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DUMFRIESSHIRE AND GALLOWAY NATURAL HISTORY

AND

ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY



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THE SOCIETY'S LOGO



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*.

BUSINESS INFORMATION

Business Matters

The temporary Correspondence Secretary, Mrs Joanne Turner, c/o Dumfries Museum, The Observatory, Rotchell Road, Dumfries DG2 7SW, e-mail: Joanne.TurnerDG@gmail.com, currently deals with most matters other than membership and institutional subscriptions. These are dealt with by the Hon. Membership Secretary, Mr Stuart McCulloch, 11 Golf Court, Cleghorn, Lanark, ML11 8TE and the Hon. Institutional Subscriptions Secretary, Mrs A. Weighill, Drungans, New Abbey, Dumfries DG2 8EB, respectively. Payment of membership subscriptions should be made to Mr Stuart McCulloch (see above) who will be pleased to arrange for subscriptions and donations to be treated as Gift Aid. This can increase the income of the Society without, generally, any additional cost to the member.

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

Research Grants

The Society may make small grants for excavation or research. Applications should be made prior to 28 February in each year to the Correspondence Secretary. Researchers are also reminded of the Mouswald Trust, founded by our late President, Dr R.C. Reid, which provides grants for work on either side of the Solway for projects falling into the approximate period 1000 BC to AD 1000. Enquiries and applications for grants to the Mouswald Trust should be made to Primrose and Gordon, Solicitors, 1 Newall Terrace, Dumfries DG1 1LN. The Society may also be able to assist with applications for funding from other sources.

THE TRUCKELL PRIZE

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

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

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

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

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

BARWHILL REVISITED: RETHINKING OLD INTERPRETATIONS THROUGH INTEGRATED SURVEY DATASETS

Dave Cowley[1], Richard Jones[2], Giles Carey[3] and Juliette Mitchell[4]

A suite of archaeological remains, including a group of barrows, a later Iron Age settlement and a stretch of Roman road at Barwhill, just north of Gatehouse of Fleet, are explored using aerial photographic records, geophysical survey and Airborne Laser Scanning data. These have provided new insights into the remains which were first recorded in 1949. Of note is the revision of an earlier identification of a square example amongst the barrows. This paper highlights the importance of systematic review of the survey evidence and the benefits of complementary datasets. The wider context for the group of barrows is discussed, identifying the need for excavation to provide dating evidence for a poorly understood corpus of burial sites that may span the Iron Age, Roman and early medieval periods.

Introduction

The suite of archaeological remains at Barwhill, lying just north of Gatehouse of Fleet on the east bank of the Water of Fleet (Figure 1), comprises a section of a Roman road, a rectilinear double-ditched enclosure and some ring ditches, interpreted as ditched barrows, and known from aerial photographic recording (Canmore ids: 63640, barrows; 63665, enclosure; 63646, Roman road). These have been discussed in the pages of a past volume of these *Transactions* in a paper reviewing the evidence for square barrows, potentially of first millennium AD date, in Dumfries and Galloway (Cowley 1996). The present paper presents a re-interpretation of a key aspect of the remains at Barwhill prompted by the results of geophysical survey undertaken in 2012 and 2014. Here, critical review of the earlier interpretation of the aerial photographic record, combined with the results of the geophysical survey, undermines the assertion that one of the ring ditches is square (Cowley 1996, 108). The review of the earlier interpretation and the integration of two survey datasets raises interesting points about the processes of observation and demonstrates the benefits of integrating multiple datasets. This benefit is reinforced for a specific aspect of the remains at Barwhill by reference to a third source of information — Airborne Laser Scanning 3D topographic data collected in 2011–12.

1 Historic Environment Scotland, dave.cowley@hes.scot.
2 Archaeology, University of Glasgow, Richard.Jones@glasgow.ac.uk.
3 Formerly *Discovering Dumfries and Galloway's Past* Project Officer, gilescarey@gmail.com.
4 University of Aberdeen.

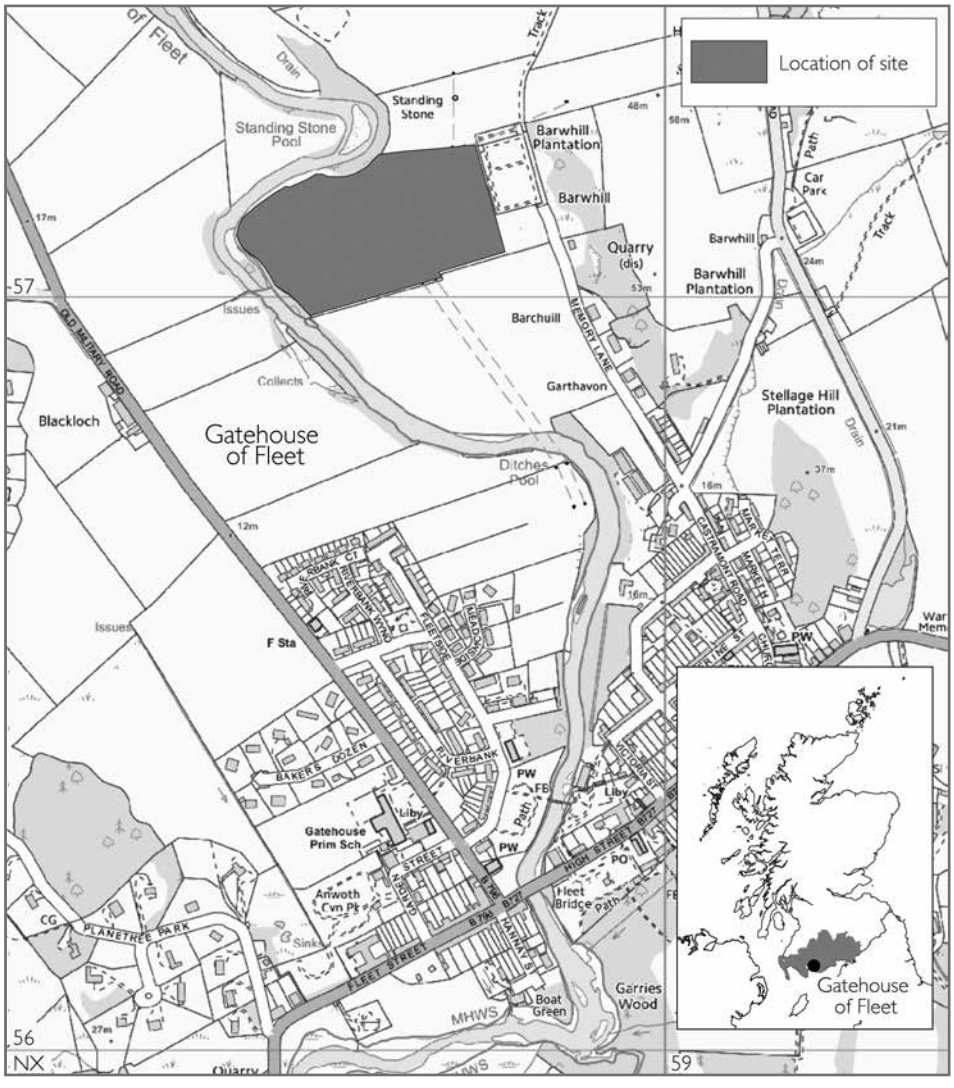


Figure 1. The location of the remains at Barwhill discussed in the text. GV007607 ©Historic Environment Scotland. Map ©Copyright and database right 2020 Ordnance Survey licence number 100057073.

The aerial photographic record

Barwhill was discovered from the air in early July 1949 by J.K. St Joseph of Cambridge University during a period of exceptional drought (St Joseph 1951). The conditions were highly conducive to the formation of cropmarking in arable crops and extensive parching of pasture, with St Joseph noting that the '… discoveries in the single year 1949 have literally changed the map' (St Joseph 1976, 7). He recorded the site as differential parching of the pasture shortly after a grass crop had been taken (haystacks dot the field in the aerial

photographs). These aerial photographs show darker tones of lusher grass across buried ditches and pits and areas of deeper soils due to underlying geological features (ancient water channels), also revealing a double-ditched enclosure, quarry pits flanking the Roman road and four ring ditches (Figure 2: A, B, C & D). All the barrows appear broadly circular on plan, and there are diffuse marks within the interiors suggestive of burial pits. Areas of shallower soils and the intermittent line of the Roman road are visible as lighter tones, indicating the parched state of the grass in these areas of the field.

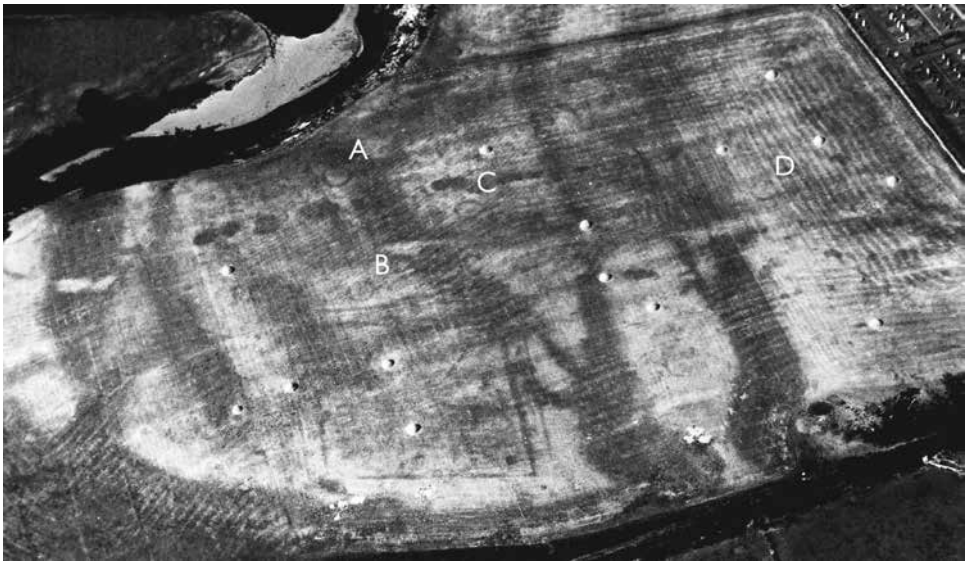


Figure 2. Extract of an aerial photograph taken in 1949 of Barwhill, recording the remains as differential responses of the grass crop to the pronounced drought of that year. The four ring ditches are labelled A to D. DV57, reproduced with permission of the Cambridge University Collection of Aerial Photography ©Copyright reserved.

This location has been photographed from the air on several occasions since 1949, both by Cambridge University and the former Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS). The latter recorded the remains under an arable crop in 1978 and subsequently in 1984 as parching in grass. Selected images from these recording events will be discussed in detail below, in part because they were the images that informed the earlier aerial photographic interpretation (Cowley 1996), and because they illustrate some of the issues that may arise in interpreting such imagery.

1978 aerial recording

The field was recorded in 1978 under a cereal crop, when most of the archaeological features showed as lighter tones on the black and white photographs. This was due to the relatively greater biomass of the plants growing in the locally deeper soils above negative features such as pits and ditches. Five barrows are visible within the field (Figure 3: A–E), with the lines of the ditches of three of them appearing as slightly faceted. This characteristic led to the observation in the 1996 paper (Cowley 1996, 108) that one 'of the barrows is clearly square, while three appear to have at least one straight side' (A, B & C). In places the straight segments of ditch coincide with tractor tramlines in the crop. The earlier interpretation of these images also suggested that one of the barrows (C) might have a causeway interrupting the ditch at one of the angles and identified a burial pit at the centre of four of the barrows (A–D).



Figure 3. Extract of a 1978 aerial photograph of Barwhill, showing the remains as differential responses in an arable crop. KB1106 ©Historic Environment Scotland.

1984 aerial recording

The 1984 images were captured while the field was under grass, and, as is the case with St Joseph's 1949 photograph, areas of deeper soils such as buried ditches are visible as darker tones. By comparison with the 1978 images the archaeological features are less marked, though four of the barrows (Figures 2 & 3: A–D), part of the Roman road and quarry pits and the double-ditched enclosure are visible. The visible ring ditches appear to be circular.

Summarising the aerial photographic evidence

The review of the aerial photographic evidence, which records differential vegetation growth in both arable crop and in grass, supports a revised mapping (Figure 4, bottom right). This confirms the earlier mapping of the line of the Roman road and flanking quarry ditches, and of the double-ditched roughly square enclosure, which is assumed to be an example of a late Iron Age rectilinear settlement of a recurrent form in southern Scotland and northern England (RCAHMS 1997, 149–51; Cowley 2001, 172–3; Hodgson 2012). However, the recent review of the imagery prompted by the geophysical survey evidence (below) contradicts the earlier interpretation (Cowley 1996, 108). Taking the totality of aerial photographic evidence into account, rather than a reading of a selected set of images, indicates that the ring ditches are circular. The indications of straight segments in the lines of the ditches are only evident on the 1978 aerial photographs, and are in many cases coincident with tramlines in the crop which have contributed to the 'straightening' of the cropmarking — this characteristic is now believed to be an artefact of the cropmarking and farming practice rather than a true indication of the morphology of the ring ditches.

Most of the ring ditches are remarkably uniform on plan, measuring between about 5m and 6m in diameter within a ditch some 0.5m to 0.6m across. The somewhat intermittent nature of the visible lines of the ring ditches on the aerial photographs makes the presence of gaps in the ring ditches difficult to establish. However, the albeit fuzzy evidence for pits within the interiors of four of the ring ditches does appear to confirm their interpretation as the remains of ploughed-down ditched barrows.



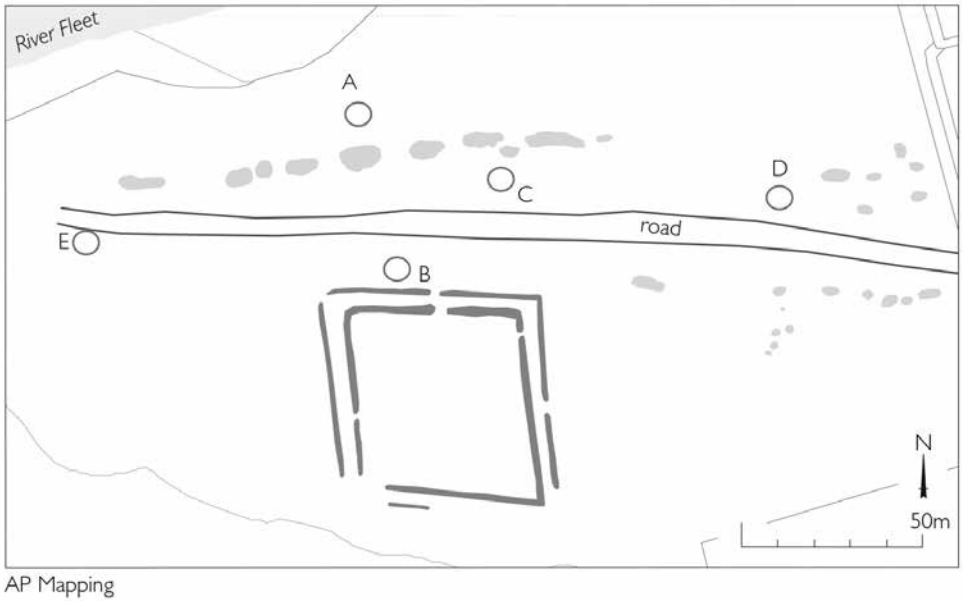
1949



1978



1984



AP Mapping

Figure 4 (this and facing page). Rectified images from the aerial photographic record of the remains at Barwhill, recording the features as parching in grass (1949 and 1984) and cropmarking in an arable crop (1978), with a composite mapping of the aerial evidence. The photographs and mapping are to a common scale. Top left: DV57, reproduced with permission of the Cambridge University Collection of Aerial Photography ©Copyright reserved. GV007608 ©Historic Environment Scotland.

The geophysical survey

Two phases of geophysical survey have been carried out at Barwhill, with magnetic and earth resistance surveys conducted in 2012 (Carey 2013) and magnetic survey alone in 2014, both in the framework of the *Discovering Dumfries and Galloway's Past*[5] community archaeology project. The data was visualised as grey-scale images and processed with Geoplot v. 3. The field lies in an area of sedimentary geology, usually well suited to survey by geophysical methods, and the soil is a freely drained brown earth (Soil Survey of Scotland 1981).

Magnetic survey

The magnetic survey undertaken in 2012 covered 8,800 m^2, with the 20m × 20m survey grids aligned on the NNW–SSE wall of the Girthon cemetery. The instrument used was a Bartington Grad 601–2 dual fluxgate gradiometer at sample and traverse intervals of 0.25m and 0.5m respectively. The survey (Figure 5) revealed morphologically distinctive circular and linear anomalies, as well as a scatter of small (< 1m) bipolar anomalies which are likely to be items of (modern) iron on or close to the ground surface. Indeed, there is a rash of rather amorphous anomalies across the surveyed area, but the discussion below focuses on those features that are readily interpretable as archaeological and does not dwell on anomalies that may be modern or geological in origin.

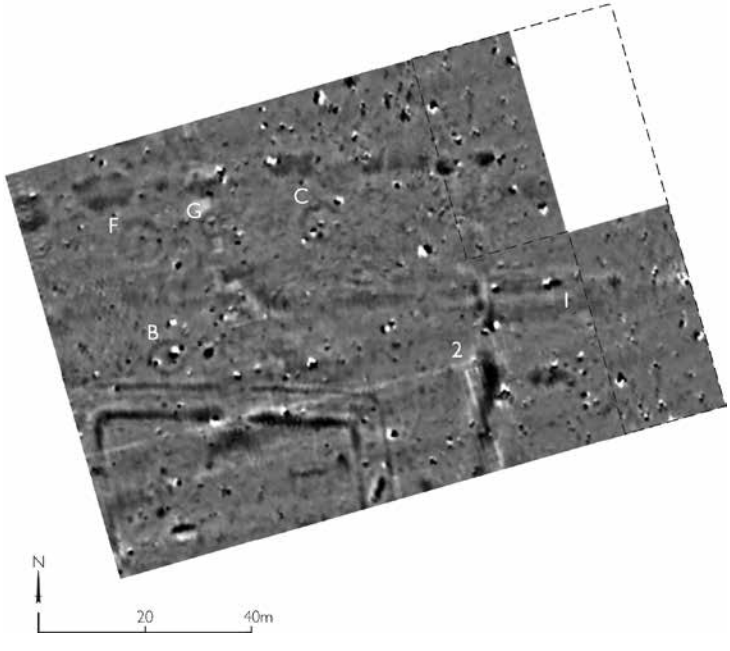


Figure 5. Grey-scale graphics of the magnetic survey (black-white palette +/−10nT), with annotations referred to in the text. The white line running left to right across the southern part is an unfortunate processing artefact. The pecked line indicates the area surveyed by earth resistance (Figure 6). Survey data Richard Jones & Giles Carey.

5 <https://discoveringdgpast.wordpress.com/>, last accessed 17/01/2020.

The two parallel ditches around the northern half of the enclosure and the gap through them stand out very clearly (Figure 5). Less distinct are a range of anomalies of uncertain identity within the interior. To the north of the enclosure are four circular narrow ring ditches measuring between 3.5m and 6.5m across internally. Each has either a single small (*c*. 1–2m across) circular positive anomaly at the centre, or more than one (and larger) anomaly. Two of these ring ditches (Figure 5: B, C) correspond with those recorded in the aerial photographic record, while two (F & G) are only clearly visible in the magnetic data. Two of the ring ditches (C & F) are penannular on plan**.** The small central anomalies are interpreted as a possible burial pit. The fourth ring ditch (G) is the smallest of the group, measuring 3.5m in diameter and defined by a ditch about 0.6m across, and does not appear on the aerial photographs.

Running across most of the surveyed area from roughly east to west is a linear feature consisting at its eastern end of a slight positive anomaly flanked by negative anomalies (Figure 5: 1). At its clearest it measures nearly 7m across, but moving westward the signature not only changes somewhat but also becomes progressively less pronounced; this may be due to differential preservation**.** In any case, this feature corresponds to the line of the Roman road identified from the aerial photographs. To the north of the road line, there is a row of roughly circular and oval positive anomalies that broadly match the quarry pits identified on the aerial photographs. In the vicinity of the barrows, the road line is affected by a series of partially interconnected negative anomalies that form a rough line extending northwards to the edge of the survey area. The origin of these anomalies, and of a small slightly curving anomaly that intersects the road to the east (2), is not known.

Earth resistance

The earth resistance survey was undertaken in 2012 across six 20m × 20m grids (Figure 6), using a Geoscan RM15 resistivity meter with sample and traverse intervals of 1m. The readings of electrical resistance varied widely (310 to 620 ohms) which was surprising in view of the relatively flat terrain and uniform soil type. The reasons for this are not clear. The grey-scale graphic lacks the clarity of the magnetic survey, but nonetheless a short stretch of the road is just evident (Figure 6: 1), against a background of natural features. The area of the quarry pits (3), lying within an area of low resistance, lacks definition, with ambiguous anomalies to the north.

Summarising the geophysical survey evidence

The geophysical surveys cover a relatively small area but contribute significantly to the archaeological interpretation. The magnetic survey provides additional detail for the boundaries of the late Iron Age enclosure, for the road and quarry pits, and for the barrows known from the aerial photographic record. The data also appear to provide marginally more precise representation of the buried features by comparison with the aerial photographs, where the proxy of the crop growth may introduce a slight lack of definition. In addition, the magnetic survey provides unique evidence for the existence of two barrows, and hints at uneven preservation in the line of the road.

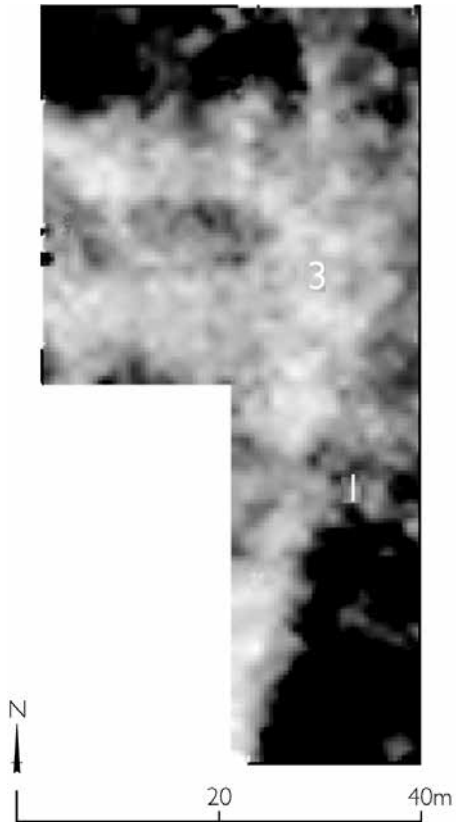


Figure 6. Grey-scale graphic of the earth resistance survey (data clipped at 3 standard deviations; white-black palette 312–620 ohms). Survey data Richard Jones & Giles Carey.

Airborne Laser Scanning data

The exploration of the field at Barwhill through the aerial photographic record and geophysical survey data is complemented by Airborne Laser Scanning (ALS)[6] data, which comprises a 'cloud' of points recorded by a laser scanner mounted in an aircraft (Opitz & Cowley 2013). This point cloud, which will include points on the ground, on buildings and on vegetation, can be processed to produce visualisations of the ground surface for use in archaeological interpretation. The ALS data used here is part of a coverage of selected areas between March 2011 and May 2012, mainly within river valleys, commissioned by the Scottish Government, SEPA and Scottish Water collaboratively for flood risk management.[7] The point density is a minimum of 1 point/m^2, and approximately 2 points/m^2 on average between the collection areas.

6 Also known as LiDAR/lidar (Light Detection And Ranging).

7 This data is part of 'LiDAR for Scotland Phase 1' (<https://remotesensingdata.gov.scot/>).

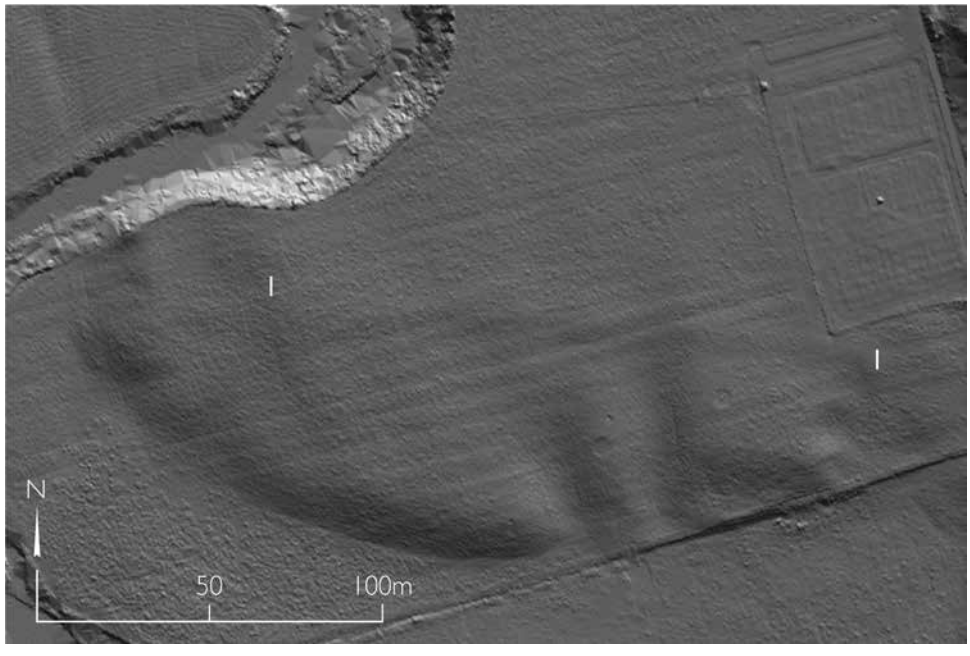


Figure 7. A 'hillshade' visualisation of the ALS data, lit from three directions with an incident angle of 25° in order to highlight low relief and ensure that lighting direction does not unduly influence the visibility of features. In this intuitively readable description of how the relief surface reflects incoming illumination, the line of the agger of the Roman road is evident as a ridge extending across the field east to west (1 – 1). On the ground this is a very subtle feature that rises to no more than about 0.6m in height over the 7m width of the road. The straight parallel lines running from ENE to WSW across the field are the remains of ploughing of nineteenth and twentieth century date. GV007609 ©Historic Environment Scotland. ALS data: Crown copyright Scottish Government, SEPA and Scottish Water (2012).

The ALS data-derived visualisations for Barwhill provide a detailed rendering of the topographic setting, highlighting the terrace edge location of the enclosure and the slight linear depressions that still indicate the lines of ancient water drainage features. More surprisingly, the data captures a low linear swelling measuring about 7m across in the surface of the field that corresponds to the line of the Roman road (Figure 7). This illustrates one of the strengths of the digital topographic data in creating visualisations that can vary the direction and angle of lighting, for example, to bring out even slight topographic features that might be difficult, or impossible, to recognise in the field. This data indicates that the agger, or bank, that formed the core of the road survives in slight relief, though presumably with the upper layers truncated by ploughing.

Discussion

The level of agreement between the aerial photographic and geophysical survey evidence is good, adding certainty to the archaeological interpretation of the cropmarking and

geophysical anomalies which is summarised below. The ALS data highlights the signature of the Roman road and provides a detailed rendering of the topographic context for the remains.

A key outcome from the work reported here is that the earlier assertion that one of the barrows at Barwhill is square, and that other barrows have straight sides, is unjustified. That interpretation privileged the observation of a single episode of aerial photographic recording, and failed to marshal different information visible across a series of different aerial photographs. This illustrates the importance of critical assessment of multiple sources to create greater confidence in observation and interpretation. Moreover, it shows the extent to which archaeological interpretations may be subject to bias due to preconceptions — 'seeing what you want to see'.

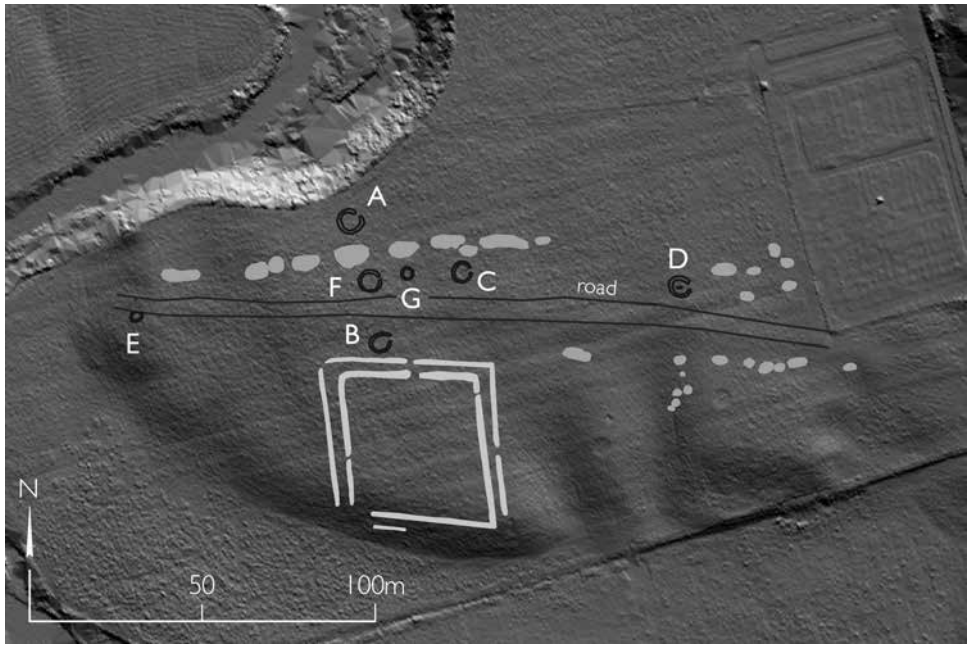


Figure 8. Composite interpretative mapping of the archaeological remains identified at Barwhill, combining results from analysis of aerial photographic records and geophysical survey data against the background of an ALS-derived hillshade visualisation. GV007610 ©Historic Environment Scotland. ALS data: Crown copyright Scottish Government, SEPA and Scottish Water (2012).

An integrated interpretation

Looking in detail at the discrete area on which this paper is focused has provided enhanced evidence for the character of the features there (Figure 8). In the area covered both by aerial photographs and geophysical survey there is evidence for four circular ring ditches, at least two of which are penannular with a causeway to the east, and indications of burial pits in the interiors. Together, these characteristics suggest that the ring ditches are the remains of a cemetery of at least seven barrows, including those just outside the area of the geophysical

survey. These form part of a poorly understood corpus of such sites in southern Scotland which is briefly summarised below. The barrows lie on a terrace, which is also occupied by a double-ditched rectilinear enclosure, probably of late Iron Age date. Six of the barrows can legitimately be described as flanking the line of the Roman road that runs across the terrace. Four barrows lie in the space between the recorded edge of the road and the quarry pits on the north, which presumably provided the building material for the road. This could be coincidental, but the spatial arrangement is very striking, and raises questions about the chronological relationship of the barrows and road — unfortunately a question that the survey records cannot resolve. It is, however, tempting to suggest that the layout of the barrows and the line of the road respected each other in some manner. A degree of symmetry is also evident between the line of the northern side of the rectilinear enclosure and that of the road, with the entrance facing on to the line of the road. The relative chronology of these remains, and their potential associations, will not be established through the survey data, but the interpretive mapping of the features helps to add detail to the record of the site, highlighting questions about the interrelationships of these three monuments types that could be addressed through excavation.

Seeing what you want to see

The earlier identification of a square barrow at Barwhill, and the subsequent revision of that interpretation presented in this paper, is an illustration of how archaeological interpretations are conditioned by varying observational abilities, experience and knowledge (see Bennett, Cowley & De Laet 2014, 898–9; Cowley 2015; Halliday 2013). Our abilities to identify patterns is a strength in analysing visual data, but can sometimes mislead, for example in a tendency to 'complete the circle' where features are fitted to the template of a familiar shape — or in this case to 'square the circle' driven by a desire to find square barrows. Expectation and our existing knowledge-base will bias what we see, or do not see, and how we interpret it. This example is presented here because such factors are rarely examined or held to account, but rather the complex mix of observation, feature identification, classification, interpretation and narrative are taken for granted as an unexplored and unchallenged aspect of archaeological practice. Whether examining cropmarking on aerial photographs or variable magnetic responses in geophysical data, archaeologists rely on pattern recognition combined with an understanding of likely geophysical and crop responses (e.g. high-low resistance or positive-negative magnetic; stunted or stressed crops/variation in biomass) to interpret the data. But in the course of this process, led by archaeological judgement, a proportion of what has been recorded is filtered out as unidentifiable, archaeologically or otherwise, because it is deemed too small in size, coherence or signal strength to warrant confident interpretation. Addressing this broad issue of bias or selectivity is therefore partly a matter of awareness, but, as Barwhill also illustrates, structured review of available data and combining different sources of information can offset this tendency.

Analogy and context: groups of circular barrows in south-west Scotland

The group of barrows at Barwhill have a basic morphology — they are circular on plan, bounded by a ditch up to about 1.2m across that encloses an area of between 3.5m and 6.5m in diameter. In some cases the ditch is broken by a causeway and there is a central

burial pit, which may be elongated but not necessarily in a pronounced manner. In seeking analogous sites there is a thin scatter of potentially similar monuments known from the survey record, but a distinct paucity of excavated and dated sites makes establishing a secure context for them difficult.

In the RCAHMS publication based on the survey of eastern Dumfriesshire, seven examples of small single ring ditches are identified, 'none of which is more than 6m in diameter within a ditch about 1.5m in breadth' (RCAHMS 1997, 105). These are identified as likely to be the remains of small barrows, and marshalled in a broadly Bronze Age context, with a range of penannular ring ditches, albeit of generally larger dimensions, marked on a map of potentially Neolithic monuments in the same volume (RCAHMS 1997, 114–6, Fig. 111). Amongst these single ring ditches are examples known from the aerial photographic record in the vicinity of Dunragit and Glenluce, which lie close to the known line of the Roman road in that area. For example, a barrow about 7.5m in diameter within a ditch c. 1.5m across lies 100m west of the Roman road as it runs above the east bank of the Water of Luce to the south of Glenluce (Canmore id: 82336). At Whitecrook, to the east of Dunragit, another example that lies close to the road line comprises a penannular barrow about 7.5m in diameter within a ditch 1.8m across, with an adjacent continuous ring ditch 1.6m across that encloses a much smaller area of 1.8m in diameter (Canmore id: 81308). The spatial relationships with the Roman road are less immediate than at Barwhill and may be as much a product of survey bias as any past association (see Cowley 2016, 62 and Figure 5.3, and Jones 2005 for the impact of Roman research interests on survey results). On balance, while the basic morphology of some individual barrows invites comparison with Barwhill, these occur singly rather than in groups and tend to have somewhat broader, more pronounced ditches, and thus may be a less immediately useful source of analogy.

A potentially more relevant analogy is suggested by a group of four small ring ditches at Trailflat (Cowley & Brophy 2001, 59–60; Canmore id: 66303). These range from 3m to 6m in diameter and lie in a rough close-set row, though the ditches appear to be continuous, and possibly broader than at Barwhill. At Kirkmabreck there is a slightly curving close-set row of at least eight ring ditches (Canmore id: 61119), of which three were sampled by excavation by Tessa Poller. One of the ring ditches measured 4.2m in diameter, with an oval pit measuring 1.8m from north-east to south-west by 1.1m transversely, but is at present undated.

Other potentially similar barrows are evident in Galloway (e.g. Little Lochans (Canmore id: 79389 & 79390) and Challoch (Canmore id: 81596)), and there are small ditched barrows surviving as earthworks thinly scattered across the Southern Uplands. However, dating evidence is poor, and while many may well be of Bronze Age date, others may date to the Iron Age or later (Cowley & Brophy 2001, 59–60). The earthwork examples are predominantly circular (e.g. Canmore id: 48594 & 48618), and include a cairn excavated at Alnham in Northumberland (Jobey & Tait 1966) which lies within a five-sided ditch characterised by shallow facets between slightly bowed sides, for which a first century BC date has been tentatively proposed.

The possibility for some small ditched barrows in south-west Scotland to date to the middle to late first millennium AD has also been raised (Cowley 1996), based on some broad morphological similarities with clustered and linear barrow and cairn cemeteries

concentrated in the eastern half of Scotland to the north of the Forth, with examples in the northern and western isles (Alexander 2005; Stevenson 1984; Mitchell 2020). The refutation of the 'square barrow' at Barwhill (above) may undermine these potential connections, but the examples at Brough Road (Orkney; Canmore id: 1804) and Groats Loch (Highland; Canmore id: 9065) comprise solely oval, round or facetted examples with no square constructions known. Excavated examples of round barrows at Pityoulish (Highland; Canmore id: 15389) and Garbeg (Highland; Canmore id: 12633) are irregular or facetted on plan. Although penannular barrows are more difficult to distinguish as cropmarks, there are examples known from the cemetery at Croftgowan (Highland; Canmore id: 14890), for example. However, it is worth noting that the distributions of the mid to late first millennium AD cemeteries in the east and north remain stubbornly discrete from those under discussion here in the south west. Nevertheless, in looking for groups of small barrows as potential analogies for Barwhill, the first millennium AD material north of the Forth includes some of the morphologically most similar material in Scotland. The site at Newton on Islay (McCullagh 1991), comprising at least 17 annular and penannular ring ditches ranging from 4m to 10m in diameter and arranged in a rough row, is also strikingly similar in some respects. The three excavated penannular ring ditches, which unfortunately did not provide any datable material, each enclosed an elongated pit aligned roughly from east to west, presumed to be a grave. The excavator noted (ibid., 48–9) that such alignments are rare in Bronze Age contexts, rather suggesting an Iron Age or early medieval context.

