural right,
God protect the people's might,
May energy on them alight,
To claim the Land.

Tell the Heavenly Police Force
Who steal your judgement and your purse,
The tyrants' shield, the nation's curse,
We will have the Land.

Sound your trump both loud and long,
Frae California to Hong Kong;
Train every child with speech and song,
To claim their own – the Land.

Tell the brigand castle lord,
Who holds possession by the sword,
Altho' nae "seer" to tak your word,
Ye will have the Land.

Sound your trump in Russell's ears,
And don't forget the house of Peers,
Amidst their din of scoffs and jeers,
To claim your ain, — the Land.

Give it one tremendous blast,
Sound it through creation vast,
For truth will prevail at last,
OUR RIGHT TO THE LAND!

In February 1846, there was a 'Democratic Festival' held in the George Temperance Hotel to celebrate seven years of the Dumfries and Maxwelltown Working Men's Association. There were songs, including from 'one or two fair Chartists' (sadly unidentified) and speeches and toasts (in coffee). The chairman, rather than giving the traditional toast to the Queen, toasted 'the Sovereign People'. Wardrop in his toast very

25 *Northern Star*, 13 October 1849.

clearly linked Chartism to a longer radical tradition in Scotland, speaking on Hardie and Baird and 'the martyrs of 1819'. By the summer of 1846 meetings of the Association were taking place weekly and there were as many as 70–80 members. Much effort was devoted to denouncing 'the misdoings of the dirty little shopocratic vermin, who manage or rather mismanage our principal affairs'.[26]

There was also wider perspective. An English version of the *La Marseillaise* with all its revolutionary sentiments was popular at the Association's gatherings, although Wardrop was keen to get the Chartist poet, Ernest Jones, to write an alternative. Peter Grey, a compositor, who was secretary of the Association in 1846, was in contact with Harney and was made an honorary member of his Fraternal Democrats, a London group that took an international perspective and united Chartists with radical European exiles. This was linked to a campaign for the liberation of Poland and there was a branch of the Society for the Liberation of Poland in Dumfries in 1847. Dumfries Chartists also contributed to the campaign funds for Harney to stand for election against Lord Palmerston, the Foreign Secretary, in Tiverton in 1847.

Closer to home and after two or three years of difficult economic times the Chartists decided in October 1847 to open a co-operative provision store in Bank Street, with Wardrop in charge. A few months later, a branch was opened in Glasgow Street, Maxwelltown. Initially the stores concentrated on essentials – flour, cheese, milk and butter — but with the arrival of the railway in 1848 they were able to offer fresh bread, brown or white, from Carr's of Carlisle. By 1851 bacon and ham were also on offer and the store could claim in its report for 1852 that it was 'one of the most thriving concerns that have opened in the district for a very long time'.[27] It soon had its own co-operative bakery added to it.

The third Chartist petition went to Parliament in April 1848 accompanied by a mass demonstration that engendered genuine fears of insurrection. Revolutions across Europe were underway and, closer to home, there was unrest in Ireland and renewed calls for repeal of the Union. In the event, the day passed off peacefully, but the aftermath saw the arrest of Chartist activists, particularly, in the Scottish case, of anyone in Glasgow and Edinburgh who had shown sympathy with Irish demands. On the whole, however, the sentences in Scotland were relatively short, while in many parts of England, where there were mass arrests, sentences of two years and more were imposed. These were deliberately intended to intimidate and to decapitate the movement. As a tactic it was successful.

It was nearly twenty years before another popular reform movement got underway, but this time kept firmly in the hands of the Liberal middle class; a middle class that by the 1860s wanted working-class allies to push through their own Liberal reforms. But Andrew Wardrop, like many other Chartists, never doubted the validity of the Chartist demands and he continued to be active, keeping an eye on conditions in the Poor House, fighting for the maintenance of rights of way, and standing unsuccessfully for the Town Council.

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26 *Northern Star,* 7 February, 7 March, 23 May 1846.

27 *Dumfries Standard,* 15 December 1852. For the later history of the Co-operative see Ian Glasse, '"Something to build on": the early years of Dumfries and Maxwelltown Co-operative Provision Society, 1847–1877' in *Scottish Labour History*, vol.52, 2017, pp.92–119.

There were still plenty of patronising snubs. In 1855 Provost Leighton declined to go to London with Wardrop, 'a letter carrier [as he had now become], a common servant of the post office at 12s a week', on a deputation against the billeting of soldiers in private houses. It would, the Provost declared, be 'below the dignity of the Council'.[28] However, Wardrop was around in 1866, planning one of the reform demonstrations that were to be the background to the Second Reform Act, which in 1868 gave the vote to working men in the towns, only to be warned that, as a public servant, he was banned from participating in political activities.[29]

Like any political movement, there had been divisions over tactics, clashes of personalities and huge opposition to overcome. Nonetheless, it had been a remarkable movement that mobilised sections of the working class to an extent that was not achieved again until the twentieth century. It was never a homogeneous movement and much depended on the quality of local leadership. Dumfries had reason to be grateful to Wardrop and his associates[30] for maintaining so effective a campaign for the rights of working people.

Further Reading

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28 *Dumfries Standard*, 19 September 1855.

29 *Dumfries Standard*, 21 November, 26 December 1866. Wardrop died in August 1869 after a long illness.

30 Among the Chartist activists in Dumfries were: John Bell, joiner; Irvine Bell; Peter Gray, compositor; James Grierson, currier; William Grierson, ironmoulder; R. Harris, stocking maker; Thomas Johnston; James Kirk, cabinetmaker; Jeremiah Knight, hatter; George Lewis; Archibald McAuslan; John McNeil; J. Mayson, bookseller; Charles Murray; John Paterson, ironmoulder; Henry Queen, weaver; Robert Welsh; Alex West; John Wilson, framework knitter; David Young, cooper.

ATROCITIES, LIES AND PUBLIC SENTIMENT IN THE GREAT WAR: THE STRANGE CASE OF KATE HUME

David Dutton[1]

For a short period in the second month of the Great War, the attention of the people of Dumfries and Galloway was focused on the seemingly tragic plight of the family of Andrew Hume, a local music teacher. In a journalistic scoop the Dumfries Standard *reported that Hume's 23-year-old daughter Grace, a nurse with the Red Cross in Belgium, had been brutally butchered by advancing German troops. It appeared to be one episode among many proving the depravity of Britain's enemy. But granted that, less than three years earlier, Hume had lost his son Jack on the ill-fated maiden voyage of the liner* Titanic*, it also seemed that lightning had for once struck twice in the same place. In practice, the story proved to be something of a nine-day wonder, quickly exposed as a cruel fabrication. Yet, in highlighting the broader issue of enemy atrocities and wartime propaganda, the Hume case is illustrative of key historical themes whose importance transcends even the First World War itself.*

On 16 September 1914 the *Dumfries Standard* carried a report of an atrocity committed by German soldiers as they consolidated their occupation of Belgium in the early stages of the First World War. The victim was a 23-year-old Dumfries nurse, Grace Hume. Only a few weeks earlier Nurse Hume had left her employment at a hospital in Huddersfield to volunteer for Red Cross work at the Front and had proceeded to Belgium. There, the *Standard* reported, she had already given 'admirable service in the field, performing deeds of genuine heroism'.[2] On one occasion, out looking for wounded soldiers and attempting to bring one back for treatment, she had been attacked by a German. The latter prepared to fire at the wounded British soldier but, before he could do so, Nurse Hume threw the soldier's gun at the enemy and then shot him with the rifle with which she was routinely armed. The report of her untimely demise was unusually detailed and indeed gruesome, thanks to the testimony of a fellow nurse, J.M. Mullard, who was with the victim when she died:

> Our camp hospital at Vilvorde [near Brussels] was burned to the ground, and out of 1517 men and 23 nurses, only 19 nurses were saved, but 149 men managed to get away … One of the soldiers (our men) caught two German soldiers in the act of cutting off her left breast, her right one having been already cut off. They were killed instantly by our soldier.[3]

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2 'Terrible Death of a Dumfries Nurse: Atrocities by German Soldiers', *Dumfries and Galloway Standard and Advertiser* (hereafter *Standard*) 16 September 1914. Extracts from the *Standard* appear by kind permission of the Editor.

3 Nurse Mullard's letter, *Standard* 16 September 1914.

Understandably, Nurse Hume endured 'great agony' in her last hour, but she asked Nurse Mullard to get in touch with her 17-year-old sister, Kate, in Dumfries and let her know that her last thoughts were for her sister and her young brother, Andrew. Kate was not to worry about her as she was now going to meet 'her Jock' — her elder brother John, a bandsman who had gone down with the *Titanic* less than three years earlier. These events scarcely needed added poignancy, but Grace managed in her last moments to scribble a note to her sister on a scrap of paper, which the *Standard* printed in facsimile. 'This is to say Goodbye', wrote Grace. 'Have not long to live. Hospital has been set on fire. Germans cruel. A man here has had head cut off and my right breast taken away.' Her final sentence, before a barely legible signature, 'Give my love to …', remained tragically incomplete.[4]

Such stories of German atrocities were far from rare in the early months of the War and were often used by the authorities for obvious propaganda purposes, helping to encourage recruitment at a time before Britain had imposed conscription and to establish the moral authority of Britain's stance in the conflict. With British soldiers not immediately involved at the Front and a tight news blackout in place, it was not until the third week of the War that the language of 'atrocities' became commonplace in the United Kingdom. Thereafter, the impact was dramatic. 'In the face of such evidence of Hunnish militarism and barbarism', writes David Reynolds, 'there was a broad conviction that the British stood for freedom and civilization.'[5] Thus, in Dumfries, where the Hume story quickly became a major talking-point, the common reaction was 'What awful brutes these Germans must be!'[6] German behaviour made it difficult to sustain the view, common before the outbreak of war, that Germany was the foremost exemplar of all that was best in European civilization and culture. Indeed, the German soldiers of 1914 appeared to be the descendants of Attila rather than of Goethe. The *Standard*'s competitor, the *Dumfries and Galloway Courier and Herald*, was particularly strong on this point:

> People were slow to believe that a nation affecting 'culture' and a high standard of civilization could be capable of the abominations laid to their charge. But such a tragedy as this of Miss Hume … puts the matter beyond all question. The burning of churches and universities,[7] the sacking of towns and villages, the wholesale slaughter of unarmed civilians, the screening of troops with women and children, the shelling of hospitals, the killing of wounded and of nurses, the outraging of women — all these crimes have been proved to the hilt against the Germans. They are crimes which put the nation responsible for them quite beyond the pale of civilization.[8]

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4 Nurse Hume's note, *Standard* 16 September 1914.

5 D. Reynolds, *The Long Shadow: The Great War and the Twentieth Century* (London, 2013), p.22.

6 *Standard* 30 December 1914.

7 In one of the most infamous events of the first month of the War, German soldiers had burnt the medieval University Library of Louvain on the night of 25 August 1914. Prime Minister Asquith publicly condemned the 'blind, barbarian vengeance' of this act: H.H. Asquith, *The War, its Causes and its Messages: Speeches Delivered by the Prime Minister August–October 1914* (London, 1914), p.14.

8 'Notes', *Dumfries and Galloway Courier and Herald* (hereafter *Courier*) 16 September 1914.

The location of the majority of atrocity stories in Belgium was also important, for it was the German violation of that country's neutrality, guaranteed by the European powers in an international treaty of 1839, that had transformed the case in support of Britain's entry into the War. Instead of Britain's declaration of hostilities having to be grounded in vaguely understood, and in some cases secret, obligations to France, which would have left both the political class and the wider population deeply divided over the question of intervention, the case for war had been elevated to the plane of morality rather than self-interest. Now, evidence of German atrocities added a new dimension to the commonly used phrase, 'Poor little Belgium'.

Interestingly, in reporting the sad fate of Nurse Hume, the *Standard* also drew an overt link between this and the broader issue of the invasion of Belgium. Under the headline 'A Scrap of Paper', the newspaper's leading article reminded its readers that it had been with these words that the German Chancellor, Bethmann Hollweg, had dismissed the treaty of guarantee which should have protected Belgian neutrality. It was 'an illuminating revelation of the absence of any sense of honour in German official circles'. Grace Hume's final note to her sister was also '"only a scrap of paper", but it is burdened with the dying shriek of a murdered girl, and it speaks more eloquently than many volumes of the barbarous methods by which the Kaiser's tools are carrying on the war'. Such things, the newspaper continued, 'are the natural fruit of a policy of terror preached from high places, and of a religion of brute force taught by godless philosophers'. It called for an 'exemplary retribution' against Germany's leaders, anticipating the cry of 'Hang the Kaiser' that would become widespread in 1918–19.[9]

By the end of September such certainties had been badly shaken. Within hours of publishing the letters, the *Standard* received information to the effect that Grace Hume was alive and well. On 25 September, the Secretary of State for Scotland, Thomas McKinnon Wood, stated that the whole story had been shown to be a fabrication. Following police investigations, the *Standard* reported that 17-year-old Kate Hume had been arrested on a charge of 'uttering a forged letter in connection with the circulation of a story of the alleged murder of her sister'. After a weekend in a Dumfries police cell, she appeared before Bailie Smart at a special sitting of the town's Police Court on Monday 28 September. The proceedings were of a formal character and lasted only a few minutes before the defendant, who made no statement, was committed to prison pending further proceedings.[10]

It was some indication of the importance attached to the case, which opened at a packed High Court in Edinburgh on 28 December before the Lord Justice-General, Lord Strathclyde, that the prosecution was led by the Lord Advocate, Robert Munro, KC, MP. John Wilson, KC headed the defence.[11] At one point, indeed, it had seemed possible that

9 'A Scrap of Paper' (editorial), *Standard* 16 September 1914. In fact, of course, the Kaiser was never brought to trial. At the end of the War he fled into exile in Holland, where he remained on his estate at Doorn until his death in 1941.

10 'The Nurse Hoax: Dumfries Girl Arrested', *Standard* 30 September 1914; 'The Reported German Cruelty to a Nurse', *The Times* 30 September 1914.

11 This account of the trial is based on reports in *The Times* 29 and 30 December 1914 and the *Standard* 30 December 1914.

Kate would be charged under the recently passed Defence of the Realm Act and appear before a court martial, with the theoretical possibility of a resulting death sentence. In the event, wiser counsels prevailed and the prosecution took place in the criminal courts. A number of suffragettes were among those in court and it was understood that the suffrage movement was paying for the costs of the defence. The behaviour of these women 'gave the officials of the court no cause for anxiety'.[12] It now appeared that Hume was accused not only of forging the letter from her 'dying' sister, but also the more detailed account of events said to have been written by Nurse Mullard. Furthermore, the 'deceased' Grace Hume had in fact not left Huddersfield and now appeared as a witness in the case. Her younger sister pleaded 'Not Guilty' and entered an alternative plea to the effect that she had not at the time been responsible for what she did. Wearing a fur hat and stole and a long blue jacket, she remained for the most part cool and collected. When, however, mention was made of the loss of her brother on board the *Titanic*, she broke down.

The hearing of evidence took up the entire first day of the trial, before proceedings were adjourned to allow for counsel to be heard on 29 December. The accused's father, Andrew Hume, a music teacher, was the first witness to be called. He stated that his younger daughter had left his home in August and gone into lodgings. He had learnt of the 'death' of his elder daughter from the two letters and had written to the War Office to secure confirmation. On 17 September, however, he received a telegram from his daughter Grace, stating 'Reports untrue. Safe in Huddersfield.' In a subsequent letter Grace wrote that she was sorry her father had been upset by the false reports, adding that 'it is an absolute mystery to me. I never heard of such a person as Nurse Mullard. I hope the police will take it up. The person who concocted the tale certainly knew all about us.' Hume, however, knowing that his elder daughter was not yet fully qualified as a nurse, had been sceptical from the outset. Learning that the letters were about to be published, he had arranged a meeting with the editor of the *Standard* and had done his best to prevent publication. But the editor, William Dickie, had insisted that the material was authentic and 'notwithstanding anything I could do or say he was going to print it'. Later in the proceedings Dickie offered a somewhat different version of events, suggesting that Hume had agreed that Grace's 'farewell' note was indeed in her own handwriting.[13] Hume also testified that Kate had been badly affected by the death of her brother on the *Titanic* and

12 The degree of violence that accompanied suffragette activities at this time is sometimes forgotten. In recent months suffragettes had attempted to blow up Burns cottage outside Ayr, while Millais's portrait of the historian Thomas Carlyle at the National Portrait Gallery in London had been badly damaged by a woman with a butcher's cleaver in protest at the arrest of Mrs Emmeline Pankhurst.

13 In his study of the aftermath of the *Titanic* disaster and its impact upon the Hume and Costin families, the journalist Christopher Ward suggests that Dickie's reaction on first learning of Grace Hume's 'dying' letter had been to do nothing, and that he 'spent the afternoon editing the minutes of the previous week's meeting of the Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society'. No source is given for this statement. C. Ward, *And the Band Played On* (London, 2011), pp.200–1. Dickie's eventual decision to publish the letter turned out to be a serious misjudgement on the part of a man who had worked for the *Standard* for 44 years. He had become a member of the DGNHAS in 1882, later rising to become a Vice-President. He published various articles in these *Transactions*.

that there had been tension between her and her step-mother, Hume's second wife. The latter confirmed that relations had become 'a little strained' and that Kate was 'rather excitable and childish for her years'.[14]

The most dramatic moment came when the accused entered the witness-box and admitted to her own counsel that she had indeed written both letters herself. She had had no purpose in mind and did not know why she had written them. But 'the doings of the Germans had got on her nerves' and she was so worked up that she had believed what she had written. She had been in a depressed state, could not sleep at night and was suffering from headaches. She had read a great deal about the German crimes against women and had got it into her head that her sister had been killed at the Front. 'I was seeing and imagining the things I wrote. I cannot think why I wrote the name of Mullard, except that I believe a man of that name went down on the *Titanic* … I did not think I was doing anything improper.' Distinguished medical experts subsequently testified that, although Kate could not be deemed insane, she was at the time suffering from 'a species of hysteria'. In this condition, she might have conjured up in her mind 'vivid pictures which could not be distinguished from the real'.[15]

The trial concluded on 29 December after statements from counsel and a summing-up by the judge. Wilson's address for the defence lasted almost two hours and suggested that, 'on the grounds of reason and common sense', the prosecution's case had broken down. No criminal intent had been proved and it was ridiculous to regard the accused as a criminal. Lord Strathclyde, however, seemed unconvinced by this argument. It was, he conceded, 'a

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14 Hume was no doubt keen to present himself as the injured party in the case but, by the time of his daughter's court appearance, his own reputation had been badly damaged and his previous involvement with the law had done him little credit. At the time of his death in the *Titanic* disaster, 'Jock' Hume was engaged to be married to one Mary Costin. The latter was already carrying his unborn child. Mary applied for a grant from the Titanic Relief Fund, for which she then had to establish her child's paternity. This was confirmed by the Sheriff Substitute of Dumfries and Galloway in December 1912, but subsequently challenged in the courts by Andrew Hume. An award of £67, meant for Mary, was inadvertently sent to Hume, who cashed the cheque but subsequently denied having received the payment. In the meantime, in what appears to have been an attempted insurance fraud, Hume had tried to claim £325 from the White Star Line for two eighteenth-century violins which, he improbably suggested, had been in the possession of his son on board the *Titanic*. All this was in line with his longstanding attempts to exaggerate the distinction of his own musical pedigree, falsely claiming that he was the grandson of Alexander Hume, a well-known Scottish composer and poet. Not surprisingly, adverse local publicity seriously affected Hume's business as a music teacher in Dumfries and he appears to have left the town in 1915, moving to Peterborough and then London, where he died in 1934. See Ward, *And the Band Played On*, passim; and Y. Hume, *RMS Titanic: The First Violin* (Catrine, 2011), pp.78–87.

15 Kate Hume may have been thinking of Thomas Mullin, a third-class steward from Dumfries, who died in the sinking of the *Titanic*. It appears that she had been subjected to physical beatings at the hands of her father and step-mother. She blamed the decision of her brother to follow a career at sea (and therefore his early death) on the hostile atmosphere in the family home and was also convinced that her father had begun an affair with Alice Alston (his future second wife) while her own mother was still alive. After the War, Kate married and raised a family. She died, aged 50, in 1947. Ward, *And the Band Played On*, passim.

peculiar and a painful case'. Yet it seemed clear that Kate Hume had acted in a way that was designed to horrify her father and step-mother. He found it difficult to believe that she had been in an 'hysterical condition'. That, however, was for the jury to decide and he indicated that he would welcome a recommendation for leniency. The jury duly complied. After deliberating for just 17 minutes, they returned with a verdict of 'guilty as charged', but added that 'at the time [Hume] did not realize that she was committing a crime, and we earnestly recommend her to the leniency of the Court'. The judge then ruled that, as Hume had already served three months in prison, and having regard for her age and previous good character, she should now be released on 12 months' probation. Hume collapsed on hearing that she would be freed and was led sobbing from the dock. The judge's decision was greeted with applause.

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Notwithstanding their intrinsic interest and the family sadness which these events undoubtedly entailed, it would be difficult to argue that the Hume case had any lasting significance in the broader history of the First World War.[16] Yet it is nonetheless illustrative of some important points. As has been noted already, comparable reports of German atrocities were common during the War, particularly its early months. Stories that German soldiers had cut off the hands of Belgian babies while their parents looked on helplessly, violated and mutilated that country's womenfolk — the idea of breasts being cut off was not invented by Kate Hume — and of the mass execution of innocent male civilians proliferated. There was certainly a readiness to accept the authenticity of these reports. Interestingly, when the Hume story was revealed to be an invention, the first reaction of the *Courier* and *Herald* was to follow *The Times* and suggest that 'the hoax may be the work of some German spy, perpetrated with the object of casting discredit upon the stories of actual atrocities which have been committed by Germans in the field'.[17] In December 1914 the British government set up a committee of enquiry into alleged German outrages under the chairmanship of the distinguished jurist, historian and diplomat, Viscount Bryce. Bryce may well have approached his task with his mind half made up. As his biographer has written, 'German militarism disclosed itself to him as the enemy of all that he valued most in European civilization'.[18] His report, which appeared in May 1915, amounted to a damaging propaganda blow against Germany, especially in the then neutral United States, where Bryce had earlier served as a much-respected ambassador (1907–13). Bryce's 360-page report was made available for public consumption at a cost of just 1d, the average price of a daily newspaper. It concluded that German troops had committed excesses against Belgian civilians as part of a conscious strategy of terror. German soldiers were 'convicted' of raping women and girls, using civilians as human shields and mutilating children.[19] Published only a week after the Germans had sunk the civilian passenger liner,

16 It is, however, interesting that the *Standard* suggested that, once the Hume invention was uncovered, 'reports of atrocities of that particular class have entirely ceased'. Until the story's appearance, 'tales of the cutting off of women's breasts and other mutilations had been appearing every other day in the daily press'. 'Notes and Comments', *Standard* 30 December 1914.

17 'The Atrocity Hoax', *Courier* 19 September 1914.

18 H.A.L. Fisher, *James Bryce* vol. 2 (London, 1927), p.127.

19 T. Wilson, *The Myriad Faces of War* (Cambridge, 1986), p.191.

Lusitania, an event whose reality could not be questioned, Bryce's findings were widely accepted.

But much of Bryce's report was based on unreliable evidence and his conclusions would ultimately be discredited.[20] Some atrocity stories were, like that involving Grace Hume, undoubtedly fabricated. Indeed, at least until the Germans resorted to the use of poison gas on the Western Front in April 1915,[21] there were always those, particularly in the British Army, who refused to believe that their opponents were capable of such cruelty. Theirs was, they insisted, an honourable enemy. Two stories, in particular, strained credulity. In late April 1915 three witnesses claimed to have seen a crucified Canadian soldier near the battlefield of Ypres. The story was carried in *The Times* and questions were asked in parliament by Sir Robert Houston, Unionist MP for Liverpool (West Toxteth), the following month. But hard evidence appeared to be lacking and Robert Graves, when he came to write his celebrated memoir *Goodbye to All That*, first published in 1929, described the incident as 'never substantiated',[22] a verdict followed by the majority of subsequent writers.[23] Rumours of an equally shocking example of German behaviour began to circulate early in 1917 to the effect that Germans were boiling the bodies of dead soldiers for the purpose of manufacturing glycerine. Reports in *The Times* established the 'Cadaver story' firmly in the public mind. Readers of that newspaper's regular 'Through German Eyes' column, a digest of the enemy's press, would have noted with disgust the words of Karl Rosner, a journalist on a Berlin paper:

> We are passing the great Corpse Exploitation Establishment of this Army Group. The fat that is won here is turned into lubricating oils, and everything else is ground down in the bone mill into a powder which is used for mixing with pigs' food and as manure … Nothing can be permitted to go to waste.[24]

It seems probable that this particular 'atrocity' was essentially the creation of the Northcliffe press, compounded perhaps by a mis-translation from the German original, which referred to animal carcases rather than human corpses. But as late as 1925 Brigadier-General John Charteris, wartime head of British Intelligence (and Propaganda) on the Western Front, was reported by the *New York Times* as having admitted that his staff had invented the story for propaganda purposes.[25] Charteris vigorously denied the suggestion that this construction could be placed on a speech he had given in New York, but he does seem to have briefed the press in 1917 about a captured German Army order

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20 T. Wilson, 'Lord Bryce's Investigation into Alleged German Atrocities in Belgium, 1914–15', *Journal of Contemporary History* (1979).

21 The Germans had in fact first experimented with gas canisters inside shrapnel shells as early as October 1914, but this had not been noticed by the French troops against whom they were directed.

22 R. Graves, *Goodbye to All That* (Harmondsworth, 1960), p.154.

23 Yet in 2002, a Channel 4 television documentary, based on a doctoral dissertation by Iain Overton, suggested the possible veracity of the story, identifying the soldier in question as Harry Band of the Central Ontario Regiment of Canadian Infantry.

24 'Through German Eyes', *The Times* 16 April 1917.