Another potential source of analogy are Roman period cemeteries, which will be illustrated briefly here with reference to Petty Knowe, which lies beside the Roman road of Dere Street and some 400m from the fort at High Rochester in Northumberland (Charlton & Mitcheson 1984; Historic England 2020). The excavated burials include those comprising a mound bounded by a ditch, with an external bank in some cases, ranging in overall size from 3m to 7m in diameter. A broad date range from the early second century to the late third century AD is indicated from the inclusion of Roman coins, pottery and nails. Looking beyond the excavated features, the basic shared morphology is evident in the site plan (Charlton & Mitcheson 1984, Figure 2), with the discussion of sites that may be analogous to High Rochester (ibid., 19–22) providing a list of further potentially similar sites. While a comprehensive review of Roman period burial in northern England and southern Scotland is beyond the scope of this paper, the similarities between aspects of the morphology of the remains at Petty Knowe and Barwhill is striking enough to suggest it warrants further exploration.

Conclusion

The group of small barrows at Barwhill does not have immediate unambiguous analogies in the excavation record, and while the survey record provides a range of potentially similar sites, none are satisfactory as unarguably the same type site. Indeed, based on basic morphology, the first millennium AD barrow cemeteries north of the Forth, albeit excluding the 'square barrow' component in this case, the Roman cemetery at Petty Knowes in Northumberland and the undated barrows on Islay, represent the best analogues. The ambiguities that attach to the interpretation of Barwhill, and the potential for it to fall into

a late Iron Age, Roman period or first millennium AD context, highlight the importance of targeted excavation as these are periods for which our knowledge of burial practice in south-west Scotland is limited. The character of the remains at Barwhill highlight the potential of targeted excavation to yield illuminating results. The negative features such as the quarry pits may have trapped informative sediments and the surviving agger could have sealed deposits, while the close spatial arrangements of the different monument types offers an opportunity for relatively small-scale excavation to produce a significant advance in knowledge.

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THE BATTLE OF LOCH RYAN RECONSIDERED

Stuart McCulloch[1]

In late 1306 the newly crowned Robert I (Robert Bruce), disappeared from view after a series of military setbacks. Close attention from his enemies, especially the forces of Edward I of England, failed to apprehend him. In early 1307 Robert reappeared on the Scottish mainland to begin a military campaign which led to the victory of Bannockburn and culminated in a full recognition of Scottish independence. The king's reappearance on the Scottish mainland occurred near Turnberry, Ayrshire, but a second landing also took place to the south at Loch Ryan. This neglected and largely forgotten incursion led to ignominious defeat and proved to be disastrous for the Bruce family. However, this paper argues that the Loch Ryan encounter was of significance to the Bruce cause and proved to be of great value in helping King Robert to gain a more established foothold on the soil of his new kingdom.

Things were not going very well for Robert Bruce. In the weeks following his coronation as King of Scots on 25 March 1306, he suffered a series of military upsets and was forced to retreat towards the isolated western stronghold of Dunaverty Castle. When he slipped away from the castle in September 1306 he virtually disappeared from recorded history and his movements over the following months are recorded only in official snippets and in folklore. If just some of the tales are to be believed, he hid in the heather, often alone, played games with English knights, performed heroic martial feats, hid from marauding hounds and developed an interest in arachnoids. This time period remains one of the most intriguing episodes in Scottish history but, understandably given the paucity of evidence, systematic studies of the possible activities of the Scottish king during these months have been few and far between.

In early 1307 Robert I re-entered the history books when he launched two military landings on the western seaboard of mainland Scotland. The main landing was in the vicinity of Turnberry in Carrick, Ayrshire, but on 9 February 1307 a secondary invasion party of Bruce forces landed at Loch Ryan and was soon engaged in battle with Dungal MacDowell and his Galwegian forces. It proved to be a disastrous personal encounter for the Bruce cause and led to the deaths of two of the king's brothers, as well as three other prominent Bruce supporters and many of his armed host.

Barrow's argument that King Robert's movements, between leaving Dunaverty in September 1306 and arriving in Carrick in early February 1307, were confined to areas in and around Ireland and the western seaboard of Scotland is compelling.[2] He suggested that Robert and his men fled from Dunaverty to the island of Rathlin and, using the island as a base, he visited a number of other locations in the southern Hebrides and Ireland. Having gathered together a semblance of an army, Robert moved from Rathlin to Kintyre in early 1307 and on 9 February[3] an invasion fleet left Kintyre and sailed to Loch Ryan.

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

2 Barrow, 2013.

3 The Vigil of St Scholastica, which was on the 9 February. *Chron. Lanercost*, p.179.

This fleet comprised eighteen ships and galleys**.** A typical medieval Highland galley of the period would be powered by between 12 and 40 oars. For example, Colin Campbell (son of Neil Campbell, a loyal supporter of the Bruce cause) held Loch Awe for the service of a 40-oared ship[4] but the most common size was 26 oars; Thomas Randolph held the Isle of Man for the service of six 26-oared ships.[5] Typically there would be 3 men to an oar. Hence a fleet of eighteen ships was likely to comprise a force of at least 1,400 men and the effective number was likely to be substantially higher, as many of the warriors would not double as oarsmen. By the standards of medieval armies this was not an unsubstantial invasion force. Its importance is further emphasized by the men who led it, notably King Robert's brothers Thomas and Alexander Bruce, 'a certain kinglet of Ireland', Sir Reginald Crawford and Malcolm MacQuillan, the 'Lord of Kintyre'.[6]

The Bruce Commanders

Thomas Bruce**,** probably named after Thomas à Becket, was the youngest of Robert's four brothers. He was born *c.* 1285 and was thus only 21 or 22 years old when he landed at Loch Ryan. Little is known about his early life but like his other brothers he was probably fostered, as was the Gaelic tradition. As an envoy for his brother Robert, he, along with his brother Alexander, would have been comfortable in the language and culture of Gaelic Ireland. He first appeared on the scene in 1306. In one of several versions of the events leading up to the murder of John Comyn by Robert Bruce at Greyfriars, Dumfries, he, along with his brother Neill, was sent to the home of Comyn at Dalswinton, just north of Dumfries. There they were tasked to persuade John to come with them to Dumfries to meet with Robert. En route they were meant to kill Comyn, but as they had received such a friendly welcome they were unable to do so and were rebuked by Robert on their return.[7] It was said of Thomas that 'he had always hated the English'[8] and so it was no surprise that he joined his brother Robert after the Comyn murder and was thereafter a faithful follower. He may have been present at Robert's coronation but there is no direct record of his presence. However, it is unlikely he was involved in the reverse at Methven, suffered by Bruce forces soon after the coronation, as by this time he and his brother Alexander were already doing crucial work in Ireland.

Alexander Bruce, a little older than Thomas, was born *c.*1284 and was probably named after King Alexander III, balancing the name of his elder brother Edward (after the English king) and hence keeping the Bruce family's preferred loyalties on both sides of the border. Alexander seemed fated to move in a different direction from that of his brothers, showing a precocity for learning at an early age and gaining admittance to Cambridge University, then already established for almost 100 years. He was a most able student,[9] graduating

4 MacDonald, 2008, p.144.
5 Ibid.
6 *Chron. Lanercost*, p.179.
7 *Scalachronica*, p.29. Robert is said to have called them 'milksops'.
8 *Chron. Guisborough*, p.370.
9 'No-one who read Arts at Cambridge before or since his time ever made such progress' quoted in Barrow, 2013, p.203 n4. From *The Story of England by Robert Manning of Brunne, 1338*.

in 1303 as a Master of Arts specialising in theology, and was feted at his graduation in Cambridge by his brother Robert. He seemed destined for a glittering career in the Church, with Edward I granting him the living of Kirkinner in Galloway.[10] How often he visited Kirkinner is unknown and, in traditionally hostile territory for the Bruce family, it is unlikely he spent much time there. Alexander quickly progressed through the Church and by 1306 he had been appointed by the pro-Bruce Robert Wishart, bishop of Glasgow, to the post of Dean of Glasgow while still in his early twenties. After his brother was crowned king, he immediately rallied to his cause. He may have been at Robert's coronation but if so he left almost immediately and, along with younger brother Thomas, went on a recruiting drive to Ireland. The evidence for this resides in a remarkable letter from King Robert to

> 'all the kings of Ireland, to the prelates and clergy and all the inhabitants of Ireland'.

This letter has now been convincingly dated to this period.[11] It seems to empower T and A (surely Thomas and Alexander) to negotiate an alliance on Robert's behalf. The letter stresses common ancestry, ethnicity, customs and language as the basis for a special friendship and alliance:

> Whereas we and you, and our people and your people, free since ancient times, have the same national ancestry and are urged to come together more eagerly and joyfully in friendship by a common language and by common custom, we have sent over to you our beloved kinsmen, the bearers of this letter to negotiate with you in our name about permanently strengthening and maintaining inviolate the special friendship between us and you, so that with God's will our nation may recover her ancient liberty. Whatever our envoys (the aforesaid envoys T and A) or one of them may on our behalf conclude with you in this matter, we shall ratify and uphold in the future.[12]

Thomas and Alexander's recruitment drive met with some success and caused some alarm in the English royal court. On 18 April 1307, four prominent individuals with strong Ulster links (Nigel le Brun, William de Maundeville, William de Montagu and Thomas de Maundeville[13]) were paid £10

> 'for their expenses in enquiring about enemies, rebels and felons of Scotland who had come to Ireland and been received with religious persons and others within the liberties of Ulster, and in seizing those enemies and their harbourers and conveying them to the castle of Dublin'.[14]

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10 Barrow, 2013, p.203.
11 Duffy, 2002, p.52.
12 McNamee, 2006, p.121.
13 The Manderville family held large areas of land in Ulster, including land that was once granted to the earl of Carrick. King Robert may still have had a claim on this. Greeves, 1955–56, p.59.
14 *CDI*, V, no. 633.

They were too late. The invasion fleet, with the Bruce brothers aboard, had already sailed for Loch Ryan and disaster.

Named as one of the leaders was 'a certain kinglet of Ireland'.[15] This kinglet has not been identified but circumstantial evidence narrows down the search. The Bruce family had a long history of involvement in Ireland with ties reaching back to the twelfth century. The practice of 'fostering' has already been mentioned and it is likely that all of the Bruce brothers were fostered by Gaelic families. In addition there was also a land-ownership connection. This began with Sir John de Courcy, an Anglo-Norman knight, who arrived in Ireland in 1176 and began a process of conquest and overlordship, particularly in Ulster. He was also responsible for the building of Dundrum Castle in County Down and Carrickfergus Castle in County Antrim. Robert's great-grandfather, Duncan, Earl of Carrick was related by marriage to John de Courcy[16] and, perhaps in an attempt to cement family ties, de Courcy gave a grant of land near Coleraine to the earl.[17] Hugh de Lacy, son of Hugh de Lacy then lord of Meath, became embroiled in a serious conflict with John de Courcy and, in 1204, captured him to become the Earl of Ulster himself in 1205. Just a few years later, de Lacy quarrelled with King John of England and in an attempt to capture him John's forces besieged the de Lacy fortress of Carrickfergus. Prominent amongst the king's besiegers was Duncan of Carrick who was rewarded for his good service with a large grant of land in Ulster, which included the coastal area from Larne to Glenarm.[18] Significantly, this land may also have included the isle of Rathlin. When rebellion broke out against King John, the Galloway contingent (including Duncan) appeared to support the rebels and on defeat they were consequently dispossessed of their Ulster lands. However, by October 1219[19] Duncan's land (along with forfeited land of the O'Neills) was restored to him.[20] Just seven years later Hugh de Lacy was also restored to all his Ulster lands, but significantly all the land which had previously been awarded to Earl Duncan (and Alan, lord of Galloway) was excluded from his grant. The Carrick lands had survived the turmoil of King John's reign and the return of de Lacy but although it is not known whether the Carricks made any serious attempt to settle their land, they would certainly have made many personal connections; connections which were to prove essential to the survival and ultimate success of King Robert over eighty years later.

One of the later connections made may have been with the Bissets of Rathlin. Sometime around 1210 Thomas, the formidable brother of Alan of Galloway, succeeded to the title of Earl of Athol by right of his wife. Tradition tells us that their son Patrick, equally fierce, defeated his uncle Walter Bisset (or perhaps one of his cousins) at a tournament in Haddington in 1242. Walter was none too pleased at the result and was later accused of ordering his men to murder Patrick as he slept in his bed that night, a task which they performed with great aplomb.[21] In fact the murder was probably the result of inheritance

15 *Chron. Lanercost*, p.179.
16 Oram, 2000, p.105.
17 *Roger of Howden*, vol.4, p.25.
18 Greeves, 1957–58, p.115.
19 *CDI*, I, no.907.
20 'because he had not in fact been in rebellion'. *CDS,* I, 878.
21 Young, 1997, p.41–42. The murder was covered up by setting fire to Patrick's lodgings.

issues and it has been suggested that it was rivalry over the Galloway Ulster lands which lay behind the act.[22]

National outrage soon followed and Walter Bisset and his nephew John were forced to flee Scotland, with John moving to Ireland where other members of the wider Bisset family were already landowners. John Bisset fared not too badly and the Bisset family were soon recorded as lords of the lands of Rathlin and large parts of the nearby Antrim coastline.[23] As this land was part of the hegemony of Alan of Galloway, and possibly Duncan of Carrick, just how they obtained this land is obscure. Nevertheless, by 1306 the Bissets were well settled in Rathlin, established seafarers and seemingly loyal subjects of the English crown.[24] If, as has been often recorded, a feud existed between the Lords of Galloway and Carrick it is not too great a leap of faith to suspect that Duncan of Carrick would share some common ground with the Bissets, no friends of the Galloways,[25] on the basis that one's enemy's enemy is your friend; a statement that is particularly applicable in the complex shifting sands of alliance found in the medieval Gaelic world of Ireland and the Scottish isles. It has been suggested that there was longstanding hostility between the Comyn family and the Bissets[26] and the murder of John Comyn by Robert Bruce in 1306 would help to draw the Bisset and Bruce families together. Frankly it is inconceivable that, if Robert and his entourage were sheltering on the isle of Rathlin or on the adjacent coastline of Antrim, they could do so without the knowledge of the Bissets. Furthermore, the Bruces were not idle during their stay and around 11 November 1306 Robert sent agents to Carrick to collect rents from his tenants.[27] Such movements could hardly have taken place without detection.

This all suggests that the Bissets were playing a double game. Was it the case that Hugh, overtly the loyal supporter of Edward I, was deliberately not finding King Robert either sheltering on Rathlin or traversing the high seas to recruit men from the Western Isles and Ireland? Hugh's background may add further weight to this suggestion. Although overtly supporting Edward, he was also closely allied with Angus Og of the powerful MacDonalds of Islay,[28] primarily in opposition to the MacDougals of Lorne. Following the murder of their kinsman John Comyn in 1306, the MacDougals became bitter opponents of Robert

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Duncan contends 'we cannot now discover the truth of [these] suspicions' (Duncan, 1975, pp.544–545). Oram maintains that 'there is not one shred of evidence to support the accusations' and attributes them to familial rivalry (Oram, 2005, p.28).

22 Crawford, 2014.

23 See 'Glenarm Friary and the Bissets', Hector McDonnell, <https://antrimhistory.net>.

24 On 29 January 1307 Hugh Bissett was commanded to join John Menteith to search for Robert Bruce 'with as many well-manned vessels as he can procure and thus cut off his retreat'. *CDS,* II, 1888.

25 For further evidence note 'The King … pardons to Alan, son of Thomas Earl of Athol (Athell) of Scotland, the transgression charged against him, in slaying some men of John Bisset in Ireland in a conflict between him and Alan, and taking from some Irish merchants six casks (dolia) of wine and some corn at the siege and storm of the Castle of Dunaverdin, of which he was accused.' *CDS,* I, 108–1272.

26 Young, 1997, pp.41–43.

27 Barrow, 2013, p.220.

28 Angus Og later became one of King Robert's most loyal supporters.

Bruce, thus throwing Angus Og and Clan Donald into the Bruce camp. Hugh Bisset's actions were frequently contradictory. For example, he strongly opposed Edward Bruce when he invaded Ireland in 1315[29] but by 1319 he was openly supporting King Robert.[30]

It is unlikely that Bisset provided many men or ships for Robert's invasion of Galloway as such a blatant declaration of interest would have immediately earned the ire of Edward. However, this did not apply to the native Irish kinship groups, some of whom were associated with the Bissets. The important family of the northern O'Neills had a close relationship with the Bruce family[31] and the clan was a strong ally during Robert's invasion of Ireland, 1315–17. It has also been suggested that Edward Bruce was fostered by the O'Neills[32] and it is tempting to speculate that the 'certain kinglet of Ireland' at Loch Ryan may well have been of this kinship group. Along with the O'Neills there is also the prospect of the O'Donnells being part of the fray. The O'Donnells were centred in the Donegal area and thus were neighbours and often rivals of the O'Neills.

Sir Reginald Crawford was never to be found far from the action following the 1296 English invasion and occupation of Scotland. The Crawford family hailed from the Upper Clyde Valley in Lanarkshire and by the end of the twelfth century had become prominent in local administrative roles. Sir Hugh Crawford (1195–1265), the second of his family to become sheriff of Ayr, was well known for the prominent role he played at the Battle of Largs. Sir Hugh's daughter, Margaret, by repute[33] married Sir Malcolm Wallace and was the mother of William Wallace. Sir Hugh was succeeded by his eldest son, Sir Reginald Crawford, and, if this succession list is accurate, Reginald was the uncle of William Wallace. Legend informs us that Reginald was killed in 1297 by the English in the atrocity at the so-called 'Barns of Ayr'.[34] His son, also called Reginald, was born around 1269. He was an early supporter of Robert Bruce's claim to the throne and in 1292 he was one of Bruce's[35] nominees in the 'Great Cause', the procedure instigated by Edward I to decide the rightful new king of Scotland. He was named on the Ragman Rolls of 1296 swearing fealty to Edward, along with many other prominent Scotsmen, including Robert Bruce. Events after that are a little obscure. It appears that Sir Reginald, along with the future king joined in the initial Scots rebellion of early 1297. Robert Bruce and a number of his

29 Barrow, 2013, pp.217–218.
30 *CDS,* III, 1888.
31 Duffy, 2002, pp.60–61.
32 Duncan suggests that Edward Bruce may have been fostered by the O' Neills and also may have spent some time with the Bissets of the Glens of Antrim, (Duncan, 1988, p105). Also Barrow, (Barrow, 2013, p.430 n), claims that earl Duncan's son, Nicholas, married a daughter of Niall Ruadh, who succeeded to the title of King of Cenel Eoghain (Tyrone), making Edward the cousin of Niall's grandson.
33 Blind Harry, 2003, I, p.1. Not the most reliable source; Wallace's own seal names his father as Alan Wallace. An Alan Wallace from Ayrshire features on the Ragman Rolls.
34 Blind Harry, 2003, VII, pp.175–6 and notes p.397. This event is now generally believed to be entirely fictitious. Also Bute (Bute, 1878) suggests that the account in Blind Harry may be a conflagration of three events and the Reginald Crawford who was killed could be any one of four Crawfords from Lanarkshire and Ayrshire.
35 The future king's grandfather.

followers surrendered to the English army at Irvine in July 1297.[36] However, by this time Sir Reginald was already in the king's peace as he was appointed as Sheriff of Ayr on the 14 May 1297,[37] well before Bruce's capitulation. This appointment may have been a reward for leaving the rebels after the siege of Berwick and the subsequent defeat of the Scots army at Dunbar earlier in the year.[38] The role of sheriff was a very important one, being the principal representative of the king and as such Sir Reginald was responsible for raising military forces, collecting revenues and administering local justice in his sheriffdom. Edward mostly imported English sheriffs to the Scots shires but Sir Reginald was an exception. Clearly Edward put a lot of trust in him, a trust he was soon to regret. It is likely that he was not in post for long[39] and by 1306 he was clearly identified as part of the Bruce insurrection, whereupon his lands in Ayrshire were forfeited to Edward.[40] Whilst not mentioned by name, the fact that he was a commander of King Robert's forces at Loch Ryan suggests that his movements mirrored that of the king from his coronation through to his enforced exile and escape to the Western Isles and Ireland.

The final named commander of the invasion force was Malcolm MacQuillan. Nothing is known of his early life but he is usually identified as the same person as Le Fitz l'Engleys (son of the Englishman) and/or Malcolm MacCulian, and he may have been related to the MacSweens of Knapdale, who held lands in Kintyre. He first appears in historical sources in 1286, shortly after the invasion of Scotland, when he was granted Dunaverty Castle by Edward I. Similarly to other MacSweens, he seems to have been a trusted supporter of Edward and he was granted a safe conduct in July 1300 (as Malcolm le Fitz L'Engleys) to use his private galleys to harass the Scots on their western seaboard.[41] Malcom kept out of trouble for a few years but by 1306 he had exchanged his Kintyre stronghold of Dunaverty with Robert Bruce for another castle.[42] This explains why Robert headed for Dunaverty after the disaster of Methven and before he disappeared from view for the winter. However, this doesn't explain why MacQuillan was still in Dunaverty and accompanying Bruce after the castle exchange.

An alternative view of Malcolm's origin is that he was a representative of the MacQuillans of Ulster. It has been suggested that the MacQuillans, originally from south-west Scotland, were granted lands by John in the early 1200s in a similar vein to the grants given to Duncan, Earl of Carrick and Alan, Lord of Galloway. A MacQuillan of Route, Antrim, was, in the early and mid-thirteenth century, appointed as the hereditary High Constable of Ulster and later the MacQuillans served the De Burgh earls of Ulster as commanders of galloglas mercenaries.[43] Whatever his origin[44] Malcolm was a man with important connections and would have brought a strong contingent of fighting men to Loch Ryan.

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36 *Chron. Guisborough* pp.297–8. Penman, 2014, pp.54–56.

37 *CDS,* II, 739.

38 The siege of Berwick was on 30 March 1297 and the Battle of Dunbar was on 27 April 1297.

39 Watson, 2005, p.35.

40 Barrow, 2013, Appendix p.422.

41 Stevenson, *Documents* II, <https://archive.org/details/cu31924091786024/page/n10>, p.597.

42 Stones, 1965, p.130.

43 Marsden, 2003, p.49.

44 The balance of opinion is that MacQuillan was from Kintyre and was not of the Antrim MacQuillans. This is further supported by *Chron. Lanercost*, p.179, referring to him as the 'Lord of Cantyre'.

The Bruce Warriors

The troops who landed at Loch Ryan in February 1307 were made up of men from Ireland and the Western Isles of Scotland and many of these men would have been galloglas. These fierce mercenary warriors, of mixed Gaelic and Norse descent, were recruited from the Hebrides and West Highlands of Scotland and were the shock troops of choice at the time. The galloglas proved to be the decisive military components of Irish and West Highland conflicts for over three hundred years.[45] They were described as[46]

> '… pycked and selected men of great and mightie bodies, crewell without compassion. The greatest force of the battell consisteth in them, chosing rather to dye than to yeelde.'[47]

The Bruce connections with the Western Isles were also significant. Family ties helped Robert forge a close relationship with the powerful Christina MacRuaridh (Christina of the Isles).[48] The MacRuaridhs, direct descendants of Somerled,[49] the first 'Lord of the Isles', controlled huge territories including Knoydart, Moidart, Arisaig, the Small Isles and the southern Outer Hebrides. If Robert wanted galloglas warriors he could not have found a better source. The first recorded entry into Ireland of galloglas warriors was in 1159 when Dugall MacRuaridh's daughter travelled to Derry to marry Aodh O'Connor of Connacht accompanied by 'eight score warriors'. The MacRuaridh galloglas continued to serve the O'Connors in Ireland and proved to be powerful supporters of Robert I throughout his reign.[50]

The second of the three descendants of Somerled, the MacDonalds, were also supporters of the Bruce cause. Their support may have had more to do with dynastic struggles in the Western Isles than any great adhesion to the Bruce cause, but Clan Donald (for whatever reason they pledged their allegiance) was to become hugely important to the new Scottish king and his struggle for survival and supremacy. Alexander MacDonald of Islay was present at the famous meeting held in Turnberry Castle in September 1286 when he, Bruce and a number of other prominent men entered into a bond to support the Earl of Ulster. The so-called 'Turnberry Band' almost certainly had an ulterior motive and laid out the allegiance status of the Bruce campaign for the forthcoming contest for the Scottish crown succession.

Alexander MacDougall[51] of Argyll (and his son John) at this time were pursuing an aggressive policy of expansion throughout the western seaboard bringing them into conflict

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45 Marsden, 2003.

46 From 1600 but still applicable in the fourteenth century.

47 Dymmok, 1842, p.7.

48 Bower, *Scotichronicon,* Bk XII, p.23–25. *Chron. Fordun* I, p.343. Christina was related to Bruce through her late husband, Duncan of Mar who was King Robert's brother-in-law through his first wife.

49 The three sons of Somerled were to be the progenitors of the MacDonalds, the MacDougalls and the MacRuairidhs.

50 Marsden, 2003, p. 63. A Ruairi MacRuaridh 'Lord of the Innse Gall' was killed alongside Edward Bruce at Faughart in 1318.

51 The MacDougalls were descended from the third son of Somerled.

with Clan Donald.[52] The rivalry between the MacDougalls and the MacDonalds was further intensified when, in 1299, according to the Irish Annals,

> Alexander MacDonald … was slain by Alexander MacDougall, together with a countless number of his people.[53]

The MacDougalls were strong adherents to the Comyn/Balliol faction in the contest for the Scottish crown and after 1304 they submitted to Edward I and thereafter fought for him. As a consequence the Bruces and the MacDonalds became natural allies in opposition. The successor to Alexander MacDonald was his brother Angus Og of Islay, and he ensured that his galloglas warriors lent their weighty support to the Bruce cause throughout Robert I's reign. MacDonald galloglas fighters were already active in Ireland and were definitely in the service of the O'Neills and the O'Donnells as early as 1295.[54] Although Angus Og was not with the force that invaded Loch Ryan in 1307, many of his galloglass warriors probably were.

The Galwegians

Hence it was an impressive force that descended upon Loch Ryan, but it was to come up against an equally formidable group. The defenders, led by Dungal MacDowell, were men of the native kindred of the South West and their military pedigree was a match, even for the galloglas. The origin of the native kindred of the South West, such as the MacDowell, McCulloch, MacLellan and McCann, is usually associated with the Gall-Gaidheil, the people of mixed Norse/Viking and Celtic origin after whom Galloway itself is named. This theory is not without controversy and documentary evidence is scarce. What evidence there is points to the fact that by the twelfth century Galloway was the home of the Gall-Gaidheil (the 'foreign Gael')[55] and by the second quarter of the century Galloway had emerged as a distinct unit with Fergus of Galloway now recognised as the lord of this semi-autonomous region. Galloway's relationship with Scotland was troublesome and required frequent incursions from the kings of both Scotland and England before the region was fully incorporated into Scotland in 1235. Even after this date Galloway retained its distinctive laws and traditions, its special status still recognised by Edward I of England. As late as 1296, in an effort to appease the Galwegians, Edward released Thomas, the elderly defeated leader of the 1235 Galloway revolt, from his long-term imprisonment in Barnard Castle, sending him home with a charter listing the liberties on offer to the men of Galloway.

The martial capabilities of the region were significant. The quasi-military society of Galloway appeared to be a reservoir of fighting manpower and provided contingents to both the English and the Scottish armies.[56] Galwegians were noted as uncompromising, often

52 MacDonald, 2008, p.165.
53 Marsden, 2003, p.43, citing *Annals of the Four Masters*, *Annals of Ulster* and *Annals of Connacht.*
54 Ibid., p.45.
55 Oram, 2000, p.7.
56 McCulloch, 2010, p.27. They may have been used as paid mercenaries, similar to the galloglas in Ireland.

brutal soldiers and were prominent as the shock troops in a number of conflicts, notably leading the Scottish army at the Battle of the Standard in 1138. They were still prominent in 1287 when accounts of William Wallace's invasion of northern England referred to the troublesome Galwegians.[57] It has been estimated that at the time of the invasion, Galloway could have raised between 3000 and 5000 men[58] and even if only 50% were mobilised against the Loch Ryan landings they would outnumber the invaders.

The most powerful of the native kindred were the MacDowells who claimed to have clear and close ancestry from Fergus, the first lord of Galloway, and in times of need the MacDowell clan and their captain were often called upon to lead the Galloway host. The captain of the MacDowells in 1306 was Dungal MacDowell, and when the Bruce landings took place he and his Galwegian host were ready and waiting.

A step too far?

The myths surrounding King Robert during this difficult period centre on his desperate attempt at survival and his growing determination to succeed in the face of overwhelming adversity. This paper does not dismiss this bleak scenario but paints a slightly less forlorn picture. Despite the close attention from the adherents of the English king, the Bruce camp had enjoyed considerable success in building up a support base in Ireland and the Western Isles over just a few months. By the beginning of 1307 Robert felt confident enough to invade the Scottish mainland. What remains puzzling is why he decided to launch two landings? The received military wisdom argues that success is usually best achieved by concentrating available military forces in order to achieve numerical and material superiority. The Bruce forces were numerically grossly inferior to those available to Edward I and it would be expected that Robert's only chance of success would be by concentrating his meagre resources and use an element of surprise to strike at specific enemy targets. Clearly, Robert had not read the manuals, as he decided to split his forces by conducting twin landings at Loch Ryan and on the Turnberry coast. In addition, there is good reason to question the presumption that the Bruce landings were a surprise to Edward's supporters.

There are no direct sources detailing the site of the battle. There would be no advantage in any landing on the western shore of Loch Ryan as any objective would lie to the east and would necessitate a long deviation around the head of the loch. Consequently landings would be on the eastern shore and the sands on the south-east shoreline of Loch Ryan close to Innermessan are the most likely location. The Galwegian forces that met the Loch Ryan invasion were large in number and proved capable of completely overwhelming the Bruce invaders. There would have probably been a garrison at Innermessan motte but it would not have been strong enough to withstand a Bruce assault. However, a large, trained and organised Galwegian force under the command of Dungal McDowell was either waiting in position to meet the invasion or arrived at the scene very soon afterwards.

57 McNamee, 1990, pp.40–58.
58 McCulloch, 2010, p.53.

An inescapable conclusion is that the invaders were expected

Despite the unrest which had afflicted Galloway since 1286, Dungal MacDowell would not have had a standing army at his command. To defeat the Bruce force so convincingly MacDowell would have need of at least 1,000 trained men and probably double or triple that figure, and to raise that number from the kinship groups of Galloway would have taken some time. A suggestion that intense recruitment was taking place could be inferred from a petition sent in 1306 from the 'Community of Galloway' to Edward complaining about the Galloway law of 'Surdit de Sergeant'.[59] This ancient law gave baronial officials the right to billet themselves on a household and try, and in some cases administer, punishment for any transgression of the law. Perhaps the sergeants were acting rather like the later eighteenth and nineteenth century 'press gangs', in extracting men for military service? This all adds weight to the notion that MacDowell must have had prior knowledge that a Bruce advance guard would land on the Scottish mainland, and, in view of the speed at which battle was joined so soon after the landing, it is tempting to believe that he also knew where the landing would be.

This begs the question, how did he know? The obvious answer is that he had informers who were close enough to the Bruce camp to gain such important information. Connections between Ireland, the Western Isles and Galloway were well developed and had been in place for hundreds of years, so the possibility of a 'mole' is not unreasonable. If MacDowell received such precise information, did the forces of Edward also get similar assistance? Official proclamations suggest that Edward had indeed received information that, although probably not containing precise detail, indicated to him that Robert had a force ready to land near Ayr and was likely to act towards the end of January or early February. A flurry of commands from the English king in late January and early February 1307 directed vessels and crews towards the Irish Sea[60] and in one command, issued on 1 February, Edward specifically directs the sheriff of Cumberland to send ships, crews and commanders to Ayr, very near to where Robert was to land.[61] Mention was made of destroying 'Bruce's retreat', a suggestion that Robert had already moved towards the mainland, or was likely to do so in the near future. In view of the intelligence received concerning Robert's whereabouts, it is not surprising that by 11 February, Edward, losing patience, had rebuked Aymer De Valence for not having apprehended Robert.[62]

Did King Robert make a significant strategic error in dividing his forces, with the whole adventure coming so close to total disaster? Up to this point he had shown little military prowess but, with the benefit of hindsight, it is known that he was destined to become arguably Scotland's finest ever military strategist and tactician, so it must be assumed that Robert had a clear plan for his actions. Bower suggests that the primary purpose of the Loch Ryan landings was to link up with Robert in Carrick and that they were 'hurrying by another route',[63] but it is difficult to see any advantage in landing at Loch Ryan. The direct

59 *CDS*, II, 1874.
60 *CDS,* II, 1888–1889.
61 *CDS,* II, 1893.
62 *CDS*, II, 1896.
63 Bower, *Scotichronicon,* vol.6, Bk.XII, 11 p.323.

routes, inaccessible to the rest of Galloway, soon lead back towards the Carrick coast and any flanking movement intending to support the Bruce landings further north in Carrick would have a number of better landing sites available on the south Carrick coast, all of which would be shorter and more convenient than Loch Ryan. A separate landing site just for a linking/flanking movement can therefore be dismissed and therefore the landing must have had another military purpose.

King Robert may have intended his small force to attack and destroy military sites in the South West and thus weaken the infrastructure and support that MacDowell would need to provide effective opposition. A landing near Innermessan would give his force the opportunity to eliminate an important target. Innermessan in medieval times was a busy, thriving, commercial centre,[64] possessing a good landing place and may even have had a harbour.[65] From here numerous routes led inland. An old Roman road led from eastern Galloway to 'Rerigonium', possibly a forerunner of Innermessan. Routes linked the area with Soulseat and Glenluce abbeys and the important castles of Wigtown and Cruggleton. A mobile and well-trained force could cause havoc in the heartland of Galloway and reduce its military capacity before a fully organised resistance could be established. In addition, a further route ran north-east towards Carrick via Craigcaffie[66] which would have been useful if the aim was to link up with Robert's landing near Turnberry, perhaps with the important castle of Loch Doon as a target. The disadvantage of an Innermessan landing is that it would take place at the largest and most important centre in western Galloway, guarded by an imposing motte and bailey castle,[67] which overlooked the bay and the settlement itself. Although today the motte is nearer the sea than in 1306 (as a result of coastal erosion), it would still have been a useful lookout and rallying point. As a result, any landing would very likely have been contested. However if the aim of the landing was to strike a surprise blow against the Galwegians, as suggested by the Lanercost Chronicle,[68] this would have been a good place to start.

But there was no surprise blow and thus another scenario presents itself. Robert's initial strategy is not known but it would make sense if he wished to take back and consolidate control over his homeland of Carrick, in order to build up strength and in due course move out from there into the rest of Scotland. This just would not have been possible if he faced a strong army in the south that controlled the high ground between Carrick and Galloway and could attack his flank. His landing at Turnberry, already made difficult by the occupying English troops of Edward, would be even more precarious if a strong army remained to the south so perhaps Robert sought to engage the Galwegians and destroy their army.

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64 The Blaeu map of western Galloway,1654, based upon the Pont maps of the preceding century, show eleven buildings, more than Wigtown and Whithorn (both with four, although both towns appear to be in walled enclosures). Later records show that most of the major landowners from the Rhins and Carrick had properties here as did the Abbot of Glenluce and the Bishop of Whithorn.

65 A charter of 1668, describing Innermessan, notes 'apud portum marinum'. (Hunter, 2003).

66 Shown as 'Karkophy' on the Blaeu map of western Galloway, 1654.

67 Even as late as 1839 the *New Statistical Account* for the parish of Inch gave the height of the motte as 78 feet and it would have been much more in 1306.

68 *Chron. Lanercost*, pp.179–180.

It has also been suggested that there was a more personal motive in the Galloway diversion, as King Robert's men were, 'desiring to avenge themselves upon the people of Galloway'.[69] It is certainly the case that the Galloway kindred had always sustained the Balliol cause and there was little local support for Robert's kingship, but in early 1307 that was also true for large areas of Scotland and so does not in itself provide a strong motive for the invasion. Dig a bit deeper and further issues arise; most commentators have agreed, with good reason, that there was a history of antagonism between Galloway and Carrick.[70] Prior to 1160 Galloway, which at that time included much of Carrick, was under the control of its first overlord, Fergus. His quasi-independent rule earned the wrath of Malcolm IV, King of Scots, who launched three military campaigns into Galloway and overthrew him. Power moved to a joint lordship of Galloway, shared by Uhtred and Gilbert, Fergus' sons, but serious issues arose between them and in 1174 Gilbert's men slaughtered Uhtred, cutting off his testicles, his tongue and blinding him. Uhtred's son Roland continued the struggle and on Gilbert's sudden death in 1185, Roland gathered together an army with the help of William I, King of Scots, and defeated Gilbert's forces in battle. After his victory Roland seized many of Gilbert's estates and those of his followers and distributed them amongst his own supporters, with those most close to Gilbert facing expulsion and resettlement elsewhere. Gilbert's son Duncan, perhaps in an attempt to mitigate his father's losses, was awarded land and the title of earl of Carrick.[71]

In view of this turmoil, a feud between the men of Carrick and Galloway would have come as no bombshell, but surprisingly there is little evidence of continuing conflict. Earl Duncan of Carrick and Roland of Galloway seemed to enjoy a working if not particularly friendly relationship,[72] and for much of the thirteenth century this was to continue between Alan, son of Roland and Earl Duncan with no evidence for any direct conflict between them; they may even have shared some objectives. Nevertheless Galwegians and the men of Carrick rarely seemed to be working together, although there were exceptions, such as the Galloway rising of 1235[73] and a charter of June 1250, when Niall MacLennan, (head of a kinship group normally associated with Galloway) stood as a witness for Earl Duncan of Carrick.[74] To ascribe the main motivation for the Loch Ryan landings as the continuation of this 'ancient feud' seems a step too far. However, the more recent dispute over the royal

69 Ibid., pp.179–180.

70 For example Barrow, 2013, p.35. He contends that a feud existed between the two areas which was still active when Robert Bruce became earl of Carrick.

71 Oram, 2000, p.100.

72 For example, Alan of Galloway is a witness to two charters of Duncan of Carrick dating from October 1219 and also from a promise to pay teinds to the Glasgow diocese in 1225. (PoMS 21235, 1857, 2618). Furthermore they both supported the English throne in Ireland and both received significant land grants in Antrim. PoMS, no. 1857, 2618, 21235 <http://db.poms.ac.uk/record/person/1857> (accessed 17 June 2012).

73 Earl Duncan's younger son Eóin was involved in the Galwegian revolt of Gille Ruadh in 1235, during which he attacked some churches in the diocese of Glasgow. Glasgow Registrum, vol. I, no. 187, pp.151–52.

74 PoMS no. 2529. 13 June 1250 'Duncan of Carrick grants to North Berwick Priory the advowson of Church of Maybole'.

succession, which began in 1286 with an attack by Robert Bruce[75] on Galloway and the lands of John Balliol, further intensified by the murder of John Comyn by Bruce in 1305, would have revived any dormant hostility between Carrick and Galloway.

King Robert knew that his landing in Carrick would not be secure with the threat of a large and hostile Galwegian army to the south and determined to support Edward in the campaign against him. This concern would have been intensified by the loss of Loch Doon Castle, which dominated the inland route between Carrick and Galloway.[76] Had the Loch Ryan landings proved successful the army of Galloway would have been neutralised, the castle at Loch Doon would have been once more in Bruce hands and King Robert, now with a secure and established Carrick base, could begin his wider Scottish campaign with confidence.

The Battle

The few mentions of the battle all suggest that the conflict took place on land but close to the landing place.[77] It has been suggested that the invading force was surprised by the Galwegians under the cover of darkness[78] but this is very unlikely. The Bruce forces had been surprised in the disastrous engagement at Methven the preceding year. Many of the invaders, including Sir Reginald Crawford, may have been present at that battle and to make the same mistake again beggars belief. Records of received injuries indicate that the conflict involved both distant engagement with arrows and close encounters with lances.[79] Pikes were used primarily in a defensive capacity and this would be consistent with an assault on Innermessan motte, which may have been successful.[80] If the intention was to destroy the military capability of Galloway then a further assault on the arriving Galloway troops would have been undertaken. Schiltron formations would ensure the use of pikes and the Galwegians, some of whom would have taken part in Wallace's campaigns, would be well versed in their formation. All this is conjecture but what is known is that the final outcome of the battle was disastrous for the Bruce forces. Only a few escaped with the rest either killed or captured. All the leaders of the landing party were captured. The Irish sub-king and Malcolm MacQuillan were beheaded on the spot and their heads sent to Edward I, then based at Lanercost Priory to the east of Carlisle. Thomas and Alexander Bruce, along with Sir Reginald Crawford were captured alive and sent to Carlisle Castle, awaiting sentence from the English king.[81] Crawford (and possibly the Bruce brothers too) was badly

75 King Robert's grandfather.

76 King Robert may have had a personal interest in this as Sir Christopher Seton, Bruce's brother-in-law and companion at the murder of John Comyn in 1305, was captured with the loss of this castle and later executed in Dumfries.

77 It was reported that two galleys managed to escape. *Chron. Lanercost*, p.179.

78 *Chron. Guisborough*, p.372.

79 *Chron. Lanercost*, p.179. The word 'lances' appears in translations of the chronicle but possibly 'pointed weapons' should be understood, which term would cover lances, pikes and spears.

80 Its flat summit, bored in 1834, was found to contain a stratum of ashes, charred wood, and fragments of bone possibly indicating that the motte was besieged and burnt.

81 Barbour, in *The Bruce*, says that Sir Reginald Crawford was hanged in a barn in Ayr (IV, p.152) but if this incident even occurred it was not the Crawford who took part in this battle.

injured by arrows and pike or spear wounds. On Friday 17 Feb 1307 the commanders met their fate. There was special and harsher treatment metered out to Thomas Bruce, which may suggest that he was in overall command of the invading force, despite his youth. His elder brother Alexander was a serving cleric and could have expected to escape the death penalty but Edward had other ideas. Thomas Bruce was drawn at the tail of horses through Carlisle and then hanged and beheaded. Alexander Bruce and Crawford were also hanged on same day and then beheaded. The heads of Malcolm MacQuillan, Alexander Bruce and Reginald Crawford were fixed to three gates of Carlisle as a warning for others who might consider opposing Edward. Thomas Bruce, once again singled out for different treatment, had his head placed above Carlisle Castle's keep.

The Aftermath

The other and presumed main landing of Bruce's forces took place near Turnberry in Ayrshire and a subsequent article will examine this and the events which followed it. King Robert was to face many trials and tribulations over the following weeks but none of them were to come from MacDowell and the Galwegian army. His legendary exploits in the hills and forests of Galloway are told in many folk tales, and organised resistance from the men who could call this area home would surely have been disastrous for the new Scottish king. However, few came and Robert lived to fight another day. Dungal MacDowell, the victor at Loch Ryan, appeared in Carlisle on 26 March 1307 to be knighted by the English king for his efforts against Robert. He would come into contact with his nemesis on two further occasions and would be lucky to escape with his life.[82] The lack of further organised local resistance against the Bruce forces, together with the sweeping victories gained by Edward Bruce in Galloway in 1308, suggest that the battle at Loch Ryan was not as one sided as is usually portrayed. By 1308 it was reported that refugees from Galloway were pouring over the border into northern England[83] and the much vaunted military capability of the men of the South West was not seen again for 24 years, not until the return of Edward Balliol in his attempt to gain the throne vacated by his father in 1296. The Battle of Loch Ryan was a personal disaster for the Bruce family and was without doubt a military setback. But had this not taken place, a trained and committed army under Dungal MacDowell would have turned its attention to Robert's landing to the north and the outcome of his return to Scotland may well have been very different.

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THE FLEMINGS: LORDS OF BIGGAR AND CUMBERNAULD AND EARLS OF WIGTOWN

Charles L. Rigg[1]

A case study of the Fleming family — lords of Biggar and Cumbernauld and earls of Wigtown — illustrates the extent to which the political fortunes of a baronial family were largely dependent on the relationship which existed between the head of family and the monarch or regent. The defining period for this family was the fourteenth century as it saw the Flemings acquire several territories: Lenzie and Cumbernauld, through their support for Bruce; and Biggar, most likely through a marriage with the daughter and heiress of Nicholas of Biggar. In addition, the first association with Wigtown was established when David II bestowed the earldom on Malcolm Fleming, making him one of only twelve earls in the kingdom. The first creation of the earldom was short-lived and the consequences for the Flemings would have been catastrophic had not the Biggar branch of the family regained some of the most important lost lands. The desire for political influence continued and while the fifteenth century was characterized by a series of violent deaths, feuds, and forfeiture, the family emerged with its lands restored and status secured as one of the newly created lordships of parliament. Influence with the crown increased during the sixteenth century but neither James V nor Mary Queen of Scots restored the earldom; this eventually happened in 1606 when James VI made the sixth Lord Fleming Earl of Wigtown. The second creation of the earldom existed in vastly different political environments from the first and over a hundred years longer, coming to an end in 1747 on the death of the seventh Earl of Wigtown.

The Flemings 1306–1382: the rise and fall of the earldom of Wigtown (first creation)

A portrait of a man in armour holding a gory head in his hand with the words 'Let the Deed Shaw' is reported to have been in the Fleming family home at Cumbernauld until 1845.[2] The painting appears no longer to exist but the central figure in it was reputed to be Sir Robert Fleming, companion to Robert Bruce, and the severed head to be that of the Red Comyn, murdered by Bruce in Greyfriars Church, Dumfries, on 10 February 1306. Fleming tradition contends that after Bruce stabbed Comyn he told his companions waiting outside: 'I doubt I have slain Comyn'. One of these companions, Roger Kirkpatrick, allegedly responded: 'Doubt? then I'll mak siccar', and with that he entered the church to ensure the Red Comyn was dead. Kirkpatrick was accompanied by Robert Fleming who supposedly hacked off Comyn's head before holding it aloft, shouting: 'Let the Deed Shaw'.[3] This became the Fleming family motto.

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1 charles.rigg@btinternet.com; a shortened version of this article has appeared in *Scotland and the Flemish People*, eds. Alexander Fleming and Roger Mason (Edinburgh, 2019) 155–75.

2 J. Arnold Fleming, *The Flemish Influence in Britain* (Glasgow, 1930), vol. II, 32.

3 *The Scots Peerage*, ed. Sir J. Balfour Paul (Edinburgh, 1904–14), viii, 520 [hereafter *Scots Peerage*].

Fact and fiction come together in this version of events. All the fourteenth and early fifteenth century chronicles agree that Comyn suffered a two-stage death,[4] but none of them specifically names Fleming as being present or validates the claim that Comyn's head was severed from his body. Sir Robert Fleming may well have been one of the unnamed supporters of Bruce present at Greyfriars, but equally this might have been a later fabrication designed to cement Fleming's place in history as a committed Bruce supporter.

Nonetheless, while we know very little for certain about this Sir Robert Fleming, genealogists have long contended that he was rewarded for his support of Bruce with lands previously held by Comyn in Lenzie within the barony of Kirkintilloch, and that he was the father of Malcolm Fleming, the first Earl of Wigtown.[5] Unfortunately, we are left in the dark both to the specific nature of Sir Robert's support for Bruce and the timing of his death. A further mystery, as Figure 1 indicates, is how the Fleming family also acquired the barony of Biggar around this time.

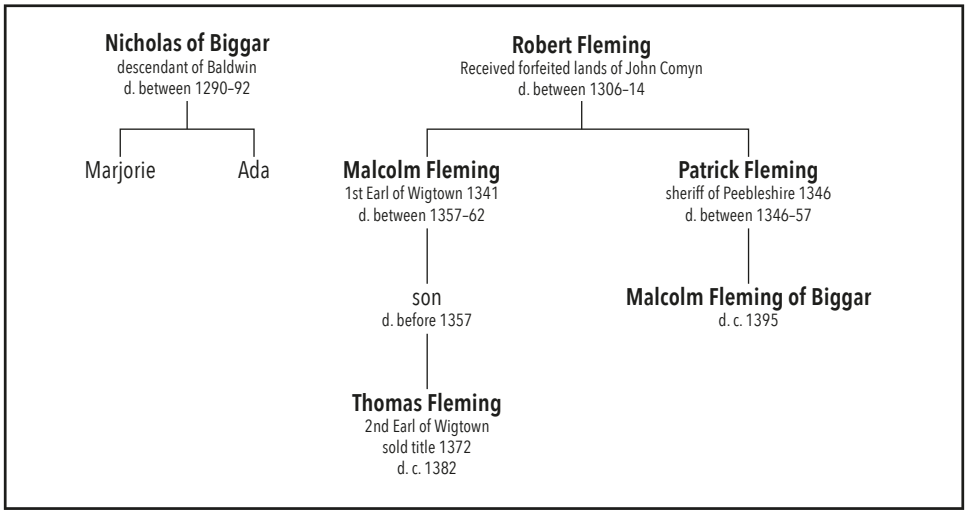


Figure 1. The Flemings 1306–1382. The most likely explanation as to how Biggar passed into the possession of the Fleming family is through the marriage of a Fleming — either Malcolm or his younger brother Patrick — to one of the daughters of Sir Nicholas. In the case of Malcolm, he is known to have married a lady called Marjorie from an unknown family, sometime before 1310. The name and timing point to the possibility that she could have been the daughter of Sir Nicholas. However, if this had been the case, 'Biggar' would have been named in Malcolm's subsequent landed titles: it was not. Another possibility is that it was Patrick who first acquired the barony through one of his marriages. A charter of 1357 makes reference to the 'late Patrick Fleming and Malcolm Fleming of Biggar' and provides the first evidence linking the Fleming family to 'Biggar'. Unfortunately, there is a degree of ambiguity as to whether this title applied to both Patrick and Malcolm or solely to Malcolm.

4 Alexander Grant, 'The Death of John Comyn: What was going on?' *Scottish Historical Review,* lxxxvi, 2: No.222 (October 2007).

5 See, for example, *Scots Peerage*, viii, 520–1; Bruce A. McAndrew, *Scotland's Historic Heraldry* (Woodbridge, 2006), 254, 401, Chart 11.10.

Sir Robert probably died closer in time to Bruce's coronation in 1306 than the battle at Bannockburn in 1314, and the main beneficiary of Bruce's largesse was not Robert Fleming himself but his eldest son Malcolm, the future earl of Wigtown. By the time Robert I died in 1329 Malcolm's sphere of influence had extended beyond Kirkintilloch to properties in the Lennox and Wigtownshire,[6] and his responsibilities to those of keeper of Dumbarton Castle and sheriff of Dunbartonshire. In addition, after the king bestowed the title of earl of Carrick on his infant son David, Malcolm became involved in the management of the heir's south western lordships in his capacity as steward of the royal household.[7] At the time of Bruce's death his son was only five years of age and it is a clear indication of Malcolm's standing within the royal household that he is mentioned later as a 'foster-father' figure to David in contemporary accounts.[8] Greater rewards and responsibilities were eventually to come Malcolm's way.

David II's reign had a troubled beginning as Edward Balliol pressed his claim to the throne on the grounds that he was the son of John Balliol, the Scottish king deposed in 1296. Edward had himself crowned at Scone in September 1332 and had the support of the English king Edward III. Ten months later, David's prospects deteriorated further when Edward inflicted a heavy defeat on the Scots at Halidon Hill; Malcolm Fleming was one of the few fortunate to escape with his life. Malcolm then returned to Dumbarton Castle where he provided a safe haven for the young king and his wife until May 1334 when it was decided to send them both to France for their own safety.

Seven years passed before the seventeen-year-old David returned to Scotland in May 1341. Richard Oram suggests that during the king's time in France Malcolm remained in Scotland possibly to act as 'a bridging figure' between David II's court-in-exile and David's lieutenant in Scotland, Robert Stewart.[9] Certainly David was not slow to reward Malcolm on his return for his loyalty and military abilities 'in good times and bad',[10] and granted him the hereditary earldom of Wigtown in November of that year. This gave Fleming the regality rights over the western Galloway lands of the whole sheriffdom of Wigtown in return for 'the service of five knights or soldiers in the king's army'.[11] It was an area which had formerly given support to the Balliols, and even after Bannockburn had retained a degree of independence. The young king hoped Malcolm would bring this potentially troublesome south-west region under control.[12]

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6 He was granted Polton (now Pouton near Garlieston) in Wigtownshire in 1328.

7 Richard Oram,'The Making and Breaking of a Comital Family: Malcolm Fleming, First Earl of Wigtown, and Thomas Fleming, Second Earl of Wigtown', *International Review of Scottish Studies*, 42 (2017), Part 1, 7–8 [hereafter *IRSS*].

8 For details of these contemporary accounts see Oram, *IRSS* 42 (2017), Part 1, 28, en.39.

9 Ibid., 13–4.

10 *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum*, ed. J.M. Thomson (Edinburgh, 1882), i, 484–5 [hereafter RMS]; Ranald Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages* (Edinburgh, 1974), 143.

11 *Charter Chest of the Earldom of Wigtown*, 1214–1681, ed. F.J. Grant, (Scottish Record Society, 1910), no.3 [hereafter *Wigtown Charter Chest*]; Michael Penman, *David II, 1329–71* (Edinburgh, 2005), 82–3.

12 Penman, *David II*, 27.

There is no doubt that Malcolm Fleming was very much part of the king's inner circle and enjoyed David's confidence,[13] but a heavy Scottish defeat by the English in 1346 at Neville's Cross in Durham resulted in both men being taken prisoner. The king was taken to London while a wounded or ill Malcolm was held in Northumberland until he was sufficiently well to be transferred south. That did not happen. A few months later, and much to the annoyance of Edward III, Malcolm escaped after having successfully bribed one of his captors.[14]

Unfortunately for Malcolm, the following ten years were as unkind to him as the previous twenty-five had been rewarding. He no longer had the ability to impose himself as a military leader, possibly owing to wounds sustained in battle, illness or, quite simply, the ageing process.[15] A consequence of this was that he lost control of his south-west territories in Galloway and Carrick to Balliol supporters.

Malcolm also paid the price for remaining firmly allied to David over the ransom terms for the king's release. This brought him into conflict with Robert Stewart, the king's nephew and heir, whose immediate interests as lieutenant of Scotland seemed best served by prolonging the king's stay in England. At one stage, a frustrated David proposed a succession-release plan based on a younger son of Edward III being named as heir instead of Robert, and Malcolm supported this when Parliament discussed it in 1351.[16] In this Malcolm was very much in the minority and his stance only served to alienate him further from the increasingly powerful Robert Stewart.

Within two years Malcolm suffered the consequences when Robert removed him from the keepership of Dumbarton Castle. This in turn contributed to a drop in income and it became clear during the last years of Malcolm's life that, in addition to being sidelined by Robert Stewart, he was beginning to experience some financial problems.[17] His death most likely occurred within three to four months of David's return to Scotland in September 1357 and certainly no later than 1362;[18] he was succeeded by his grandson Thomas, one of the hostages held at Northumberland as part of David's ransom.

The exact date of Thomas's release is unknown, but it is thought to have been about 1366 by which time the title had been vacant for at least four years. It was clear to David that Thomas was not the man to provide the sort of political and military leadership his grandfather had once done so successfully. It may have been, as Richard Oram has suggested, that Thomas suffered from some disability and was physically unfit to do so,[19] and for that reason, when David granted the restored earldom of Wigtown to Thomas in 1367, he did not include the critically important regality powers previously associated with the title: without them, Thomas was earl in name only.

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13 Penman names Fleming along with Adam, bishop of Brechin, Keith, Seton, Douglas and Ramsay as the likely core members of David's close counsel. *David II*, 78.
14 Oram, *IRSS* 42 (2017) Part 2, 37.
15 Ibid., 54.
16 Ibid., 39.
17 Ibid., 40–1.
18 Ibid., 41.
19 Ibid., 45–7.

The unexpected death of David II in February 1371 and the succession of Robert Stewart as Robert II did nothing to improve Thomas's position. Twelve months later, he decided to extricate himself from Wigtownshire and sell the earldom for £500 to Archibald, third Earl of Douglas, otherwise known as Archibald the Grim. However, while Robert was not in a sufficiently strong position to challenge Archibald over this questionable transaction, he did withhold the title of earl.[20]

The sale of the earldom completed the Fleming family's fall from the highest echelons of noble society to its minor ranks within the space of thirty-one years. For Thomas, his actions did not resolve his financial problems. By the time he died ten years later he seemed only to have retained Fulwood, north of Stewarton in Renfrewshire, the other estates having been sold to ease his financial difficulties. During this period of rapid decline, it fell to Sir Malcolm Fleming of Biggar, a nephew of the first Earl of Wigtown, to recover what he could of them.

The Flemings 1382–1542: Feuds, Forfeiture and Recovery

Sir Malcolm concentrated his efforts on recovering possession of the Fleming lands in the barony of Lenzie and by 1382 was largely successful in achieving this.[21] He was also appointed keeper of Dumbarton Castle by David II from 1364 until 1369 and subsequently, during the reign of Robert II, held the position of sheriff in Edinburgh.[22]

At the same time, his son Sir David Fleming became a close ally of Robert II's son and heir, the Earl of Carrick. By 1384 the Earl had built up a sufficiently strong power base to oust his elderly father from power and make himself guardian. How willing a participant the king had been in this new arrangement is unclear; there is evidence to suggest that it amounted to a palace coup in which Sir David Fleming played an active part by giving his support to Carrick.[23] Whatever the circumstances, the measures taken to sideline Robert II met with the approval of the General Council when it convened in November 1384.

Eventually, in 1390, Carrick succeeded to the throne as Robert III, but endured a troublesome reign, often brought on by his own physical frailty. When unable to carry out his duties, his ambitious brother, the Duke of Albany, frequently acted as guardian-lieutenant. However, in 1402, the king felt able to resume his personal rule and elevated Sir David to a position of influence at the heart of government, along with Henry, Earl of Orkney and Lord of Roslin, and Henry Wardlaw, Bishop of St Andrews. Fleming was to take on the role of diplomatic envoy and negotiate hostage terms for the nobles taken prisoner by the English after the defeat of the Scots at Humbleton Hill in September 1402,

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20 *Wigtown Charter Chest*, no. 30; Oram, IRSS 42 (2017), Part 2, 47–9; Michael Brown, *The Black Douglases: War and Lordship in Late Medieval Scotland 1300–1455* (East Linton, 1998) 65.

21 *Wigtown Charter Chest*, nos.4, 5, 6, 11.

22 Stephen Boardman, *The Early Stewart Kings: Robert II and Robert III 1371–1406* (East Linton, 1996), 125.

23 *Chronicle Pluscarden*, ed. F.J. Skene (Edinburgh, 1887–80), ii, 262; Boardman, *The Early Stewart Kings*, 124–5.

including Archibald, fourth Earl of Douglas. He also acted as one of the guardians for Robert's heir, James.

Fleming met with some early success after negotiating an eleven-month truce with the English king Henry IV. Almost immediately Robert III rewarded him with a grant of lands in the earldom of Carrick.[24] But trouble was not far away. An English rebellion against Henry IV, led by Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, and Lord Thomas Bardolph, was supported by Fleming. When it failed, both Percy and Bardolph were granted refuge in Scotland under the care of Fleming and Orkney. For a less scrupulous man this would have provided an ideal bargaining tool: the return of Archibald, fourth Earl of Douglas, in exchange for Percy and Bardolph. Fleming, however, decided to allow them to take refuge in Wales to spare them execution at Henry IV's hands.

This may well have been the last straw for James Douglas of Balvenie, brother of the hostage, Earl of Douglas. In addition to Fleming's failure to secure his brother's release, James must have been alarmed by the king's decision to grant Fleming the lands and barony of Cavers in Roxburgh, an area considered to be the preserve of the Douglas family, and also by Fleming's appointment as sheriff of Roxburgh.[25] An unexpected opportunity to reassert Douglas authority presented itself on 14 February 1406.

In a risky plan designed to promote the authority of Prince James, the twelve-year-old son of Robert III and heir to the throne, Fleming and Orkney headed off into the heartland of Douglas territory with James as their figurehead. The response from James Douglas and his supporters was to leave Edinburgh in pursuit of them. At Long Hermiston Moor the two sides met and Sir David Fleming was killed after some heavy fighting. Orkney managed to take the heir to the throne to the Bass Rock in the Firth of Forth where they remained until rescuers arrived by ship. Unfortunately, as they headed for safety in France they were intercepted by English pirates with the result that James became a prisoner of Henry IV for the next eighteen years. Following these grave misfortunes in which David Fleming, the king's closest counsellor, had died,[26] and James, the king's son and heir, had been taken prisoner, the unhappy king himself passed away in April 1406.

It was not until 1424 that James I returned to Scotland. Malcolm Fleming, the son of Sir David, was to have been one of the hostages offered to the English as part of the king's release agreement but the Scottish king intervened to prevent that: James wanted to keep Malcolm in Scotland. Perhaps, as Michael Brown has suggested, the king had identified Malcolm as a potential negotiator between himself and the Albany Stewarts who had increased their landholding and political power during James's time in England.[27] Whatever the case, it did not prevent the king ordering the arrest of Malcolm at the same time as the arrest of Walter Stewart when they came to Edinburgh in May 1424. Fortunately for Malcolm his imprisonment was temporary; a much worse fate was to befall him sixteen years later.

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24 *Wigtown Charter Chest*, no.18.

25 *Wigtown Charter Chest,* no.19; Brown, *The Black Douglases*, 106–7.

26 The chronicler Wyntoun described Sir David Fleming as 'a knycht stout and bald, Trowit and luvit wel wyth the King'; cited in Boardman, *The Early Stewart Kings*, 278–9.

27 Michael Brown, *James I* (Edinburgh, 2015), 42, 46–7.

The personal rule of James I was dramatically cut short by his assassination in 1437 and was followed by the accession of his young son, James II. In another development, the powerful fifth Earl of Douglas died in 1439 and was succeeded by his son William, a precocious teenager who had turned to Malcolm Fleming for guidance and support. Both these developments were to come together in what became known as the 'Black Dinner'.

This took place on 24 November 1440 when James II was aged only nine and held under the care of Alexander Livingston, keeper of Stirling Castle, and Sir William Crichton, Lord Chancellor and custodian of Edinburgh Castle. An invitation to attend a banquet at Edinburgh Castle was enthusiastically accepted by William Douglas who brought with him his younger brother, David, and also Malcolm Fleming. Tradition has it that during the meal a bull's head was placed on the table, a sign that the guests were to be executed, and on the orders of Crichton, the Earl of Douglas and his brother were taken outside and beheaded. Malcolm, possibly because he was a witness to this event, suffered the same fate days later but with one significant difference: Fleming's lands were forfeited, Douglas's were not. [28]

It became clear that the man pulling Crichton's strings was James Douglas of Balvenie, the grand-uncle of the executed Douglas boys who now inherited the earldom from his grand-nephews and was the sole beneficiary of Crichton's actions. This was the same man who had slaughtered Malcolm's father in 1406 and now, due to his obese appearance, fully justified his other name 'James the Gross'.

Not surprisingly, Malcolm Fleming's son Robert was incandescent with rage about a judgement he rightly considered 'evil, false and rotten'.[29] He instigated legal proceedings to remove the charge of treason against his father and, most importantly, recover his forfeited lands. At Linlithgow Cross on 7 January 1441 he lodged his complaint, but the sheriff-depute decided the matter was outside his jurisdiction and should be presented to the justiciar for south of the Forth. Fleming was undeterred by the fact that the person who held this position was the family nemesis, James the Gross, now seventh Earl of Douglas, and Robert's case was heard on 13 February. The new earl was conciliatory and consented to Robert recovering his father's forfeited lands and, in a common practice in settling contemporary feuds, agreed a marriage arrangement between Fleming and the earl's third daughter, Janet. [30]

Robert Fleming's fortunes were to be transformed further after James II came of age in 1449. In 1451 he granted Biggar a charter to hold weekly markets and annual fairs, allowing it to develop into a thriving market town.[31] The following year Robert was one of seven barons created parliamentary peers by the king, the first Lord Fleming.[32] This was

28 Brown, *The Black Douglases*, 255–262, 272; Christine McGladdery, *James II* (Edinburgh, 2015), 27, 30–1, 274.

29 Patrick F. Tytler, *The History of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1882), vol. ii, 382; Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages*, 331.

30 *Scots Peerage*, viii, 533; Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages*, 331.

31 *Wigtown Charter Chest*, no.410.

32 Alexander Grant dates Fleming's creation to June 1452 and cites *The Asloan Manuscript*, ed. W.A. Craigie (Scottish Text Society, 1923), i, 243; Alexander Grant, 'The Development of the Scottish Peerage', *Scottish Historical Review*, lvii, (1978), 12.

part of James II's strategy to build up parliamentary support through patronage. While the title did not bring additional lands, it did formally recognise Robert's position as one of the more important barons, receiving summonses to Parliament that lesser barons or lairds did not receive.

Robert held his title for forty years and managed to outlive both James II, fatally wounded during the siege of Roxburgh Castle in 1460, and James III, killed at Sauchieburn in 1488 during a rebellion against him. During the minority of James III, Robert faced an anxious time as he became embroiled in a dispute with Gilbert Lord Kennedy. The dispute had its roots in Kennedy's desire to pursue the recovery of the lands of Kirkintilloch in Fleming's barony of Lenzie.[33] Kennedy, like Fleming, was a parliamentary peer, but had greater influence at court. Fleming had briefly enjoyed the position of Steward of the Royal household in 1454,[34] whereas Kennedy had succeeded his brother Bishop Kennedy as guardian to the child king in 1465 and was also custodian of Stirling Castle. In February 1466 Kennedy formed a bond with Sir Alexander Boyd, captain of Edinburgh Castle and chamberlain to the royal household, who also had easy access to the king: between them they now had possession of the king. This was the background to Robert Fleming making an agreement with Kennedy to submit the Kirkintilloch dispute to an assize. In return, Kennedy conceded to include Fleming in a bond with himself and Boyd;[35] this, Fleming hoped, would further his own interests and influence at court. Both of these agreements were sealed on 10 February 1466.[36]

If Fleming thought his immediate future looked brighter as a result of the developments of 10 February then he was mistaken. When the Kirkintilloch dispute was due to be heard at the justiciary court at Dumbarton on 15 April 1466, Fleming elected not to attend in person as he believed Kennedy was to be accompanied by a large number of armed supporters.[37] The court ruled in Kennedy's favour.

As for the bond, it came to an abrupt end within five months when on 9 July 1466 the young king was abducted near Linlithgow by Sir Alexander Boyd's brother, Robert Lord Boyd, and installed at Edinburgh Castle where Alexander joined them. This bloodless Boyd coup marked the end of Kennedy's brief period as guardian and he was temporarily imprisoned. However, as Hector MacQueen has argued, the downturn in Kennedy's fortunes may have persuaded him to focus on consolidating his position in Carrick rather than continuing to obsess over the Kirkintilloch lands which were of relatively little value;[38]

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33 For details of the Fleming-Kennedy dispute see Hector L. MacQueen, 'The Kin of Kennedy, 'Kenkynnol', and the Common Law', in A. Grant & K. Stringer (eds.), *Medieval Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1993), 274–7.

34 *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, v, 609 cited in Norman Macdougall, *James III*, (Edinburgh, 2009), 69–70.

35 For details of this bond see MacQueen, 'The Kin of Kennedy', fn.2, 270.; Macdougall, *James III*, 69–70; Jenny Wormald, *Lords and Men in Scotland: Bonds of Manrent 1442–1603* (Edinburgh, 1985) 145–6.

36 *Wigtown Charter Chest*, nos.33, 34.

37 *Wigtown Charter Chest*, no.38.

38 MacQueen, 'The Kin of Kennedy', 277.

it would certainly provide an explanation as to why the Kirkintilloch lands were back in Fleming hands by 1480.[39]

The Boyds paid a heavy price for their actions. Three years later when James III began his personal rule, they were summoned to appear before him but only Sir Alexander turned up; both his brother and nephew chose instead to flee the country. Alexander was found guilty of treasonable actions and was beheaded at Castlehill in Edinburgh. The fate of the Boyds may have acted as a salutary lesson for Robert Lord Fleming as he appears to have kept a relatively low profile for a number of years thereafter. Towards the end of his life the first Lord Fleming appeared unable to manage his affairs and a series of court actions were taken against him.[40] When he eventually died sometime between 1492 and 1494, his son and eldest grandson had predeceased him, and it was his second grandson, John Fleming, who succeeded to the title.

The second Lord Fleming had the good fortune to avoid the catastrophic Scottish defeat at Flodden in 1513 where three bishops, eleven earls, fifteen lords and many thousands of ordinary people perished along with their king, James IV. At the time, Fleming was with the Scottish fleet on a diplomatic mission to France. The death of so many of Scotland's

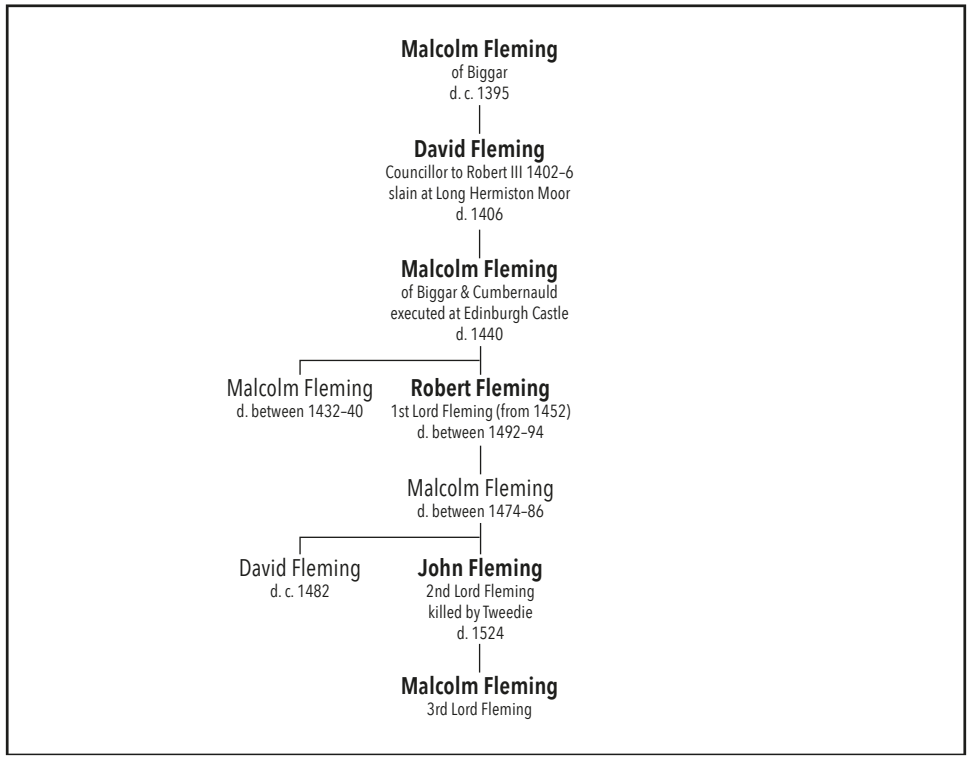


Figure 2. The Flemings 1382–1524.

39 *Wigtown Charter Chest*, nos.50, 53; MacQueen, 'The Kin of Kennedy', 277, fn.1.
40 See W. Hunter, *Biggar and the House of Fleming* (Edinburgh, 1867), 492–3.

political elite combined with the beginning of a new royal minority — James V succeeded his father as a one-year old infant — provided opportunities for men of Fleming's status to come to the fore.

At the outset of the minority, Margaret Tudor, the queen dowager and sister of Henry VIII, acted as regent in accordance with the terms of James IV's will. This arrangement did not last long as within less than a year she re-married and consequently, in keeping with the terms of the will, was removed as regent by the Council. Her replacement as governor was John, Duke of Albany, the son of James III's late brother Alexander, and the nearest living male relative to James V. Albany — aptly described as 'the Scot who was a Frenchman'[41] — was born, brought up, and lived in France, and enjoyed a prominent position at the French court. He was to forge a close relationship with John Lord Fleming over the next eleven years.[42]

The idea of Albany coming to Scotland as governor most likely originated when Fleming and the Earl of Arran were at the French court and first heard news of the death of their king at Flodden.[43] Fleming returned to Scotland in November 1513 but almost immediately set off for France again with instructions from the Council to work out plans for continued Franco-Scottish cooperation and also to bring Albany back to Scotland as governor. For a variety of reason Albany did not arrive until May 1515 but during the next two years Fleming gave the governor his full support and was duly rewarded with the office of lord chamberlain in January 1517.[44]

Albany returned to France in the summer of 1517 for what was supposed to be four months but turned into almost four years. His anticipated return was endlessly postponed and Fleming was sent to France in early 1520 to try and expedite matters.[45] In this he succeeded but within a year Albany had departed once more to France. This time it was not for long but on his return a row broke out with Margaret Tudor who wanted greater access to her son James V. Albany named Fleming as one of the four lords assigned to attend James and limit Margaret's access to him and thus it led her to make serious allegations against Fleming, describing him as an evil man who all Scotland knew had poisoned his first wife and her two sisters in 1502.[46] She also claimed Fleming had a motive to murder the king.

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41 Marie W. Stuart, *The Scot who was a Frenchman. Being the life of John Stewart, Duke of Albany, in Scotland, France and Italy* (Edinburgh, 1940).

42 See in particular chapters 1 & 2 of Ken Emond, *The Minority of James V: Scotland in Europe 1513–1528* (Edinburgh, 2019).

43 Gordon Donaldson, *Scotland: James V–James VII. The Edinburgh History of Scotland Vol.III* (Edinburgh, 1965), 18.

44 Registrum Secret: Sigilli Regum Scotorum, 1488-1529 (Edinburgh, 1908), i, 2856; *Scots Peerage*, viii, 536.

45 *Wigtown Charter Chest*, no.63; *Letters of James V*, ed. Denys Hay (Edinburgh, 1954) 1–2, 9–12, 76–7, 80–2.

46 The circumstances surrounding the poisoning of Fleming's first wife, Euphemie Drummond, and her two sisters — one of whom had been the mistress of James IV — are discussed in Norman Macdougall, *James IV* (Edinburgh, 2006), 113–4. There is no evience to implicate Fleming.

At this time Albany was having a serious affair with Fleming's sister Jean Abernethy,[47] and Margaret implied that Fleming would kill her son in order that Albany would become king, and Fleming's influence would increase through his sister's relationship with the king.[48]

The queen dowager need not have worried as within a year Albany had made his final departure from Scotland and Fleming had met an untimely death while he was out hawking with close family and friends in the border lands of Drumelzier, not far from Biggar. There, in November 1524, he found himself confronted by a large assembly of men led by John Tweedie of Drumelzier. The feud between the families had its roots in the Tweedies' desire for John Tweedie's eldest son to secure a marriage with Catherine Frizzel, heiress of Fruid in Tweedsmuir. But Catherine may already have been married to one of Fleming's sons and perhaps it was this news that provoked John Tweedie into brutally killing the second Lord Fleming.[49] Malcolm, the new Lord Fleming, sought justice but the Tweedies were arrogant and difficult. The dispute dragged on for seven years and only reached some sort of resolution when James V confirmed the Lords of Council judgement that John Tweedie should fund a chaplaincy in the church of Biggar to hold masses and pray for the soul of the second Lord Fleming.[50] Perhaps these events persuaded Malcolm to go a stage further and make Biggar into a collegiate church. By 1540 he notified the commendator of Kelso of his intention to do so, and within six years the foundation was in place.[51] This was to be the last collegiate church built in Scotland.

From the outset of James's personal rule Malcolm was part of the king's inner circle. There were several reasons for this: he was a parliamentary peer, his wife was a half-sister of James V and he also held the position of Lord Chamberlain. Jamie Cameron drew attention to Malcolm's almost perfect record in the chancery office as a charter witness and argued that Malcolm's value to the king was more 'civil servant than warrior'.[52] Nonetheless, it was on the battlefield of Solway Moss in 1542 that Fleming was captured and escorted to the Tower of London; there he was soon to learn that back in Scotland James V had died from fever and the country faced an uncertain future as his heir, Mary Queen of Scots, was only six days old.