25 J. Beach, *Haig's Intelligence: GHQ and the German Army, 1916–1918* (Cambridge, 2015), p.54. 'The Meaning of "Kadaver"', *The Times* 26 April 1917.

indicating the existence of a 'carcase processing depot'.[26]

For all that, during the War itself the majority of the British population appear to have accepted the essential veracity of such atrocity stories. Published works detailing German war crimes sold well. J.H. Morgan's *German Atrocities: An Official Investigation* was reprinted eight times between March and June 1916.[27] The image thereby created of the 'barbarous Hun' consolidated the conviction that Britons were 'fighting on the right side'.[28] This was significant. Britain was probably the most successful of the leading belligerent nations in terms of maintaining public morale in favour of its war effort for the duration of the conflict. 'Tales of outrages committed by Germans', writes Trevor Wilson, 'reinforced the conviction that … no resolution of the conflict was acceptable short of total victory.'[29] Over the following decade, however, opinions steadily changed. Doubts grew about the justice of the British stance. Rather, the War was increasingly viewed as a conflict of moral equivalence from which no country could derive genuine credit. It was a human disaster stumbled into by inadequate political leaders across Europe and all the belligerent powers shared responsibility for the resulting catastrophe. Critics such as Arthur Ponsonby, a Liberal MP who had opposed British involvement in 1914, went a step further and argued that the War was the result of sinister manipulation by undemocratic forces. His influential work, *Falsehood in Wartime*, was published in 1928 and presented so-called 'atrocities' as little more than the willful invention of allied governments, aimed at stirring up hatred of the enemy.[30] German 'atrocities' thus derived from allied propaganda rather than the enemy's brutality. This was the same argument that the left-leaning *New Statesman* had put as early as October 1914: 'It seems to be universally the case that, if one's enemy does not commit atrocities, one has to invent them for him in order to hate him as he requires to be hated.'[31] Ponsonby's book was subtitled 'Containing an Assortment of Lies Circulated throughout the Nations during the Great War'. It included a short chapter entitled 'The Mutilated Nurse', detailing the Hume case as 'a curious instance of the ingenuity of the deliberate individual liar'.[32]

Tragically, this mood was still present during the Second World War, encouraging a reluctance in both Britain and the United States to give full credence to emerging accounts of the fate of Jews and others in Nazi-occupied Europe. The words of Victor Cavendish-Bentinck, chairman of the cabinet's Joint Intelligence Committee, written in August 1943, are instructive:

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26 Beach, *Haig's Intelligence*, pp.54–5.

27 R. Van Emden and S. Humphries, *All Quiet on the Home Front: An Oral History of Life in Britain during the First World War* (London, 2004), p.60.

28 C. Pennell, *A Kingdom United: Popular Responses to the Outbreak of the First World War in Britain and Ireland* (Oxford, 2012), p.129.

29 Wilson, 'Lord Bryce's Investigation', p.369.

30 More recently, Ponsonby's book has been described as 'an attempt to re-write history on behalf of the losers'. D. Marlor, *Fatal Fortnight: Arthur Ponsonby and the Fight for British Neutrality in 1914* (Barnsley, 2014), p.206 (citing Adrian Gregory). In his memoirs, published a year after Ponsonby's book, Robert Graves wrote: 'Propaganda reports of atrocities were, it was agreed, ridiculous': Graves, Goodbye, p.152.

31 *New Statesman* 10 October 1914.

32 A. Ponsonby, *Falsehood in Wartime* (London, 1928), p.67.

> we weaken our case against the Germans by publicly giving credence to atrocity stories for which we have no evidence. These mass executions in gas chambers remind me of the story of employment of human corpses during the last war for the manufacture of fat, which was a grotesque lie and led to true stories of German enormities being brushed aside as being mere propaganda.[33]

Yet history had one more twist in store. Research in the 1990s confirmed that around 6,500 Belgian and French civilians, the majority of whom were adult males, had indeed been massacred by the Kaiser's army between August and October 1914.[34] Overall, it appeared that the Bryce committee had *under*estimated the death and destruction caused by the German invaders, though the incidence of bodily mutilation *had* been greatly exaggerated. Based on their experience of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, the Germans seem to have been obsessed by, and all too ready to retaliate against, the activities of civilian snipers, universally known as 'franc-tireurs' or 'free-shooters'. Individual cases of French and Belgian civilians launching 'guerilla' attacks on German soldiers undoubtedly occurred, but never on the scale or with the organization that the Germans claimed. The latter regarded the civilian population as collectively responsible for the (grossly exaggerated) actions of 'franc-tireurs'. In reality, such situations were more usually created by the panic of nervous German soldiers, sometimes compounded by drink. In addition, the German army had used minor battlefield reverses to justify murderous reprisals against the local population. In the avalanche of writing and commentary that greeted the centenary of the Great War, such facts about the enemy's behaviour were widely used to reassert the notion that this was a war that needed to be fought and had to be won. 'The excesses of the Kaiser's nation', writes Max Hastings, 'cannot reasonably be compared with those of the Nazi regime that followed a generation later. But they make it more difficult to accept the indulgent view of some historians that a German victory in the conflict of 1914–18 would have represented the triumph of a nation and a cause morally indistinguishable from those of the allies.'[35]

It has been wisely written that truth is the first casualty of war.[36] The conflict of 1914–18 well illustrates this point. Most usually it was governments, through both censorship and propaganda, which bore the heaviest responsibility for this development. But, in its small way, the case of Kate Hume of Dumfries reveals the potential of the individual to contribute to the same process, or at least to blur the dividing line between fact and fabrication.

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33 Reynolds, *Long Shadow*, p.285.

34 J. Horne and A. Kramer, *German Atrocities 1914: A History of Denial* (Yale, 2001), pp.74, 419.

35 M. Hastings, *Catastrophe: Europe Goes to War 1914* (London, 2013), p.194.

36 The phrase has been variously attributed, most usually to Republican Senator, Hiram Warren Johnson, in 1918. But, in antiquity, the Greek tragic dramatist Aeschylus appears to have expressed very similar sentiments.

REVIEWS

A Lake Village in its Landscape: Iron Age settlement at Cults Loch, Castle Kennedy, Dumfries and Galloway by Graeme Cavers and Anne Crone. Oxford: Oxbow Books. 2018. viii + 288pp. £36.00, ISBN 978-1-78570-373-7 (hardback).

The Scottish Wetland Archaeology Programme's (SWAP) 2006 Research Agenda identified Dumfries and Galloway as one of the key areas in the country for investigation into crannogs and loch settlements. The South-West Crannog Survey — reported in these *Transactions* (Vols. 78 and 80) — had previously examined the condition of the region's crannogs and instigated a monitoring programme at selected sites to assess potential threats. As a result of this work, two Wigtownshire sites — Dorman's Island crannog at Whitefield Loch, Glenluce and the promontory crannog at Cults Loch, Castle Kennedy — were selected by SWAP as keynote research projects. Dorman's Island was chosen as a good example of a later 1st-millennium-BC crannog and the subsequent investigations here were significant in providing the first prehistoric dendrochronological date in Scotland (a felling range on oak timbers of 153–121 BC). The second site, Cults Loch, was investigated between 2007 and 2010 and is the subject of the publication reviewed here.

The area around Castle Kennedy is particularly rich in crop marks, and aerial photographic reconnaissance by the former RCAHMS over the last 25 years has shown this to be a densely settled landscape (see *TDGNHAS* Vol. 85). The focus of investigation at Cults Loch was a small promontory crannog but a number of 'terrestrial' sites close to the loch — a promontory fort, a palisaded settlement and a possible barrow cemetery — were also investigated as part of a broader landscape project. The island crannog (Cults 1) in the centre of Cults Loch was not examined but radiocarbon dates from a previous survey indicated activity during the Roman Iron Age.

The promontory crannog (Cults 3) was an artificial mound, some 34m in diameter, constructed with layers of large timbers, branches and brushwood and was connected to the shore by a short timber causeway. Evidence was found for three sequential structures, the best-preserved of which (ST2) was an 11m-diameter circular building with light wickerwork walls and a central hearth. There may have been subsidiary structures elsewhere on the crannog mound, leading the excavators to refer to the site as a homestead or enclosed settlement. Artefacts included a small number of glass and shale objects, some querns for cereal processing and a complete wooden ard; the latter, which is remarkably similar to the ard from the Milton Loch crannog at Crocketford, had been deliberately placed under one of the structures, presumably as a votive offering. The crannog appears to have been used for a remarkably short period, perhaps no more than 50 years during the late 5th century BC; within this period there may have been episodes of abandonment, suggesting episodic or seasonal occupation. The causeway appears to have been repaired during the 2nd century BC and the crannog may have been reoccupied at this time.

Excavation at the promontory fort (Cults 4) found evidence for a complex of multiple ditches and palisades. The site appears to have been first fortified in the Late Bronze Age and was then returned to and substantially enhanced during the mid-1st millennium BC when a further five defensive ditches associated with palisades were constructed across the promontory. The fort's internal features had been badly damaged by ploughing and could not be fully interpreted.

Two phases of activity were identified at the palisaded enclosure (Cults 5). The earliest phase, dated to the mid-1st millennium BC, comprised a single ditch and double palisade enclosing a circular space some 53m in diameter that contained a roundhouse. During the 2nd or 1st century BC, and long after the earlier enclosure and roundhouse had been abandoned, another roundhouse with two opposing entrances was built at the site; this later roundhouse was associated with a timber-lined souterrain, the first example of this type of monument to be excavated in south-west Scotland.

The possible barrow cemetery (Cults 6) contained a series of rectangular, aligned pits, one of which produced a date on charcoal in the range AD 250–420. The precise character of the pits remains unknown but the excavators tentatively suggest that they may be part of a small burial ground, perhaps connected with the Roman Iron Age island crannog (Cults 1).

The bulk of the excavation report is a detailed description of the archaeology of the promontory crannog with important sections on site chronology, ecofact analysis and the artefacts, all of which demonstrate the astonishing range of information that can be obtained from a wetland site. In addition to accounts of the excavation of the palisaded enclosure, promontory fort and pit group, the report also includes summary accounts on radiocarbon dating and Bayesian modelling and, as an unexpected and welcome bonus, a much-needed review of the material culture of Iron Age Wigtownshire that provides a useful context for the artefacts found at Cults Loch. The publication concludes with a wide ranging discussion on the form, function and setting of the crannog and settlement.

The Cults Loch project demonstrates the value of a contextualised landscape approach to wetland archaeology. The dating programme has shown that all the sites were in use around the same time, and finer chronological tuning suggests that the palisaded settlement might have been the first site in the sequence; occupation may have lasted for no more than two generations. This raises interesting questions about the dynamics and duration of settlement, including where the community lived after Cults was abandoned.

This report challenges many of our assumptions about crannogs and Iron Age settlement in south-west Scotland and shows how important it is to develop and test new approaches to settlement studies. It also highlights the richness and potential of our region's Iron Age archaeology. The authors are currently investigating another mid-1st millennium wetland site in Wigtownshire, the Black Loch of Myrton at Monreith; the results of this excavation are eagerly awaited.

John Pickin.

Native and Roman on the Northern Frontier: Excavations and Survey in a Later Prehistoric Landscape in Upper Eskdale, Dumfriesshire by Roger Mercer. Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. 2018. xxii + 274pp. £30.00, ISBN 978-1-90833-213-4 (hardback).

This well-presented book reveals the results of the excavation and survey of Over Rig and Castle O'er undertaken in 1984 and 1985 by Roger Mercer, then Reader in Archaeology at the University of Edinburgh and subsequently Secretary of the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS). Members of DGNHAS may already be familiar with the later prehistoric landscape in Upper Eskdale, which was a case study in the RCAHMS Eastern Dumfriesshire volume (1997) and the subject of a paper on later prehistoric settlement, territory and landscape in volume 76 of *TDGNHAS* (2002). This book provides a welcome and overdue addition to these earlier syntheses providing a thorough account of the actual evidence recovered from these two significant Iron Age sites.

The first two chapters provide the background to the project including previous investigations in the area. The author focuses particularly upon the Roman fortlet, camp and roads at Raeburnfoot, a short distance to the north of Over Rig and Castle O'er, the relevance of which is revealed later in the book. Chapter 3 presents the results of the field survey of the surrounding landscape, clarifying the archaeological context of the two excavation sites. This context comprised a fairly dense distribution of enclosed farmsteads along the course of the White Esk river, with at the centre a number of linear earthworks dividing the landscape around Castle O'er and the nearby hillfort at Bailiehill into a system of large field enclosures. The wider context is provided by a summary of selected Iron Age

settlements excavated elsewhere in the region, which includes unpublished radiocarbon dates from Rispain Camp (*TDGNHAS* 58).

Chapters 4 and 5 examine the interiors of Castle O'er and Bailiehill, notably the preponderance of roundhouses of different types that are remarkably still apparent across the surfaces of both hilltops. The author attempts to draw out the different phases of occupation, though without visual representations of the proposed phases, it is difficult to firmly grasp the complex sequence of archaeological remains at both sites. Harris matrices too may have clarified the sequence of features, especially given the occasional contradictory description and stratigraphic relationship as presented in the summary tables and text (e.g. House K is a ring-ditch in the text (p.46) but a scooped platform with ring-groove in Table 2; and the overlying/underlying relationship between houses W and X and the Rampart II quarry is contradictory to that presented in Table 2).

This discussion is followed by Chapters 6–8, that provide the detailed results of the archaeological excavations at Castle O'er, which were focused at the various gateways and outer earthworks at the south-west edge of the site. Attention then switches in Chapters 9 and 10 to the survey and excavation results recovered from the Over Rig enclosure. This site is highly unusual, first of all for lying at the base of a natural amphitheatre rather than on raised ground, and second for the external banks lying outwith the ditches that enclose the site, contrary to the normal pattern observed at later prehistoric sites.