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47 The affair produced a daughter — Eleanor Stewart — who Albany later brought over to join him in France. She was wedded in 1547 to Jean de l'Hospital, compte de Choisy and tutor to Francis, the future husband of Mary Queen of Scots; see Stuart, *The Scot who was a Frenchman*, 208.

48 Margaret's letter to Surrey, 24 November 1523, in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 3, 1519–1523*, ed. J.S. Brewer (London, 1867), 1479–80.

49 There is evidence to suggest that the Fleming already married to Catherine was called Malcolm (*Wigtown Charter Chest*, no.464) and succeeded Ninian Fleming as prior of Whithorn in 1538 (*Wigtown Charter Chest*, no.85).

50 *Wigtown Charter Chest*, no.478. Although a resolution was reached the dispute between the two families continued through to 1624.

51 *Wigtown Charter Chest*, nos.522, 529–531.

52 Jamie Cameron, *James V: The Personal Rule, 1528–42* (Edinburgh, 1998), 55, 355, 358.

The Flemings 1542–1579: key players in the reign of Mary Queen of Scots

The last five years of Malcolm's life were nothing if not eventful. Henry VIII saw an opportunity to use the Scottish prisoners to help him achieve his goal of securing his northern border through a dynastic marriage between his son Edward and the newly born queen of Scotland. Malcolm was one of ten 'assured lords' who were released on condition that once back in Scotland they would advance the English king's marriage plans which included the removal of Mary to England where she would be brought up at the English court.[53] At first Fleming seemed an enthusiastic supporter of the marriage but, much to Henry's annoyance, later changed his mind and transferred his loyalties to the queen mother, Mary of Guise, who favoured a French marriage for her daughter.[54]

Henry VIII's death in January 1547 did not put an end to England's 'Rough Wooing' of Scotland. Later that year, in September, the Scots suffered another disastrous defeat at the Battle of Pinkie — a defeat made worse for the Fleming family as Malcolm and two of his sons-in-law were amongst the many thousands of Scots to lose their lives.

However, there were some compensations. Malcolm's marriage to Lady Janet, the illegitimate daughter of James IV by his mistress the Countess of Bothwell, had helped to secure his position at James V's court, and did the same for five of his children at the court of Mary Queen of Scots following his death. Illegitimacy was no impediment to being welcomed into the royal household, and when it was decided in 1548 to send the infant Mary to France for safe-keeping, Janet Fleming was entrusted to accompany her as her governess. Her time in France was rudely cut short when in 1550 she scandalised the French court by unashamedly broadcasting she was expecting a child by the French king, Henry II, and was ordered to return to Scotland.[55] But Lady Janet was well liked by the Scottish queen who welcomed her back to France ten years later with her illegitimate son Henry of Valois.

Lady Janet's own eldest son, James, fourth Lord Fleming, travelled to France on several occasions and in 1550, at the instigation of Mary of Guise, was part of a group feted with presents in what appeared to be an attempt to secure his allegiance to the French side. James did receive 600 écus but, as Pamela Ritchie has argued, this should be seen more as part of the queen mother's distribution of patronage rather than a bribe; James Fleming was neither an anglophile nor zealous religious reformer who needed 'brainwashing'.[56] Indeed, his inclusion in the group may have been related to his mother's presence at the French court at this time rather than anything else. Some eight years later James returned as one of the eight commissioners sent to negotiate the marriage terms and represent Scotland at the wedding of the fifteen-year-old Scottish queen to Francis, heir to the French throne.

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53 Marcus Merriman, *The Rough Wooings: Mary Queen of Scots 1542–1551* (East Linton, 2000), 113.

54 *The Hamilton Papers*, ed. Joseph Bain (Edinburgh, 1890–92), vol. XI, 542; Margaret H.B. Sanderson, *Cardinal of Scotland: David Beaton c.1494–1546* (Edinburgh, 2001), 167.

55 Rosalind K Marshall, *Queen Mary's Women: Female Relatives, Servants, Friends and Enemies of Mary Queen of Scots* (Edinburgh, 2006), 42–5.

56 Pamela E. Ritchie, *Mary of Guise in Scotland, 1548–1560: A Political Career* (East Linton, 2002), 72, 256.

Fleming was by then both Lord Chamberlain and son-in-law to the heir apparent, James Hamilton, second Earl of Arran and Duke of Chatelherault, and for those reasons he may have been chosen to be one of the commissioners. Tragically, like three others, James died in mysterious circumstances after the wedding celebrations. As always, rumours of foul play abounded, but the most likely explanation is that they were the unfortunate victims of a virulent epidemic such as typhus.[57] John, the younger brother of James, became the fifth Lord Fleming.

For the Scottish queen, her years in France were largely happy ones, partly due to the bond she developed with Lady Janet's youngest daughter, Mary Fleming, who was close in age. She became one of the queen's celebrated 'Four Maries', the others being Beaton, Seton and Livingston, who attended the queen as ladies-in-waiting. Their lives were inextricably linked and when the queen's husband Francis died from an ear infection they returned with her to Scotland where she began her personal rule in August 1561.

In terms of language, religion and culture, the queen must have felt like a stranger in her own country, particularly since Parliament had declared Scotland to be Protestant in 1560 and she had been raised a Roman Catholic. In these circumstances she turned to families she already knew and trusted, like Lords Seton, Livingston and Fleming, all brothers of her dependable ladies-in-waiting, the Four Maries.[58]

In the case of John Fleming, it quickly became clear that the close bond of mutual trust and friendship which his sister enjoyed with the queen extended to him. She visited him at Cumbernauld within a year of her return to Scotland and the following May insisted on hosting his wedding feast at Holyrood.[59] For her part, the queen was impressed by John's intelligence and commitment to her service and, in keeping with sixteenth-century family tradition, rewarded him with the office of lord chamberlain.[60] He quickly became part of the queen's inner circle and was frequently at the palace of Holyrood. As Jenny Wormald has highlighted, Mary spent an inordinate amount of time meeting with Fleming and other close friends in her private apartments on the second floor of the palace when she might have been better advised to have attended council meetings taking place on the ground floor.[61]

Evidence of Fleming's commitment to the queen's cause came in the summer of 1565 when he and his brothers-in-law, Atholl and Livingston, joined the queen's side in response to an abortive rebellion sparked by her controversial marriage to Lord Darnley.[62] This became known as the 'Chaseabout Raid' because no pitched battle took place, but it

57 For detailed discussion as to whether it was an illness or poison-induced, see Ritchie, *Mary of Guise*, 195–6.

58 Gordon Donaldson, *All the Queen's Men: Power and Politics in Mary Stewart's Scotland* (London, 1983), 95–6.

59 The visit to Cumbernauld was marred by the collapse of the great hall roof killing eight people. *Calendar of State Papers Relating to Scotland and Mary Queen of Scots*, ed. Joseph Bain, (Edinburgh, 1900), vol. i, 598 [hereafter CSP].

60 *Wigtown Charter Chest,* nos.110, 112.

61 Jenny Wormald, *Mary Queen of Scots, A Study in Failure* (Edinburgh, 2017), 124.

62 Donaldson, *All the Queen's Men*, 72.

was effectively a victory for Mary. There were rumours that the queen intended to reward Fleming with the earldom of Wigtown,[63] but this never happened, possibly because events began to overtake Mary. In the next year, Mary's Italian secretary, David Rizzio, was brutally murdered at Holyrood, and Fleming, who feared he too was a target, made a hasty exit from the palace. But as soon as he heard of the pregnant queen's escape with Darnley, Fleming joined Seton, Livingston, Bothwell and Huntly in safely escorting them to Dunbar.

It was not long before Fleming grew openly to detest Darnley,[64] but despite this, he had nothing to do with Darnley's murder at Kirk o' Field in 1567. However, he appeared to support Mary's fateful decision to marry the prime suspect of the crime, Fleming's cousin, the Earl of Bothwell, and was one of the few lords to attend the wedding.[65] The marriage crystallised opposition to Mary and now included Fleming's brother-in-law, the Earl of Atholl. At Carberry Hill both sides met but rather than spill more blood the queen decided to hand herself over to the lords who opposed her.[66] In the aftermath of Carberry Hill, Fleming and Seton accompanied Bothwell northwards before leaving him to make his escape.[67]

Following the queen's enforced abdication Fleming refused to attend the coronation of her son, James VI, in July 1567. An increasing number of nobles began to give their support to Mary and turn against the Earl of Moray, Mary's illegitimate half-brother who had been appointed regent. This was evident in the large army she assembled after her dramatic escape from Lochleven Castle in 1568. Fleming left Dumbarton Castle to join her at Langside near Glasgow where they observed the humiliating defeat of her army by Moray's men.[68] It is from this point on that his actions in support of the deposed queen separate him from many other Marian supporters.

Following the defeat at Langside, Fleming accompanied Mary on her flight to England;[69] and from there he was entrusted with a mission seeking military assistance from France.[70] However, this was thwarted by the intervention of Elizabeth of England. Fleming returned to Scotland in 1569 after attending the inconclusive first 'trial' of Mary as one of her commissioners.[71] Back in Scotland he concentrated on turning Dumbarton Castle into an

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63 Randolph to Cecil, June 3, 1565 in CSP, vol. ii, 174.

64 Claude Nau, *Memorials of Mary Stuart, or the History of Mary Stewart from the Murder of Riccio until her Flight into England*, ed. J. Stevenson (Edinburgh, 1883), 17.

65 *Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents that have passed within the country of Scotland since the death of King James the fourth till the year 1575*, ed. Thomas Thomson (Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1833), 111.

66 According to Nau, neither Fleming nor Hamilton arrived at Carberry until it was too late; Nau, *Memorials*, 43.

67 Throckmorton to Elizabeth, July 18, 1567; *CSP*, vol. ii, 356.

68 *CSP*, vol. ii, 405–7.

69 For a detailed discussion on possible routes taken, see A.E. MacRobert, 'Mary Queen of Scots' Last Night in Scotland', TDGNHAS, series III, vol. 78 (2004), 111–14; the unpublished *Mary's Flight to the Solway* (1993) by the same author, available at the Ewart Library, Dumfries.

70 Alexander Labanoff, *Letters of Mary Queen of Scots* (London, 1845), 159–62.

71 Sir James Melville, *Memoirs of his Own Life* (Edinburgh, 1827), 205.

impregnable Marian fortress, well aware of its strategic importance, dominating the Clyde and providing access to French overseas supplies.

At one stage there was a suggestion that his half-brother, Henry of Valois, son of Lady Fleming and Henry II, might be approached to lead a French expedition which would use Dumbarton as a base.[72] This did not happen. However, French support did come in the way of two great ships which arrived in Loch Ryan, Wigtownshire, led by Thomas Fleming, brother of John Fleming of Boghall. This was enough to persuade the fifth Lord Fleming to refuse to surrender Dumbarton Castle to the regent Moray despite the forfeiture of his lands and Mary's seemingly hopeless position.[73]

Eventually, after holding the castle for six years, it was taken in a daring raid involving a former soldier of the castle, hell-bent on revenge for Fleming ordering the whipping of his wife for an alleged theft.[74] However, Fleming escaped to France where he secured money from Charles IX of France. On his return in 1572 to Edinburgh Castle, the last remaining Marian stronghold, he met his death in bizarre circumstances. An accidental shot from a French soldier ricocheted into his leg; he remained in Edinburgh Castle until a litter carried him to Boghall Castle in Biggar where he died and was buried.[75]

As Figure 3 illustrates, Fleming support for Mary extended to other family members, both during and after her personal rule. But support for the failed Marian cause came at a heavy price. There was the disappointment of 1568 when the regent Moray gifted Whithorn priory to Robert Stewart, the illegitimate son of James V, and not to William Fleming, John's cousin. In doing this, not only was a forty-year Fleming connection to the priory broken,[76] but a possible opportunity squandered by the regent to win over Fleming from the Marian side. Fleming responded in typically belligerent manner and attacked nearby Cruggleton Castle, retaining control of it until the year of his death.[77] Then, in 1570, Fleming's estates were forfeited and taken over by the crown; the forest deer and rare white cattle were destroyed at Cumbernauld, and at Biggar tenants were forced to pay large sums of money.[78] At least there was some comfort for the fifth Lord's wife, Lady Elizabeth Ross, who was treated with great consideration by the regent Lennox following the taking of Dumbarton Castle and granted some means of supporting herself and her family.[79]

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72 CSP, vol. iii, 353; I.M.M. MacPhail, *Dumbarton Castle* (Edinburgh, 1979), 66.

73 MacPhail, *Dumbarton Castle*, 64–5.

74 Ibid., 68–72.

75 For a fuller account of John Lord Fleming's relationship with Mary Queen of Scots see posting by Charles Rigg. <http://flemish.wp.st-andrews.ac.uk/2014/12/12/john-5th-lord-fleming>.

76 The Fleming family held Whithorn Priory through Ninian (1524–36) and Malcolm (1536–68). See Gordon Donaldson, 'The Bishops and Priors of Whithorn', *TDGNHAS*, series III, vol. 34, 146–7; *Wigtownshire Charters*, ed. R.C. Reid (Scottish History Society, 1960), 12–13 [hereafter *Wigtownshire Charters*].

77 *Wigtownshire Charters*, 147–51, no.121.

78 Lord Fleming's letter of 26 February 1571 to the Commissioner of the Queen of Scots' Party gives the most detailed account; CSP vol. iii, 487.

79 Lord Herries, *Historical Memoirs* (Abbotsford Club, Edinburgh, 1836), 132–3.

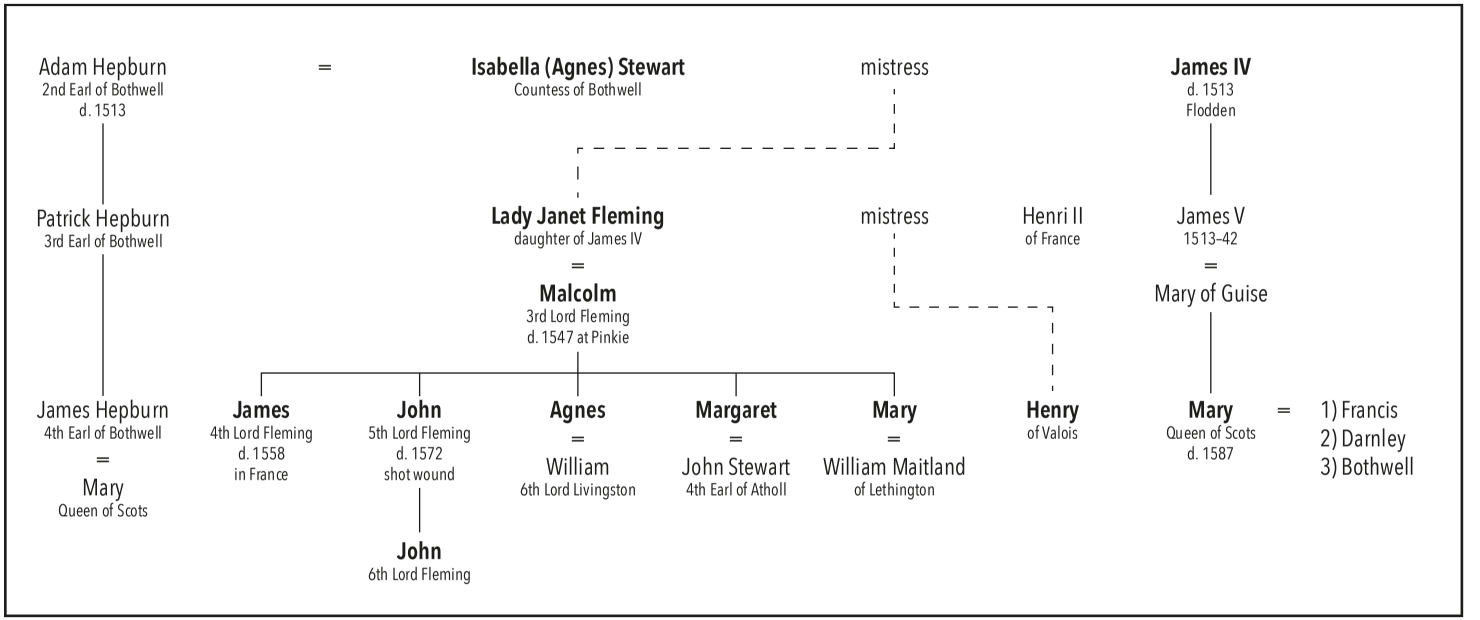


Figure 3. The Flemings 1524–79. The figure illustrates the presence of the Fleming network at the court of Mary Queen of Scots. It extended beyond Malcolm Lord Fleming, his wife Lady Janet, and their two sons James Lord Fleming and John Lord Fleming to three of their daughters. Margaret Fleming was married to the Catholic Earl of Atholl and was reputed to have been one of the queen's highest remunerated servants. She wanted to visit Mary at Tutbury but was refused by Elizabeth I. Agnes Fleming was married to Lord Livingston, a Protestant lord devoted to the queen. Agnes stayed with the queen at Bolton and Tutbury castles but on her return to Scotland she was imprisoned for two months at Dalkeith Castle by the regent Morton for allegedly communicating messages from the queen to her Marian supporters. Mary Fleming, the belle of the Four Maries, married in 1567 the queen's Secretary, William Maitland, but never saw the queen after she was taken to Lochleven Castle. No member of the Fleming family was present at the queen's execution in 1587. For further details see Rosalind K. Marshall, *Queen Mary's Women: Female relatives friends and enemies of Mary, Queen of Scots* (Edinburgh, 2006) and the posting by Charles Rigg, <http://flemish.wp.st-andrews.ac.uk/2014/12/05/mary-fleming-and-mary-queen-of-scots>.

Elizabeth outlived her husband by a few years and following her death, John and his four sisters were brought up by the fourth Earl of Atholl and his wife, Margaret Fleming, their father's sister. It was not until 1579 that an Act of Parliament was passed restoring most of the forfeited lands and the title of sixth Lord Fleming to the ten-year-old John.[80]

The Flemings 1579–1747: the rise and fall of the earldom of Wigtown (second creation)

John Lord Fleming was a similar age to James VI, the son of Mary Queen of Scots, who did not begin his personal rule until 1585. Three years later the king appointed the sixth Lord Fleming principal usher of the king's house, a position which gave him an important role at court. Nonetheless, although one of Scotland's thirty-three lords, he was not an earl, of whom there were thirteen in 1589, and thus not in the highest echelon of noble society. That changed after 1603 when, on the death of Elizabeth I, James VI of Scotland succeeded to the throne of England and took to London several of his favoured Scottish nobles, including the sixth Lord Fleming.

It was at Westminster that in 1606 James granted the earldom of Wigtown to Lord John Fleming, one of eighteen created between 1605 and the king's death in 1625. Unlike the first creation the recreated title carried no military obligation. Nor did it provide a return of the lands previously held during the first creation. This was undoubtedly a disappointment to Fleming as throughout most of the sixteenth century the family had retained a vested interest in Whithorn Priory and a plan had been drafted which would have resulted in the return of the lands of Galloway previously given to Malcolm Fleming by David II.[81]

When the first Earl died in 1619 his son John succeeded to the earldom and, like his father before him, became a member of the Privy Council in what proved to be difficult times. Religious conflict dominated Scottish politics for most of the seventeenth century and was to prove a challenge for the Fleming family. After the Union of the Crowns in 1603 royal interference in ecclesiastical affairs created severe tensions as successive monarchs sought to 'anglicise' the Scottish Presbyterian kirk by imposing both bishops and a more ritualised form of worship. It is difficult to say where the second Earl of Wigtown stood on this as he was first and foremost a monarchist, having spent some time at the court of Charles I. However, like the rest of the Scottish nobility, he signed the National Covenant in 1638 following Charles I's imposition of an English-style Prayer Book on his reluctant Scottish subjects.

The response from Charles I was to reassert his authority over Scotland by force. John Lord Fleming, the second Earl of Wigtown's son, supported the Covenanting cause by raising and equipping troops at his own expense.[82] In what became known as the Bishops' War, the king's army was quickly defeated and Charles I was forced into a humiliating

80 *The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, eds. T. Thomson and C. Innes (Edinburgh, 1814–75), vol. III, 183.

81 *Wigtown Charter Chest*, no.176.

82 *Wigton Papers: Royal Letters and Instructions, & Other Documents from the Archives of the Earls of Wigton*, *MDXX–MDCL* (Maitland Club, Glasgow, 1840), no. XXVII, 85; no. XXVIII, 86–7.

settlement in the summer of 1641. But even before then, the second Earl clearly shared the unease of his cousin, the fifth Earl of Montrose, about the anti-monarchical direction the Covenanting movement appeared to be taking. In August 1640, at the instigation of Montrose, Wigtown agreed to hold a meeting at his Cumbernauld home for those concerned about the rumoured ambitions of the Covenanting leadership, in particular the Earl of Argyll. From that meeting, twenty nobles, including Montrose and Wigtown, signed a secret bond promising mutual support.[83]

Montrose's next step was to meet secretly with Charles I and switch his support from the Covenanting side to the king's. Not surprisingly, by 1643 Wigtown was receiving requests from Charles I to call upon his friends, vassals, tenants and dependents to do the same.[84] Nonetheless, Wigtown was not prepared actively to commit himself, possibly because he was aware of the potential risks it posed to the security of his estates. Given what subsequently happened to his eldest son, and indeed to Montrose himself, this turned out to be a wise move.

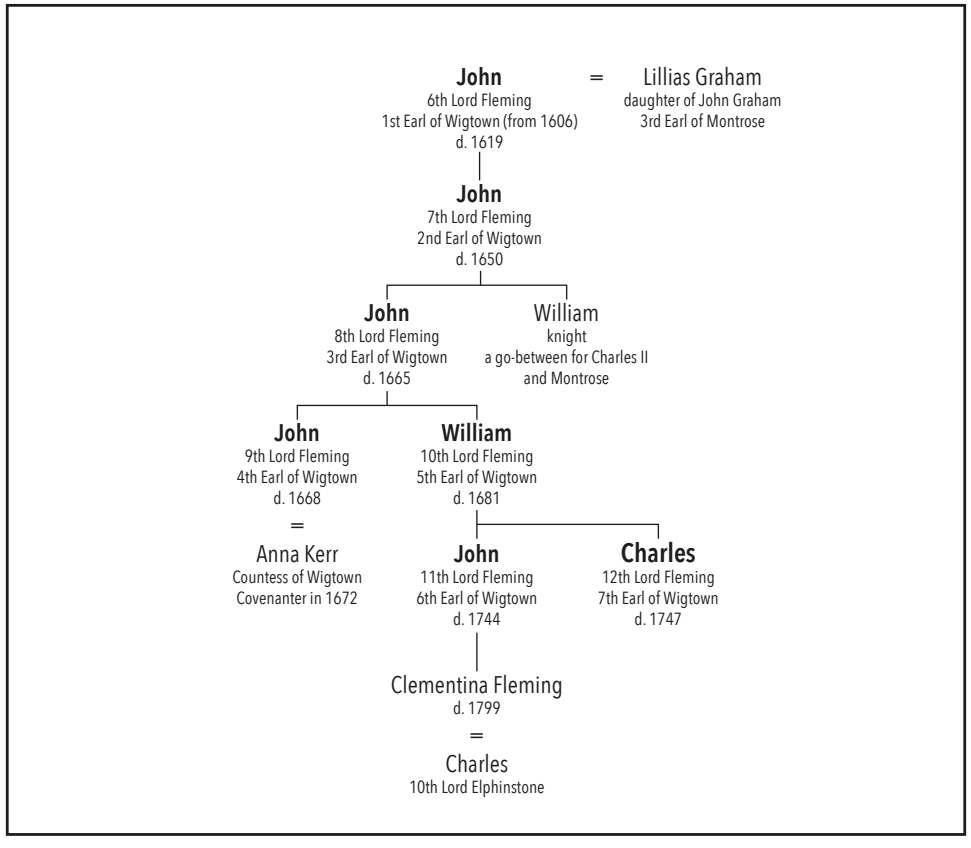


Figure 4. The Flemings 1579–1747.

83 Edward J. Cowan, *Montrose for Covenant and King* (Edinburgh, 1995), 97–9, 108.
84 *Wigton Papers:* no. XXI, 75–6.

His son, John Lord Fleming, joined Montrose's forces and was at Philiphaugh, near Selkirk, in 1645, when Montrose's unlikely run of victories came to an end; his heavily outnumbered troops were crushed by a Covenanting army. Montrose was urged to escape and sought safety abroad. John also escaped but remained in Scotland where he was called upon to answer for his actions. Initially he was subjected to a hefty fine of £6,400, but he claimed he was in no position to pay as he had not been reimbursed for the £20,000 pounds he had borrowed to equip his Covenanting regiment during the Bishops' War.[85] After careful scrutiny his case was accepted; he was fortunate to get off so lightly.

John eventually succeeded to the earldom when his father died in May 1650, the year after the English Parliament executed Charles I and created a republic under Oliver Cromwell. Montrose returned from exile to lend his support to the deposed king's son, Charles II, and it was the third Earl of Wigtown's younger brother, Sir William Fleming, who acted as a go-between for them.[86] Unfortunately for Montrose, his return ended in defeat, betrayal, and a sentence of death which was duly carried out on 21 May 1650. It was eleven years before Montrose was given a proper funeral; the Earl of Wigtown, as one of Montrose's closest living relatives, played a prominent part as he followed behind the coffin as it made its way to its final resting place at St Giles Cathedral in Edinburgh.[87]

The third Earl was succeeded by his eldest son, John (1665–68), and then John's brother, William (1668–81). In the 1660s, the restoration of the monarchy promised to bring an end to religious strife but all it did was to change its nature. Charles II re-established episcopacy in Scotland in 1662 with the agreement of Parliament. About a third of Scottish ministers could not accept these changes and started holding their services in buildings other than churches. These meetings, or conventicles as they were called, were declared illegal. This created a particularly difficult situation for William with regard to his sister-in-law, Anna Kerr, the Dowager Countess of Wigtown. She was firmly committed to the Covenanting side and was arrested in 1672 for attending two field conventicles at the house of Boghall. Anna was fined 4,000 merks (a merk or mark was 13s 4d) and payment was to be made to Sir William Sharp who was then to deliver the money to William, Earl of Wigtown.[88] Perhaps this family connection made him a particularly suitable choice in 1674 to consider the conditions of those imprisoned for attending conventicles! By the time of his death in 1681 the religious strife between Presbyterians and Episcopalians was no nearer to being resolved.

John and Charles, the sons of William, were the last two earls of Wigtown. At the time of their father's death John was about eight years old and Charles a couple of years younger. An important figure in their formative years was James Drummond, fourth Earl of Perth, who was appointed their guardian in 1684,[89] the year before James VII and II succeeded his

85 *Wigton Papers,* no. XXVII, 85; no. XXVIII, 86–7.
86 *Wigton Papers,* nos. XXX–XLII, 97–121; Cowan, *Montrose*, 295.
87 Cowan, *Montrose*, 300.
88 *Register of Privy Council of Scotland*, ed. P. Hume Brown, Third Series, vol. III, 1669–72 (Edinburgh, 1910), 555, 559–61.
89 The Eric Robertson Collection of Fleming Family Charters (Thomas Fisher Rare Books Library, University of Toronto) Box 5, folder 11.

brother Charles II as an openly Catholic monarch. Perth was a loyal supporter of the new king and in 1685 converted to Catholicism. This may have been a key factor in Charles Fleming entering the Roman Catholic seminary at Douai in 1689 where he trained to become a priest. His elder brother, John, sixth Earl of Wigtown (1681–1744), may also have spent time in France and, following the king's overthrow in 1688–89, attended the exiled Jacobite court.

The sixth Earl was back in Scotland when the issue of the union of the Scottish and English Parliaments came to the fore following the accession of Queen Anne in 1702. Sympathetic to the Jacobite cause, John was an outspoken critic of the Act of Union in 1707[90] and supportive of the first of the four major uprisings aimed at the restoration of the Stuart monarchy that immediately followed. The earl's younger brother, Charles Fleming, was dispatched from France to Scotland early in 1708 to communicate details of the imminent arrival of the nineteen-year-old son of the deceased James II. James Stuart, known as the Old Pretender, intended to arrive at the Firth of Forth with French naval support and proclaim himself king. However, on his arrival, he found there were no pilots to guide the French fleet and no sign of support from the mainland. A numerically superior English fleet appeared causing the French commander — much against the wishes of James — to flee north and then return to Dunkirk.[91]

When it came to the 1715 Jacobite Uprising, the sixth earl, well known for his continued Jacobite leanings, was duly summoned to appear in Edinburgh to give assurances of his loyalty to the government side and to pay bail. He did not comply and consequently was apprehended and imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle; there he remained for ten months, an angry and frustrated man, unable to participate in the rebellion.[92] By the late 1720s, however, he appears to have abandoned his support for the Jacobite cause. As a trustee of a group set up to advise the Old Pretender, he probably came to accept the view of its leader, George Lockhart of Carnwath, that Jacobitism had become a lost cause and any thoughts of an uprising in 1727 should not be entertained.[93] Certainly, by 1736 the government was sufficiently confident of Wigtown's change of allegiance to have him appointed as the king's chamberlain of Fife.[94] His loyalty was never put fully to the test as he died the year before the last and most dramatic of the Jacobite uprisings in 1745.

Towards the end of his life John was concerned about the future of the title. The sixth Earl's three marriages, the third to the daughter of Lockhart of Carnwath, had failed to produce a son, and there was no prospect of his unmarried brother and heir, Charles, doing so. In these circumstances, the title would pass to John's daughter Clementina who was

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90 *The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland* xi, 236, 237,405; *Scots Peerage*, viii, 554.

91 Charles Fleming's role is covered in some detail in Daniel Szechi, *Britain's Lost Revolution? Jacobite Scotland and French Grand Strategy, 1701–8* (Manchester, 2015), 28–30, 76–7, 93–4.

92 John Burnett, *A Treatise on various branches of the Criminal Law of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1811), 327-8; *Scots Peerage*, viii, 554.

93 Letter from George Lockhart of Carnwath to the Old Pretender, 4 August 1727 in *Letters of George Lockhart of Carnwath 1698–1732,* ed. Daniel Szechi (Scottish History Society, 1989), 312–3.

94 *Scots Peerage*, viii, 554.

married to the son and heir of the ninth Lord Elphinstone. John did not want the peerage of Wigtown to be merged with any other title and ensured this legally with a new deed of entail in 1741.[95] As a result, after Charles, seventh Earl of Wigtown and twelfth Lord Fleming, died in 1747, his niece Clementina inherited the estates, but not the title, which became extinct.

This case study of the Fleming family illustrates how their fortunes were interwoven with some of the defining moments in Scottish history from the fourteenth-century Wars of Independence through the reign of Mary Queen of Scots to the Jacobite rebellions of the eighteenth century. It is a notable story of baronial survival and resilience. There is a certain irony in that, having survived a series of challenges that threatened its very existence — most notably the loss of the earldom and sale of heritable lands in the fourteenth century and forfeiture in 1440 and 1570 — the line effectively came to an end as a result of the failure of the sixth Earl of Wigtown to produce a son and heir.

95 Hunter, *Biggar and the House of Fleming*, 562; G.V. Irving, *The Upper Ward of Lanarkshire Described and Delineated* (Glasgow, 1864) I, 328–9.

THE MILITARY ROAD FROM GRETNA TO PORTPATRICK

Martin Allen[1]

In the second half of the eighteenth century the British government faced threats from both Scotland and Ireland. In Scotland the Jacobites' cause lived on despite their military defeat at Culloden, and the government had to guard against a renewed uprising. Among its precautions was the construction in the 1750s of a military road linking Newcastle and Carlisle. In the Scottish Highlands new roads had already been built by General George Wade between 1724 and 1740. To control the population of Ireland and put down any rebellion that might occur there, the government had to be able to move troops rapidly to a port on the west coast of Britain from which they could make a short crossing of the Irish Sea. To meet this need the government constructed the road which is the subject of this paper, the military road from Gretna to Portpatrick. The route of this road is described in relation to earlier and later strategic road alignments through the same landscape.

Introduction

The officer with overall responsibility for the Gretna–Portpatrick road was Major William Caulfeild, who had served as Wade's assistant (and, after 1740, successor) in the Highlands; however, the survey work and supervision of construction was done by Caulfeild's deputy Major William Rickson. William Roy, an estate factor's son from Carluke, had been commissioned to map the Highlands; when that was completed he was instructed to map the Lowlands. The resulting map, completed in 1755, is a valuable resource for the study of the military road.[2] Surveyed and drawn in the decade before construction of the military road started, it thus shows what roads already existed at that time, some of which needed only minor realignment or strengthening for military use. By default it also indicates, by *not* showing them, which parts of the military road did not yet exist but which appear on subsequent maps of the later eighteenth and early nineteenth century, and can therefore be safely attributed to Rickson.

In the year following completion of Roy's Lowlands map, two possible routes were surveyed by Rickson and his assistant, Hugh Debbieg, for a military road from Gretna to Portpatrick. One route went by way of New Galloway; the other, which was eventually adopted, by Gatehouse of Fleet. Construction of the road did not begin until 1763, seven years after the survey. In 1763–4 Rickson made frequent reports to John Dalrymple, an ancestor of the Earl of Stair; his letters form the main subject matter of M.C. Arnott's article 'The Military Road to Portpatrick, 1763'.[3]

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1 Durisdeer Schoolhouse, Thornhill, Dumfriesshire, DG3 5BQ.

2 Available on the National Library of Scotland website, <https://maps.nls.uk>.

3 M.C. Arnott, 'The Military Road to Portpatrick, 1763' in *TDGNHAS*, Series III, Vol.28 (1949–50). See also Alex D. Anderson, 'Some Notes on the Old Military Road in Dumfries and Galloway' in, *TDGNHAS* Series III, Vol.72 (1997).

Another useful resource, in addition to Roy's map and Rickson's reports, is the first Statistical Account of Scotland, of which Volume IV of the reissued set covers Dumfriesshire and Volume V the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright and (separately) Wigtownshire.[4] Each volume contains separate articles on the parishes in the area, written in the last decade of the eighteenth century, usually by the Church of Scotland minister of the parish, and in the modern edition reproduced in facsimile of the original printing. The military road is mentioned in the accounts of nearly all the parishes through which it passed, sometimes barely as at Troqueer ('The military road that goes from Dumfries to Portpatrick runs through Troquire'[5]), sometimes with reference to length or direction as at Ruthwell ('The high road from Portpatrick to England, made by the military at the expence of government, runs through this parish from E. to W.'[6]) and Crossmichael ('About a mile of the great military road {made by government} from the English border to Portpatrick, passes through the south end of this parish'[7]).

In Scotland, responsibility for the maintenance of roads and bridges lay with the Commissioners of Supply, bodies of landowners in each county and precursors of the County Councils which inherited that responsibility in 1890. In Dumfriesshire and Galloway the military road was constructed by the government [in fact by squads of soldiers on enhanced pay]; this was true even in parishes such as Dornock and Cummertrees where it followed an existing road. However, its subsequent maintenance was problematical. The system under which the Commissioners of Supply could demand unpaid 'statute' labour had largely given place to payments in lieu, but these were often inadequate. At Cummertrees the military road 'was lately falling into disrepair, the funds arising from the composition of the statute [the change from unpaid labour to money payments] not being sufficient for preserving it, the trustees for the high-roads made an application to Parliament for an act to erect turnpikes, and levy tolls for keeping this road in repair'.[8] A footnote to the account on Gretna parish states that 'There were no turnpike roads in this part of the country till the year 1777, when an act of Parliament was obtained for repairing certain roads in the county of Dumfries, by the aid of tolls, and for commuting the statute labour …';[9] and there were also toll bars in the other Dumfriesshire parishes traversed by the military road.

The accounts of the Stewartry and Wigtownshire parishes make no mention of either toll bars or maintenance [except in Stranraer, where the government kept the road in repair], but the roads were evidently good enough for Stranraer to be connected with London by a daily mail coach,[10] while in Girthon parish 'The road, betwixt Dumfries and Portpatrick, runs through this village [Gatehouse of Fleet], and makes its principal inn well frequented. Two mail coaches arrive here, at 7 o'clock every morning, one from Carlisle, the other from Portpatrick'.[11]

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4 Sir John Sinclair, (ed.) *The Statistical Account of Scotland 1791–1799*, Vol. IV Dumfriesshire (new edition, Wakefield, EP Publishing Ltd., 1978) and Vol. V Stewartry of Kirkcudbright and Wigtownshire (ditto, 1983).
5 Sinclair, op.cit. (Vol. V), p.346.
6 Sinclair, op.cit. (Vol. IV), p.450.
7 Sinclair, op.cit. (Vol. V), p.110.
8 Sinclair, op.cit. (Vol. IV), p.73.
9 ibid., p.190n.
10 Sinclair, op.cit. (Vol. V), p.530.
11 ibid., p.139.

The writers' attitudes to the military road, where expressed, are generally approving. At Twynholm it 'has contributed greatly to the improvement of the country'.[12] At Minnigaff 'the advantages of this ('the great road from London to Dublin') are too obvious to need any remarks'.[13] The Balmaghie author writes that it 'has certainly been of material service to Galloway' but regrets that 'it is neither so short nor so level as it might have been made.' To compensate for these deficiencies it 'seems well adapted for the purposes of a military road, because, from the eminences over which it has been carried, frequent opportunities are afforded of reconnoitering the motions of an enemy.'[14] In contrast to these expressions of approval is this scathing comment from the minister of Urr parish, 'The military road which passes through Urr (and that in a line so preposterous, that mere *Folly* could hardly have stumbled on it) is the only benefit for which it stands indebted to public benevolence.'[15]

Between its entry into Scotland at the Sark bridge and its seaward termination at Portpatrick, the military road crosses five fair-sized rivers: the Annan, the Nith, the Dee, the Fleet and the Cree. Five of the six sections that follow discuss the stretch of the military road between one river-crossing and the next, beginning with the stretch between that of the Sark near Gretna and that of the Annan at the like-named town; the sixth section discusses the final stretch from the Cree to Portpatrick.

Gretna to Annan

The Sark is a river of disproportionate importance to its small size. Until 1552, when the Debatable Land was partitioned between the kingdoms of Scotland and England, the Sark was the western boundary of that territory, which had existed from time immemorial — according to Graham Robb, at least from the Iron Age, when it had served as a buffer zone at the meeting-place of the territories of three tribes, the Damnonii, Votadini and Selgovae.[16] When the Debatable Land was divided, the seaward six miles of the Sark's length became and remain part of the boundary between the two kingdoms.

Roy's map shows a crossing of the Sark a few hundred yards downstream from Thomas Telford's bridge that now crosses the river, overlooked by the Gretna Chase Hotel. No bridge is shown where Roy's road crossed, but the identification of a nearby settlement as 'Sarkbridge' indicates that there had been a bridge of some kind near there. Roy's crossing-place is near the sharp bend where Sarkfoot Road turns from south to south-west; at the bend a private drive continues southward to a hotel. The Ordnance Survey Six-inch to the mile maps [hereafter OS 6″ maps] show a track which followed the line of the drive, then crossed the field beyond it to reach the Sark just above a bend in the river which is the probable site of the bridge. A gate from the drive now marks the spot from which the track would have continued into the field, but it no longer exists within the field. Roy's map shows the road that was to become Sarkfoot Road, but instead of bending from south to south-west it continued by the present-day drive and the now-lost track to the river. Although his map shows no bridge there, it shows the road continuing south of the Sark

12 ibid., p.360.
13 ibid., p.278.
14 ibid., p.33.
15 ibid., p.383.
16 Graham Robb, *The Debatable Land* (London, Picador, 2018), p.200.

where it is identified as ‘Road to Carlisle’. It was evidently a poor road, with a double ford at the mouth of the Esk; compared with that obstruction, the need to wade across the much smaller Sark would have been insignificant.

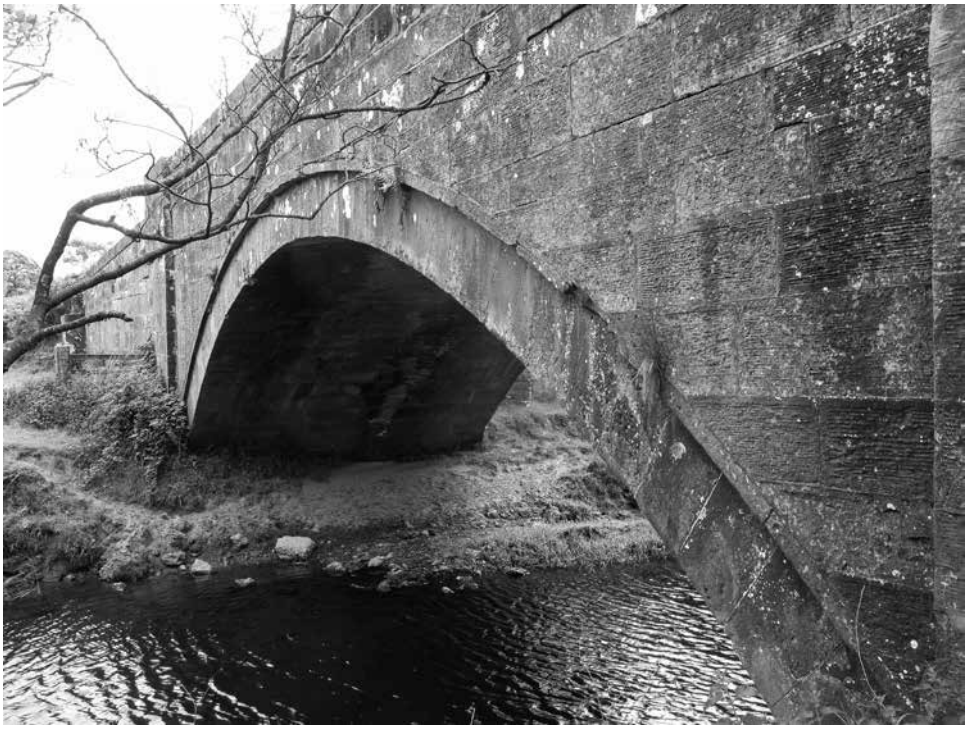


Figure 1. Telford’s Plumpe Bridge near Gretna (NY331680).
This crossing of the River Sark is the official starting-place of the military road.

Alex. D. Anderson, in an earlier volume of these *Transactions*, wrote: ‘The ‘Sark Bridge’ at which the [military] road officially commenced was the bridge between Springfield and Plumpe on the road to Longtown and thence to Carlisle (NY331680)’. Taylor and Skinner’s strip-map of 1776 shows the road, which crosses the Sark by a bridge there, as the principal route from Gretna Green to Carlisle. The ashlar-faced bridge shown in Figure 1 was built later, possibly by Thomas Telford; although of only a single span it is stylistically similar to his two-arch bridge over the same river at NY327669, on his Glasgow–Carlisle turnpike road. The Plumpe Bridge is narrow and humped but was adequate for the traffic of the time; it has now been replaced by the adjoining concrete bridge which is both broad and level. In addition to their route to Carlisle by way of the Plumpe Bridge and Longtown, Taylor and Skinner show a turning from Gretna Green as ‘Carlisle Rd. by the Sands’, which is Roy’s road as described in the preceding paragraph.

From Gretna Green the military road followed the now unclassified road which runs west and then south-west, crossing the railway and the new A75 to join the old A75, now the B721, shown by Roy as ‘Road from Annan to Gratney Green’. That road, crossing the

Kirtle Water at the approach to Rigg, was adopted as the military road with few changes. Between Nivenhill (NY283665) and Woodfield (NY265662) a new section was built to replace the old road that ran further south; the divergence of the older road is apparent at Nivenhill where the buildings are offset to the modern road, and it appears to have crossed the line of the minor road to Browhouses about 300 yards south of the old Mount Pleasant school, where the OS 6″ first-edition map shows the access road to a farm called Blaatwood. From Blaatwood it ran about half a mile westward to Old Green. As Anderson writes, quoting Rickson and Debbieg (Rickson's co-author of the report), '… to Kirtle from thence keeping the old Road by the village of Green [i.e. Old Green]; where the new Road should keep on the North side of it …' .[17] Neither Blaatwood nor Old Green now exists, but both are shown on the OS 6″ first-edition map, with field boundaries which indicate part of the route of the old road. The military road, now the B721, does indeed pass north of the site of Old Green, with a newer Green at NY273664.

Anderson believed that 'Rickson and Debbieg clearly intended to follow the road as it then was, except for a possible deviation at Green, and therefore it is probable that the present alignment between Nivenhall and Woodfield is a later 'turnpike' one'.[18] However, if 'Green' in that quotation means 'Old Green' as shown on the OS 6″ first-edition map, it is difficult to see how the pre-military road would have reached it from the east other than by the route from Nivenhall by way of Blaatwood.

From Woodfield the military road (the present B721) continued westward to the village of Dornock. The modern road skirts Eastriggs, built in the First World War on the site of a farm of that name shown on OS 6″ first- and second-edition maps. Opposite Eastriggs, on the north side of the road, is the settlement of Lowthertown, shown on the early OS 6″ maps but not by Roy, and no doubt owing its existence to either Mr Tristram Lowther or Mr George Lowther, shown on an 1821 estate plan as neighbouring landowners to the Duke of Buccleuch.

In Annan, the earlier road which became the military road followed the High Street to the crossing of the Annan river, where Roy's map shows a bridge. Either that bridge or a later one on the same site, in line with the High Street, was condemned as beyond repair in 1813 by Thomas Telford, who proposed replacing it with a cast-iron bridge; however, the local trustees preferred the design of Robert Stevenson (1772–1850, grandfather of the author Robert Louis Stevenson and best-known as a builder of lighthouses). Stevenson's bridge, built in 1824–27 and offset from the original line, still stands.[19]

Annan to Dumfries

For the first five miles west of Annan, the military road follows an older road shown by Roy and now the 'low road' (the B724) as far as the third bridge under the railway counting from Annan (the first two are at Cummertrees). That bridge, between Cummertrees and Clarencefield, is close to a farm named Flosh, or Flashside on Roy's map. West of Flosh the

17 Anderson, op.cit., p.81.

18 ibid., p.82.

19 <https://canmore.org.uk/event/578396> accessed 15 July 2019.

military road parted from Roy's older road and took a very different course to Dumfries. To describe Roy's road first, from Flosh it curved southward to Ruthwell, where it became the main street of that village and continued as the present minor road which joins the B725 at the approach to the hamlet of Brow. From Brow it followed the approximate line of the B725 to Bankend, where it crossed the Lochar Water. At Bankend, where the B725 turns sharply south, Roy's road turned north, marked on his map as 'Road from Dumfries to Annan'. It is still open as a minor road, leaving Dumfries as Bankend Road.

There is evidence of an even older road between Dumfries and Bankend, no longer existing in Roy's time. The present-day road runs for most of its length along a ridge between the Nith estuary and the valley of the Lochar Water. It is paralleled in the Lochar Water valley by the extension of Craigs Road, which runs southward for four miles and eventually becomes a lane terminating at Kelwood (NY015710). If continued in the same direction for another mile it would have reached Kirkblane farm, three quarters of a mile from the river crossing at Bankend. This may or may not have been a continuous road from Dumfries, possibly abandoned to avoid a marshy crossing of the Kelwood burn; in its favour it could have survived in the short tracks southward from Kelwood and north from Kirkblane, and in field boundaries between them which could mark its course (including a rough headland approached from the lane running east from Baillieknowe farm, which appears to be part of a disused road), and in more field boundaries marking the course between Kirkblane farm and the Bankend river crossing.

The military road did not take this route. From Flosh a then-new road (now part of the B724) ran west, passing between Ruthwell and its church, then heading for Mouswald. From the neighbourhood of Ruthwell church to the now-closed church at Mouswald, the military road may have joined an older road from Brow to Mouswald, shown on Roy's map to pass close to Comlongon Castle; or Rickson may have built the part of the present B724 which takes a different route to Mouswald, passing through Clarencefield and half a mile east of the castle. From Mouswald northward the older road still exists as the minor road to Torthorwald, which crosses the A75 west of Breconrae (at NY056748), but before Rickson built it there was no road running northwestward from Mouswald to the modern village of Collin.

In Roy's time, the approach to Dumfries from the east was barred by the extensive marshland of the Lochar Water valley; north of Bankend the next crossing of the Lochar Water was at Locharbriggs, more than three miles north of Dumfries on the road to Moffat. A road ran (and still runs) north from Torthorwald to Locharbriggs, but there was no direct road to Dumfries from Torthorwald, now on the main Dumfries–Lockerbie road (A709), nor from Collin, where the 'high' and 'low' roads meet.

The 'high road' is the A75, which now bypasses Annan and Dumfries, and between them the villages of Carrutherstown and Collin. It mostly dates from the time when the parish accounts comprised in the first Statistical Account were being written. The Cummertrees author wrote that the trustees for the high roads had noted that the distance between Dumfries and Annan might be shortened by taking a different route, and had obtained a power to build a new road, which 'is carried to the northward of the military road, through a country rather in an uncultivated state, which has already received much benefit from

it'. The Ruthwell author wrote, in 1792–3, 'in consequence of an act of Parliament lately passed, another road was last year made to the northward, and running almost parallel to the military road, which shortens the distance between Annan and Dumfries something more than a mile.' In 1791 the Mouswald author wrote: 'A new turnpike road is nearly finished, running in the same direction [as the military road], and nearly parallel, along the rising ground of the eastern quarter of the parish'.[20]

The first Statistical Account for Dumfries gives some interesting information on what was to become the road into the town from the east. 'About the beginning of the present [eighteenth] century, a gentleman from England purchased a quantity of tobacco here, and paid down the money for it, but went away without directing whither it should be sent. Every enquiry after him proved fruitless. In consequence of this, the town at length obtained leave from the court of Exchequer to dispose of this tobacco, and apply the price, to the purpose of making a road, through Lockermoss, towards Annan'.[21] The road, now parts of the A780 and A75, is shown on Roy's map but in a heavier hand than the rest, suggesting that it was added later. At its eastern end it crosses the Lochar Water and stops short at the site of Collin, which did not exist in Roy's time, although he shows 'Coline' as an isolated roadless settlement about half a mile east of the present village. It appears that Rickson extended the military road from Mouswald to present-day Collin and constructed the road from there to Dumfries, for which the tobacco money could scarcely have been sufficient.



Figure 2. Site of Auldtree Bridge over the Lochar Water, near Collin (NY022759).

20 Sinclair, op.cit. (Vol. IV), pp.73–4, 450, 434.
21 ibid., p.123.

Rickson's road, when completed in the 1760s, became the main route between Annan and Dumfries. If he built the 'road through Lockermoss' (as he may have done; the clumsy addition to Roy's map could have been made in his time), before he came on the scene the Lochar marshes barred any eastern approach to Dumfries. It is very different now; the marshes have been drained to become pasture and woodland, and the crossing of the Lochar Water is easily missed, at the western end of the dual carriageway which now bypasses Collin. Before the bypass was made, the A75 passed through the centre of the village and continued westward by what is now a cul-de-sac to its crossing of the Lochar Water by a now-demolished bridge shown on the older OS 6″ maps as Auldtree Bridge; its site is illustrated in Figure 2. This was possibly built by Rickson, and is now superseded by the modern bridge of the re-routed A75.

The eastern approach to Dumfries, which Alex Anderson discusses in some detail,[22] was evidently by Hood's Loaning, shown on John Wood's 1819 plan as 'Annan Old Road' and by his time superseded by the present road, which parts from the much older Moffat road at the busy junction below St Mary's Church, Dumfries.

At Dumfries the military road crossed the Nith by the so-called Devorgilla's Bridge in the town centre, which had been rebuilt wholly or in part in the early seventeenth century after a severe flood. No trace remains of the bridge built in the 1260s by Devorgilla herself, which was probably of wood.[23]

Dumfries to Bridge of Dee

From Devorgilla's Bridge the military road followed Maxwell Street and joined the present Dalbeattie Road, the A711, at the bend at NX961755. The area between the head of Maxwell Street and the bend has been developed in modern times, with loss of the old road, but its course is shown on the older OS 6″ maps by field boundaries. From the bend it continued to Cargenbridge, where a bridge over the Cargen Water already existed in Roy's time. About half a mile south-west of the bridge the roads separated, as they still do. One road led to Dalbeattie or 'Meickle Dalbathy', passing the Kirk of 'Curgonion', Roy's spelling of Kirkgunzeon, and shown on his map as 'Lower road from Kirkcudbright to Drumfries'. This, now the A711, was evidently poorer than the other and now minor road, also shown as 'Road from Kirkcudbright to Drumfries' but not 'Lower'. This was what became part of the military road, shown as 'Old Military Road' by the Ordnance Survey and passing through Lochfoot (Roy's 'Lochrutton' — the parish name) and Milton.

About three-quarters of a mile before reaching Milton the road passes a modern farm, Courthill (NX855714), named on the OS 6″ second-edition and modern Landranger maps but not on the OS 6″ first-edition map. From there the military road, so marked on the older OS 6″ maps, took a different course to Milton than the present road, a diversion constructed in 1825.[24] When the OS 6″ first-edition map was surveyed, the original road had become a

22 Anderson, op.cit., p.82.
23 <https://www.undiscoveredscotland.co.uk/dumfries/devorgillabridge/index.html> accessed 15 July 2019.
24 Anderson, op.cit., p.85.

private road through Craigwell Plantation (so named on that map) but did not extend as far as Milton; from the termination of the private road the course of the military road follows a still-existent field boundary towards the village. Other boundaries in the immediate vicinity of the village, shown on the OS 6″ first-edition map but no longer in existence, show how it would have reached the village centre.

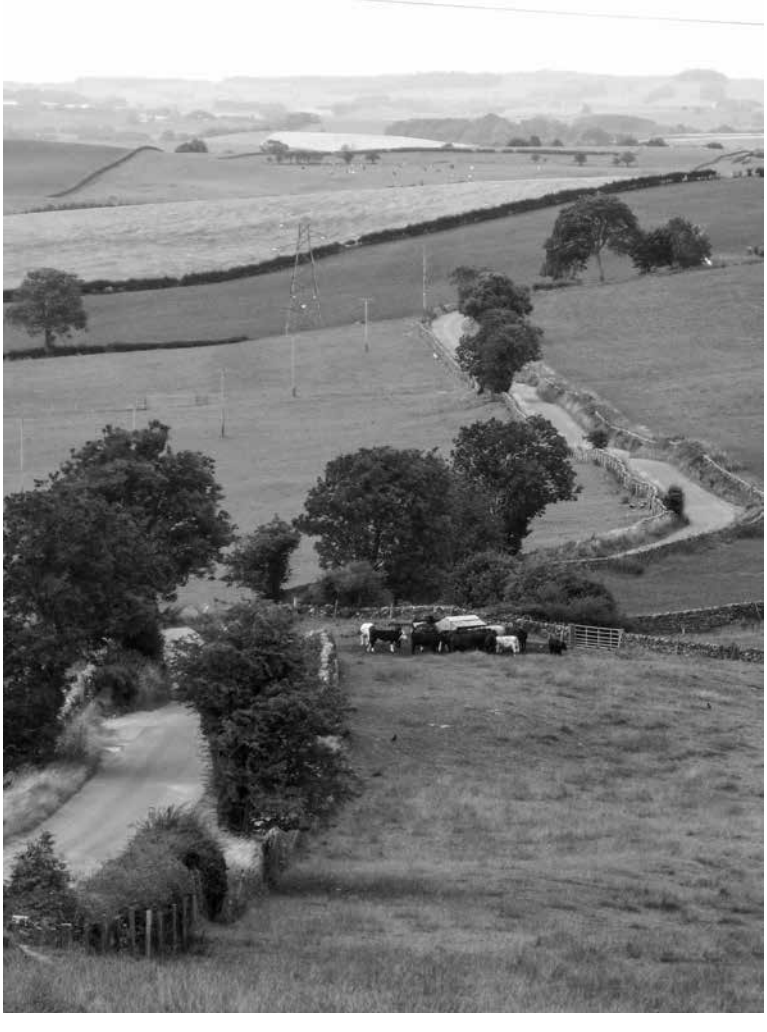


Figure 3. Old military road near Meikle Culmain (NX839694). The photograph shows the rural nature of this stretch of the old military road as it climbs the hill seen in the middle distance.

The development of this section of the military road to a quiet country road is shown by the photograph at Figure 3, taken a mile south-west of Milton. From there the military road continued to Haugh of Urr [Roy's 'Haw Bridge of Orr'] where, as now, it crossed the Urr Water. About three miles upstream of Haugh of Urr is the hamlet of Old Bridge of Urr (NX777678), 'Nethertoun' to Roy (now the name of a nearby farm), where he shows a minor road crossing the river.

After Haugh of Urr, Roy marks the future military road 'road from Portpatrick to Dumfries' running along the future main street of Castle Douglas. From the foot of that street the military road climbed Carlingwark Street and then descended to the lochside hamlet of Buchan. It passed through what would become the grounds of Carlingwark House (built c1840),[25] consequently requiring its later diversion to reach Buchan by the present course, now the B736, leaving the truncated Carlingwark Street (Figure 4) to terminate without reaching Carlingwark House. Carlingwark Street was originally a 'hollow way', filled in around 1978 and making one wide street out of Threave Terrace and the south-east side of Carlingwark Street.[26]

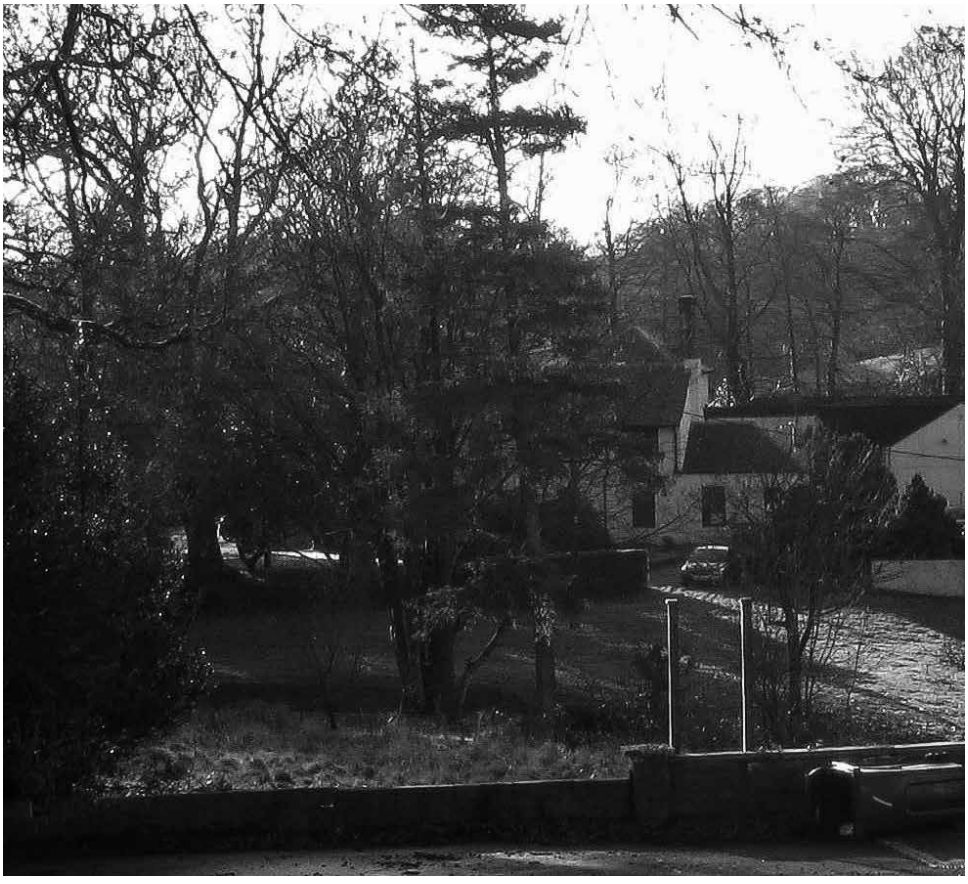


Figure 4. Termination of Carlingwark Street, Castle Douglas (NX761617).
Looking towards Carlingwark House.

25 John Gifford, *Dumfries and Galloway* (in the series 'Buildings of Scotland', London, Penguin Books, 1996), p.172.

26 Alex Anderson, personal communication.

A short way beyond Buchan, the B road turns west to join the A75, while the military road went straight on and became the present-day minor road that runs north of Kelton Hill to reach Rhonehouse, [Roy's 'Ronchhouse'], where it divides. One branch, the military road, then crossed the Dee by Graniford Bridge, as named by Roy. This bridge crosses the river a few hundred yards downstream of the A75 bridge and is marked 'Old Bridge of Dee' on the older OS 6″ maps. The other branch was the road from Kirkcudbright, marked by Roy 'road from Kirkcudbright to Dumfries' which runs parallel with the east bank of the Dee and can still be followed to a point near to the older of the two bridges over that river at Tongland. From there it is no longer a continuous road but originally ran on to Kirkcudbright on a line east of the present A711.

Bridge of Dee to Gatehouse of Fleet

Between Bridge of Dee and Gatehouse of Fleet there are two routes which have been claimed to be the old military road; a northern and a southern. The northern route is the older, shown in its entirety on Roy's map. Both routes took the present minor road from Castle Douglas to Rhonehouse and crossed the River Dee by the Old Bridge of Dee (Graniford Bridge on Roy's map, NX734599). Either there or further west, in the neighbourhood of Ringford, the routes parted. Roy shows a road running almost directly from Graniford Bridge to Steps of Tarff, where the northern route (but not the southern) crossed the Tarff Water. The site of Steps of Tarff is now reached by following the A762 north from Ringford, then after less than half a mile by turning left on to a minor road. On that road and close to its junction with the main road the OS 6″ first-edition map shows 'Step-end (in ruins)' with the road continuing as a track to a crossing of the Tarff Water by a ford and footbridge. The road is today carried by a bridge about a hundred yards upstream of the ford, and continues on a twisting but predominantly south-western course to a bridge over the Spout Burn, a tributary which runs into the Tarff Water south of Ringford. After crossing the Spout Burn, the modern road passes close to Mark farm.

The road passing Mark farm is labelled on the older OS 6″ maps 'Old Military Road', but this is inaccurate even if the military road followed Roy's route, which, as we shall see, is now disproved. Roy's road crossed the Spout Burn presumably by a ford, some way upstream of the present bridge, and kept well to the north of Mark farm. From the crossing his route followed a succession of field boundaries, shown on the older OS 6″ maps but now largely lost, to the minor road leading north from Twynholm. Beyond the minor road, the line of lost boundaries continued, to join the lane to Carse at the bend where the lane changes direction from approximately south-west to approximately west. The modern road, having passed Mark farm, continues to the junction at NX657565 where it meets the road from Twynholm. It turns north, along that road, to the Carse lane-end at NX656570. The minor road continues northward, but the supposed military road followed the lane to Carse, with the bend where it was joined by Roy's road about half way along its quarter-mile length.

Carse is shown by that name on both older OS 6″ maps and modern OS Landranger maps. Its full name is Carse of Trostrie, but on both Roy's map and Aaron Arrowsmith's 'Map of Scotland' of 1807 it is named Hardgate. There the stile shown in Figure 5 leads

to a footpath running westward over Irelandton Moor, shown on Roy's map as 'road from Portpatrick to Dumfries' and on the older OS 6″ as 'Old Military Road'. Arrowsmith's map marks it as a principal road, indicated by a bold double line; lesser roads on that map are shown as inconspicuous single lines.



Figure 5. Stile at Carse (NX652568). The stile gives access to the path across Irelandton Moor, labelled 'Old Military Road' on the older OS 6″ maps.

I did not walk the footpath but approached it at the western end where it becomes a public minor road, and here I must add a word of warning. At NX621563 that road — now a cul-de-sac — passes a modern house, Windy Walls, on a site shown on the older OS 6″ maps as that of Upper Drumwall. The road is shown on the modern Landranger map to continue for another mile eastward to a deserted property called Cairn, but no longer does so. Driving a few hundred yards past Windy Walls I came to a gate across the road, a gate so thoroughly wired shut as to defy any attempt to open it, and the surface beyond it looked distinctly hazardous. The road I was on was narrow, closely hedged, and with no turning place, so I had no alternative but to reverse to a possible turning place at the approach to the house.

From Windy Walls the road descends for half a mile to a junction below Drumwall farm, where it turns right and then left to join the B727 to Gatehouse. Approaching from the B727 I had been unaware of the double bend and assumed I should go straight on, which took me to another farm, Disdow, not on my route. This was another apparent discontinuity in what Roy had shown as a fairly direct road. Once again the older OS 6″ maps provide the answer, showing a line of field boundaries which could mark the line of Roy's road,

extending from the junction below Drumwall to a point on the modern B727 just south-east of its junction with the present minor road.

Since the two routes converge at that point, now is the time to describe the southern route. It left Roy's road (the northern route) after both routes had crossed the Dee at Graniford Bridge, either there or further west, but before the northern route reached Steps of Tarff. The southern route passed through Ringford and crossed the Tarff Water near Valleyfield, where the OS 6″ first-edition map shows 'High Bridge of Tarf' (built 1832, NX682562) and a nearby and now disused 'Old Bridge' dating from the mid-eighteenth century. From Graniford Bridge to Twynholm the southern route was the precursor of the modern A75, which is entirely absent from Roy's map and was therefore presumably built by Rickson; indeed one section of it is shown on the 1987 Landranger map (but not on the later edition) as 'Old Military Road'. It probably changed little in the interval between its building and the publication in 1854 of the OS 6″ first-edition map, which shows the road passing through Ringford and Twynholm, both now bypassed, and in several places taking slightly different routes to those preferred for the modern road. Anderson describes the probable course of the military road between the old creamery (NX676554) and Twynholm church, with evidence of a cutting near the creamery.[27]

From 1772 the military road took a different route between Rhonehouse and Twynholm. Instead of crossing the River Dee by Graniford Bridge, it followed the Kirkcudbright road from Rhonehouse as far as Tongland, where it crossed the river by the Old Bridge (NX696537). It then crossed Tarff Water by Cumstoun Bridge (NX688541) and took the present-day minor road for the remaining mile and a half to Twynholm.[28] Adoption of the alternative route coincided with completion in the same year (1772) of Cumstoun Bridge, and it probably lasted until Graniford Bridge was replaced by Threave Bridge in *c.* 1825. Graniford Bridge is not particularly narrow (as suggested by Donnachie) but measures 12ft between parapets, and is on a route signposted to Rhonehouse from the A75 with no size restriction. At Tongland the north parapet of the Old Bridge has a sandstone panel giving a construction date of 1761, although 1737 is the date given in the second Statistical Account for the parish (1843). The south parapet has a similar but much-eroded panel with the initials IMR?-???? and apparently recording a repair in 1958.

In Twynholm itself the military road was routed past the church, which stands on high ground to the south of the village centre. From the church a minor road runs westward, crossing the A75 after rather less than a mile and continuing to join the B727 about half a mile south-east of the Drumwall turning. The minor road is marked on both the 1987 and newer Landranger maps as 'Old Military Road', and is roughly parallel with, and some one to two miles south of, the footpath over Irelandton Moor which is described as 'Old Military Road' on the OS 6″ map first-edition map.

All the evidence points to the southern route as that of the military road, built by Rickson. He may have adapted an older road between the Dee crossing and Ringford — the road

27 Anderson, op.cit., pp.86–7.

28 Taylor, op.cit., p.109. Notes on most of the bridges mentioned in this paragraph are contained in the Canmore database, sorted under the names of the bridges. See also Ian Donnachie, *The Industrial Archaeology of Galloway* (Newton Abbot, David & Charles, 1971), which has an inventory of bridges on pp.234–5.

between the Dee crossing and Steps of Tarff on Roy's map lacks sufficient landmarks to make its course clear — but beyond Ringford, Roy shows no precursor of the present A75. His map shows Twynholm church, but whatever roads or tracks led to it were too insignificant to be included. The minor road from beyond Twynholm to the B727 is also not shown. But sometime after 1763, the Twynholm author of the parish statistical account tells us, 'the military road from the border of England to Port-Patrick was made, which *passes through the midst of the parish* …' [my italics]. Twynholm is a long, narrow parish, stretching nine miles from the boundary of Balmaghie parish in the north to Kirkcudbright Bay in the south. Within the parish both routes are fairly central, but the author would have regarded the populous area of the main village, rather than the rough country of Irelandton Moor and the now-forested area to the north, as being in its 'midst'.

Additional evidence in favour of the southern route is provided in an official letter from the Ordnance Survey,[29] which states that 'the route via Littleton [NX630553], Twynholm [NX664542] and Tarff Bridge [NX683562] was indeed that constructed by Col. Rickson in 1763–4, and the fact that Roy's Map (c.1755) shows the only road in the area running via Cairn [NX633567] and Mark [NX660566] does not necessarily mean that it was a military road …'. However, it was a long-distance road, marked by Roy 'road from Portpatrick to Dumfries', which had almost certainly been put to military use in or before his time, whether or not built for that purpose.

From the meeting-place of the two routes, Rickson's road continued towards Gatehouse by the present B727. Shortly before the town, that road curves from north-west to south-west to continue as its main street, but before publication of the OS 6″ first-edition map the curve was cut off by a short section, marked on that map as 'Track of Old Military Road', which ran to a right-angled junction with the main street. The short section left the B727 slightly before the imposing entrance to the Cally Estate and descended steeply, adjoining the boundary wall of the estate, to join the main street by way of Ann Street.

The present bridge over the Water of Fleet dates from 1730, replacing a wooden bridge washed away in 1721. It was widened in 1779 and again in 1811.[30] Mr Alex Anderson was the engineer on a subsequent widening in 1955.[31]

Gatehouse of Fleet to Newton Stewart

From Gatehouse of Fleet the military road continued to the old kirktown of Anwoth, with its graveyard and ruined church. It can be reached by following the B796 northwestward from Gatehouse for a little over half a mile, then by turning left on a minor road leading past Woodend. That stretch of the B796 was built (or improved) for access to Gatehouse Station on the old Dumfries to Portpatrick railway line, probably in or around 1861 when the station (then called Dromore) was opened.

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29 The letter, signed on behalf of the Senior Surveyor of the Archaeology Division of the Ordnance Survey, based in Edinburgh, was dated 10 January 1967 and addressed to Mr Alex Anderson, to whom I am grateful for providing me with a copy.

30 <https://www.undiscoveredscotland.co.uk/gatehouseoffleet/gatehouseoffleet/index.html> accessed 15 July 2019.

31 Alex Anderson, personal communication.

Having received so much valuable help from Mr Anderson in preparing this paper, I must state that this is the one place where he and I disagree. Relying on Rickson and Debbieg's report that at the west end of the Fleet Bridge 'the present road makes a considerable angle [which] cannot be avoided'. Mr Anderson is of the opinion that the road here turned to follow the present road (B796) to near Goatend, near which it would join the original pre-bridge route (which crossed the Fleet by a ford near the site of the Roman fortlet).

In my view the military road took a different route, roughly parallel with the B796, for the half-mile between Gatehouse and the minor road. It would have passed the Free Church Manse shown on the older OS 6″ maps at NX594562, west of the Water of Fleet and across the river from the Free Church itself. The former manse is now approached by a roundabout route, Planetree Road, but it seems unlikely that it would have been sited so far from the church without a more direct route to the Fleet Bridge. No such route is shown on the older OS 6″ maps, and if one existed it is now overlaid by more recent development. Beyond the former manse the now private extension of Planetree Road terminates, but as Figure 6 shows, it formerly continued as a 'made' road which headed north and would have made a considerable angle with the minor (Woodend) road, not far from the junction of that road with the B796, then following the minor road to the kirktown. My opinion is based on the existence of the 'made' but disused continuation of Planetree Road, for which I can offer no alternative to the supposition that it was a part of the old military road. Although the OS 6″ first-edition map appears to indicate that the old military road ran westwards from the junction of the present-day Woodend road and the B796, my view is that it ran west from the junction of the Planetrees Road extension with the Woodend road.



Figure 6. Disused road from Gatehouse to Ramsay Wood (NX591563). Although not shown on any map, this was clearly a 'made' road in use before improvement of the B796.

An easier and motorable route from Gatehouse to the kirktown follows the B796 southwestward to its junction with the A75. A quarter-mile from the Fleet Bridge it passes the turning to Planetree Road, and near its junction with the A75 it passes the access to Cardoness Castle. The route follows the A75 westward for half a mile to a turning labelled Anwoth, and takes that road which passes the modern church and reaches the old kirktown soon after. Yet another route is by a waymarked path diverging from the summit of Planetree Road, but this was never more than a footpath.

The Landranger map shows an inland road between Anwoth and Creetown, labelled in places 'Old Military Road' on both that and the older OS 6″ maps. It starts as a lane opposite the ruined church at Anwoth, with a sign 'Unsuitable for Motor Vehicles'. The first hundred yards of the lane are passable, but it is then blocked by the gate shown in Figure 7, beyond which it is clearly unsuitable for vehicles of any kind and for any but the most determined of walkers. The virtually impassable lane climbs about two miles to its junction with a minor road heading north from the hamlet of Skyreburn, where it becomes motorable though not tarmacked. It passes Lauchentyre farm, named on the older OS 6″ maps and modern Landranger maps, but not by Roy, who places a 'castle' at its approximate position. The OS 6″ first-edition map (but not the second) places a 'ruin' at Lauchentyre, which may have provided the material for the barn seen in Figure 8.



Figure 7. Track from Anwoth (NX582562). This track, now almost impassable even on foot, carried the military road from 100ft above sea level at Anwoth to 350ft at its present junction with a minor road from Skyreburn.

Roy's road deviated from the present line at Lauchentyre farm and crossed the Skyre Burn about half a mile downstream of the present Glen Bridge. His crossing-place is shown on the older OS 6″ maps as Cauldside Steps, where some of the stepping-stones are still in place, and from there his road followed the Cauldside Burn to the site of Paradise Bridge

(NX549575). It then climbed steeply to join the existing east-west road at NX524583, about 200 yards west of the point where that road is now joined by the track to the aerial mast on Cambret Moor.

While Roy's road between Lauchentyre farm and that point is now abandoned, the still-passable old military road ran from Lauchentyre to cross the Skyre Burn by the bridge mentioned in the previous paragraph and depicted in Figure 9; the construction of bridges was a major part of the road-building enterprise, their siting (as here) dictating the course of the new road. Having crossed the bridge, the old military road is joined by another minor road from Skyreburn, the two minor roads running roughly parallel on opposite sides of the eponymous burn. The second minor road crosses the Cauldside Burn at Paradise Bridge and joins the military road north of Glen farm, 'Glenhouse' on Roy's map. From the Glen Bridge the military road continued as the present Corse of Slakes[32] Road, climbing for some two miles to its junction with the road shown by Roy.



Figure 8. Byre at Lauchentyre (NX558576). The byre was probably built of stones from the 'castle' that formerly stood here. The two large stones in the foreground may also be from the castle.

From there the old military road runs mainly downhill to Creetown, descending from 900 feet almost to sea level in a distance of some three and a half miles. It crosses three bridges over the Englishman's Burn, said to be named from a nearby English victory over the Scots in *c.*1150.[33] Two of the bridges suffered name-changes between publication of

32 'The Crossing of the Dells' – C.H. Dick, *Highways and Byways in Galloway and Carrick* (London, Macmillan, 1927), p133n. Ainslie's 1797 map of the Stewartry gives the name 'Corse of Slakes' to a lineal (NW–SE) feature crossed by the present road at approximately NX524583. It appears that Roy's pre-military road followed that feature. South of the present road it ran from Cauldside Steps; north of that road it took a longer course to Creetown, with little need for bridges. Ainslie names the present road 'Military Road from Newton Douglass' [the earlier name for Newton Stewart] to Dumfries.