Chapters 11–13 provide a useful history of the vegetation and land-use in this part of Upper Eskdale, including a snapshot of Over Rig's immediate environment during its occupation (which was contemporary with at least part of that at Castle O'er), a landscape largely comprising hay meadows and hazel woods likely used for pastoralism and coppicing. The large assemblage of wood and wooden artefacts is examined in Chapter 14, revealing wood-working on-site, including lathe-turning (evidence for which is scant from later prehistoric Britain) along with what appears to have been the votive deposition of a wooden sword, platter and model boat in the innermost ditch, part of a growing assemblage of Iron Age wooden votive objects from sites in Dumfries and Galloway.

An important admission at the beginning of the general discussion in Chapters 15–16 is the recognition that the chronological sequence and basis for the author's interpretation is far from secure. It is noteworthy that many of the radiocarbon dates were extracted from bulk samples, contrary to the modern practice of only dating more reliable single entity samples. It is thus not surprising that the radiocarbon dates indicate a long duration of occupation, from the first century BC to the sixth century AD at Castle O'er and the fourth century BC to the fourth century AD at Over Rig. The author makes the case for a more condensed span, but it may be that future work is required to establish a more secure and compressed sequence of dates.

Nonetheless, the unique nature of Over Rig and its relationship with the surrounding landscape and nearby hillfort at Castle O'er clearly demonstrate that these are important sites. The limitations of the evidence highlight the modest scale of investigation at Castle O'er, which was initially only ancillary to the main focus of the work, the rescue of archaeology from the threat of river erosion of Over Rig. It is Castle O'er, however, that is given prominence in this book, which stems from the author's contention that this site lay at the apex of a local hierarchy of settlements associated with a system of landscape enclosures. In discussing this aspect of Castle O'er the author's perspective extends across eastern Dumfriesshire, south-east Scotland and Northumberland in making the case that this and similar sites in these regions acted as foci for the assembly of large herds of cattle and/or horses to provide the Roman frontier garrisons with tributary livestock. This argument is somewhat undermined by the palaeo-environmental evidence for agricultural improvements long before the Romans arrived in Scotland and the lack of evidence for any Roman reciprocity (in the form of Roman artefacts), though this latter point might be due to the limited scale of excavations undertaken at Castle O'er. Furthermore, while the remarkably equal size of the annex enclosures at both Castle

O'er and Bailiehill is acknowledged, the author's basis for relegating the social status of Bailiehill in comparison to Castle O'er (based on the differences between the range of unexcavated roundhouses apparent at each site) is questionable. It is evident that further investigation, particularly of the interior of Castle O'er and some of the neighbouring settlements including especially Bailiehill, is required to demonstrate the validity of the excavator's principal proposition by exposing material evidence for the relationships between different communities and with Roman frontier garrisons. Nonetheless, Castle O'er is important in exhibiting a cumulative design of annex enclosures conceived in terms of the hillfort itself and then utilised in a wider system of linear earthworks across the surrounding landscape.

While the context for the landscape management around Castle O'er is focused southwards and eastwards, a wider Scottish perspective is adopted by the author in his discussion of the vitrified stone ramparts. This is supported by useful updates on the dating and distribution of known vitrified and timber-laced forts across Scotland. The perspective shifts again to south-west Scotland and Ireland in the author's discussion of the parallels, functions and origins of the enclosed ceremonial space at Over Rig.

Interspersed throughout the book are various calculations, such as for the construction of the Roman road linking the camps and fortlet at Raeburnfoot (pp.22–25), the construction of the rock-cut ditch around Castle O'er (p49) and the logistics of supplying the Roman garrisons of Hadrian's Wall (p204–217). These are valuable asides that illustrate the magnitude of resources involved in creating the archaeological landscape under discussion.

It must be stated that there are also some shortcomings. Though a modest assemblage of finds were recovered from Castle O'er and Over Rig, including a saddle quern, a rotary quern, stone tools, glass bangles, whetstones, iron slag and various wooden artefacts, it is only the latter that receive detailed specialist examination, albeit limited by the poor condition that many of the items had been allowed to degrade to since excavation. The glass bangles are rather summarily dealt with in a short appendix while the rest of the artefacts receive no specialist analysis at all. A more thorough editorial process may also have picked up on several typographical errors that are apparent. While some of these are minor (in discussing pottery finds on p34, Boonies is mistaken with Burnswark) others are more significant, such as the disparity between the trench numbers depicted on the site plan (Figure 4.2) with those discussed in the text and depicted on the site sector plan (Figure 6.1). So too is the attributing of the wooden sword to ditch unit 8 (p122) when no such ditch unit is depicted on the site plan for Over Rig (Figure 10.1).

Notwithstanding these quibbles, the report is well written, reasonably priced and an essential contribution to the study of Iron Age communities in Scotland.

Ronan Toolis.

Maryport: A Roman Fort and its Community by David J. Breeze. Oxford: Archaeopress Publishing Ltd. 2018. vi + 116pp. £ 14.99, ISBN 978-1-78491-801-9 (paperback).

The title chosen by David Breeze for this well-produced paperback about the Roman fort of Maryport on the Cumbrian coast, fittingly tips more than its hat to the previous work on the site by M.G. Jarrett his 1976 Maryport, Cumbria: *A Roman Fort and its Garrison*. As if to acknowledge the pedigree of this type of book, Jarrett's title in turn pays homage to the magisterial and seminal production by James Curle in 1911: *A Roman Frontier Post and its People, The Fort of Newstead in the Parish of Melrose.* The promise of the title of the current book, not only to examine the archaeological detail of the fort but to extend its purview to the people of the garrison and its hinterland is met by a relatively detailed discussion of the site's many altars and inscriptions which forms the core of the book.

These vignettes bring the personalities into focus and contribute to Maryport's justifiable renown. Indeed so many altars were erected here in a helpfully consecutive fashion by the fort's tribunes and prefects, that we are told by Professor Breeze it still represents the reference site in the Empire for working out the average duration of posting for these grades of officers.

The book opens with a well-illustrated review of the previous antiquarian investigations of the fort highlighting the central role the Senhouse family (from as long ago as 1587) and their descendants played in conserving the discoveries for future generations. As a trustee of the Senhouse Museum Trust for over thirty years, David Breeze is also well placed to bring us bang up to date with references to discoveries from recent investigations, particularly those excavations by Haynes and Wilmott which have served to elucidate some of the mysteries of the fort and its structures.

There follows a broad discussion of the various auxiliary units of the Roman army stationed at the fort, illustrated by examples of their many altars, several of which had been set up at regular intervals to honour Jupiter and the Emperor. Arguably the most well-known of these regiments is the First Cohort of Spaniards who are attested by no less than fifteen altars and inscriptions. This unit may have been the first to be based there after the fort was founded in the reign of Hadrian, possibly round about the time of the inception of the Wall. The most famous of the cohort's commanders was the equestrian, Marcus Maenius Agrippa who, David Breeze tells us, rose through the ranks to ultimately be the Imperial Procurator of the province of Britannia. He alludes to the academic controversy about the timing of this officer's posting which casts some light on the related dates and purpose of Hadrian's visit to the province in AD 122.

Other cohorts are mentioned in detail and their movements in the province illustrate the flux of forces during turbulent times. For example, the First Cohort of Baetasians were relocated to Bar Hill on the Antonine Wall and were gifted Roman citizen status probably for valour in action during Antoninus Pius's re-invasion of Scotland.

There is a good chapter on the extramural settlement including its female personalities which is accompanied by the excellent illustration of the geophysical survey of the vicus carried out by Biggins and Taylor. This brings home the nature and size of these communities and serves as a reminder that even in what was a highly militarised zone, civilian life was vibrant (at least behind the frontier).

Professor Breeze presciently stated in one of his many previous academic publications that one can view the data regarding the Roman occupation of North Britain from a pro-Roman point of view or a pro-Caledonian depending on one's personal prejudice. So was there anything in this volume which would give a pro-Caledonian sufficient reason to purchase it? Well yes indeed there is. In the penultimate chapter there is a whole section which highlights the steady ebb and flow of conflict across the frontier. Professor Breeze stresses not just the cattle raiding and petty banditry which may have been commonplace but also many episodes of large-scale warfare one of which resulted in the loss of large numbers of Roman troops and their general (if not the Imperial Governor). So it is not difficult to see why the Wall required to be almost continuously resourced even this far down the Cumbrian coast for nearly three centuries. The longevity of the site is exemplified by its extensive coin list which the author states runs from Mark Anthony (30 BC) to the Emperor Honorius (AD 393 to 423).

I feel that the prolific pen of Professor Breeze has again hit the mark for this type of publication. My one suggestion for improvement would be the inclusion of a higher resolution locator map showing the position of the fort with respect to the coast and its neighbouring fortifications. Even those familiar with the geography of Hadrian's Wall might benefit from a visual reminder of the extraordinary density of Roman works, forts, fortlets and towers, extending many miles beyond the western terminus of the Wall at Bowness-on-Solway. A similar arrangement was not considered

necessary on the east coast south of Wallsend. Although there is a brief description of the site's relationship to this chain of installations it might have been helpful to expand in more detail on this striking anomaly as it may help cast light on why the fort existed at all.

The reference list and further reading are generous and pretty useful for this size and type of production although there is a notable omission of Professor S.S. Frere's paper which looked at the setting of the fort and the relationship of the tribune, Marcus Maenius Agrippa to his term of office at Maryport, the nature of Hadrian's visit, and the building of the Wall (Frere 2000).

The book sits comfortably in the popular mid-ground of an advanced visitor's guide while acting as a catalyst for deeper research into what this fascinating site can offer the serious amateur historian. It also has a delightful fold-over cover which acts as a bookmark and harbours two 'quick-look' sections of *What to See* and a *Timeline for Maryport.*

Reference

Frere, S.S. (2000). 'M.Maenius Agrippa, the Expeditio Britannica and Maryport.' Britannia 31: 23–29.

Dr John H. Reid, Chairman, Trimontium Trust.

Roman Imperial Artillery by Alan Wilkins. Dumfries: Solway Print, 2017. 167pp. £16, ISBN 978-1-907931-70-3 167.

One reason for the Roman army's success was what Baden-Powell called their 'stickability'. This is exemplified through their perseverance in sieges, and in order to undertake a successful siege artillery was required. Alan Wilkins has brought together evidence from ancient literature, the surviving artefactual and archaeological field remains, the various reconstructions of Roman artillery pieces, and modern parallels together with his own considerable experience to create the most authoritative review of Roman artillery for this generation, and beyond. Wilkins ranges widely across the Roman Empire, from the eastern frontier to Burnswark. He devotes 16 pages, supported by 23 illustrations, to an analysis of the evidence from this iconic site. He acknowledges the important new evidence for the use of lead sling shot at the site, but comes down firmly against this being the site of a Roman siege but rather a training ground for the Roman army. This book is essential reading for those interested in Roman military matters and local archaeological sites, as well as offering asides on how the Kaiser nearly got pulverised by a mis-firing replica in 1904: now, that would have made a difference to 20th-century history.

David J. Breeze.

Life and Death on Little Ross: The Story of an Island, a Lighthouse and its Keepers by David Collin. Dunbeath: Whittles Publishing. 2017. viii + 231pp. £18.99, ISBN: 978-184995-359-7 (paperback).

Readers of David Collin's previous five books on Kirkcudbright and/or local maritime matters will know what to expect from his latest work: meticulous, scrupulously accurate, detailed, and almost dauntingly comprehensive research presented in an easy, readable style lit by flashes of humour. His subject in 'Little Ross' is worthy of his pen for the island of that name, artistically positioned at the mouth of Kirkcudbright Bay, has acquired iconic status through the innumerable representations it has inspired.

The opening chapter with its overview of Little Ross illustrates the author's characteristic virtues although a map of the island might have benefited the spatially challenged. Of particular interest to

readers of the *Transactions* are his comments on early possible occupation of the island. Traces of a circular building encourage speculation of a possible Bronze Age round house while fragments of stonework on the island's most sheltered location invite the unwary to be mindful of the proximity of a religious hermit's dwelling on nearby Ardwall Island. Sadly the claimed discovery in 1895 by distinguished archaeologist F.R. Coles of cup-and–ring rocks on Little Ross has not subsequently been confirmed.

Any early inhabitants if without boats would arrive on the Wee Ross wet-shod for traditionalists will be pleased to know that it satisfies the official requirements for a bona fide island, being always completely surrounded by water. However it is a close run thing for on the west side the channel, 'The Sound', separating it from the mainland is a modest 340 yards wide while a permanently submerged ridge of rock allows the intrepid or foolhardy to cross (wet-shod) at unusually low tides. At one time a local farmer grazed around ten Galloway cattle and later some 49 black-faced sheep on Little Ross, transporting them on hoof across the sands at very low tides, but dietary and travel considerations put paid to what would have been a marvellous photo-opportunity for the tourist trade. One of the merits of David Collin's books is that the statements are based on solid fact. Thus when we read of close encounters in the surrounding waters with a basking shark, a fin whale, and amphibious deer, incipient scepticism is banished on discovering that all these phenomena were observed by the author at close range.