33 Sinclair, op.cit. (Vol.V), p.233.

the first and second OS 6″ maps; in the first edition the three are Englishman's Bridge, Mid Bridge and (nearest to Creetown) Billy's Bridge; in the second edition Englishman's Bridge has retained its name but Mid Bridge has become Billy Diamond's Bridge, and Billy's Bridge is Balloch Bridge. Figure 10 shows the descent of the Corse of Slakes road as it approaches the first of those bridges. The Englishman's Burn is so called on both OS 6″ maps, but the Landranger map names its lower reach Balloch Burn and keeps the older name for the tributary crossed by Billy Diamond's Bridge. It is not known who Billy Diamond was, nor whether he was the Billy commemorated in the later-named Balloch Bridge.



Figure 9. Glen Bridge over the Skyre Burn (NX552581). The rugged stonework of this bridge contrasts with the ashlar of Telford's bridge over the Sark (Figure 1).



Figure 10. Approach to Creetown (NX524583). The approach to Englishman's Bridge on the section of the old military road now known as Corse of Slakes. In the middle distance is Knockeans Hill, rising to nearly 1,000 feet and overlooking Creetown; beyond is the tidal estuary of the River Cree.

Balloch Bridge (NX491590) is about two miles from Creetown, and from there to the town there are three routes to be considered: those of the modern road; of Rickson's road; and of the road that had led into the town before his time. The modern road, unchanged since publication of the older OS 6″ maps runs on the north side of the Balloch Burn for half a mile to a bend where it changes direction from west to north, then curves westward near Burns farm to descend into the town by way of Minnipool Place.

Rickson's road left the modern route at the west-to-north bend where it continued westward, shown on the first OS 6″ first-edition map (but not the second) as a track labelled 'old military road' which ended after 400 yards at the burgh boundary. The track no longer exists, but a field boundary shows its probable continuation to enter the south end of Creetown near the site of the old church.

Roy's map shows a road approaching Creetown by approximately the modern route, but this is a later addition, its labelling 'road to Dumfries' in a different hand to the lettering of the rest of the map. Roy did not show many minor roads and shows no other approaching Creetown from the east, but if there was such a road it would have stayed south of the Balloch Burn without crossing it. The site of Balloch Bridge would have been impractical for a ford, as the burn there is deeply incised, and the pre-Rickson road may survive as the footpath to Creetown through Balloch Wood.

At Creetown the military road crossed the Moneypool Burn by the now-private Barholm Bridge, then ran northwards for 500 yards by a track, no longer existing but shown on older OS 6″ maps and there marked 'Old Military Road', to the junction of the Barholm Mains lane with the modern road. The older OS 6″ maps show that as the main road passing through Creetown, but it is now only a loop road to the town, bypassed by the A75.

North of its junction with the loop road, the A75 continues for two miles to bridge the Palnure Burn near the former Palnure Station. From there it continues for a further two miles to its junction with the New Galloway road, the A712. This section of the A75 is virtually the same as on the older OS 6″ maps, but it is evident that Rickson re-used an older road, shown by Roy, which ran further inland; it crossed the Graddoch Burn where it would later be crossed by the Cairnsmore railway viaduct, and continued northward to cross the Palnure Burn by the Old Bridge of Palnure (NX458644), shown by that name on the older OS 6″ maps and still in use. At the Old Bridge the old road turned west, passing through the hamlet of Stronord and descending the Path Brae to join the former course of the A75 (now a minor road alongside the A75) for the half-mile to its junction with the New Galloway road. The evidence is in Rickson's progress report: 'We have continued the communication from Palnure Burn [i.e. the Old Bridge] to Graydock Burn [the Graddoch Burn crossing at NX462630] and have another party working towards them from Creetown [on a route later displaced by the railway] …'.[34] If Rickson's road had followed the route of the modern A75 no separate crossing of the Graddoch Burn would have been necessary, as the present bridge of the Palnure Burn is below the two burns' confluence. This evidence is confirmed by Aaron Arrowsmith's 1807 map, which shows the road crossing the two burns separately. The present section of the A75 may date from around 1860, when the railway was under construction, as a new road was needed to replace parts of the older road which the railway had displaced.

From its junction with the A712, the A75 now bypasses Newton Stewart, turning south-west to cross the River Cree by a new bridge and continuing through a roundabout as the main road to Stranraer. Its former course is now the B7079, leading from the A75/A712 junction to Newton Stewart with its bridge over the Cree.

There was a Cree bridge at Newton Stewart in Rickson's time, not built by him but then of fairly recent construction. It had been built in 1745, probably of wood, and lasted until 1806 when floods destroyed it. The town was without a bridge for the next seven years, after which John Rennie the Elder built the stone bridge that remains in use.[35] Newton Stewart faces its neighbour, Minnigaff, across the river, which is the boundary between the shires of Kirkcudbright and Wigtown. Although a bridge was needed for the military road, civilian communication between the two settlements was less necessary in former times than now. But the Cree could still be forded when the water level permitted.

34 Rickson, quoted by Taylor, op.cit., p.107.
35 <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Newton_Stewart> accessed 15 July 2019.

Newton Stewart to Portpatrick



Figure 11. Shennanton Old Bridge (NX343632). This bridge carried the old military road. In the foreground is the top of the parapet of the newer bridge.

The military road left Newton Stewart by a road labelled on the older OS 6″ maps as Glenluce Row, now Princes Road, and joined the line of the later A75 on the outskirts. About two miles from the town, at Blackpark, it left the line of the A75 and ran further north, returning to cross the River Bladnoch at Shennanton, where the older OS 6″ maps show both an Old and a New Shennanton Bridge. The old bridge, which probably carried the military road, is illustrated in Figure 11; it is now closed, with barriers to prevent access. The wider new bridge, slightly further south, carried the A75 over the river before that road was straightened, now carried by a third bridge about 250 yards downstream.

About a mile west of Shennanton, at Ardachie (NX323630, Drumbuie on the older OS 6″ maps), the military road again deviates from the line of the A75 and continues further north for the remaining distance of nine and a half miles to Glenluce, with bridges over the Ballochrae Burn at Moss House and the Tarf at Barlae. At the approach to Glenluce it can be seen at its crossing of the lane to Carscreugh, where there is now a cattle-grid at NX217588, and joined the main street of Glenluce near its junction with North Street. It followed the main street and its continuation for nearly a mile to cross the Water of Luce by the Bridge of Park, seen in the foreground of Figure 12 but overshadowed by the viaduct which formerly carried the Dumfries to Portpatrick railway line high above the valley.



Figure 12. Glenluce viaduct (NX192574). In front of the viaduct is the much lower bridge that carried the old military road across the Water of Luce.

From the Bridge of Park the military road followed the minor road south, skirting the Wood of Park. That road is now a cul-de-sac ending with gates which block access to the present A75, which the military road followed westward, passing through Dunragit to Castle Kennedy, a village created in the late nineteenth century by the then Earl of Stair to re-house estate workers who had previously lived on the present park. At Castle Kennedy the old military road deviates from the A75 to run for half a mile as a path through woodland beside the railway, or perhaps along a parallel track, later displaced by the railway itself; Figure 13 shows the approach to the path from the village. The path runs to the road junction at NX097597, where the military road follows a minor road to Stranraer, marked 'Old Military Road' on the Landranger map. It joined the present A75 at Bridge of Aird (NX075607, near Stranraer Academy, not named on the Landranger map) and entered the town centre by London Road.



Figure 13. Path at Castle Kennedy (NX105597). The approach to a woodland path which runs for half a mile alongside the railway. The old military road took either this route or a parallel route later overlaid by the railway.

Departure from Stranraer was by the road still known as Old Military Road, which was already in use in Roy's time, marked on his map as 'Road from Port Patrick to Stranrawer'. Now unclassified, it is more twisty and hilly than the 'regular' A77 between those towns. In two places the military road departs from the modern unclassified road; the first is at Knockglass, from where the military road took a more easterly route for a mile, shown as a road on the older OS 6″ maps but on the Landranger map only as a path, to re-join the unclassified road at its crossing of the Pinminnoch Burn. The other point of departure is just south of another crossing of the Pinminnoch Burn. From there the old military road ran near Enoch farm, crossed the A77 beside the modern house at NX017548, and proceeded to Merrick farm (NX009546). From Merrick farm a lane runs down towards Portpatrick, crossing an unclassified road (Portree Terrace) and then becomes Military Drive, leading to a footpath to the harbour. Figure 14 shows the view of Portpatrick from Merrick farm lane; Figure 15 shows the head of the footpath, which crosses the track of the disused railway from Stranraer and descends to merge with the main street of the town, which as the A77 terminates at the harbour.



Figure 14. Portpatrick from Merrick lane (NX008547). The military road crossed the A77 near the hamlet of Pinminnoch and took a more direct route to Portpatrick by way of Merrick farm. Here Portpatrick is seen from the lane which carried the military road from Merrick farm towards the harbour.



Figure15. Path to Portpatrick Harbour (NX002543). The path crosses the track of the disused railway (the extension from Stranraer to Portpatrick, closed in 1870), then descends to merge with the main street of the town, which as the A77 terminates at the harbour.

Conclusion

It is hard to say whether the military road fulfilled its original purpose. Unrest in Ireland continued after its construction, culminating with the 1798 Rebellion which led to the passing of the British and Irish Acts of Union of 1800. But the original plan had anticipated civilian as well as military use, and in 1794 the then Commander-in-Chief recommended that the road should be maintained by the counties through which it passed. The county of Dumfries had already assumed responsibility for the portion of the road east of Bridge of Urr, and the government paid a grant for maintenance of the road from there to Stranraer. By 1790 this had evidently been extended to Portpatrick; in that year the commissioners for Wigtownshire expressed their obligation to the government for a mail coach between Carlisle and Portpatrick which ran seven times a week.[36] In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Portpatrick was an important ferry port for passengers, postal mail and freight between Ireland and Scotland.[37]

Acknowledgements

I am especially grateful to Mr Alex Anderson, who has considerable knowledge of the old military road and is the author of the work referred to in several footnotes. He kindly agreed to read the draft of this article and drew my attention to a number of errors and omissions which I have endeavoured to correct. I owe thanks to the National Library of Scotland for its reproductions of the first and second editions of the OS 6″ and other early maps, all freely available online. Thanks are also due to Mr Duncan McLeod for information on Cauldside Steps and to Mr David Plues for information on the old road from Gatehouse to Ramsay Wood.

Note on illustrations

All photographs accompanying this article are by author.

36 Taylor, op.cit., pp.109–11. Commenting on the proposals of General Mackay, Commander-in-Chief in 1784, Taylor states that the General's 'main proposal […] resulted in a compromise. East of the Bridge of Urr the County of Dumfries was made responsible for the road…'.

37 <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Portpatrick>.

REV. WILLIAM BURNSIDE'S RESPONSES TO SIR JOHN SINCLAIR'S QUERIES FOR *THE STATISTICAL ACCOUNT OF SCOTLAND* FOR THE TOWN AND PARISH OF DUMFRIES, 12 JANUARY 1791

Pauline Williams[1]

In 1790 Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster and Thurso Castle, Caithness, Member of Parliament for Caithness organised a survey to ascertain the geography, history and economy of each parish in Scotland. The major responders to Sinclair's queries were the clergy of the Church of Scotland. These parish reports were edited and published in twenty-one volumes between 1791 and 1799 and give a unique view of Scotland during the late eighteenth century. This article describes Rev. William Burnside's responses for the town and parish of Dumfries; his original manuscript was considered such an important source for the town's history that it was copied several times. The historiography of the original manuscript and its copies are discussed here.



Figure 1. The portrait of Burnside above appeared in *The Book of St Michael's Church* by Rev. J. Paton.[2]

1 Member of the Society; 43 New Abbey Road, Dumfries, DG2 7LZ.

2 *The Book of St Michael's Church* by Rev. J. Paton D.D. Published by J. Maxwell & Son, 117 & 119 High Street, Dumfries, 1904.

William Burnside (1751–1806) studied at Glasgow University and graduated M.A. in 1769. In 1775, he was ordained to St John's Chapel of Ease, Leith[3] and three years later married Anne Hutton[4] daughter of James Hutton, a merchant in Leith, they had three sons and six daughters.

On 22 June 1780, he was admitted minister of the New Church, Dumfries, and was also called upon to aid the Rev. Thomas Mutter,[5] minister of St Michael's Church, Dumfries, who suffered many years of ill health. It was Rev. William Burnside who responded to the queries issued by Sir John Sinclair to the parish minister of Dumfries on 25 May 1790. Burnside's detailed lengthy answers to Sinclair's queries were extensively edited before publication in the original Volume V of *The Statistical Account of Scotland*.[6] It is not known who edited Burnside's answers and added the additional information before publication. The entry for the town and parish of Dumfries reads:

> Drawn up from Communications of the Rev. Mr WILLIAM BURNSIDE, one of the Ministers of that Town.[7]

In 1792 Burnside was awarded the degree of Doctor of Divinity by Glasgow University and on 19 June 1794 translated to St Michael's Church, Dumfries.

Burnside's original manuscript is currently known to have been copied five times. An early copy was for Robert Riddell[8] (1755–1794) of Glenriddell and Friars Carse (Ref. 1).[9] Riddell was the eldest son of Walter and Ann Riddell. After studying at the universities of St Andrews and Edinburgh he became a professional soldier. In 1784 he married Elizabeth Kennedy of Manchester and they moved to Friars Carse, Dumfriesshire. Riddell was a friend of the poet Robert Burns,[10] the antiquarians Francis Grose, Richard Gough and the topographical artist Joseph Farington R.A. In 1794 the University of Edinburgh conferred on Riddell the degree of LL.D. and described him as 'a gentleman of uncommon knowledge as an antiquarian'. Riddell's manuscript collection, thirteen volumes written between

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3 *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae* Vol. II by Hew Scott D.D. Published by Oliver & Boyd, Tweeddale Court, Edinburgh 1917.

4 Anne Burnside née Hutton died at Dumfries in 1838 and is interred with her husband in St Michael's Church graveyard. *Memorials of St Michael's, The Old Parish Churchyard of Dumfries*, by William McDowall, published by Adam & Charles Black, Edinburgh 1876. pp.67–68.

5 See <http://cullenproject.ac.uk>, references to Rev. Mutter and Rev. Burnside.

6 Now in *The Statistical Account of Scotland*, Vol. IV Dumfriesshire, general editors Donald J. Withrington and Ian R. Grant. EP Publishing Limited, East Ardsley, Wakefield, Yorkshire, 1978, pp.114–139.

7 Originally in *The Statistical Account of Scotland*, Vol. V, pp.119–144, published Edinburgh, 1793.

8 *TDGNHAS* ser.III, vol.90, 2016, pp.79–96.

9 See Appendix.

10 In a letter of 18 June 1787 to William Nicol of Mauchline, Ayrshire, Robert Burns describes Burnside as 'a man whom I shall ever gratefully remember'. He also eulogises Burnside's wife. *The Burns Encyclopaedia*, by Maurice Lindsay, published by Hutchinson & Co Ltd, 1959, London, p.40.

1786 and 1792 in his own hand or by an amanuensis, is a lasting record of his interests in Scottish antiquities, history, topography, genealogy and music. Burnside's manuscript copy is the first entry in Riddell's, *A Collection of Scottish Antiquities Selected by RR 1792 Volm XIIIth.*[11] Riddell records:

> I had the following account of Dumfries Transcribed from the original M: S: in Mr Burnside's hand writing, which he lent me for that purpose. It was finished at Friars Carse March 30th, 1792.

Riddell's copy of the Burnside manuscript has the additional benefit of his observations which he wrote at the side of some pages or as a footnote.

Another copy (Ref. 2)[12] of Burnside's manuscript is known to have been in The Society Library, Dumfries. On page 68 of *Memorials of St Michael's* by William McDowall:[13]

> A manuscript History of Dumfries remains in the library of the Dumfries and Galloway Club, as a memorial not less of Dr. Burnside's amiable nature than of his literary taste and skill. It is a folio volume of 172 closely written pages, compiled for Sir John Sinclair's "Statistical Account," and only to a small extent embodied in that work. Strictly speaking, it is not so much a history as a valuable collection of statistics, shewing how Dumfries looked and fared at the close of the eighteenth century, accompanied by unconnected jottings of many prior historical events relating to the town and parish.

George W. Shirley in his article *Old Public Libraries in Dumfries,*[14] stated The Society Library was founded about 1750 and in 1851 contained about 2300 volumes; members of the Dumfries and Galloway Club[15] were also allowed full privileges of the library. The books of The Society Library, including the copy of Burnside's manuscript, were sold at auction by Mr Chapman, 11, Hanover Street Edinburgh on 15th and 16th March 1875. Notice of the sale appeared in *The Scotsman* newspaper:

The Scotsman, Saturday, March 13th 1875[16]
VALUABLE BOOKS
A very Valuable Library of Rare Antiquarian, Old Family History, Books of Travel and Historical Books removed from Dumfries: —

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11 Dumfries Museum, The Observatory, Rotchell Road Dumfries DG2 7SW, ref. DUMFM:0203.2.
12 See Appendix.
13 *Memorials of St Michael's, The Old Parish Churchyard of Dumfries*, by William McDowall, published by Adam & Charles Black, Edinburgh 1876. By the date of publication, The Society Library had closed, and the contents of the library sold at auction.
14 *TDGNHAS* ser.II, vol.18, 1905–06, pp.39–44. *TDGNHAS* ser.II, vol.19, 1906–07, Addendum p.176.
15 2, Assembly Street, Dumfries.
16 *The Scotsman*, 13 March 1875, p.11.

At this auction, William Macmath FSAScot, purchased the manuscript. Macmath was an enthusiastic collector of items of local interest and he loaned many to exhibitions in this area. Macmath was born in Brighton, Sussex, on 2 May 1844, where his father Alexander was a draper. His parents Alexander Macmath and Mary (née Webster) were married at Kells, Kirkcudbrightshire in 1843. By the time of the 1861 census Alexander, his wife and family (five daughters and William) were living in Kirkcudbrightshire. William, became a law clerk and moved to Edinburgh and by 1881 was living with two of his unmarried sister's Agnes and Minnie. Between 1882 and 1912, Macmath gathered together an important collection of Scottish ballads,[17] helped by his mother's family and surviving four sisters. He communicated with Francis James Child, the American collector of ballads and author of *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads 1882–1898.* Macmath's papers, books and correspondence with Child were acquired by the Kirkcudbright artist E.A. Hornel and are in the Hornel Library, Broughton House, Kirkcudbright. William died at Edinburgh in 1922. The inventory of his estate valued his library books, prints etc. at £400.00. His estate was left to his surviving sister Agnes.[18]

Macmath had this copy of Burnside's manuscript[19] rebound; his bookplate is on the inside front board. On one of the following pages Macmath added the following:

> Burnside's Manuscript
> Note
>
> On Monday and Tuesday the 15th and 16th March 1875, there was sold in the Auction Room of Mr Chapman, Hanover Street, Edinburgh what the Sale Catalogue described as "a Valuable Library Removed from Dumfries". The Catalogue announced at the end of the Tuesday's Sale. "A Number of Books to be sold in lots". In one of these lots was this Volume; and, on seeing it there, I arranged for its purchase with a Bookseller who was attending the Sale, and so for a small consideration, it became my property,
>
> On the 3rd April 1876 (sic), my attention was directed to an Advertisement, which had appeared in "The Scotsman" on 29th and 31st of March preceding, in the following terms. "Burnside's Manuscript History of Dumfries Missing. Formerly in Society Library there. Reward on return to James Maxwell, Bookseller, Dumfries". And on the same day I wrote to Mr Maxwell explaining how the Volume had come into my possession.
>
> The Library referred to was known as "The Society Library, Dumfries", and in the printed Catalogue of the Library as taken 24th June 1851, this Book appears as Number "73" of the folios – a number which still remains upon its back – and is described as "Dr Burnside's Manuscript Account of the Parish of Dumfries, calf, 1791." The Proprietors, in resolving to sell the Library, had intended to reserve the

17 *The Macmath Song and Ballad M.S.* by Frank Miller. *TDGNHAS* ser.III, vol.12, 1924–25, pp.88–110.

18 Agnes Macmath died at Castle Douglas, Kirkcudbrightshire in 1930.

19 Now in the Hornel Library, Broughton House, Kirkcudbright, ref. MS 2/4A.

Manuscript, but it had been sent to Edinburgh along with the rest of the Books, and the non-appearance of its name in the Sale Catalogue left its late Proprietors in a state of uncertainty as to its fate which it was the object of the advertisement to clear up.

William Burnside was admitted as Minister of the New Church, Dumfries, in 1780, having been previously in Leith Chapel of Ease, had the degree of D.D. conferred upon him by The University of Glasgow in 1792 and was translated to St. Michael's, Dumfries, in 1794, He died on 5th January 1806, in the 55th year of his age and the 31st of his ministry. This is evidently not the Original Manuscript prepared by him. My friend William Bennet Esqr. who had the use of the Original when writing his "History of Dumfries" in "The Dumfries Monthly Magazine," 1826, describes it to me as being in a large, distinct handwriting, no doubt Dr Burnside's own.

I have had this Volume re sewed; and I have added a title both without and within, which I hope will prevent it from again going a missing.

Wm Macmath
Edinburgh 29th April 1876

For almost a year in 1876 Macmath loaned the manuscript to Rev. Robert W. Weir[20] who was writing an account of the parish of Dumfries for publication in *The Dumfries and Galloway Courier*. About the same time, it was borrowed by Macmath's friend William Bennet.

Another copy (Ref. 3)[21] of Burnside's manuscript appeared for sale on 24 October 1882, it had been in the library of Macmath's friend William Bennet.[22] He was born at Moniaive, Glencairn parish, Dumfriesshire in 1802. After schooling, he became an apprentice mechanic and published his first book, of poems**,** at the age of 19 years. In 1825 he became editor of the *Dumfries Monthly Magazine*, and by December 1826 he had moved to Glasgow to become editor of the *Glasgow Free Press***,** a Liberal newspaper. Later he changed political allegiance to the Conservative party and became editor of the *Glasgow Constitutional*. In 1830, he married Helen Morris**,** a woman of independent means her late father having been a Glasgow merchant. They had a family and lived in many places in the British Isles and by 1851, in Burntisland, Fife**,** where his wife died in 1877. By the 1881 census William was living at 3 South Findhorn Place, Edinburgh with his daughter Jane. He died at Edinburgh on 3 June 1882.[23]

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20 Note by Macmath bound in The Society Library copy of the MS. Rev. R.W. Weir was the minister of Greyfriars Church, Dumfries. He became a member of the DGNHAS on 6 October 1879.

21 See Appendix.

22 William's original surname was Bennoch; it is not known why he changed it to Bennet. *East Galloway Sketches*, by Alexander Trotter, published by Adam Rae, Castle Douglas 1901, pp.461–462.

23 Obituary *Dumfries and Galloway Standard and Advertiser*, 10 June 1882, p.4.

Macmath acquired Bennet's copy of Burnside's manuscript[24] now rebound with Macmath's bookplate and William Bennet's signature above. On a following page a note by Macmath:

> When my friend Mr Bennet borrowed my copy of Dr Burnside's Manuscript he did not think it necessary to mention that he had a copy of his own at Burntisland![25] The volume turned up, however, at the sale of his library on 24 October 1882, and although I missed getting it then I secured it a few years afterwards. The title page,[26] opposite, is in Mr Bennet's handwriting, the remainder in a different hand.
>
> Wm Macmath

Macmath loaned a copy of his Burnside's manuscript to the 'Dumfries Exhibition of Antiquities and Natural History Objects' held by the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society (DGNHAS) at Greyfriars' Hall, Dumfries, on 27, 28 and 29 October 1886.[27]

The National Records of Scotland hold a copy (Ref. 4)[28] of the Burnside manuscript.[29] It was received in 1972 along with other records from the Dumfries Sheriff Court. There is no further information on the earlier provenance of this manuscript.[30] The manuscript is bound, and the spine and marbled covered boards are in a fragile condition, the handwriting is clear.

In 1888, the original Burnside manuscript retained by the family was offered to the DGNHAS by Dr Robert Hibbert Taylor of Liverpool, through the auspices of Rev. Robert W. Weir. Weir later published a paper *Notes on the Difference between the Dumfries of Dr Burnside's MS, History and the Dumfries of To-Day.*[31]

Liverpool, 1 Percy Street,
April 14, 1888

Dear Sir,

Will you oblige me by being the medium of conveying to the "Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society" the gifts which I now send of the

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24 Now in the Hornel Library, Broughton House, Kirkcudbright, ref. MS 2/4.
25 Maybe Bennet had Dr Burnside's manuscript copied about 1876 when he borrowed Macmath's Society Library copy.
26 *History of Dumfries By the late Rev. Dr Burnside As a Contribution to Sir John Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland 1791*.
27 *TDGNHAS* ser.II, vol.5, 1886–1887, pp.68–84, (Burnside manuscript p.73).
28 See Appendix.
29 National Records of Scotland, H.M. Register House, 2 Princes Street, Edinburgh, EH1 3YY, ref. SC15/72/2.
30 On the first page in pencil and partly illegible is scribbled 'Patrick [R??an]'.
31 *TDGNHAS* ser.II, vol.6, 1887–1890, pp.153–161.

MS. History of the Parish and Town of Dumfries,[32] written by my grandfather, the Rev. William Burnside, D.D., formerly the minister of St. Michael's Church.

> The conditions on which I bestow the volume are simply these:
> 1. That I may have an exact copy of the same.
> 2. That the volume may be open to the inspection of all who wish to see it, subject to the rules of the society.
> 3. That in the event of the society being dissolved, the M.S., may be given to the Museum at present contained in the Observatory on the Corberry Hill, in the parish of Troqueer.
>
> It affords me much pleasure to hand over this interesting narrative to those who I know will appreciate it, and doing so will be careful to preserve it. Be so good as apprise me of the safe arrival of the volume.
>
> I am,
> Very sincerely yours,
> R.H. TAYLOR[33]

On 15 April 1888,[34] the DGNHAS Council held a meeting to decide if the Society should accept conditionally the gift of Rev. Dr Burnside's original MS History of Dumfries.[35] Dr Taylor had been given the manuscript by his Aunt Janet Burnside[36] (1780–1856). It was decided to accept with thanks this valuable manuscript and, to carry out the first condition, the Secretary was authorised to employ a clerk to copy (Ref. 5)[37] the volume.[38] Messrs Barbour[39] and Watson[40] were to cooperate in comparing the original and the copy. On 7 December 1888 the Secretary reported that the manuscript was completed. It was agreed the binding be referred to the Library committee. On 14 January 1889 W. Hastings[41] was paid £2-2/- for completing the copy which was sent to Dr Taylor at the end of the month.[42] The current whereabouts of this copy is unknown.

When the Ewart Public Library, Catherine Street, Dumfries opened in 1904 the DGNHAS had a room for meetings and storage for the Society books, manuscripts and collections. In 1909 George Shirley examined the original Burnside M.S.:

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32 The unedited answers to Sir John Sinclair's queries for the Statistical Account of Scotland, town and parish of Dumfries.
33 *TDGNHAS* ser.II, vol.6, 1887–1890, p.59.
34 DGNHAS minute book, c/o DGNHAS Librarian, Ralph Coleman.
35 Original manuscript is now in the Local Collection, Ewart Library, Dumfries, ref. EGD58.
36 Janet Burnside was the second daughter of Rev. Dr William Burnside.
37 See Appendix.
38 DGNHAS minute book 21 May 1888, c/o DGNHAS Librarian, Ralph Coleman.
39 Probably Robert Barbour, solicitor at Walker and Sharpe and DGNHAS secretary.
40 Thomas Watson, editor of the *Dumfries and Galloway Standard and Advertiser*.
41 Probably William Hastings, member of the DGNHAS.
42 DGNHAS Secretary's expenses notebook 30 January 1889, c/o DGNHAS Librarian, Ralph Coleman.

July, 1909, On examining this M.S. it seemed to me that the various portions scribbled over, & the pages torn out (pp109–110; 124–130; 166-168)[43] had been so maltreated considerably later than the writing of the M.S. & probably not by the author. I thereupon wrote to Mr Wm Macmath, Edinburgh, who has two copies of this M.S. in his possession. One of these he bought at the sale of The Society Library, Dumfries on the 15th & 16th March, 1875, by auction in Edinburgh the other at the sale of Mr Wm Bennet's Library, 24th Oct.1882. Mr Macmath sent to me the Society Library copy. This copy according to Miss Walker,[44] [47, Northumberland Street] Edinburgh, a granddaughter of Dr Burnside, although the body of it was not in Dr Burnside's handwriting yet there were additions and corrections made by him. On comparing the two M.S.S. I found all the portions scribbled over and the cut pages intact as they had originally been in this M.S. Accordingly I have copied these out and re-inserted them. A few corrections and additions in the original M.S. in Dr Burnside's hand did not appear in the copy. These I have transcribed and sent to Mr Macmath. The original M.S. and its copy therefore now correspond as exactly as may be. Thus are the ways of some wicked puritan brought to nought and this writing restored to its primitive purity. Entries to this copy 24, to Soc. Libr. 9.

No indication is given as to who made "The Society Library" copy. It must have been made * before Dr Burnside's death in 1806 and the last note "C" was made in 1818. The copy is beautifully written in a flowing hand but the ink is more faded than in this M.S. The copy occupies with the notes 172pp foolscap. Notes "A" "B" & "C" have evidently been written by the copyist and appear at the end of this M.S.

G W Shirley
Ewart Public Library
Dumfries

* N.B. One of the entries omitted in the Society Library copy is the whole of the matter on p.98.[45] This gives the date 1796 and the copy may have been made before that year.

This original manuscript has been rebound with the additions made by Shirley, a note of provenance and the printed letter and queries issued by Sir John Sinclair inserted. After completing the Statistical Account, Burnside continued recording selected extracts from local registers of the seventeenth and eighteenth century, and other aspects of local interest.[46] Added at a much later date is an image of the New Church, Dumfries opened in 1727 and demolished in 1865, and also a note regarding Burnside's portrait being in the possession of the DGNHAS.

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43 These pages appear after the completion of the Statistical Account queries.
44 Daughter of Margaret Walker (née Burnside) and William Walker.
45 Population details for the Dumfries Old and New church in 1795 with additional information 1796.
46 All copies have this information.

Riddell records in his copy (Ref. 1) of the Burnside manuscript:

> Addenda
> Since Dr Burnside Collected the foregoing Materialls, for Sir John Sinclair's Statistical work – He Has selected from the Records of the Kirk session, and Presbetry of Dumfries, a variety of Excerpts; which very much tend to Elucidate the History of the times, from the 1605, when these Records begin down to the middle of the present Century – all which I had copied into this volm RR

The Burnside manuscript copies are all in a different hand. The National Records of Scotland copy and those once owned by Macmath also contain the additional information as described by Riddell. During Macmath's ownership of the manuscripts he added further information of local historical interest including images, newspaper cuttings and correspondence.

In Burnside, Sinclair found an enthusiastic respondent to his queries. In a letter[47] dated 30 April 1789, to George Henry Hutton[48] Burnside said:

> I really believe I might turn an Antiquarian in time – were I to have the advantage of such society as I spent two days last with other week (sic) – we have the great Grosse [Captain Francis Grose] just now at Mr Riddel's [Robert Riddell of Friars Carse] – He is surveying the antiquities of this neighbourhood.

An engraving of Rev. Burnside was loaned by Mr Weir [Rev. R.W. Weir] to the DGNHAS[49] exhibition held on 27, 28 and 29 October 1886 at Greyfriars' Hall, Dumfries.

On 21 December 1906[50] Mr James Barbour, FSA Scot and a member of the DGNHAS, exhibited and presented to the Society a portrait of Rev. Dr Burnside; the current whereabouts of this portrait is unknown.

Burnside's lengthy informative report of Dumfries has been appreciated by many. It gives an interesting account of Dumfries as seen in 1791 by this accomplished sociable minister.

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47 National Library of Scotland, Hutton Collection, Vol. XIII, ref. 29.4.2(XIII) p.505. Also, on pp.437–440 'Extract of Burnside's Answer's to Sir John Sinclair's Queries for the Statistical Account, answers to questions 145,146,147'.

48 Professional soldier, lieutenant-general in the R.A. and antiquary. He had a special interest in Scottish ecclesiastical history and amassed a valuable collection of ecclesiastical documents, drawings and interesting correspondence. He was a FSA [London] and created LL.D. by Aberdeen University. He died near Athlone, Ireland in 1827.

49 *TDGNHAS* ser.II, vol.5, 1886–1887, p.82.

50 *TDGNHAS* ser.II, vol.19, 1906–1907, p.205.

Appendix

ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT	**PROVENANCE**	**CURRENT LOCATION**
Rev. Dr William Burnside's original manuscript, 12 January 1791.	Owned by Janet Burnside daughter of Rev. Dr William Burnside and bequeathed to her nephew Dr Robert Hibbert Taylor, grandson of Rev. Dr William Burnside. He donated the manuscript to the DGNHAS in 1888.	Local Collection, Ewart Library, Dumfries, DG1 1JB. Ref. EGD58. Dumfries & Galloway, Libraries, Information and Archives.
MANUSCRIPT COPIES	**PROVENANCE**	**CURRENT LOCATION**
Robert Riddell's copy. Ref. 1	First entry in *A Collection of Scottish Antiquities Selected by RR 1792 Volm XIIIth*.	Dumfries Museum, The Observatory, Rotchell Road, Dumfries DG2 7SW. Ref. DUMFM:0203.2
The Society Library, Dumfries copy. Ref. 2	Possibly copied before 1796, purchased by William Macmath in 1875. After his death owned by the Kirkcudbright artist E.A. Hornel. His home, studio and library are now owned by the National Trust for Scotland.	Hornel Library, Broughton House, Kirkcudbright, DG6 4JX. Ref. MS2/4A. The National Trust for Scotland.
Mr William Bennet's copy. Ref. 3	Possibly copied by William Bennet in 1876. Purchased by William Macmath a few years after William Bennet's death in 1882. After William Macmath's death owned by the Kirkcudbright artist E.A. Hornel. His home, studio and library are now owned by the National Trust for Scotland.	Hornel Library, Broughton House, Kirkcudbright, DG6 4JX. Ref. MS2/4. The National Trust for Scotland.
National Records of Scotland copy. Ref. 4	Part of the collection of records transferred from Dumfries Sheriff Court in 1972. Earlier provenance unknown. Probably copied in the early 1800s.	National Records of Scotland, H.M. Register House, 2 Princes Street, Edinburgh, EH1 3YY. Ref. SC15/72/2.
Dr Robert Hibbert Taylor's copy. Ref. 5	Copied in 1888 by the DGNHAS.	Current whereabouts unknown.

UNWELCOME VISITORS? SIR OSWALD MOSLEY AND WILLIAM JOYCE IN DUMFRIES, 1934–5

David Dutton[1]

Recent research has significantly modified our understanding of British Fascism in the 1930s. It is now accepted that the British Union of Fascists (hereafter the BUF) did have a significant, albeit short-lived, presence in Scotland, within which the south-west of the country constituted an important element. More broadly, it has been argued that electoral performance is not the best way to assess the extent and impact of Fascist thinking inside British politics. Against the background of this changed historiographical climate, this article seeks to examine visits to Dumfries made by the two best-known figures of the BUF, Sir Oswald Mosley and William Joyce (later known as 'Lord Haw-Haw') in 1934 and 1935 respectively. Though separated by less than twelve months, the two visits took place in very different circumstances, reflective of a rapidly evolving political environment.

Probably no decade in modern British history has been so denigrated as the 1930s. Despite the valiant efforts of many revisionist historians, the popular image remains largely unchanged, frozen in the spring of 1940 at the moment when Winston Churchill, emerging from his 'wilderness years', took over the leadership of the country and set it on a more hopeful path. The titles of some popular studies from the early historiography of these years well capture the continuing public view. For Collin Brooks it was *The Devil's Decade* (1948); William McElwee wrote of *Britain's Locust Years* (1962); while for Ronald Blythe it was *The Age of Illusion* (1963). The story of appeasement as a disastrous foreign policy which led inexorably to war against Germany and of the century's deepest economic recession of modern times, characterised by hunger marches and mass unemployment, is not easily erased.

Yet at least in one respect the consensus is that Britain does have some cause for satisfaction in relation to its performance during this much maligned decade. In marked contrast to the widespread experience of continental Europe, Britain's democracy was never seriously threatened by the growth of the political far-right. Germany fell to Nazism in 1933, following the earlier example of Fascism in Italy, and in 1939 an authoritarian regime with some Fascist content secured power in Spain after three years of bloody civil war. Even France, while not succumbing to extremism before the Nazi invasion of 1940, witnessed the rise of a powerful domestic Fascist movement. By contrast with all this, Britain's parliamentary system survived intact. The BUF was founded by Sir Oswald Mosley[2] in October 1932, but it never managed to secure the election of a single MP to

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

2 Oswald Mosley (1896–1980). MP (Conservative 1918–22 and Independent 1922–24) for Harrow and (Labour 1926–31) for Smethwick. Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, with responsibility for unemployment, 1929–30. Founder and Leader (1932–40) of the British Union of Fascists. Leader of the Union Movement 1948–66. Hereditary baronet.

the House of Commons. Its strongest electoral performance came in the contest for seats on the London County Council in March 1937 when the party secured 23, 16 and 14 per cent of the popular vote in Bethnal Green, Limehouse and Shoreditch respectively. This relative failure has been variously explained, most convincingly by the comparative mildness of Britain's economic woes. Notwithstanding the misery of Jarrow's hunger marchers and the desolation of Orwell's road to Wigan Pier, the country as a whole escaped fairly lightly. As Andrew Thorpe has written, 'compared with most of continental Europe, Britain's experience was undramatic'.[3] Unemployment, in particular, never reached the levels experienced in parts of Europe. Indeed, in some areas the British economy actually prospered in the 1930s. A housing boom delivered home ownership to the very sections of British society that were elsewhere pulled towards political extremism. More comforting explanations derive from stressing the fundamental moderation of the British electorate. Fascism, it has been argued, was essentially an alien culture which struggled to achieve real purchase within Britain's deeply engrained democratic traditions.