Sadly, but not unexpectedly the first attempt to improve navigation on the Dee river and estuary was blighted by controversy. Collin tells the complex story of self-made James Skelly, founding father of the Kirkcudbright shipping trade, whose disputes with his two ship-owning partners led to the Court of Session and finally to the House of Lords. All this accompanied the building of two wooden beacons or navigation marks on the Little Ross Island. The plan further to improve navigation on the Dee involved a lengthy and hard fought battle between local interest and, surprisingly, the famous Stevenson dynasty, lighthouse builders par excellence, who were implacably opposed to a lighthouse at the mouth of the Dee. Robert Stevenson, head of a the family firm and Engineer to the Commissioners of Northern Lights, who with his two sons Alan and Thomas was to be heavily involved in the lighthouse construction, made his views quite clear in a report of 1836. He claimed that something smaller than a lighthouse would adequately meet navigational needs locally while the rest of the Solway was already well catered for. Once again the author's use of primary source material in the form of official and unofficial correspondence and reports gives the narrative unchallengeable veracity. This type of content, because of its copiousness, brings another bonus, providing the means for the interested reader to indulge in personal research. For example the chapters on shipwrecks, although limited to a selection, by their detail about ships' departure and intended arrival ports and often cargoes, build up a clear picture of Solway coastal shipping over two centuries.

Similar use of primary source material creates three-dimensional characters in the chapters on keepers and their families. Thanks to the author's painstaking research the name that will probably stand out is that of William Begg, a native of Portpatrick, where relatives still live. He was the man selected as principal keeper on Flannan Isle in the Outer Hebrides to head the team replacing the three keepers whose mysterious and unsolved disappearance virtually without trace in December 1900, still fascinates. On Little Ross, Begg (assisted by his son-in-law George Mackie) compiled detailed records, printed in national periodicals and newspapers, of the remarkable ornithology resulting from the often fatal attraction to birds of the lighthouse beams. For example the list published in the *Scottish Naturalist* for 1915 comprises 49 species ranging in size from wrens to greylag geese.

The memory of Flannan Isle was invoked by the more excitable members of the Red Top press in 1960 when one of the Little Ross keepers was found in the lighthouse dead from a gunshot wound

and the other was posted as missing. The crime was discovered by the teenage David Collin and his father during an intended social call. They were consequently involved in the immediate aftermath and later as witnesses at the trial of the assistant keeper, Robert Dickson. David Collin's account of the trial is admirable not only in its clarity and restraint but in his reflections on the guilty verdict. He has no doubts that the accused committed the crime but he shows compassion and humanity in his view that Dickson was suffering from a mental disorder and should not have been sentenced to death, although he was reprieved, later committing suicide. His ability to take a balanced, moderate view of what must have been a horrific experience is impressive.

'Impressive' is indeed the appropriate word for the entire book and but for the unpredictable effects of global warming, the elephant in the room (or island), it could be safely be stated that the last word has been written on the Little Ross.

Jack Hunter.

Secret Dumfries by Mary Smith and Keith Kirk. Stroud: Amberley Publishing. 2018. 96pp. £14.99, ISBN 978-1-4456-7498-8 (paperback).

This book follows Mary Smith's earlier collaboration with Allan Devlin on the photographic book *Dumfries Through Time* (2015). This new book, with photographer Keith Kirk, explores in more depth several of the many themes which make up the rich history of Dumfries. Whilst some of these are relatively obscure, the use of the adjective 'secret' in the title is a little misleading, but will attract the interest of potential readers; they will not be disappointed by the ten chapters they find inside.

The first gives a general introduction to the town's history and mentions several highlights. The statement that 'Dumfries came under Welsh rule, then Northumbrian' will intrigue readers and could have been expanded to place Dumfries in the context of the British kingdoms of Rheged and Strathclyde. The Brittonic language (the root of Welsh) was spoken in both, and there are local place-names, such as 'Terregles', which evidence its former use. Chapters follow on *Crime and Punishment* and *Health*; the latter is particularly informative, dealing especially with the Crichton and the Infirmary. The next chapter *Industrial Dumfries* gives a useful summary of the town's industrial history, from the 19th-century textile mills, through Arrol-Johnston at Heathhall, then North British Rubber/Hunter /Gates Rubber, to ICI/Dupont Teijin at Cargenbridge.

Chapter 5 *Wartime Dumfrie*s describes both RAF Dumfries at Heathhall and the town's association with the Norwegian Army during the Second World War. However, the greater part of the chapter is devoted to accounts of individual soldiers, from James Brown, who served in both the Crimean War and the Indian Munity, to the two First World War Victoria Cross winners — Private James Mackenzie and Lieutenant James Edward Tait. There's also a poignant war-related story in the final chapter of the book, explaining the little-known memorial plaque to Falklands War veteran, Derek Styles, fixed under an arch of the Buccleuch Bridge.

Chapter 6 *Outdoor Art Gallery* is the shortest chapter in the book but useful for future reference in its description of the public art works alongside the Nith at the Whitesands and in Friars Vennel by Natalie Vardy, Ken Grierson, Matt Baker and Will Levi Marshall. The following chapter, *Remarkable Doonhamers*, eschews mention of Robert Burns and the actor John Laurie, in keeping with the spirit of the book's title, preferring to introduce less well-known figures, including Alf Truckell (1919–2007), doyen of our own Society, and the astronomer, Robert Louis Wayland (1908–1999). Chapter 8 *Remember to Look Up* might have been better following Chapter 6, as it explores the town's predominantly 19th-century sandstone architecture with its associated statuary and decorative features. Dumfries has many fine buildings, objectively illustrated in this chapter and throughout the book by Keith Kirk's photographs. Perhaps unintentionally, these photographs also convey that several of the subjects would benefit from a town centre facelift scheme. The authors

do in fact make specific mention of the poor condition of Queen Victoria's bust on the 1887 Jubilee Buildings, 57–61 English Street (p.70).

Sport and leisure is considered in Chapter 9 *Recreation*, covering Queen of the South football club, the Theatre Royal, cinemas and parks, including the recently renovated Dock Park. The town's role as a film location is also mentioned, including the Benedictine Convent which appeared in *The Magdalene Sisters* (2002). The final chapter *Curiosities, Mysteries and a Sad Story* covers statuary, archaeological stone features and stone circles, with a particularly informative account on the statue of 'Old Mortality' (Robert Paterson) who, with pony, is prominently displayed in the grounds of Dumfries Museum. The sculptor was John Currie (c.1810–1879), born in Lochrutton, who was also responsible for the statues of Aesculapius and Hygeia on Nithbank, the former Dumfries and Galloway Infirmary, and (although not mentioned here) for that of Henry Duncan on the former Dumfries Savings Bank in Church Crescent (p.68).

As well as the main text, the book benefits from 19 short snippets headed *Did You Know That …?* highlighted and interspersed at relevant points throughout, on such diverse topics as banknotes issued by the three Dumfries-based banks (p.39) and the 'Muckmen' whose parade customarily celebrated the arrival of summer on the first of May (Beltane) until 1716 (p.90).

The book is well-written in an appropriately informal and conversational style, and is copiously illustrated with 100 images, the majority of which are contemporary photographs by Keith Kirk. Some of the photographs might have been reproduced at a larger size, particularly those illustrating architectural detail, but overall the text and images are laid out well in a complementary way. This book does not set out to be a history of Dumfries, but provides an interesting introduction to it. To quote the authors: 'We hope readers, whether Doonhamers or visitors, will enjoy *Secret Dumfries* and that it will tempt them to explore further'. It would have been helpful to have some location maps for the sites and features mentioned. The bibliography is also a little short for any reader wishing to delve deeper with just seven books and three websites listed; John Hume's *Dumfries and Galloway: An Illustrated Architectural Guide* (2000) would have been helpful to include for its extensive account of Dumfries buildings. Nevertheless this is a readable and informative book and essentially a popular introduction to some of the less well-known aspects of Dumfries past and near-present. It is also a useful reference source for those specific topics which it deals with in detail.

David Devereux.

NOTICE OF PUBLICATION[1]

The Port Road by Andrew F. Swan. Lydney. Lightmoor Press. 2017. 320pp. £30.00, ISBN – 9781911038214 (hardback).

The shortest sea route between mainland Britain and Ireland, the twenty-mile crossing between Stranraer and Larne, was a jewel in any railway crown. Eighty-one miles of largely single track railway were built from Dumfries through inhospitable, barren uplands to Stranraer. The Caledonian Railway operated the line for the first two decades but then joined with the Glasgow & South Western, the Midland and the London & North Western railways, each buying a quarter share to create, in 1886, 'the Jointest of All Joint Railways'. The Scottish companies operated the line and took alternating responsibility for its upkeep. Passengers, the Royal Mail, goods and considerable war-time traffic mixed with stopping local trains. The line was operated with a variety of pre-Grouping rolling stock, signalling and motive power rarely seen. Within these pages, Andrew Swan outlines the history of the line and its branches, and gives a detailed description of each of the stations along the route, with a 32-page section of buildings and rolling stock plans all in colour. Further chapters cover train services, signalling and some of the staff who worked on the line. Railway enthusiasts, modellers and anyone interested in local history will find much to enjoy in this lavishly illustrated book.

The Solway Military Coast: A Story of Conflict, Courage and Community by Sarah Harper, edited by Richard Brodie. Eastriggs. Eastriggs and Gretna Heritage Group (SCIO). 2018. 136pp. £9.95, no ISBN.

Sarah Harper has collated the research gathered by herself and Edwin Rutherford to produce this book. Using first-hand accounts, primary and secondary sources from newspapers, local museums and archives, this book highlights the impact of the Second World War on the Solway Coast area. It explores the stories of evacuees coming to the area, the MOD Depots at Eastriggs and Longtown, ICI Powfoot, the Gretna bombing, RAF Annan and the introduction of Chapelcross Nuclear Power Station.

Available from the Devil's Porridge Museum, Eastriggs. Tel. 01461-700021.

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1 Notice of publication of works relating to the interests of the Society and the remit of the Transactions is welcomed. Please send this to the Coordinating Editor. Reviews of these publications may follow in a future volume. Members of the Society who are interested in contributing reviews should contact the Editor.

OBITUARY

John Beattie Wilson
1921–2017
Fellow of the Society and President 1992–1995

John Beattie Wilson (Jack) only son of Frank and Helen Wilson was born in Edinburgh in 1921 and educated at George Watson's and Edinburgh University where he graduated MBChB in 1943, MD in 1949 and FRCP in 1950. After a short appointment at Leith Hospital he was called up in 1943 and joined the Royal Navy as a probationary surgeon serving on a small destroyer, HMS Saladin, escorting convoys from Milford Haven to Portsmouth. HMS Saladin was involved in Operation Tiger following an attack by German E-Boats on an amphibious landing exercise being undertaken by American troops off Slapton Sands and which resulted in the loss of many Americans. HMS Saladin was on antisubmarine patrol on D-Day.

Jack was transferred to the landing ship HMS Silvio in the Bay of Bengal and following the capture of Rangoon he attended newly released prisoners of war. HMS Silvio was struck by a mine and Jack was transferred to HMS Messina which had a larger hospital. The convoy continued to assault Malaysia and following the atom bomb attack on Japan, sailed unopposed to Singapore and the Andaman Islands to accept the Japanese surrender.

Following the end of the war Jack became resident medical officer at a hospital in Loughborough and met his future wife, Margaret, a theatre sister at the hospital. They were married in Lincoln and subsequently moved to Pitlochry where Jack spent a year as a trainee general practitioner. He and Margaret then settled in Lochmaben, Dumfriesshire, where he established a medical practice which would occupy him for the rest of his working life. There are many records of Jack's exceptional care and consideration for his patients. Three children followed, Claire, Alastair and Fiona. Jack was predeceased by his daughter Claire in 2015 and wife Margaret in 2017. He was an exemplary father.

Jack devoted much time to the study of medicine and general practice and this was acknowledged in his election as a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians in Edinburgh. He was to become a very familiar figure in Lochmaben and engaged readily with the local community becoming a church elder, Chairman of the Community Council, founder member of the Annandale Sailing Club, and panel member of the local group of the Architectural Heritage Society of Scotland. At the same time he developed a deep and profound interest in the history of the Royal Burgh of Lochmaben, became a very active member of this Society, becoming its President from 1992–95 and a Fellow of the Society in 1995.

Jack prepared many papers for the Society's *Transactions*, listed below. He wrote the definitive history of the Royal Burgh of Lochmaben, first published 1987, and in its second edition, in 2001.

David Rose

Publications in the Transactions of this Society

Vol. 49 (1972), p.98	'A Lochmaben Perambulation 1768'
Vol. 49 (1972), p.119	'Two Finds from Lochmaben Old Churchyard'
Vol. 49 (1972), p.121	'Letters to St Petersburg Written by Dr John Rogerson of Dumcrieff"
Vol. 50 (1973), p.91	'Lochmaben Burgh Politics'
Vol. 50 (1973), p.99	'Rev. Richard Broun'
Vol. 51 (1975), p.71	'Minutes of the Presbytery of Lochmaben 1701–1822'

Vol. 52 (1976-77), p.152	‘Lochmaben Council Minutes’
Vol. 52 (1976-77), p.177	‘John Tait’s Map of Lochmaben, 1786’
Vol. 53 (1977-78), p.192	‘Three Eighteenth Century Letters’
Vol. 55 (1980), p.177	‘Letters from Dr James Mounsey to Dr Henry Baker 1762–70’
Vol. 57 (1982), p.88	‘The Crannog in the Castle Loch, Lochmaben’
Vol. 59 (1984), p.110	‘Lieutenant-General William Fergusson, K.C.’
Vol. 62 (1987), p.92	‘Charge Book of the Burgh of Lochmaben, 1 June 1864 to 6 October 1884’
Vol. 65 (1990), p.84	‘Royal Burgh of Lochmaben Court and Council Book 1612–1721’
Vol. 68 (1993), p.123	‘Life in Lochmaben 1612–1721’
Vol. 72 (1997), p.115	‘Four Annandale Medical Men’
Vol. 72 (1997), p.117	‘Lochmaben’s Sham and Pretended Councils’
Vol. 74 (2000), p.114	‘Lochmaben Town Council Minutes 1612–1721’
Vol. 76 (2002), p.159	‘Chartulary of the Burgh of Lochmaben’
Vol. 78 (2004), p.139	‘A Final Report on the Lochmaben Court and Council Book 1612–1721’
Vol.83 (2009), p.238	‘Elshieshiels Records’
Vol.86 (2012), p.197	‘Corncockle Quarry’
Vol.87 (2013), p.195	‘A Note on the Growing of Flax and the Manufacture of Linen in the Lochmaben Area’
Vol. 90 (2016), p.137	‘The Lochmaben Bells’

Publications other than in the Transactions

Royal Burgh of Lochmaben, first edition,published 1987, Dinwiddie Grieve Ltd, Dumfries.

The Medical Men and Other Lochmaben Postscripts, published 1992.

Royal Burgh of Lochmaben, second edition published 2001, Solway Offset Dumfries.

Minute by Minute, 300 years of Lochmaben History, published 2004.

J.B. Wilson also published articles in the following:

British Medical Journal, Edinburgh Medical Journal, Scottish Medical Journal, Health Bulletin, Journal of the Scottish History of Medicine, Medical History, Journal of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh, The Practitioner, The Lancet, Annandale Herald, Dumfries and Galloway Medical Journal, Scottish Local History Forum, and History Scotland.

PROCEEDINGS

7 October 2016
ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING
PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS
Liam Murray
Joseph Thomson, the African Explorer from Penpont

At the Annual General Meeting of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society the retiring President, Liam Murray, gave a talk on the Penpont-born African Explorer Joseph Thomson.

Thomson was born on 14 February 1858, the youngest of five sons of a quarry owner. Joseph went to school in Thornhill and the fact that his father owned a quarry gave him an opportunity to gather specimens of fossils and this, allied to a keenness to take long walks to study the geology of the area, enabled him to write a paper for the *Transactions*.[1]

He took an Honours Degree in Geology and Botany at Edinburgh University and having learnt that an expedition under Keith Johnston was going to East Africa he applied to join it. He was taken on as the Geologist and Naturalist for the expedition which was going to explore the land between Dar es Salaam and Lakes Nyassa and Tanganyika. The expedition, consisting of 154 men, 78 of whom carried guns, set off on 19 May 1884, but a few weeks after they left, Johnson died from a fever and dysentery. Thomson decided, though he was only 21, that he should carry on and after travelling over hitherto unexplored land on the 3 November, reached Lake Nyassa. After exploring the land around the lakes he returned to Bagamoya on the East Coast arriving there on 10 July having led an expedition of 150 Africans over 3000 miles, over half of which lay in regions unknown to geographers. He returned to London and after giving a report to the Royal Society returned to Thornhill where he was greeted with a Triumphal Arch.

In subsequent years he made further expeditions, to Kilimanjaro, through Masai territory, climbing Mount Kenya and reaching Lake Victoria and in subsequent years to the Niger where, having travelled up the river he made agreements with the chiefs by which Nigeria in effect became part of the British Empire.

In 1889 he was invited by Cecil Rhodes to explore the lands north of South Africa and travelling over 1250 miles obtained trading agreements over an area of 40,000 square miles, territories which were subsequently to become Zimbabwe and Zambia.

He made one final trip to Southern Africa, but was by now in very poor health and, having returned to Scotland, he died on 2 August 1895 and was buried in Morton Cemetery. In an appreciation of him, a writer asked how great a man was Thomson and stated:

> With him dies the only traveller of our time who, as regards his pluck, his persistence and his methods, is worthy to rank with Livingstone.

L.M.

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1 'Notes on a Glacial Deposit near Thornhill', *TDGNHAS* Ser.II, Vol.1, p.70.

21 October 2016
Alistair Maxwell-Irving
Tower-Houses of the Scottish Borders

The second bi-fortnightly lecture on 21 October, attended by seventy-two members and guests, was given by Alistair Maxwell-Irving on *The Tower-Houses of the Scottish Borders*. The speaker, a noted authority and author of two definitive books on the subject, gave a comprehensive overview of these formidable buildings.

Their origins can be traced back perhaps 3000 years in European and Middle Eastern history, but the speaker began with comparison of the towers of medieval southern Europe, particularly northern Italy. Tower building there was largely undertaken by powerful families living in cities. Florence, for instance, still has 100 surviving towers, and a 1551 illustration of Siena shows it full of towers. The speaker used San Gimignano, a small hill town in Tuscany (and a UNESCO world heritage site), to dramatically illustrate this almost mania for tower-building by the nobility and rich merchant classes of mediaeval Italy. One interesting point of contrast with Scottish Borders tower-houses was the massive foundations present at San Gimignano (a reflection perhaps of the tectonic instability of that region of Italy?)

The oldest tower-house in Scotland is Cubbie's Roos Castle, built in 1150 on Wyre, Orkney. Its name is a corruption of Holbein Hruga, thought to have been the original builder, and the tower is mentioned in both the Orkneyinga Saga and King Haakon's Saga. In northern Europe, the Normans built our more familiar castles but, even there, there was generally a massive keep at the heart of each Norman castle, although they evolved over time to more elaborate structures where the keep might become less obvious. Scottish tower-houses also showed evolution over time, the speaker using twelfth-century Mote of Urr, thirteenth-century Caerlaverock and Deeside's fourteenth-century Drum Castle (with its 12-foot thick walls), fifteenth-century Cardoness and sixteenth-century Comlongon Castle to illustrate his point. The last example had so many extra rooms honeycombed into its massive walls that it required supports to keep it from collapsing.

Despite their generally simpler form than Norman castles, tower-houses were not isolated structures, but generally constituted the heart (and last refuge for the family that owned them) of a complex of ancillary buildings such as kitchens, stables, accommodation for the garrison and other retainers, and buildings for storage. Rather than functioning solely as refuge in times of war, these tower-houses were the living quarters of the family owning them and, as such, were often made as comfortable and elaborate as possible within, as well as displaying their power and wealth. The speaker chose to illustrate this point with examples of armorial crests, ogee-arched carved recesses or aumbries called 'buffets' (for displaying important family possessions rather than the modern usage) as well as the more functional garderobes, the term originally meaning wardrobes or lockable stores for valuables, but latterly coming to mean a latrine or privy. (Balvaird Tower-house or Castle in Perthshire even had a flushing garderobe!) Tower-houses and castles (such as Edinburgh Castle) also often had 'Laird's Lugs', listening devices such as hidden openings in walls, allowing the lord to eavesdrop on conversations in the Great Hall.

Physical defence was not neglected, however, and tower-houses were usually protected by parapets, murder holes, arrow-slits and later gun-loops once firearms were invented, the speaker showing illustrations of several early guns as examples. Another common form of defence was the machicolation, a projecting battlement with holes through which stones or boiling oil could be dropped on attackers below. The archetypal Scottish protective device on tower-houses, predating its adoption in England, was the yett or strong iron-grid gate, a peculiar feature of Scottish yetts being the nature of the joint between intersecting metal bars. Rather than the pattern everywhere else in Europe of using bolts through drilled holes, joints were securely held in place by sandwiching one cross-piece within the contrary one. Tower-houses often also had prisons but, as a consequence of

the disaster to the Scottish monarchy, nobility and people that had been the Battle of Flodden (The Floo'ers o' the Forest are a' wede away), no tower-houses built after 1514 had a prison.

The speaker touched on bastle houses (farmhouses fortfied by commoners against reiver raids), ruinous and modern-day restored towers and associated features such as deer parks, but concluded with a humorous account of disputed inheritance and the military strength of sixteenth-century Stapleton Tower, near Annan. Judged to have been wrongly seized in 1626 by the sons of the original builder, Edward Irving, it was besieged three times, falling only on the third attempt and taking, it was said, four earls, two lords, three knights, nine lairds and all their forces to expel the occupying brothers and return it to its rightful owner.

F.T.

4 November 2016

Dr Larry Griffin (Principal Research Officer, WWT Caerlaverock Wetland Centre)
The Dumfriesshire Rook Census and Tracking the Greenland White-fronted Goose

About forty members and guests attended this meeting to hear a lecture by Dr Larry Griffin, Principal Research Officer at the Wildfowl and Wetlands Trust Caerlaverock Wetland Centre.

The first part of the lecture was devoted to ongoing research on the white-fronted geese, whose global population has fallen from 35,500 in 1999 to only 18,000 in 2015. Small numbers winter in our area on the Ken–Dee marshes and near Stranraer, but this population has also fallen from 1100 to 400 over a similar period. Shooting is not thought to be the problem as this is now banned throughout their range except in England and Wales. Low breeding productivity seems to be a major issue, as only about 20% of pairs normally produce any young. Various possible explanations are being investigated, using satellite-tracking tags to locate the geese in their remote west Greenland breeding areas. These tags can also detect whether a goose is flying, walking or stationary, which in turn can give information on whether it is actually nesting.

One possible cause for the decline in numbers was thought to be competition for nest sites with Canada Geese, which have recently colonised west Greenland, but this is has been discounted as the two species of geese use different areas. Current theories now favour an unfavourable climate cycle. Snowfall in west Greenland follows a fifty-year cycle, and at present it is in a high-snowfall phase which leaves the birds insufficient snow-free time to breed. It is hoped that as the cycle becomes more favourable, goose numbers may increase.

The second part of Dr Griffin's lecture was devoted to the survey of nesting rooks in Dumfriesshire. The first census of breeding rooks was carried out as long ago as 1908, making the Dumfriesshire survey the longest-running of any county in Britain. Rooks can be distinguished from crows by their whitish face and bill, and the shaggy feather 'trousers' on their legs. They breed colonially in trees — 'rookeries' — usually deciduous although they will also use Scots pines.

The latest census, in 2015, recorded 13,135 nests in 350 rookeries, a slight increase over the previous census in 2010. However, prior to that numbers had shown a sharp decline, from about 25,000 in 1993 to about 10,000 in 2010, whereas numbers had increased up to 1993. Possible causes for the recent decline include shooting, poisoning, and changes in land use, including increased housing development. Predation of young rooks by ravens or birds of prey may also be a factor. The results of the next census are awaited with interest to see if the recent increase in numbers is maintained.

J.B.

18 November 2016
Fiona J. Houston
Cottage Life in Eighteenth-Century Scotland

Some people talk nostalgically about the 'good old days' but Fiona J. Houston went one step further and spent a year in the 'eighteenth century'. Her talk to a packed meeting of the Society explained just what she did.

The idea developed from Fiona voicing the opinion that food, for many people, was better in the late eighteenth century than it is today. A vague challenge to her to prove her theory and 'put some meat on the bones' of her argument was met by her with a determination to put these ideas to the test in the most direct manner possible.

Fiona had possession of a cow byre which had, at one time, been a single-room artisan-type cottage. A good clean-out and installation of a wooden floor was the starting point. Fiona then began the task of making all aspects of her new situation as authentic as she could, to enable her to reconstruct life for a year as a Dominie's wife circa 1790.

The very limited amount of furniture needed was sourced or constructed. Wooden plate racks and even a box-bed was made from aged wood and all the crockery used was wooden (apart from a pewter plate for 'best'). She even made her own mattress and stuffed it with wool, which turned out to be slightly problematical and drew attention to the importance of ventilation — an aspect often forgotten today. Her clothing was hand-made and based upon contemporary prints, although she did admit to choosing the rather more dashing mop cap, so fashionable and practical in the 1790s and thus she rejected the more common older head-dress look — so 1770s!

Her daily tasks illustrated just how hard the women of that period had to work. Her busy days were spent collecting and chopping wood, fetching water, tending to the vegetable gardens, and general repair and maintenance. She even made and used a broom for brushing. This perhaps led to the nickname coined for her by her son. Thereafter she became affectionately known as 'The Hag in the Hovel'.

The evenings posed different challenges as the lighting was often from rush lights and home-made candles. Even the use of matches was foresworn and Fiona became a dab hand with the tinder box. She spent much of her evening writing up her adventures using goose quills and home-made ink (from elderberries and later from oak apple).

Food was simple, yet nutritious. It was primarily a vegetarian diet based upon staples such as porridge, barley bannocks and tatties, and supplemented by wild foods and home-grown vegetables. At least she could occasionally treat herself to a chunk of her own hard cheese.

She brought an excellent evening to a close with a Q-and-A session and an examination of some of her artefacts used during her eighteenth-century year. The success of a talk can sometimes be gauged by the number of questions posed and if this is a true reflection of interest Fiona Houston's talk certainly caught the imagination of the large and appreciative audience.

S.McC.