Such arguments are not without merit. Yet we are probably wrong to seek evidence of the strength and impact of Fascism in 1930s Britain simply from electoral statistics. It is true that in the three parliamentary by-elections contested by the BUF in 1939–40 it gained the derisory levels of just 1 per cent, 1 per cent and 2 per cent support. But by this time the party was very different from the one created by Mosley in 1932. Furthermore, the General Election of November 1935 had come too soon for Mosley and the party had put up no candidates. Adopting the slogan 'Fascism next time', the Leader advised his supporters to stay away from the polls. The BUF's great effort was supposed to come at the next election, scheduled for 1940 at the latest but which, because of the outbreak of the Second World War, was never held. The party itself was proscribed by the government on 30 May 1940. If, then, the electoral history of the BUF offers limited scope for analysis, this is quite simply because it does not exist.

In an important work published in 2005, the historian Martin Pugh suggested a different and more fruitful approach.[4] He argued that Fascism was more central to Britain's inter-war history than has usually been admitted and that its roots in British society and culture were deeper than suggestions of its being an alien import tend to imply. Fascist ideas appealed to a broad swathe of opinion, especially but not exclusively within the Conservative Party, and the movement is 'best understood not in terms of tight categories, but as part of a spectrum'.[5] Colin Holmes confirms that 'the BUF attracted sympathisers beyond its hard-core members. It raised important political questions, posed serious problems and became a marked feature of the country's historical landscape.'[6] To take these reassessments on board it is necessary to appreciate that the BUF in its early manifestations was very different from the stereotype of the late 1930s, characterised by violence and racist thuggery in the East End of London. Still more is it necessary to put to one side knowledge of the appalling

3 A. Thorpe (ed.), *The Failure of Political Extremism in Inter-War Britain* (Exeter, 1989), p.7.
4 M. Pugh, *Hurrah for the Blackshirts! Fascists and Fascism in Britain between the Wars* (London, 2005).
5 Ibid., p.6.
6 C. Holmes, *Searching for Lord Haw-Haw: The Political Lives of William Joyce* (London, 2016), p.62.

crimes and atrocities to which Fascism, and particularly its German variant, later gave rise. At the BUF's foundation Mosley himself was not yet seen as being beyond the political pale. He already had his enemies but also his admirers within 'respectable' politics, people who still recognised the qualities that had seen him spoken of in the 1920s as a potential future leader of both the Conservative and Labour Parties.

In the early 1930s the belief was widely held that traditional parliamentary politics was in serious, perhaps terminal, decline. Full democracy was, of course, in its infancy. Only in 1918 had all men been fully enfranchised, with comparable rights for women delayed for a further decade. But the resulting new politics had failed to inspire and several right-wing journals maintained an on-going critique of the reformed electoral system throughout the 1920s. Governments of both main parties, under what many considered the feeble leadership of Stanley Baldwin and Ramsay MacDonald, had failed to get to grips with Britain's economic and social problems. In the space of just over two years (1929–31) first a Conservative and then a Labour government had fallen because of their perceived inability to rise to the challenges facing the country. The formation of a National Government in August 1931, in which MacDonald took office as Prime Minister with Baldwin as his deputy — 'two able and sensible politicians who came across at that point in their careers as tired and short of ideas'[7] — seemed to represent little more than a coalition of mediocrity. Many were looking for an alternative to the feeble ineffectualness of centrist politics and for some a form of Fascism seemed to be the only answer. Perhaps dictatorship could offer a viable solution to the country's economic woes. Mosley may have been the most prominent of the disgruntled, but he was far from alone. Convinced that regimes dominated by time-serving nonentities could not tackle the economic storm unleashed by the Wall Street Crash of October 1929, such figures looked around for an alternative model.

Influenced by the Italian dictator, Benito Mussolini, Mosley adopted the concept of the corporate state — the idea that the state requires all members from a particular economic sector to join an officially designated interest group, which will participate in national policy-making. As one of Mosley's early admirers put it: 'His British Fascism is Mussolini in policy … Parliament to be elected on occupational franchise with functions restricted to electing government and vote of censure.'[8] Mosley, like many others was attracted by the apparent efficiency of Fascism and its unquestioned patriotism. Italy 'presented … the picture of a country that had turned from chaos to order, from widespread poverty to comparative affluence'.[9] Nor did Mosley's admiration for the Italian leader put him totally at odds with mainstream opinion in Britain. Since coming to power in 1922, Mussolini had emerged as a statesman with whom Britain could do useful business. Significantly, and unlike Adolf Hitler, he took a relaxed view of race and eschewed anti-Semitism. Indeed, the Chief Rabbi of Rome was among early recruits to the Italian Fascist Party. No doubt to their later embarrassment, Mussolini attracted a large number of British admirers. Writing in the *National Review*, Sir Frank Fox declared that he 'could not find an Italian who was

7 H. Hemming, *M: Maxwell Knight, MI5's Greatest Spymaster* (London, 2017), p.132.
8 K. Young (ed.), *The Diaries of Sir Robert Bruce Lockhart 1915–1938* (London, 1973), p.227.
9 R. Griffiths, *Fellow Travellers of the Right: British Enthusiasts for Nazi Germany 1933–39* (Oxford, 1983), p.13.

aware of any loss of liberty, any sense of grievance because he could no longer by his vote put into office one set or another of disastrous politicians'.[10] Noel Skelton, a prominent young Conservative MP of progressive views, best known for coining the phrase 'a property-owning democracy', suggested that 'the new authoritarianism … bears all the marks of being an evolutionary movement discarding and supplanting an outworn form … Is there not spreading in England also an opinion that democracy is outworn?'[11] For Lord Rothermere, proprietor of the *Daily Mail*, Mussolini was quite simply 'the greatest figure of the age'.[12] The Italian leader's view, asserted the First World War military commander Douglas Haig in 1926, 'is that everyone is a servant of the State and must honestly do his best to serve the State. If anyone fails he is punished.' Revealingly, Haig added, 'We want someone like that at home at the present time.'[13] Even Winston Churchill, who once described Mussolini as 'the Roman genius', admitted in 1927 that, had he been an Italian, he would have been wholeheartedly with the Italian dictator in his 'triumphant struggle against the bestial appetites and perversions of Leninism'.[14]

Nor did the official government line on Mussolini change quickly as the 1930s progressed. Even after Hitler's rise to power in Germany, Mussolini was still widely seen less as the former's future ally and more as a useful brake on the Fuhrer's ambitions, a perception that led to the conclusion of the so-called Stresa Front in 1935. And as late as January 1939 Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain returned from a 'truly wonderful' visit to Rome, declaring that he had achieved everything he had hoped for 'and more' and that the journey had 'definitely strengthened the chances of peace'.[15]

Against this background it becomes possible to accept and understand the concept of an early period in the history of the BUF of 'respectable Fascism' — or, as the *News Chronicle* put it, 'Boiled Shirt Fascism' — when sympathisers 'maintained a footing within conventional politics … but kept open the extra-parliamentary alternative'.[16] In this period there was no question of Mosley being, in the phraseology of a later generation, 'no-platformed'. The high-point of this phase of 'respectable Fascism' probably came in February 1933 when, under the chairmanship of David Lloyd George, Mosley debated his new creed with the left-wing socialist, Jimmy Maxton. The future cabinet minister, Alfred Duff Cooper, who attended the debate, thought that 'Mosley got the best of it'.[17] And it is within this context that we should consider the visits to Dumfries made by the two best-known British Fascists, Oswald Mosley and William Joyce.

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10 Pugh, op. cit., p.43.
11 Ibid., p.43.
12 Ibid., p.47.
13 W. Reid, *Architect of Victory: Douglas Haig* (Edinburgh, 2006), pp.506–7.
14 M. Gilbert, *Winston S. Churchill*, vol. 5 (London, 1976), p.226; *The Times* 21 January 1927.
15 University of Birmingham, Chamberlain MSS, NC18/1/1082, Chamberlain to Hilda Chamberlain 15 January 1939.
16 Pugh, op. cit., p.81.
17 J.J. Norwich (ed.), *The Duff Cooper Diaries* (London, 2005), p.223.

Mosley spoke to a packed meeting of over 3,000 people in the Drill Hall, Dumfries on Friday evening, 6 April 1934. It was the first Fascist rally ever held in Scotland.[18] Mosley occupied the platform for more than two and a half hours, devoting an hour and a half to his speech and a further hour to answering questions, both written and oral. The speech was extensively and very fairly reported in the *Dumfries Standard*, allowing us to note the topics which the speaker covered and also the atmosphere in which Mosley's meeting took place. 'A new experience for Dumfries', noted the *Standard*, was the presence of between 300 and 400 'Blackshirts', whose duty was to maintain order.[19] The majority of these had travelled from Newcastle and Durham by special train, but there was also a small contingent of between 20 and 30 from Dumfries itself. The hall was full long before the meeting was due to start and it was apparent that a 'strong communist element' had installed itself at the back of the hall, intent on disrupting the proceedings. Speaking from a table draped with the Union Jack, Mosley insisted that he wanted no trouble and that, in accordance with the Public Meetings Act, he would order the ejection of anyone who had come to the meeting to create a disturbance: 'We ask only the same right as any other movement in the land, the right to free speech and to put our case to the judgement of a Scottish audience.' In the event there were frequent interruptions and scuffles when Mosley's stewards sought to eject hecklers. Two Blackshirts needed medical attention for minor injuries incurred in the resulting mêlée. While the *Standard* commended Mosley for handling his audience with 'consummate skill', it took exception to the heavy-handed tactics used to quell dissent: 'an orator who fortifies himself with a bodyguard of uniformed men — a semi-military force — meant to overawe possible dissentients, is simply asking for trouble'.[20] But if the stewarding and minor violence of the Dumfries meeting looked forward to a later and more brutal phase in the history of British Fascism, the presence in the front row of the audience of the sitting Liberal MP for Dumfriesshire, Dr Joseph Hunter,[21] and of the former Liberal MP for Galloway, Major Cecil Dudgeon,[22] was a reminder that Mosley's movement was not yet beyond the political pale.

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18 Compare Stephen Cullen's curious comment that Mosley 'made only two public appearances in Scotland as BUF leader, both at the Usher Hall in Edinburgh'. S. Cullen, 'The Fasces and the Saltire: The Failure of the British Union of Fascists in Scotland, 1932–1940', *Scottish Historical Review*, vol. 87, no. 224 (2008), p.318.

19 *Dumfries and Galloway Standard and Advertiser* (hereafter *Standard*) 7 April 1934. Unless otherwise stated, this account of the meeting is based on the report in the *Standard*.

20 *Standard* (editorial) 7 April 1934.

21 Joseph Hunter (1875–1935), Liberal and later Liberal National MP for Dumfriesshire 1929–35. On the day after the meeting, Hunter escorted Mosley around the Burns-related sites in Dumfries. The two men were photographed by an enterprising press photographer. The *Standard*, sensing the potential for embarrassment, reminded its readers that 'it must not be supposed that Dr Hunter has any leanings towards Fascism. He … was only extending the courtesy due to a distinguished acquaintance visiting his constituency.' *Standard* 11 April 1934.

22 Cecil Randolph Dudgeon (1885–1970), Liberal MP for Galloway 1922–4 and 1929–31. Dudgeon decided not to defend his seat in the General Election of 1931, but at the last minute came forward as a candidate for Mosley's short-lived 'New Party', securing just 986 votes.

Mosley spent a good deal of time trying to meet objections to the Fascist movement. The black shirt uniform, he declared, was a symbol of the new feeling of the post-war world and positively helped to break down class barriers. Mosley then turned to the charge that Fascism was not a natural British movement, but an import from abroad. Every great movement of the last 300 years, he suggested, had been common to Europe as a whole. Liberalism and socialism had not begun in Britain, but were now firmly established in the country's political landscape. The reason why Fascism had begun in Italy was that Italy had been the first European country to experience a major post-war crisis. Fascism would come to each great nation in turn as each country began to realise that a new civilisation was required to meet the new facts of the modern age. But it was more naturally adapted to the British character than to that of any other country, because the essence of Fascism was teamwork and the power to unite all people in the interests of the nation as a whole.

In response to the charge that Fascism aimed at dictatorship and tyranny over the people, Mosley sought to distinguish between a dictatorship that was against the will of the people and a dictatorship to which the people had given their consent. He reminded his audience that the British people had, time and again, demanded action from their government, but every time a government had pledged itself to a great programme of action it had been overthrown, leaving the people feeling betrayed. If they wanted a government to act, they had to give it the power to do so. Fascists sought to capture parliament and secure a majority by legal and constitutional means. But having gained that power they were going to use it. The first act of a Fascist majority in parliament would be to give the government power to act by order for the period of that parliament, subject to the right of the elected parliament to dismiss it by a vote of censure. But, as long as the government enjoyed the confidence of parliament and the people, its hands should not be tied. Rather it should be free to carry out the programme it was pledged to execute. Subsequent parliaments would be elected on the basis of the voters' professions, industries or interests in a conscious process to create the corporate state. An engineer would vote for an engineer, a steel-worker as a steel-worker and married women within a special category designed specifically to consider their interests. The resulting parliament would thus be technical and not party-political. As Mosley put it, 'Six hundred amateurs elected in three weeks could not possibly handle the problems of a technical age.'[23] And where, he asked, would Scotland fit into this new structure? While Mosley did not want to split up the United Kingdom into smaller units, he insisted that it should be perfectly easy to ensure that Scottish questions were settled expeditiously and effectively on the spot by Scots.

Turning to his party's economic policy, Mosley pointed out that the modernisation and rationalisation of British industry had opened up the possibility of the increased production of goods, but the market for those goods had not grown to the same extent. Indeed, rationalisation and new processes were throwing men into unemployment. The state had to be so organised that it could increase the size of the market by raising wages and thus purchasing power. Over the last couple of years British exports had benefitted from a fall in the value of the pound following the abandonment of the Gold Standard. But this was only a transient advantage and steps had to be taken to expand the domestic market for

23 The report in the *Dumfries Courier* has Mosley likening a typical election to a 'three weeks bowling match at street corners'. 'We will put the interest of Britain', continued Mosley, 'above every other interest in the world.' *Dumfries Courier* 7 April 1934.

the long term. When it came to agriculture, Mosley argued that the government's plans to raise agricultural prices without corresponding measures to increase the purchasing power of the towns were doomed to failure. 'The only way to overcome that old conflict between town and country', he insisted, 'is to give the farmer a price which gives him a living, and to give the towns the purchasing power to pay the price' — and only the corporate policies of Fascism could do that. Much damage had been done by the financiers of the City of London. These men had loaned great sums of money to foreign countries, equipping Britain's industrial and agricultural competitors all over the world. The result had been the under-cutting of British labour. 'Therefore, we are faced with this extraordinary position that British agriculture, which can employ hundreds of thousands of more men on the land than are employed today, is kept in a terrible position to favour the interests of the great city of London.'

Obvious difficulties had been skated over, but Mosley had the oratorical skills to carry much of his audience with him. The *Standard*'s reporter judged the speech 'challenging, vital and inspiring'. But Mosley was at his most commanding as he drew to a close. 'His speech was wrought to a terrific climax and its effect was evident in a wonderful ovation which he received from the audience.' This supreme populist of the 1930s certainly knew how to excite a crowd:

> The Fascists had been accused of stirring things up, but they had got to stir things up. They had got to make the men and women think and live and feel again.

His closing words have a strikingly current resonance:

> Sir Oswald said that Fascists had faced ridicule, obloquy, hatred and misrepresentation for no purpose except love of their country, and no ambition except that Britain might again be great. He asked his audience to recognise that spirit and to acclaim it as something which would make our country great.[24]

Yet as important as anything Mosley said was what he did not say. The tone of the speech may have been unashamedly nationalistic, but there was little here that could be condemned as racist, and only one possible trace of the anti-Semitism with which the BUF would in time become indissolubly associated, when Mosley referred to the financiers of the City of London as 'alien', an example perhaps of what one author has described as 'the passive anti-Semitism of 1930s Middle England'.[25]

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24 'Britain First' became something of a slogan for the BUF. From prison, shortly before his execution, William Joyce gave his brother, Quentin, a message for publication which contained the words 'May Britain be great once again …' J.A. Cole, *Lord Haw-Haw: The Full Story of William Joyce* (London, 1987), p.302.

25 Hemming, op. cit., p.114. The general absence of anti-Semitism from Mosley's rhetoric at this stage of his career and, indeed, his public assertions that there would be no persecution of Jews under British Fascism may have been purely tactical on his part. Furthermore, his attempts to play down the whole Jewish question as part of his post-war effort at rehabilitation are misleading. Sir Oswald Mosley, *My Life* (London, 1968), chapter 18. But it is certainly true that Mosley's anti-Semitism never reached the depths of William Joyce's visceral hatred.

At one level Mosley's visit to Dumfries was a matter of no surprise. At this time, he was making about 200 speeches a year, travelling thousands of miles by car to venues all around Britain. The majority of his speeches in rural areas and market towns passed off peacefully and, as in Dumfries, the problems of agriculture would take up a significant part of his address. Mosley found it easy to tap into the traditional conservatism of farming communities, which had been confronting apparently intractable problems since the end of the First World War. Attention at the time and subsequently has been concentrated on Mosley's speeches in large urban centres, not least because the existence of an organised local communist or socialist party provided the conditions for conflict and disruption, not to mention making the Leader's visit more newsworthy. More generally, Mosley had developed strong links with Scotland during his time as a Labour MP, especially with the left-wing 'Red Clydesiders'; and he had already spoken to a large open-air audience on Glasgow Green in September 1931, when campaigning for the so-called New Party, the short-lived and ideologically indeterminate movement which Mosley had founded after parting company with Labour. Indeed, on this occasion he had been hit on the head by a stone, while two of his bodyguards had been slashed by razors in their efforts to protect him, injuries which perhaps owed more to his status as a Labour renegade than to perceptions of proto-Fascism.

What *was* surprising, however, was the choice of Dumfries to stage the BUF's first mass rally north of the border. 'One would have thought', mused the *Standard*'s editorial writer, 'that either Glasgow or Edinburgh would have been better centres for the dissemination of the doctrines of Fascism among the Scottish people.' The only explanation the newspaper could offer to its own question was, to say the least, intriguing: 'Why this distinction should have been thrust on Dumfries one is at a loss to know, unless it is that Dumfries is convenient to Dalbeattie, which is the cradle of the new faith on this side of the Border.'[26] That such a dubious accolade should fall to this small town in the Stewartry is clearly a matter that merits further investigation. Attention must turn, albeit cautiously, to evidence offered by the BUF's regular newsletter, *The Blackshirt*.

The Fascist movement was slower to take root in Scotland than in England, but a branch had been established in Edinburgh by the end of 1933. By the start of the following year, however, attention was focussing on the south-west of the country and, in particular, Dalbeattie. As *The Blackshirt* recorded:

> The activities of Captain Vincent Collier[27] in Dumfriesshire are rapidly bearing fruit in the creation of BUF branches at Dalbeattie, Gatehouse, Dumfries and Ayr. Meetings have been held in all the above mentioned towns, and the agricultural community have taken a keen interest. Several influential persons have enrolled in our ranks and are giving their unqualified support to the Cause.[28]

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26 *Standard* (editorial) 7 April 1934.

27 An Irish ex-officer, previously associated with Sinn Fein and the New Party. He was attracted by Mosley's support for Irish independence in the 1920s and later joined Joyce's National Socialist League.

28 *The Blackshirt* no. 40, 26 January 1934.

New premises had been opened in Dalbeattie with seating for at least 150 people. 'Already several well attended indoor meetings have been held.'[29] A month later it was noted that the Dalbeattie branch continued to thrive and had become 'the centre of Fascist activity in this part of Scotland'.[30] A Special Branch report estimated that there were around 400 BUF members in Dumfries: 'a fairly large percentage of the members are described as "passive" members, mostly business men, mostly in a small way'.[31]

The movement's growth owed less to specific economic or social factors in south-west Scotland and more to the drive, energy and administrative efficiency of a small number of dedicated individuals, in particular the local organiser in Dalbeattie, James Little,[32] a man who had already done 'yeoman work' for Mosley in the days of the New Party.[33] As Stephen Cullen puts it, 'Little was an example of the type of local leader that the BUF desperately needed, but rarely found'.[34] His respected and almost ubiquitous presence in Dalbeattie society served to enhance the attractions of the Fascist movement. In addition to his political activities, Little was a local bank manager and served as Town Clerk. He also recognised the value of extending the BUF's presence beyond the purely political sphere, thereby providing additional reasons for potential members to join, while softening the movement's public image. As *The Blackshirt* recorded in May 1934, 'a very successful dance was held by the [Gatehouse] branch on Friday. Mr Little, travelling from his Thornhill meeting (nearly 60 miles away) was present later in the evening and addressed the crowd assembled. Bus loads from Dalbeattie and Castle Douglas greatly contributed towards the success of the evening. A badminton court is being furnished with the proceeds.[35] A few weeks later it was announced that there were now at least six Blackshirt football teams in the south of Scotland and that negotiations were underway to create a Blackshirt league. Inter-branch tug-of-war contests were also taking place. In addition, the party's Dumfries Life-Saving Team had been greatly augmented and now patrolled an 80-mile stretch of the Solway coast.[36] But from Dalbeattie's point of view Little became the victim of his own success. In the summer of 1934 he was promoted to be Officer-in-Charge for Scotland. Thereafter, the time he could devote to his own locality was necessarily limited.

Where Dalbeattie led, Dumfries followed. As *The Blackshirt* commented, after only two months in existence the Dumfries branch of the BUF was already numbering its

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29 Ibid.

30 *The Blackshirt* no. 43, 23 February 1934.

31 Cullen, op. cit., p.312.

32 James Little (*c.* 1901–1967). Served for 41 years as Town Clerk of Dalbeattie, in which post he succeeded his own father. Also succeeded his father as manager of the Commercial Bank in Dalbeattie and was joint manager of the National Commercial Bank until his retirement in 1965. Principal of the legal firm of J. and J.M. Little, he appeared as a vigorous and earnest pleader in many sheriff court cases in Dumfries and Kirkcudbright. Obituaries in the *Standard* and *Galloway News* fail to make mention of his political activities in the 1930s.

33 *The Blackshirt* no. 58, 1 June 1934.

34 Cullen, op. cit., p.314.

35 *The Blackshirt* no. 56, 18 May 1934.

36 Ibid., no. 64, 13 July 1934. It seems questionable whether Mosley himself approved of these 'social' developments, declaring on one occasion that 'the social club idea is Social Democratic and is not Fascist'. R. Skidelsky, *Oswald Mosley* (London, 1975), p.324.

membership in hundreds.[37] As in Dalbeattie, social events occupied a significant part of the organisation's calendar. So great was the attendance at a whist-drive and dance at the Queensberry Hotel that it was agreed that a larger hall should be booked for the next event.[38] The women's branch started 'physical culture' classes in May and branch premises were 'looking ship-shape' after hard work on the part of willing members. The branch was proud to possess its own colours and had carried them for the first time to steward one of Little's meetings in Thornhill.[39] In September *The Blackshirt* confidently declared that 'Fascism has come to stay in Dumfriesshire. The Lowland Scot is slow to move, but underneath his dour exterior glows the ancient Border courage, which the Leader, with his stirring message of hope and patriotism, has rekindled once again.'[40] Second only to Little in promoting the growth of the movement in Dumfries was John Hone, an engineer who had become interested in Fascism while working in South Africa. Joining the Dumfries branch soon after its formation, he quickly rose to become Officer-in-Charge. As with Little, however, his success and evident ability came at a price. He was appointed Northern Inspecting Officer for England in 1935, 'thereby depriving the Dumfries branch of its main motor of success'.[41]

In fact, Mosley's visit to Dumfries came near the end of the 'respectable' phase of British Fascism. The most important catalyst for change was the Leader's mass rally at Olympia on 7 June 1934, the second of three scheduled London meetings designed to consolidate the party's recent progress. By this time the Communist Party was actively encouraging the use of force against the BUF, with the *Daily Worker* calling, somewhat euphemistically, for a 'counter-demonstration'.[42] Trouble broke out almost as soon as Mosley began to speak to a crowd of about 12,000. As fast as interrupters were removed, others took over to continue the disruption of the proceedings. 'The whole thing', noted the journalist Collin Brooks, 'was a fiasco and … the personal appeal of Fascism has been drowned by such a display of un-English methods.'[43] Precisely what happened inside the hall has been hotly disputed, but in any case is less important than the resulting press coverage and reaction. Many papers carried sickening stories of sadistic and unnecessary Fascist brutality in the handling of protestors by Blackshirt stewards. For many this was, or subsequently became, the moment when the unambiguously violent face of Fascism was not only exposed, but also recognised as such by all decent Britons.[44] Mosley was, in effect, now banned from the BBC; Lord Rothermere withdrew the not inconsiderable support of the *Daily Mail*; and middle-class opinion in general turned its back on the Fascist movement. The celebrated

37 *The Blackshirt* no. 58, 1 June 1934. Special Branch reported in September 1934: 'It is said that it is intended to make Dumfries the HQ for Scotland. This branch is regarded as one of the most flourishing in Scotland.' G. Bowd, *Fascist Scotland: Caledonia and the Far Right* (Edinburgh, 2013), p.23.
38 *The Blackshirt* no. 66, 27 July 1934.
39 Ibid., no. 56, 18 May 1934.
40 Bowd, op. cit., p.30.
41 Ibid., p.42; Cullen, op. cit., p.316.
42 *Daily Worker* 17 May 1934.
43 N.J. Crowson (ed.), *Fleet Street, Press Barons and Politics: The Journals of Collin Brooks, 1932–1940* (London, 1998), p.61.
44 Skidelsky, op. cit., p.365.

diarist, future MP and erstwhile Mosley acolyte, Harold Nicolson, heard that 'the House of Commons is up in arms against the fascists and that something will be done about them'.[45]

The *Dumfries Standard* was but one paper to reflect the changed mood. Mosley's attitude at meetings was, it suggested, 'deliberately provocative and the slightest interruption is held to be disorder and the speaker stops until the minions remove the person who dared to open his mouth'. Mosley had

> given the people of London and Edinburgh and Dumfries and other towns a sample of the tyranny and intolerance that may be expected under a Fascist regime, and one can hardly imagine that a people nurtured on liberty would sacrifice their birthright at the bidding of Blackshirts.

'The Fascist movement', the paper concluded, 'has got to be put under proper control and we feel sure that Parliament will declare strongly against the party and its methods.'[46] When, a few days later, Lady Mosley, Sir Oswald's mother, visited Dumfries to present colours to the local BUF branch organisation, her reception was distinctly hostile. Lady Mosley 'exhorted the members of the branch to defend the colours with their lives, and to follow them to victory. The members saluted the colours with the Fascist salute, and two Blackshirts played bagpipe music.'[47] But a well-organised left-wing protest was much in evidence and it was perhaps only a strong police presence that prevented any serious possibility of violence erupting.[48] (See Figure 1.)

It was then in much changed circumstances that William Joyce, as part of a short speaking tour, addressed an audience at the YMCA Hall, Dumfries on 7 February 1935. Born in New York of Southern Irish Unionist parents, Joyce would become possibly the most reviled figure in Britain as a result of his wartime radio broadcasts from Germany under the pseudonym of 'Lord Haw-Haw'. A schoolboy fight in sectarian Ireland, and a resulting broken nose, gave Joyce's voice the distinctive nasal tone for which his later broadcasts were renowned. But his most obvious physical feature was a large scar on the right side of his face, the result of an attack by a group of youths, one of them wielding a cut-throat razor, when Joyce was stewarding a meeting on behalf of the Conservative parliamentary candidate, Jack Lazarus, in October 1924. For Joyce the wound became a matter of pride. It was, as he put it, his 'Lambeth Honour'.[49] Disillusioned with Conservatism because of its abandonment of Southern Ireland, he had become involved in pre-BUF Fascist groups during the 1920s. Significantly, and unlike Mosley, Joyce also became a committed anti-Semite at this time, blaming the world's troubles on Communists and Jews, two groups which were in his eyes essentially indistinguishable. 'I don't regard Jews as a class', he declared in January 1934, 'I regard them as a privileged misfortune.'[50] He joined the BUF

45 N. Nicolson (ed.), *Harold Nicolson: Diaries and Letters 1930–39* (London, 1966), p.174.
46 *Standard* (editorial) 13 June 1934.
47 Bowd, op. cit., p.27.
48 *Standard* 16 June 1934.
49 M. Kenny, *Germany Calling: A Personal Biography of William Joyce, 'Lord Haw-Haw'* (Dublin, 2003), p.77.
50 Pugh, op. cit., p.213.

in 1933 at the age of 27 and the following year was appointed the party's Director of Propaganda on the respectable salary of £300 a year. Joyce had few obvious connections with south-west Scotland, though as an undergraduate in the early 1920s he had become fascinated with Thomas Carlyle of Ecclefechan and would later found a 'Carlyle Club' and suggest that the historian was a proto-National Socialist: 'in all the vast extent of Carlyle's writings there is nothing that could be regarded as other than the product of a National-Socialist mind. He himself had the spirit of National Socialism long before it existed.'[51]



Figure 1. Lady Katherine Maud Mosley, Oswald Mosley's mother, presenting the BUF (Dumfries branch) colours in 1934 in Queen Street, Dumfries. The BUF headquarters was at 17 Queen Street. Photographed by James C. Gair. Image courtesy of Dumfries Museum – DUMFM:1974.13.268.11.

51 *Fascist Quarterly* vol. ii, no. 3 (July 1936). Carlyle's 'great man' approach to history led to a belief 'in the magically gifted individual who transforms his era and people'. S. Dorril, *Blackshirt: Sir Oswald Mosley and British Fascism* (London, 2006), p.26. It has been suggested that, as the thousand-year Reich collapsed around them, Goebbels tried to comfort Hitler by reminding him of Carlyle's account of the sudden and dramatic up-turn in the fortunes of Frederick the Great during the Seven Years War. I. Kershaw, *Hitler 1936–45: Nemesis* (London, 2000), p.783. For a further discussion of Carlyle's importance in Fascist thinking, see Bowd, op. cit., p.105.

We know considerably less about Joyce's Dumfries speech than we do of that of Mosley ten months earlier because of the paucity of press coverage it received. Two explanations may be offered. After the disastrous Olympia meeting, newspaper editors were advised to ignore the BUF as far as possible, to deny the movement what a later generation would style 'the oxygen of publicity'. Perhaps more important, it needs to be remembered that Joyce had not yet achieved the notoriety of his later years as an enemy broadcaster. In 1935, at least outside the Fascist community, he would have been a largely unknown figure. At all events, the *Standard* judged that 'little interest' was taken in the visit of the BUF's Director of Propaganda and that only about 50 people were present.[52] As far as we can tell, the meeting passed off without incident, with the *Courier* suggesting that Joyce's two-hour address was 'attentively listened to'.[53] No distinguished local figures appear to have been present, save for James Little, by now the Fascist Organiser for Scotland.

Joyce declared that the essentials of Fascism were patriotism and economic revolution. Where socialism was concerned with class war, Fascists wanted to build up the nation on the basis of reconciliation and harmony between all classes. They were convinced that, until the purchasing power of the people was increased and higher wages paid, there could be no hope of solving Britain's economic difficulties. Protection against foreign competition was imperative if the problems of agriculture were to be tackled. A revolution was required, but it would be a peaceful one. At the end of his address, questions, oral or written, were invited, but only one was forthcoming, relating to Mussolini's use of his powers in Italy. The meeting concluded with the singing of the National Anthem. Again, there is no evidence that Joyce raised racist or anti-Semitic issues.

Surviving press reports give no flavour of Joyce's oratorical performance on this occasion. At his best he was certainly a powerful speaker, but not one who necessarily attracted new adherents to the movement. One historian suggests that the 'key to Joyce's stage appeal was his extraordinary anger, underscored by a hint of vulnerability, which made his performances strangely compelling'.[54] The description of a speech delivered by Joyce at the Park Lane Hotel, London is instructive:

> Thin, pale, intense, he had not been speaking many minutes before we were electrified by this man … [N]ever before, in any country, had I met a personality so terrifying in its dynamic force, so vituperative, so vitriolic. The words poured from him in a corrosive spate … We listened in a kind of frozen hypnotism to this cold, stabbing voice … When the speaker finished, his white face luminous with hate, the chairman announced that questions might be asked. But no questions were asked. The audience sat paralysed by that flood of vituperation. I felt as if I had seen something unclean, so fearful in its cold frenzy that one blanched, asphyxiated in so nauseous an atmosphere …[55]

52 *Standard* 9 February 1935. Joyce attracted a considerably larger audience in Dalbeattie the following evening.
53 *Courier* 9 February 1935.
54 Hemming, op. cit., p.134.
55 C. Roberts, *And so to America* (London, 1946), pp.22–3.

We do know that at least one member of Joyce's small Dumfries audience had been thoroughly impressed. Margaret Cairns White and a group of party activists, learning that Joyce was booked to speak in Dumfries, hired a bus from Carlisle to come and hear him. She and Joyce made contact and she accompanied him on future speaking engagements. She was appointed full-time secretary to the BUF's Manchester branch in 1936 and on 12 February 1937, five days after Joyce's divorce from his first wife became absolute, they were married at Kensington Registry Office.

By the time of Joyce's Dumfries speech, however, the BUF was in a state of national decline. Party membership, which had peaked at an estimated total of 50,000 in the summer of 1934, collapsed to around 5,000 in October 1935, making only a slow and partial recovery thereafter.[56] With Joyce very much to the fore, the image and example of Hitler and the Nazis rather than Mussolini and his Fascists began to dominate the BUF's stance. This inevitably led to an increased role for anti-Semitism. Mosley himself saw the value of this in enhancing his movement's appeal in areas of concentrated Jewish population, especially the East End of London. Symbolically, the party's name was changed in June 1936 to the 'British Union of Fascists and National Socialists'. The on-going struggle between Fascists and anti-Fascists came to a head with the so-called Battle of Cable Street in October 1936, when 7,000 Blackshirts were confronted by a far larger number of protestors. Such street brawls alienated any last vestiges of 'respectable' support from the Fascist movement. The Public Order Act, which became law on 1 January 1937, was a direct consequence. It banned the wearing of political uniforms, except on private ceremonial occasions; it forbade the use of stewards at open-air meetings; it strengthened the law on the use of insulting language likely to lead to a breach of the peace; and it gave the police power to ban marches and processions if they endangered public order. After 1937 Mosley found it almost impossible to hire large halls for his indoor meetings.

The careers of Mosley and Joyce now went into states — albeit very different — of terminal decline. Joyce was among those who lost their jobs in 1937 in a purge of the party's administrative staff. The main purpose was undoubtedly to cut costs, but in Joyce's case Mosley may also have come to the conclusion that his colleague's aggressive tone and his virulent and overt anti-Semitism were doing the movement no favours overall. Joyce and the also dismissed John Beckett now founded the National Socialist League, even more extreme in its policies than the BUF. Shortly before the outbreak of war, Joyce and his wife, possibly acting on a tip-off from the Intelligence Services, fled to Germany where he soon embarked on his new career in broadcasting.[57] In this he enjoyed a far wider audience — six million people are supposed to have been regular listeners — than ever before. But most Britons tuned in out of curiosity or to be amused, rather than to take serious note of Lord Haw-Haw's words. Captured at the end of hostilities, Joyce — unrepentant to the last — was tried for high treason and executed in Wandsworth Prison

56 G.C. Webber, 'Patterns of Membership and Support for the British Union of Fascists', *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 19 (1984), pp.575–606.

57 If such a tip-off took place, it is explicable in the context of the priority given to anti-communism by the security services at this time. Dorril, op. cit. p.266; Hemming, op. cit. pp.232–4.

in January 1946. It was and remains a controversial judgement, granted the difficulty of deeming a man who was, legally, American capable of committing treason against the British state. Meanwhile Mosley had been interned in May 1940, less because he posed a threat to the state and more to satisfy the demands of public opinion. He remained in prison until November 1943 and was then under house arrest until May 1945. In the post-war world he attempted, unsuccessfully, to relaunch his political career, championing now the cause of European unity. Almost until his death in 1980, Mosley seems to have regarded himself as a saviour in exile, whom the country would one day call upon — de Gaulle-like — to save it from itself.

The collapse of the Fascist movement in Scotland was, if anything, even more total than in Britain as a whole. The south-west of the country did not maintain its initial promise for the party. By 1937 outposts in Perth and Aberdeen had overtaken the branches in Dumfries and Dalbeattie. Even here, however, progress was strictly limited.[58] With the first stirrings of Scottish nationalism, the political landscape was even more congested than in England and Mosley proved unable to develop a sufficiently distinctive or compelling Scottish narrative to penetrate this already crowded field.[59] His vague statements about administrative devolution failed to convince the Scottish electorate that he had a clear plan for the country's future. Radical politics in urban Scotland tended in any case to be grounded in religious divides, but Mosley refused to commit himself to any particular creed. Fascism was, if nothing else, for the whole nation, but 'religious even-handedness was no good in the atmosphere of contemporary Scottish street politics'.[60] Mosley even toyed with the idea of a uniform designed specifically for Scotland. But the plethora of different tartans ran foul of his determination to embrace all clans and all classes and his proposed alternative of black shirt and grey kilt lacked both political and sartorial appeal.[61] For all that, it remains worthy of note that, for a brief period in the mid-1930s, Dumfries did genuinely look like becoming an isolated Fascist success story, and Dalbeattie 'the cradle of Fascism in Scotland'.[62]

58 Bowd, op. cit., p.70.

59 Interestingly (and controversially), Bowd has detected a 'noisy and fractious fringe of Scottish Nationalism which … had an at least ambivalent relationship with Fascism'. Bowd, op. cit., p.138.

60 Cullen, op. cit., p.324.

61 Bowd, op. cit., p.20; *Scotsman* 7 April 2013.

62 The *Blackshirt* reported in April 1934 that branch members in Dalbeattie regarded this description as a 'great compliment'. Bowd, op. cit., p.23. Compare Skidelsky's misleading comment that 'lively, but isolated, branches in Edinburgh and Aberdeen [were] Mosley's sole representatives north of the border'. Skidelsky, op. cit., p.326.