2 December 2016
THE JAMES WILLIAMS LECTURE
John Reid
The Roman Assault on Burnswark Hill: A Conflict Rehabilitated

Over seventy members and guests attended the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society's annual James Williams Memorial lecture on 2 December 2016 to hear Dr

John Reid of the Trimontium Trust speak on *The Roman Assault on Burnswark Hill: A Conflict Rehabilitated.*

Dr Reid described the Iron Age hillfort at Burnswark near Ecclefechan, sandwiched between two Roman camps on the north and south sides. The South Camp had significantly stronger defences on its north side facing the hillfort, and three large gateways, fronted by three mounds — the so-called *Three Brethren*. The North Camp was distinctly and unusually elongated and was twice the distance from the hillfort rampart on the north side than the South Camp was from the south side of the hillfort.

The earliest archaeological reports of the site concluded that a siege had taken place, taking account of finds of sling-bullets, arrow heads and a Roman sword from the site. That view prevailed until 1964, when an alternative interpretation was put forward that the hillfort had been used as a practice range by the Roman Army. This theory was subsequently generally adopted and presented in popular publications on the Roman Army in Scotland.

However, more recently archaeologists and historians have challenged this theory, pointing out that no other 'practice camps' have been found in the Roman Empire. They have also queried why the two Burnswark camps are so irregularly shaped? Why are there two? Why were the Romans practising in enemy territory? Why did they need to practise at all? The issue remained unresolved and the Burnswark question has been identified as one of the key research topics in the future study of Roman Scotland.

Dr Reid went on to describe the current research project directed by himself and Andy Nicholson, Dumfries and Galloway Council's Archaeologist. In 2013 the hillfort was surveyed using sophisticated metal-detectors, in the same way that they have been used over battlefield sites such as Culloden. The detectors used can differentiate between metals and have been be employed to identify the spread of Roman Army lead sling-bullets over the site, without having to dig them up. The survey recorded large quantities of lead signals which were identified as probable sling-bullets. In the exploratory excavations undertaken in 2015, two trenches were placed over concentrations of lead signals and of the eighteen lead targets detected, seventeen proved to be Roman lead sling bullets. Two types of bullet were found — 'lemon'-shaped bullets and 'acorn'-shaped bullets, unique to Roman sites at the west end of Hadrian's Wall and both weighing about 60 gm. Subsequently a third type was recognised, having a 4 mm diameter hole drilled to 5 mm depth. When slung these make a whistling noise and were intended to induce fear amongst those being targeted — an early example of psychological warfare. The excavations also found several stone 'ballista' balls and a possible iron point, fired up at the rampart along with the sling bullets. Overall 670 lead sling bullets have been detected over the whole site, with concentrated distributions along the south rampart of the hillfort and behind the north rampart of the South Camp where they had been dropped.

Further excavations were carried out in August 2016. Two trenches were opened in the South Camp, both behind the north rampart facing the hillfort, and one trench in the North Camp. All three were placed over concentrations of metal-detected lead and other metal signals. One of the main objectives of the work was to establish whether or not the two camps were in use at the same time. In the South Camp, in one trench, one sling bullet was found — the rest of the signals were modern bullets — but in the other trench, a large cluster of Roman bullets was found. In the North Camp, an even larger cluster was found with a total weight of 15 kg — the largest collection of sling bullets from any site in the Roman Empire. Dr Reid pointed out that abandoned munitions were often seen in the aftermath of modern-day conflicts. Sling-bullets from the North and South Camps appear to be identical and are currently undergoing lead isotope analysis in the Goethe University in Frankfurt. Analysis of previous samples from the site and from other sites in Northern England and Scotland appear to indicate that the lead used comes from a common source near Mainz in Germany, particularly the lead used in the making of the 'acorn'-shaped bullets.

The current research project suggests that the irregularly shaped camps were a pragmatic and tactical response to the local terrain and the potential enemy threat, and occupied at the same time. It indicates that the hillfort's south rampart was subjected to a barrage of missiles along a 500m-wide front. Such a barrage must have provided suppressive fire to allow a direct assault on the ramparts by the Roman Army, and indicates a high degree of force directed against the hillfort's defenders, perhaps in an exemplary way. When did this happen? Three 'acorn' bullets from the nearby Roman fort at Birrens are dated, by association with other finds, to the late Hadrianic–early Antonine period (about 130–145). The Roman Emperor Antoninus Pius's invasion of Scotland was conducted by his general Lollius Urbicus, a veteran of the Third Jewish War, 132–136 AD. He went on to serve as Governor in Southern Germany in 137–138, with the VIII and XXII legions. From 138–142 he was Governor of Britain and brought with him detachments or vexillations of the VIII and XXII legions. Inscriptions from Birrens show that these units were based there. The Burnswark research project is now beginning to suggest that the assault on the hillfort marked the opening of the Roman invasion of Scotland ordered by Antoninus Pius. The Roman Army then moved north through the western Lowlands to build the Antonine Wall across central Scotland in 142, thereby marking the new northern limit of the Roman Empire. Recent research on fragments of an inscription found at Birrens fort, suggests that the largest 'Victory' monument found in Roman Britain was erected there to record this achievement.

D.F.D.

13 January 2017
Vyv Wood-Gee
European Drove Roads

Cumberland Street Centre was packed for the first DGNHAS meeting of 2017. The speaker, Viv Wood-Gee from Hoddom, enthralled members with her 2015 talk on the *Drove Roads of Britain* when she travelled in stages from Skye to Smithfield Market, London, on horseback. This time her subject was *European Drove Roads* for which a Churchill Fellowship enabled her to research the situation on the Continent.

In Spain one per cent of the surface area of the country is devoted to droving, past and present, and covers 125,000 km, while the railway system measures only 15,000 km, proof positive of the value of 'Vias Pecuarias' to the nation, which on a map are categorised in seven different colours, according to width.

Never allowing anything to stand in her way, Vyv signed up for a well-attended drove-roads conference in Spain in 2010, despite being unable to speak the language. Development of the roads goes back to Neolithic times when hunter-gatherers followed a network in their quest for deer and wild oxen. Roman roads were incorporated into the scheme. Annually between the eleventh and seventeenth centuries five million sheep, mainly merino, were herded along them and such was their importance that in the thirteenth century they acquired legal status. 'Ganaderos', who raised the livestock, traditional black cattle as well as sheep, were charged for using the paths and crossing the bridges, thus defraying the cost of upkeep.

Droving led to the establishment of settlements for servicing the drovers with food, water from wells and churches. Transhumance was practised whereby livestock were taken to cooler upper regions in summer and brought down to lower meadows for warmth in winter. Men involved were away from home and living in primitive rush shelters in summer until October. Their return home affected the birth rate! In more recent times the lifestyle was rejected and lorries were used because heavy traffic on roads roused fears that livestock might be killed.

To preserve the historical merits of droving, in 1995 legislation placed an obligation on local government to employ two or three staff to check on drove roads and compile documentation to

ensure that drove roads are protected. Small pillars with appropriate signing and other statuary remind road-users that cattle have priority and are important in the nation's heritage. On one day in the year cattle can be herded through Madrid to maintain the legal right. When lack of funding made law enforcement difficult Spain turned to the EU for assistance as drove roads were being lost.

EU funding has effected changes: the rush huts have been replaced by new bothies for drovers, who have been given money for mobile telephones to maintain contact with their families. The virtues of traditional droving outweigh twentieth-century developments. For instance, livestock movement is a natural means of seed transfer: what has been eaten en route causes droppings further down the line; seed is picked up by birds; and sheep grazing overnight keeps land in trim. A whole agricultural system — habitats, landscape and livelihood — will be lost and biodiversity will suffer if the drove roads are neglected.

Spain convinced the EU of their case by emphasising that transhumance on the hoof uses less energy and 70% less water than road transport of livestock and 75% less carbon.

In Denmark drove routes were in use from the thirteenth century and 50,000 cattle per annum were moved along tracks on high ground. Again it was the small hardy black cattle that could cope with the exigencies of the drive and they suited the market.

Farmers were paid to set up hostels for the drovers but no food was provided. The 'Driverweg' or 'Okswegen' came from all parts of the country and converged on their way south to Schleswig-Holstein in Germany for shipping to England in the middle of November.

Nowadays two standing ox horns whose points meet in the air signify a drove road, which might also at stages have sculptures along the way. Users of the track, such as pilgrims heading for Jerusalem, are guided by signage on the side of small granite markers. EU funding has been claimed to restore an eleventh-century bridge once used by drovers, but Denmark's climate defeats these attempts at promoting popular tourism.

Italy's drove roads, which follow the Via Francigena, the old pilgrimage route from Canterbury to Rome, are still in operation. Their history goes back to the third century BC. The Romans established transhumance. They are similar to those in Spain and have legal status, but in covering only 3100 km they are not as widespread. The country has latched on to the benefits of tying them in with eco-tourism.

France represents another country like Spain and Italy in maintaining the traditions of droving although the roads are not protected in law.

Vyv seized upon the opportunity to use sturdy French horses, like her own, to explore the routes. Transhumance is again the guiding principle. Other groups can join in and accompany the drovers. The boss mare carries a bell round her neck. In various places beer, wine and music enhance the revelry, slightly reminiscent of Riding the Marches in Scotland, before the drovers set off to the summer quarters in the Pyrenees. The horses are driven but sheep and the usual black cattle wander free for four months. A shepherd is paid by breeders to stay in the isolated places for four months. Descent to the eastern Camargue in December provides an excuse for another party. In Nice as part of a big festival cattle and sheep are driven through the town to remind people of tradition.

In concluding, a note of envy crept into the intrepid Vyv's fast-moving commentary, as she compared the southern European countries' inspirational moves to promote twenty-first-century droving with that of Britain, where legislation and rules prevent its re-establishment. EU money is there for the asking if a convincing case can be made by a member state, with Spain being the front-runner.

Warm appreciation of Vyv's performance and excellent photography was expressed in the vote of thanks for this 'knowledgeable enthusiast'.

M.W.

27 January 2017
Mark Pollitt (Dumfries and Galloway Environmental Resources Centre Manager)
Wildlife Recording — Past, Present and Future

In a fact-filled and often entertaining talk Mark took the audience through the history of wildlife recording, from its seventeenth-century beginnings to the digital future.

The 'father' of wildlife recording is thought to be parson-naturalist John Ray (1627–1705). Many early recorders were clergymen, who were well educated, had a reasonable amount of spare time, and usually remained in one district for many years. In 1798 the Reverend Dugald Stewart Williamson of Tongland recorded numerous glow-worms in his parish, a species now almost unknown in Dumfries and Galloway. William Jardine and George Scott Elliot, early presidents of the DGNHAS, were also notable wildlife recorders. Early naturalists had to contend with a lack of guide books (and the few that existed were very poor by today's standard), and confused taxonomy, the latter problem being solved by the introduction of the binomial Latin classification of living organisms by the celebrated Swedish naturalist Carl Linnaeus in the mid-eighteenth century.

By the mid-nineteenth century naturalist societies were beginning to be formed, the first in Scotland being in Berwickshire in 1831. However, it was soon realised that the variable size of administrative counties made them unsuitable as units for wildlife recording and in 1852 the so-called Watsonian vice-counties were created by dividing large counties and amalgamating small ones — a system that is still used today.

The Victorian era saw an increased interest in wildlife, which mainly manifested itself by an enthusiasm for collecting specimens. Although many of these collections have now found useful homes in museums, the depredations of collectors was sufficient to almost wipe out some species.

Today the DGERC collates records of all forms of wildlife, mostly provided by amateur wildlife enthusiasts (or 'citizen scientists' as they are now called), for which Britain is particularly renowned. This information is vital for finding out about population trends, identifying species at risk, and helping organisations such as Dumfries and Galloway Council manage areas of wildlife importance. The largest number of records received is of moths, closely followed by birds, and a surprising number of records are received of more obscure groups such as beetles. This data has helped chart the spread in Dumfries and Galloway of newly-arrived species such as the nuthatch and the tree bumblebee, and also keep track of harmful alien species such as the Himalayan balsam and the harlequin ladybird.

The potential of modern technology to alter the way wildlife is recorded is truly amazing. It is now possible to photograph something with a smartphone, which will identify the location through its GPS technology, send it to an expert for identification and then forward it to a wildlife recording centre. It is now also possible to detect the presence of great crested newts, an endangered amphibian found in Dumfries and Galloway, by performing DNA analysis on the pond-water.

Mark finished his talk by urging members of the audience to send in wildlife records, and to take part in the forthcoming RSPB Garden Birdwatch — Britain's biggest wildlife recording event.

J.B.

10 February 2017
Graeme Cavers (AOC Archaeology Group)
Black Loch of Myrton: an Early Iron Age Loch Village in Wigtownshire

Over eighty members and guests attended the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society's meeting on 10 February to hear Dr Graeme Cavers of the AOC Archaeology

Group speak on the recent archaeological excavation of the early Iron Age loch village at Black Loch of Myrton near Monreith, Wigtownshire.

The project has been funded by Historic Environment Scotland as part of The Scottish Wetlands Archaeology Project. Loch settlement can be traced from prehistoric to medieval times in Scotland, especially in crannogs, most of which are found in south-west Scotland, Argyll and western Scotland generally. Many were built from around 500 BC to the Roman period, and fewer in the early medieval period. Their place in Iron Age society is not yet clear, but their occupants may have had higher social status.

An earlier project at Cults Loch near Castle Kennedy revealed two crannogs in the loch. The loch was surrounded by cropmarks, indicative of agricultural activity probably related to the occupation of the crannogs. Excavation revealed a very good state of wood preservation, although the two structures were initially difficult to identify. Each building had central hearth mounds, but these were not so well preserved. A number of artefacts appeared to have been deliberately buried below the floors; these included a carved wooden box and a wooden ard or early plough share. Dendrochronological analysis of the structural timber indicated the buildings were occupied in the mid-fifth century BC.

The site at Black Loch was rediscovered while work at Cults Loch was finishing. Sir Herbert Maxwell had previously discovered and excavated part of the site finding evidence of metalworking and charcoal. Knowledge of the site was lost in a tree-covered bog with little to see at ground level. Then some large worked timbers were recovered in 2010 when a large agricultural drainage ditch was cut through the site. The farmer reported the find to Stranraer Museum, and the site was investigated. Black Loch is little more than a shallow wetland during winter; nearby White Loch is a substantial body of water with one known crannog.

Firstly, a topographic survey was undertaken, which revealed several raised mounds, now known to be the central hearths of timber round houses. Hearths never survive in round houses excavated on land, but in the boggy conditions at Black Loch they were found to be 2–2.5 metres in diameter with stone bases. Excavations began in 2014. In the first building investigated, the hearth was rebuilt four times, each one on top of its predecessor. The associated floor surfaces were found in varying states of survival.

Excavation in 2015 investigated a second round-house and revealed another series of rebuilt hearths, necessitated by each hearth gradually sinking into the underlying peat. In this building the lower parts of the main structural post ring, the outer double, wattled stake line in a ring groove and floor were preserved by the wet conditions. The flooring was made up of a matting of woven hazel, alder and willow. Also found were vertically slotted sill beams which would have served to partition the interior of the round house. There was evidence of the use of grasses and reeds repeatedly laid down as a flooring material. Within this was evidence of insects, such as house flies. Some insects were indicative of the presence of animal stock kept in particular parts of the house. One important find was that of a type of grain beetle, previously thought to have been introduced in the Roman period in Britain. Another feature noted were caches of white quartz pebbles under the flooring, the significance of which is unknown.

The entrance to building 2 was particularly well-preserved. Here the outer double stake and wattle ring was replaced with a double line of large oak planks set vertically. This would have created an impressive façade. The trackway to the entrance could be traced — a unique survival in a round-house. It was also clear that a trackway of laid timbers also ran between buildings 1 and 2, suggesting that they were in occupation at the same time.

Excavations continued in 2016, when a trench was excavated from the centre of the site to the periphery. A wooden palisade marked the limit of the site, and a further building was found adjacent

to it. Within this was another hearth, but with evidence of a clay-domed oven built on a framework of wicker. A sequence of clay domes indicated that the oven had been rebuilt several times. This is the first Iron Age clay-domed oven to have been found in Britain.

Few artefacts have been found in the excavations so far, suggesting that the site was abandoned in a tidy fashion. Pottery seems to have been little used in Iron Age Wigtownshire in contrast to sites of the same period in Northern Scotland. Finds include hammer stones, and cobble stones, probably used for leather working. One spindle whorl has been found so far and a small crude 'thumb' pot.

The worked timbers from the site provide evidence of the types of woodworking tools in use. It is clear that different types of axes were used on different types and sizes of wood. A considerable amount of environmental material has been recovered for further examination.

Given the difficulties of providing reasonably precise dates from carbon-14 dating in the period 800–400 BC, dendrochronological analysis of the structural oak in the façade of building 2 has provided a provisional felling date of 437 BC, suggesting the Black Loch settlement and the Cults Loch crannog were occupied at the same time.

Black Loch is a wetland settlement, not in a loch, but on wet, boggy peat. It is a wetland enclosure, similar to the palisaded enclosures known from aerial photography throughout south-west Scotland, but more precisely dated. The fourth and fifth centuries BC saw an upsurge in the building of crannogs and wetland settlements, perhaps a defensive response to an increasing external threat.

D.F.D.

24 February 2017
MEMBERS' NIGHT
David Devereux
Excavations at Tongland Abbey

On a very wet February night, members and their guests attended the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society's annual Members' Night meeting. This is the evening when members can present their own research to the assembled group. This year, Dr David Devereux, one of the Society's Past Presidents, outlined the research and excavation work being undertaken at Tongland, near Kirkcudbright, in search of Tongland Abbey.

He began by thanking the Society for the grant the project had received, which had enabled his small group of volunteers to put together the tools and equipment they needed in order to undertake their excavation work last summer.

The idea of looking for structural evidence for the Premonstratensian Abbey at Tongland came about in 2015 when the Tongland and Ringford Community Council decided to celebrate the 800th anniversary of the Magna Carta. We wondered what that had to do with the Stewartry, but David went on to explain that Alan, Lord of Galloway who was the founder of Tongland Abbey in 1218, was the only Scot named in the Magna Carta of 1215.

The site of Tongland Abbey has seen much activity, being in a prominent position between two rivers, on a 'tongue' of land. The waters themselves provided for a fishery going back centuries on a stretch of water known as the Doachs of Tongland. This was the source of a commercial salmon trade into the twentieth century and might have attracted the monks who came to Tongland.

The Abbey was replaced with a parish church in 1633 and again in 1813. All now ruinous. There is a nineteenth-century manse on the site and a graveyard still in use. This means that the area available for excavation is limited. However, with the permission of the owners of the old manse, an

area between the former parish churches and the manse building could be investigated.

In 2015, the Magna Carta project fund enabled a geophysical survey to be carried out across the manse garden. Whilst this did not provide conclusive results, it aided David's group the following year to focus their attention on some potential key features under the surface.

David outlined the research that had been undertaken and the sources of information that had led them to decide where to dig in order to determine the exact site for the Abbey and its environs. These included historic accounts, old maps and drawings, and the current layout of buildings and roads, as well as the 2015 survey results.

Descriptions of the Abbey suggest it was built on an impressive scale, comparable with that of Dundrennan Abbey, and having a steeple that was the tallest in Galloway. Substantial quantities of its walls are described as still standing in 1684, but by 1824 almost all had vanished. An examination of some local buildings showed evidence of the recycling of stonework that must have taken place.

The 2016 excavators chose five promising locations to open their trenches, in the hope of revealing the Abbey structure. Some provided a glimpse of previous activity on the site, without delivering the answers they sought. A section of wall probably relating to the 1633 church was uncovered, as well as examples of more recent activity such as a substantial deposit of motor car parts. An interesting linear feature on the geophysical survey was investigated in Trench 5 and proved to be a section of the abandoned eighteenth-century road running north through the site from the Old Tongland Bridge. Below it, however, evidence of medieval occupation was found comprising areas of charcoal and burning, with quantities of broken animal bone, and a later medieval stone games counter.

Perhaps disappointingly, the precise siting of Tongland Abbey remains a mystery. But it is hoped that further trial excavations can be undertaken in 2017. Perhaps then, Tongland Abbey will at last reveal itself — and just in time for its 800th anniversary in 2018.

J.T.

10 March 2017

Christoph Otte (Winner of the Truckell Prize, 2015)
Counting Hectares: An Experimental Approach to Early Medieval Agricultural Estates in Eastern Dumfriesshire

On 10 March 2017, Christoph Otte, who won the Truckell Prize in 2015, gave a talk giving a brief overview of his prize-winning paper.

The early medieval history has been understated in recent years and using place-names could help establish settlement chronologies. For example, Brittonic place-names probably predate Scandinavian and Old English names ending in - *hām* (farm), which belong to the earliest Anglo-Saxon settlements whilst Scandinavian names ending - *þveit* (cleared land) were most likely formed during later agricultural expansion. The distribution of archaeological remains can also be used.

The second step was to create an 'Agricultural Potential Methodology'. Using pre-industrial-revolution estate plans Christoph assigned one of three values — arable, pasture, meadow — to each area and, using a formula that seven hectares of arable land would feed five people, made an assessment of the land capacities of the parishes of Moffat, Lochmaben and Annan.

A second case-study focused on the Barony of Ericstane, possibly created in the twelfth century so that upper Annandale with its fertile lands could complement the vast pastoral tracks of Eskdale.

The third case-study looked at the farm pairings Palmoodie–Carrifran, Bodesbeck–Copplegill and Craigieburn–Crofthead in Moffatdale. Each pair is linguistically consistent; the first Gaelic,

the second Scandinavian and the third Scots, and each pairing refers to a hill and a body of water.

The pattern is probably not arbitrary but is as a result of a reorganizing of farm ownership which happened between 1100 and 1318. It could not have happened before 1100 because the late nature of the early and middle Scots place-names would not have been encountered earlier nor later than 1318 because Poolmaddie was recorded in 1318.

L.M.

25 March 2017
Margaret Elphinstone
Galloway's Landscape and History in the Fiction of S.R. Crockett

The final lecture of the current season was by Professor Margaret Elphinstone and was titled *The History and Landscape of Galloway in the Fiction of S.R. Crockett.*

Margaret introduced her subject by describing how the novels of Samuel Rutherford Crockett (1859–1914) were famous throughout the English-speaking world during his lifetime. Crockett had a prolific output and his books, many of which were set in Galloway, were particularly popular with the Scottish diaspora. Consequently readers across the globe were also familiar with the Galloway landscape. Although other writers such as John Buchan, Sir Walter Scott and Robert Louis Stevenson wrote about the region, Crockett's prose had a unique resonance, possibly because he was a native.

Crockett's early life coloured his later writing. He was born and brought up on the Mossdale farm of Little Duchrae by his strict Cameronian maternal grandparents. When he was eight the family moved to Castle Douglas and when he was seventeen he gained a bursary to Edinburgh University, where he began writing to support himself through his studies. He became a Free Church minister in Penicuik in 1886, but by 1895 he was obliged to choose between the ministry and his writing, and he decided to see if he could make a living as an author. He wrote books that featured Little Duchrae for the rest of his life, and his stories had their source in the folk tales of the area and the Cameronian religion of his grandparents.

Margaret went on to describe how the reader could build up a comprehensive impression of Galloway through Crockett's many novels, and that she intended to focus on his output during the period 1894–1899 and his descriptions of the farms, coasts and hills of the region.

In *The Raiders* (1894) Crockett describes with a child's clear focus, a heavenly landscape in which to grow up. In *The Lilac Sunbonnet* (1894), it is obvious how intensely Crockett recalls the landscape around the farm of his birth. His description of the farm's milking parlour is particularly authentic, even if the clean white dress worn by the milkmaid is not! Perhaps the memory was all the more intense as by now he had moved to Penicuik. Although Crockett would also have been looking at a changing landscape himself, as land enclosure spread, for the twenty-first-century reader there is the added nostalgia of even more significant change.

Little Duchrae can be seen in *The Men of the Moss Hags* (1895), a grim record of the 'killing times' written from the Covenanters' perspective. The landscape around the farm also features in *Kit Kennedy* (1899). James Clarke, one of Crockett's publishers, described this novel as the most autobiographical of all his works, suggesting that the hero of the title is Crockett before he went to Edinburgh. The farmers in the story are real, steadfast in a world of change, and take courage from the land.

Moving on to her second theme, Margaret described how Crockett's knowledge of the coast also went back to his early years, when he spent time at a farm near Boreland, listening to stories of excise officers and a smuggling trade that centred on the Isle of Man. He was a regular visitor

to Auchencairn, and this section of coast first appears in *The Raiders*. The central character of this melodramatic adventure story is Patrick Heron, who grows up on Rathan, a fictional version of Heston Island. Although Heron's mother came from the hills, Heron is by birth a man of the coast, familiar with the smuggling and cattle raiding of the Solway shore. Although *The Raiders* is a wild adventure story, it is again grounded in the places and stories of Crockett's childhood.

Unlike with the farms and the coast, Crockett probably became familiar with the hills when he came back to visit Galloway as an adult. He was close friends with a couple from Glenhead near Glen Trool, John and Marion McMillan, and often walked with John. This perhaps inspired him to describe how the holidaying cabinet minister climbs the Kells range in *The Tutor of Curlywee*, a story from *The Sticket Minister* (1893). In *The Raiders* Crockett makes the hills a refuge for fleeing Covenanters, but they are also the dwelling place of bands of wild gypsies. In *Silver Sand* (1914) the main character comes from the hills. He has something of 'the other' about him, something not quite explained, something dangerous. Like the hills themselves, he is a foreign country. This tenseness might be something Crockett had picked up at his Cameronian grandparents' fireside.

Margaret concluded by suggesting that despite this, Crockett was no sentimental kailyard author. His descriptions of the Galloway landscape were firmly based in reality. No matter how wild the tale, it was always underpinned by his knowledge of the landscape, right down to the bogginess of the terrain. In *Lochinvar* (1897) most of the action takes place away from Galloway, but the hero sees Galloway differently when he returns. This may be reminiscent of Crockett himself, who had gained an education, graduated, moved away, married an English woman and become a writer with a bourgeois lifestyle. He could never go back to the Galloway of his childhood, but perhaps this was why he wrote about it so vividly.

S.R.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE SOCIETY

A List of the Flowering Plants of Dumfriesshire and Kirkcudbrightshire, by James McAndrew, 1882.*
Birrens and its Antiquities, by Dr J. Macdonald and James Barbour, 1897.*
Communion Tokens, with a Catalogue of those of Dumfriesshire, by Rev. H.A.Whitelaw, 1911.*
History of Dumfries Post Office, by J.M. Corrie, 1912.*
History of the Society, by H.S. Gladstone, 1913.*
The Ruthwell Cross, by W.G. Collingwood, 1917.*
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