ADDENDA ANTIQUARIA

TWO ANIMAL CARVINGS FROM TORRS CAVE, KIRKCUDBRIGHT

John Pickin[1] and David F. Devereux[2]

In the summer of 1977 two small animal carvings were discovered incised into the walls of Torrs Cave, Kirkcudbright. The finder removed them from the cave walls and took them to the Stewartry Museum, Kirkcudbright for identification, where they are now held. This note describes the carvings and suggests possible dates for their execution ranging from the early medieval period to the nineteenth century.



Figure 1. The mouth of Torrs Cave from Kirkcudbright Bay (photo by David R. Collin).

1 Member of the Society; pickinjohn@gmail.com.
2 Fellow of the Society; devereuxdf@gmail.com.

The cave

Torrs Cave (Figure 1) is a fossil sea cave located on the east coast of Kirkcudbright Bay, approximately 0.5 km south-east of Torrs Point (NX 6767 4459). The cave is well known in the local area and has been a subject of antiquarian interest from at least the late eighteenth century. It merited a mention in the Old Statistical Account for the parish of Kirkcudbright, published in 1794, where it was described as

> … a remarkable cave in the precipice. From the entrance to the farthest end it measures 60 feet, but the height is unequal. It is narrow at the mouth, then gradually widens, rising to a height of 12 feet or more; again it contracts, and through the rest of the 60 feet diminishes. The door [to the cave] had been originally built with stones, and had a lintel, which is now fallen down, and buried under the rubbish.[3]

Following the publication in 1815 of Scott's *Guy Mannering*, there was a spirited attempt to link local sites with places named in the novel. As early as 1829 the artist and writer James Skene was proposing Torrs Cave as a candidate for Scott's Dirk Hatterick's Cave and his drawing of Torrs Cave was used to illustrate the 1842 Abbotsford edition of *Guy Mannering*.[4] The New Statistical Account for the parish of Kirkcudbright (1845), continuing the association with the Waverley Novels, described '… a remarkable natural cavern called Torrs' Cove, which extends 60 feet into the rock. The entrance is narrow, being little more than sufficient to admit a man on his hands and knees to pass into the cave' and further on states that the cave was 'often called Dirk Hatterick cove'.[5]

It seems however that the cave's celebrity soon waned. Malcolm Harper in his popular 1876 travel book *Rambles in Galloway* does no more than reproduce the description from the *Gazetteer of Scotland*, itself taken from the New Statistical Account. Neither the Royal Commission's *Inventory of Monuments and Constructions in Galloway* (Vol. II, 1914) or Dick's *Highways and Byways of Galloway and Carrick* (1916) make any mention at all of the cave.

In the early 1930s S.V. Morris carried out three seasons of excavation at Torrs Cave which completely removed a large (7m high and 13m long) mound at the cave entrance. The top layers of the mound contained some stone walling that was interpreted as part of the doorway structure described in the Old Statistical Account; beneath the walling were sherds of eighteenth-century black glazed pottery and below this was a layer containing a medieval (probably fourteenth-century) pottery sherd. Towards the base of the mound was a complex of dry stone and rubble retaining walls, some of which were contemporary with a series of charcoal-rich occupation layers containing animal bones, Samian ware, a Roman Iron Age melon bead and a range of bone tools.[6] A worked human tibia was also found in packing associated with one of the walls.[7]

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3 OSA XI, p.25.

4 Skene, James, A Series of Sketches of the existing Localities alluded to in the Waverley Novels (Edinburgh, 1829) p.33.

5 NSA IV, pp.6,8. Note that in the same volume the account for Kirkmabreck parish describes the alternative site for 'Dirk Hatterick's Cave' at Ravenshall, on Wigtown Bay below Kirkdale House. See NSA IV, p.315.

6 Morris, S.V.' Excavation of Torrs Cave, Kirkcudbright', *Proc. Soc. Ants. Scot.* 71 (1937), pp.415–30.

7 Borness Cave, approximately 6km due west on the Wigtown Bay coast, has produced a similar Roman Iron Age assemblage. However, a child's cranium from the cave has recently been dated to 980–899 cal BC (*Discovery and Excavation Scotland* 16 (2015), p.197). This raises the possibility that the Torrs Cave human tibia could also be late Bronze Age.

In the summer of 1977 a German cave explorer visited Torrs Cave and discovered the two animal carvings that are the subject of this note. They were located cut into the south wall at the far end of the cave (identified as the 'final passage chamber' in Morris's report), some 0.40m above floor level and 10cm apart.[8] The finder removed the carvings from the cave wall and took them for identification to the Stewartry Museum, Kirkcudbright; from where they were sent on to the late Jack Scott, Keeper of Archaeology at Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries, for his opinion.

The cave was revisited in 2014 by the present writers to assess its archaeological significance and to see if any other carvings could be found. The cave, which has developed along an east trending joint, is just over 20.5m long (Figure 2). It has an impressive entrance 6m high and some 4m wide and the prehistoric and medieval walls uncovered during the excavations in the 1930s can still be seen. Beyond the entrance is a large chamber, with intact archaeological deposits, which leads to a narrow rift about 1.5m wide. It is at the end of this rift, close to the cave floor, that the carvings were found in 1977. Unfortunately, and despite a careful search, no other carvings were located. But both walls at the end of the cave were found to be covered in early nineteenth-century graffiti. The cave appears to continue beyond the end of the rift as a very low and narrow floor-level passage; it was not explored further.

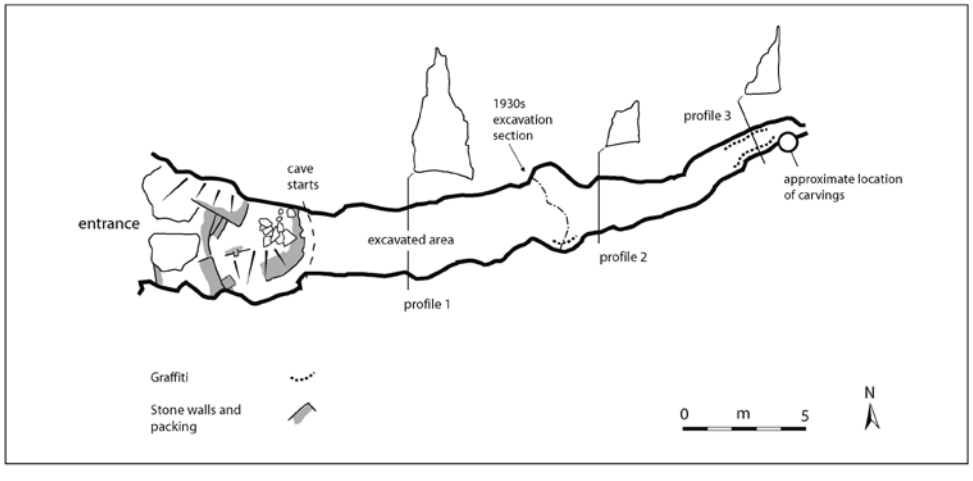


Figure 2. Plan and section of the interior of Torrs Cave (drawn by John Pickin).

The animal carvings

Both carvings were made with a sharp bladed tool, probably a metal knife. The incised lines forming Carving 1 are generally 0.6mm wide and those of Carving 2 are 0.4mm wide.

Carving 1 (Stewartry Museum accession number 1977.26.01). An incised stag (Figures 3 and 4) on a tapering piece of laminated grey shale (155mm × 70mm × 20mm deep); parts of the original stone surface are lost, presumably damaged during removal from the cave wall. The stag is located on the right-hand side of the stone and measures 35mm from tail to nose. The animal is facing right; when in situ, that would have been towards the cave entrance. The body is represented by two parallel lines that curve up to form the neck. A further two parallel lines form the head but the

8 Letter from the finder to Jack Scott, 15.01.1978, Stewartry Museum collection.

muzzle is absent. One of the head lines extends back over the body to show one of the antler beams and a series of slightly wider incisions depict the tines. The second antler beam is shown as a crooked incised line but no tines are present. All four legs are depicted and the curved front legs suggest that the animal is in motion. The head and left antler have been overcut by incised italic letters associated with a now incomplete graffito name. The incised lettering is sharper and has a lighter colour than the lines forming the deer, suggesting that some time elapsed between the two episodes of carving. Close examination and digital imaging of the stone showed that the stag motif sits above a series of narrow parallel linear striations; it could not be ascertained if these lines were natural or artificial.[9]

Carving 2 (Stewartry Museum accession number 1977.26.02). The head of a wide-mouthed creature or monster (Figures 3 and 5) incised on a rectangular block of brown shale (140mm × 60mm × 40mm deep) which has a thin surface coating of calcite (flowstone) on the top right. The block was broken into two — possibly three — fragments on removal from the cave and subsequently conserved by Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries.[10] The head, incised on a smooth and slightly concave area at the lower right-hand side of the block, measures 23mm by 26.6mm. It comprises the outline of an oval head facing right, towards the entrance of the cave when in situ. There is a single circular eye, a single lenticular ear and a wide, extended mouth with a row of triangular teeth. There is no snout. Protruding from the mouth is a long angled tongue, depicted by a single incised line. Beneath the head is an irregular, kinked line with a closed diamond forming a terminal at the right end; this incision appears shallower than the animal head and may be unrelated.

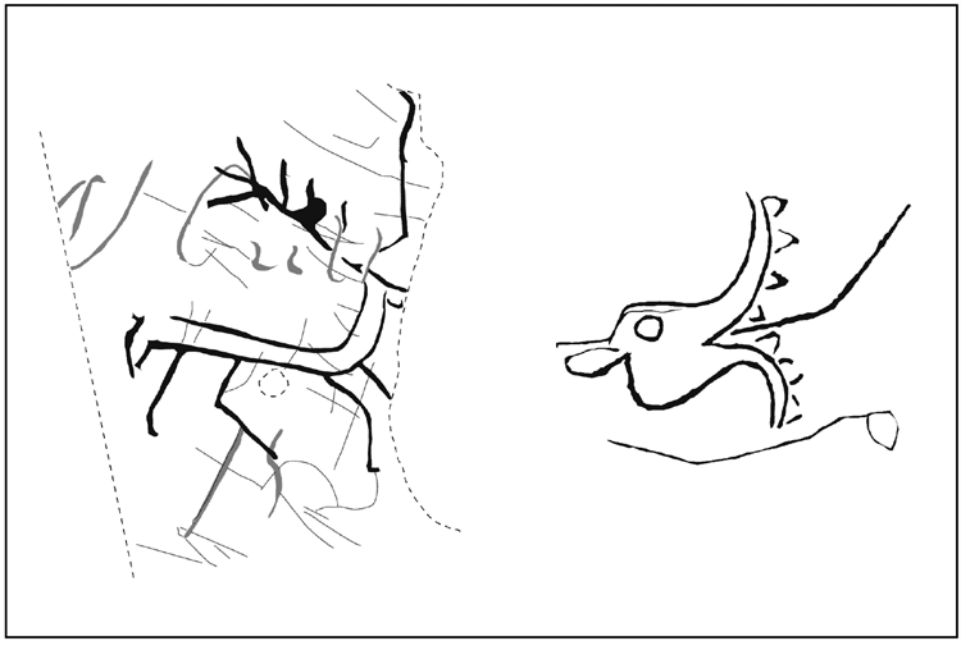


Figure 3. The stag and monster carvings (drawn by John Pickin).

9 Graeme Cavers of the AOC Archaeology Group kindly provided D-stretch images of the carving.

10 Letter from Helen Adamson to Tom Collin 09.08.1978; Stewartry Museum collection.

How old are the carvings?

Jack Scott saw the two carvings soon after their discovery and reported 'I have no doubt that the carvings are genuinely old, and are not modern doodlings …' He thought the stag 'might be as early as the Iron Age occupation' (of the cave) and suggested that the monster head '… with open jaws showing rows of teeth, perhaps biting on a spear … seems to be almost Scandinavian in style, and if so might be 9th or 10th century AD'.[11]

Later prehistoric parallels for the stag carving are hard to find. Carvings of probable deer are found in association with late Neolithic or early Bronze Age cup and ring-style rock art at Ballochmyle, Ayrshire and Goatscrag, Northumberland, but at both sites the animals have been produced by pecking rather than incision and lack the detail of the Torrs Cave stag. The undated but possibly early medieval stag carvings on a rock outcrop at Eggerness, Dumfries and Galloway are also pecked,[12] as are the early medieval animal carvings from other Scottish caves such as King's Cave, Arran; Sculptor's Cave, Moray and the East Wemyss caves, Fife; these images share few stylistic traits with the Torrs stag. A better comparison, perhaps, is with early medieval slate graffiti, in particular the piece from St Blane's Monastery, Bute which shows a very similar stag being pursued by two dogs (National Museum of Scotland accession X.GQ 51);[13] this example dates from the seventh to tenth century. However, comparable stag designs can also be found in later medieval church graffiti in England.[14]



Figure 4. The stag carving (photo by Alan Macfarlane, Arts and Museums, Dumfries and Galloway Council).

11 Report to Glasgow Museum Departmental Director by Jack Scott, September 1977; Stewartry Museum collection.

12 R.W. Morris and M.A.M. van Hoek, 'Rock Carvings in the Garlieston area, Wigtown District', *TDGNHAS* LXII, (1987), pp.32–39.

13 See: <https://www.nms.ac.uk/explore-our-collections/collection-search-results/incised-slate/146404>.

14 Matthew Champion, 'The Graffiti Inscriptions of St Mary's Church, Troston', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology*, 43(2), (2015), pp.235–258.

The dating of the monster head is equally problematic. Beasts with similar ears, circular eyes and gaping mouths appear on tenth-century cross shafts in Northern England — for instance Cross Cannonby and Gosforth in Cumbria and Levisham in North Yorkshire — and it is tempting to see some Viking-Norse inspiration in the Torrs carving.[15] But most Scandinavian-style beast heads have single upper and lower teeth while the creature from Torrs has a full set of pointed fangs.[16] The Torrs head may have more in common with some of the open-jawed and sharp-toothed devils depicted devouring hapless souls in later medieval Doom paintings and a graffito of a demon's head carved into one of the walls of Troston church, Suffolk provides another good parallel from this period.[17] The Troston demon head is accompanied by a pentagram motif and is thought to have had some magical significance; it is possible that the Torrs head, located at the farthest end of the cave, may have had a similar role. Later medieval and early modern ritual protection marks — mainly double-V and geometric motifs — have been recognised recently at a number of caves in England and are thought to have been carved to control malign subterranean entities; these marks are often found at special places within a cave, such as above a deep pit or close to a rift emitting a draft of cold air.[18]



Figure 5. The monster carving (photo by Alan Macfarlane, Arts and Museums, Dumfries and Galloway Council).

It is equally possible that one or both carvings are more modern, perhaps contemporary with the early nineteenth-century graffiti that covers much of the walls in the inner cave. Before the entrance mound was removed in the 1930s excavation, the cave would have been much darker. A journey to

15 Thanks to Meggen Gondek for suggesting the Gosforth parallels.

16 Thanks to Andrew Nicholson for this observation on early medieval animal teeth and their depiction.

17 Champion op cit.

18 L.J. Wilson and C.J. Binding, 'Ritual protection marks in Wookey Hole and Long Hole, Somerset', *Proc. Univ. Bristol Spelaeological Soc*. 25 (1), (2010), pp.47–73.

its far end was an adventurous undertaking for both locals and Scott-inspired tourists alike and one worth marking with a name and date and, maybe, some simple doodles.

The Torrs carvings defy close dating. A prehistoric date seems unlikely but the stag could be early medieval and a medieval date for the monster is not improbable. Later dates are also possible. Hopefully this note will make the carvings better known and generate further ideas on their date and purpose.

Acknowledgements

We are pleased to acknowledge the support and assistance given by staff at the Ministry of Defence's Kirkcudbright Training Centre, Dundrennan, for allowing access to Torrs Cave. A short account of the survey and the carvings was published in the MOD's sustainability magazine *Sanctuary,* 44 (2015). We are grateful to Anne Ramsbottom, Museums Curator West, Dumfries and Galloway Council, for giving access to the carvings and for permission to reproduce Figures 4 and 5, and to David Collin for permission to reproduce Figure 1.

REVIEW

A–Z of Dumfries: Places – People – History by Mary Smith and Keith Kirk. Stroud: Amberley Publishing, 2019. 96pp. £14.99, ISBN 9781445664729 (softback).

This admirably presented 'A to Z' is more than a handbook or directory. Refreshing reviews bridge time from the Royal Charter of 1186 to the recent annual Nithraid River Festival — a very much up-to-date publication in innovation and research; a most useful introduction for visitors; an essential read for incomers; and for residents a modern post-McDowall update.

The coloured photographic illustrations, which are multiple by the page, are excellent. Spliced perfectly with a comprehensive text, in no small measure, no doubt, with the advice of several eminent members of the Society, and acknowledged accordingly. However, under 'for Ewart Library', page 31, no mention is made of the Society on the opening of the Ewart in 1904 — then a new library with very limited book stock. The Society's significant donation formed the basis of the Local, Scientific and Reference collections. Further donations were made over the decades and a final transfer in 2011.*

This 'alphabetical tour of discovery', at £14.99, in print, is a small bargain to those who enjoy an enlightened educational read. A thoughtful gift to anyone with a local connection. Thorough research makes for an informative and often surprising read.

Ralph Coleman.

* See Williams, Pauline, 2014, 'The Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society Library' *TDGNHAS* Ser. III, Vol. 88, p.123.

NOTICE OF PUBLICATION[1]

Dumfries and Galloway: People and Place c. 1700 to 1914 edited by Edward J. Cowan and Kenneth Veitch. Edinburgh: John Donald, 2019. 512pp. £45.00, ISBN 9781910900123 (hardback).

Dumfries and Galloway is one of the least-known regions of Scotland. Despite memories and traditions to match those of Gaelic-speaking Scotland, it has been seriously understudied. This innovative, ground-breaking study, published in collaboration with The European Ethnological Research Centre, University of Edinburgh, looks mainly at the everyday lives and culture of people in this region during a period of profound agricultural, industrial and demographic change.

In doing so, it uncovers new information about a wide range of topics in local history, including food, festivals and folklore, music, mining, the development of towns and villages, population, smuggling, the experience of migration, and the question of identity. These themes are presented in thirteen chapters by contributors John Burnet, Edward J. Cowan, David F. Devereux, Lizanne Henderson, Josephine L. Miller, Lorna J. Philp, John Pickin and Frances Wilkins.

William Hanna Clarke: A Kirkcudbright Artist, 1882–1924 by Christine Wimbush. Privately published, 2019. ii + 62pp. £15.00, ISBN 9780955473753 (hardback).

Born in Glasgow in 1882, Clarke embarked on a career in dentistry in 1904 and practised until 1913. He had, however, been painting from an early age and later attended evening classes at Glasgow School of Art. Within a year of giving up dentistry, he moved to Kirkcudbright with his wife and daughter, to pursue a career as a professional artist. Here his talents were recognised and he was seen as a rising star in the Scottish art world, until his untimely death in a tragic accident. The book traces the artist's family life and explores his careers as both dentist and artist, making much use of family photographs and archive material including exhibition catalogues and press reviews. It is copiously illustrated with examples of Clarke's work, many of which are now held in public collections. It is the first comprehensive account of a Kirkcudbright artist who regrettably did not live long enough to realise his full potential.

Phyllis M. Bone: Animal Sculptor by Elizabeth Cumming. Edinburgh: Georgian Antiques 2018. 64pp. £10.00, ISBN 9781527225220 (softback).

This new book on the sculptor Phyllis Bone, the first woman to be elected to the Royal Scottish Academy, is copiously illustrated with photographs of her work by John McKenzie, and includes a highly informative introduction to her life and career, written by Elizabeth Cumming. Throughout the 1930s and 1940s, she was a regular visitor to Penninghame House near Newton Stewart, and in 1949 she left Edinburgh to settle permanently in Kirkcudbright. This book was produced to accompany an exhibition of Bone's sculpture arranged by Georgian Antiques in Leith during the Edinburgh Festival in 2018.

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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 Coordinating Editor.

OBITUARIES

Lionel James Masters (1942–2019)

Fellow of the Society

Lionel James Masters, born 10 August 1942, was brought up in South Shields. He then studied Archaeology at Cambridge University, where his tutor was Glynn Daniels, well known for his appearances on the BBC. Lionel married Margaret Todd, a teacher, also from South Shields, before graduating with an M.A. Honours degree in Archaeology.

In 1966, Lionel was appointed Extra-Mural Resident Tutor for Dumfriesshire by Glasgow University, a post jointly funded by the university and the local authority. He then moved with Margaret to Dumfries. He lectured in Archaeology in Dumfries, Langholm, Annan, Lockerbie and Moffat, and, from 1981 onwards, he also took responsibility for Galloway, lecturing in Castle Douglas, Newton Stewart, Stranraer, Dalry, Dalbeattie and Rockcliffe.

In addition to his lectures, he conducted a number of excavations in Dumfriesshire and Kirkcudbrightshire, and at Camster in Caithness. He also led study tours to archaeological sites in Britain, France, Cyprus, Syria and Turkey.

With the withdrawal of funding support by the local authority, Lionel moved to Glasgow but continued to hold popular extra-mural courses in Castle Douglas, several weekend courses in the Lake District and also study tours further afield to Machu Picchu and Easter Island.

Later, Lionel and Margaret moved to Doune and, on his retirement, travelled to sites in the South Pacific. However, Lionel also continued with independent courses in Glasgow, for he never lost his enthusiasm for archaeology. He was a Fellow of our Society, and a Fellow of both the Society of Antiquaries of London and the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

Lionel Masters died on 3 April, 2019. He leaves his wife Margaret, son David, daughter Rachel and grandchildren Joe, Adam and Emmie. He will be much missed by family, friends and students.

Sheila Fraser

Articles and notes contributed by Lionel J Masters to the Society's *Transactions*

Masters, L.J. **'**Excavations at the Wren's Egg' *TDGNHAS* Series III, **52** (1976–77), 28–43.

Masters, L.J. and Yates, M.J. **'**Excavation of the Carlochan Round Cairn, Crossmichael, Stewartry District' *TDGNHAS* Series III, **52** (1976–77), 44–55.

Jardine, W.G. and Masters, L.J. 'A Dug-out Canoe from Catherinefield Farm' *TDGNHAS* Series III, **52** (1976–77), 56–65.

Masters, L.J. **'**The Druid's Grave, Kyle and Carrick District, Strathclyde Region: The Rediscovery of a Chambered Tomb' *TDGNHAS* Series III, **56** (1981), 10–17.

Cowie, T.G., Masters, L.J. and Harman, M. 'An Urn Burial from Burnfoot Plantation, Dowglen Hill, Westerkirk' *TDGNHAS* Series III, **56** (1981), 31–37.

Masters, L.J. 'A Mesolithic Hearth at Redkirk Point, Gretna, Annandale & Eskdale District' *TDGNHAS* Series III, **56** (1981), 111–114.

Roger James Mercer (1944–2018)

Those members of our Society who heard Roger Mercer as the speaker at several of our meetings will no doubt agree with the comment of two of his contemporaries that he was 'a slightly larger than life character'. Born in Hendon, in 1944, quite early in life he decided to become an archaeologist. While still at school he took part in various excavations as a volunteer.

In 1963 he began an archaeology course at Edinburgh University, where he joined the O.T.C. which eventually led to a commission as a TAVR officer in the Royal Scots. In his vacations from Edinburgh he participated in a variety of excavations, including one with Charles Thomas at the early chapel site on Ardwall Island in Galloway. He graduated MA with honours in Archaeology in 1967.

Soon after graduating, Roger Mercer was approached by the Ministry of Public Buildings and Works to replace an archaeologist who was unwell. In 1969 he was made an Assistant Inspector in the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments in England. Soon afterwards his special interests in the Neolithic and Bronze Ages led to an invitation to excavate a Neolithic hillfort at Carn Brae near Redruth. This was followed by a request for the excavation of a new shaft at Grimes Graves, the famous flint-mines site in Norfolk. In 1974 he began a series of excavations at the Neolithic fort at Hambleton Hill in Dorset.

Also in 1974 he was appointed Lecturer in Prehistoric Archaeology at Edinburgh University, and he made Edinburgh his home for the rest of his life. In 1982 he was promoted to Reader, and he also became acting Head of Archaeology between 1982 and 1987. Although he changed his employment in 1990, he remained with the university as an Honorary Professorial Fellow until his death in 2018.

His new post was as Secretary of the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, which he held from 1990 to his retirement in 2014. During this period RCAHMS moved to new premises and various innovations, including much IT, made it much easier and quicker for members of the public to access information on monuments in which they were interested. Various new specialist publications were produced instead of the blue county inventories. One very important publication for members of our Society was *Eastern Dumfriesshire; An Archaeological Landscape* which was prompted partly by the extensive afforestation in much of the area. Some of the groundwork for this admirable volume came from excavations in Eskdale directed by Roger Mercer at the settlement site Long Knowe, the magnificent hillfort Castle O'er and the unique, possible ritual site at Over Rig (a report on the Long Knowe excavation can be found in our *Transactions* Vol. LVI, 1981). Of course during his period in charge of RCAHMS Roger Mercer excavated in other parts of Scotland including Caithness and Perthshire.

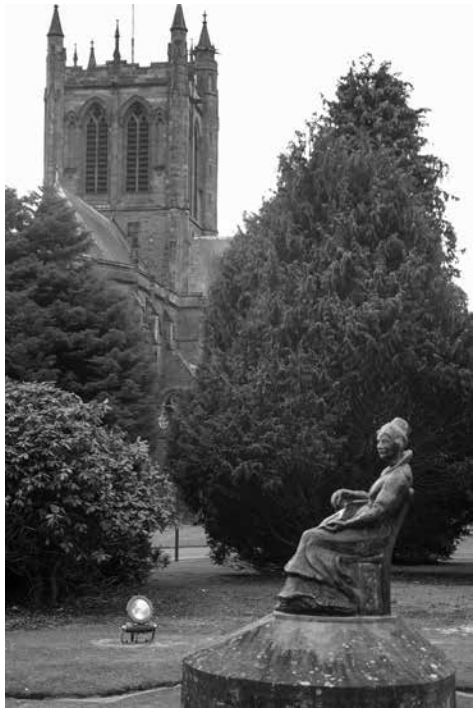
A very important task which he carried out for our Society was the production of the Ann Hill Bequest volume *Kirkpatrick Fleming, Dumfriesshire: An Anatomy of a Parish in South-West Scotland.* He managed this project with great skill and energy; more information about this will appear in a separate article.

Roger Mercer wrote a number of books and many articles during his career. He held high office in several learned societies. He was made a Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh in 1995 and was President of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland from 2005 to 2008. In the New Year's Honours in 2005 he was awarded an OBE.

He is survived by his wife Susan, whom he married in 1970, and a son and a daughter.

John H.D. Gair

16 September 2018
Easterbrook Hall, Crichton Campus, Dumfries
A Celebration of the Crichton: Past, Present and Future



The Elizabeth Crichton memorial on the Crichton Campus. Bronze statue by Bill Scott (2000).
Photo courtesy of John Williams.

The Crichton is a unique institution, of which Dumfries should be proud. Thanks to the philanthropy of its founder, Elizabeth Crichton (1779–1862), and its progressive and far-sighted medical superintendents, the Crichton Royal Hospital became widely known in the nineteenth century for its outstanding and ground-breaking contributions to psychiatric research and treatment of mental disorders. Today the campus is home to several academic institutions, while the magnificent buildings and beautiful grounds are available to all as a recreational area. On the 16 September 2018, and in collaboration with the Crichton Trust, our Society organised a conference on the past present and future of the Crichton. The conference was arranged in four sessions and a summary of the papers presented follows.

The Early Years and Art Therapy at the Crichton
Morag Williams (former D&G Health Board Archivist)

We met in the Duncan Room at Easterbrook Hall, which was where I was based from 1988 to 2004. On 6 April 1989, the year of the 150th anniversary of Scotland's seventh and youngest royal asylum, HRH Price Charles arrived to launch Crichton Royal Museum, later to win an award. Undoubtedly our good fortune in being offered Prince Charles stemmed from the fact that the late Sir David Landale was for seven years secretary to the Duchy of Cornwall.

Mrs Elizabeth Crichton is highly regarded today as foundress of Crichton Royal Hospital and a great benefactress to psychiatry. Early announcement of her plan to erect a psychiatric hospital — or to be more precise in the prevailing language of her time, a 'lunatic asylum' — on 40 acres of rising ground on the southern outskirts of Dumfries brought severe censure of the scheme in the local press. It was labelled 'Crichton Foolery'. The fact that there were to be 100 beds seemed insupportable to local people.

Contrary to prediction, the hospital continued to grow until the late 1950s because of the relaxed atmosphere that prevailed in a location far from where patients were known and the quality of care on offer.

In the latter twentieth century the tables turned and there was profound objection to plans to dismantle the hospital. Attitudes to Mrs Crichton had changed completely.

Enlightened though she was, the hospital reflected nineteenth-century attitudes. There were seven classes of patient, in the absence of which wealthy families would not have used the facilities on offer. There were two principal houses, Crichton Royal Institution (CRI), based on what is now Crichton Hall, for the private patients and which opened on 3 June 1839; and the Southern Counties Asylum (SCA) for 'pauper patients', which opened in 1849 and was demolished in the early twentieth century.

In the nineteenth century mental health care was based largely on fresh air pursuits and activity. Recoveries took place. The most-applauded aspect of that early care has in recent times been Art Therapy — 'Outsider Art' or 'Art Brut', which are the modern terms — as promoted by the first physician superintendent, Dr W.A.F. Browne, who employed an art teacher to develop the artistic skill of patients with a talent in that direction. There are approximately 140 items collected by him. Accompanying the illustrated talk will be excerpts from case notes of the people studied. Crichton House, the home of the superintendent, stood behind CRI and was drawn by one of the patients looking out from CRI. All in all, it is an absorbing subject.

Early Occupational Therapy at the Crichton Institution
Mary Smith (Author and Crichton Graduate)

At a time when those patients referred to as lunatics were still often being kept in appalling conditions, often under restraint, Dr Browne was given the opportunity to put his belief in a new form of treatment into practice at the Crichton Institution. One of the key features in his lectures, subsequently published, on 'What Asylums Were, Are, and Ought To Be' was the need for 'moral treatment'. He summed this up with two words: 'kindness and occupation'. What he meant was treating patients on rational and enlightened principles, which included keeping them occupied and busy, which would prevent 'morbid thoughts'.

Physical exercise and fresh air were considered essential for all patients but the types of occupation varied according to social class divisions. Paupers worked on the Crichton's farm and grounds, or

in the kitchens and laundry. Walking, gardening, carriage driving, picnics, dances, draughts, cards and sewing were all part of the treatment and recorded by Dr Browne in his detailed annual reports.

Even more innovative occupations were introduced. The idea of theatrical performances, produced and acted in by patients, being held in a mental institution raised more than a few eyebrows. The project went ahead and proved to be a great success, as did the first magazine to be compiled and published by the patients in an asylum. Sold on subscription, The New Moon magazine proved so successful the Crichton was able to use the profits to purchase its own printing press as well as purchasing books for the patients' library (another innovation in an asylum).

Despite the many occupations and amusements available to patients a level of monotony existed in the day-to-day life in the asylum. To minimise the risk of bored patients seriously disrupting the smooth running of the asylum special celebrations of the major calendar occasions such as Halloween, Harvest Festival and Valentine's Day were introduced — and Christmas at Crichton was celebrated in grand style.

Development of Psychiatry at the Crichton
Dr David Hall (Consultant Psychiatrist)

Although it might be assumed that the opening of the new psychiatric hospital at Midpark in 2012 meant the end of psychiatry at Crichton Royal Hospital, it could be argued that this signified ongoing innovation and commitment to improving mental health services within the Crichton site.

Midpark Hospital is built on a site adjacent to the Bungalow where insulin coma treatment, an innovative treatment at the time, was delivered in the 1930s, and the office building behind the new hospital was historically part of the Crichton Royal Estate.

The contribution of psychiatrists at Crichton Royal Hospital to the development of their specialty and improving mental health care is significant and goes back to the appointment of the young, dynamic and forward-thinking Physician Superintendent Dr W.A.F. Browne. Dr Browne came from Montrose where at the age of 31 he had already led the development of an innovative service. His contribution was to ensuring moral treatment of the insane and he developed an innovative classification of mental disorder. His commitment to moral treatment included identifying that restraint could be avoided through ensuring 'that attendants were well trained and supported', an issue which we continue to struggle with in psychiatric facilities now.

Dr Browne was succeeded by a number of notable consultants, many worthy of mention, including Dr Easterbrook who saw the expansion of the hospital facilities and Dr P.K. McCowan, who led the service over a period when specific treatments were being developed including ECT, insulin coma treatment and psycho-surgery. Notably however, one of his greatest contributions was his willingness to accept psychiatrists fleeing the Nazis in the 1930s, including the former Professor at the University of Heidelberg, Dr Willi Mayer-Gross. Dr Mayer-Gross was appointed Director of Clinical Research from June 1939 until 1954 and among the eminent psychiatrists attracted to work here at that time included Professor Sir Martin Roth who went on to Chairs in Newcastle and Cambridge and became the first President of The Royal College of Psychiatrists.

Thereafter psychiatric treatment moved significantly with chlorpromazine identified as one of the first real treatments for schizophrenia. Dr George Stirling, who was the longest serving psychiatrist at the Crichton, was involved in its first use in the 1950s and went on to lead services for a number of years until his retirement.

Clinical research within the Crichton continued to have an international impact laterally lead by Professor Robin McCreadie whose 'Nithsdale Schizophrenia Surveys' significantly contributed to the greater understanding of major mental illness.

The decline in the population at Crichton Royal Hospital coincided with more effective treatments and the service went on to develop appropriate rehabilitation and community facilities. It was at the forefront of developing old-age psychiatry and Dr Stirling had been one of the first psychiatrists to work within prisons.

The opening of Midpark Hospital was therefore a further example of innovation and commitment to improved services on the Crichton site, and beyond.

Distinctive and Innovative: a Brief History of Psychology at the Crichton
Ana Sim (Consultant Clinical Psychologist)

The Directors of the Crichton approved of forming a Department of Psychological Research in 1943 and John Carlyle Raven was appointed as its first Director. The permanent staffing of the department was agreed in 1946, whereupon three psychologists and their assorted associates pursued ongoing research into the nature of intellectual ability and its measurement, the outcomes from which underpin our understanding of 'IQ' and measurement methods to the present day.

With the advent of the NHS in 1948, Raven was compelled to progress the clinical applicability of his research and the first psychology hospital, out-patient and 'Child Guidance' clinics ran in 1949. The clinical referral rate has accrued significantly in the last seventy years, as has the development of services in response.

John Raven published and spoke widely about his research into intellectual ability and its variation, as did the second Director, Jim Drewery, about his specialist area of work with people with addictions which turned assumptions about the treatment of people with alcoholism on their heads.

The third Director, Dr Miller Mair, was attracted to Dumfries from the traditional home of UK behaviourism at the Maudsley in London to pursue what was later termed a 'rearguard action' against hard scientific 'dogma' in clinical psychology from his attic office in Johnston House. Miller in turn connected the Crichton with leading thinkers in the humanities from across the globe and contributed significantly to the maturing of the discipline while also overseeing a significant expansion in the size and scope of the psychology department at the Crichton.

Recent directors have continued to nurture advances in the clinical service in response to ever-growing clinical demand. They now operate along with a complement of around fifty staff across a range of specialisms and trainees from university training courses. Modern technology and multi-media have facilitated ongoing links with the centres of research and higher education as well as enabling daily collaboration with distant colleagues and roles on steering groups which shape the nature of clinical psychology across the country.

Nursing at the Crichton
Dr Shirley Turberville (Senior Lecturer in Nursing and Midwifery, University of the West of Scotland)

A brief examination of the history of nurse education and nurse regulation related to Dumfries and Galloway and the Crichton.

Dr W.A.F. Browne, the very first physician at the Crichton Institution in 1839, stated that 'moral treatment' should be provided and this was described as 'kindness and occupation'. These ideas were very different and forward thinking at this time and indeed still have great resonance with the care that is advocated today. Dr Browne, at the new Crichton Institution, found that the creation of the ideal asylum needed suitable staff. Browne recognised that staff in closest contact with patients needed to be better informed about patient care in order to be able to offer the best support possible. In 1854, some six years before Florence Nightingale set up a Nursing School, he began a course of 30 weekly lectures about mental illness and treatment to officers and male and female attendants at the Crichton (Williams 1996).

Reviewing the names given to those who provided care for patients with mental illness is in itself telling in relation to history and attitudes. Here are some of the titles: Keeper, Attendant, Officers, Mental Nurse, Psychiatric Nurse and today Mental Health Nurse. The 1919 Nurses Act established the first professional register for nurses and the General Nursing and Midwifery Councils (GNC) were formed. Schools of nursing and midwifery were still attached to local hospitals and respective Boards of Management, but training did become more standardised. Scotland had a separate GNC that was in place until 1983 when the Councils were centralised for the UK. In 1923 the General Nursing Council recognised the title of Mental Nurse as a supplementary nurse registration. The Crichton Royal Hospital provided a School of Nursing until 1971 when it was joined with the School of Nursing at the Dumfries and Galloway Royal Infirmary and from 1948 they would both have been under the newly formed NHS.

Today nurse education takes place within higher education and at UWS Mental Health and Adult nurses are educated to degree level on the Crichton Campus. Fittingly this takes place predominantly within Browne House building, named after Dr W.A.F. Browne. The three-year education programme consists of 50% of time in practice working with nurse mentors and 50% in theory. Partnership working with NHS and other placement providers is key. The student nurses do appreciate and have a sense of the history of the buildings they are taught in and have spoken of valuing the fact that care has been provided within the same walls over time.

Reference

Williams, M. (1996), *History of Crichton Royal Hospital 1839–1989*, Dumfries and Galloway Health Board, Solway Offset, Dumfries.

The Crichton and the NHS
Michael Cook (former General Manager, D&G Health Board)

The Crichton Royal was the most prestigious mental hospital in the UK which attracted the most outstanding psychiatrists from this country and abroad. It treated patients, too, from all over the UK and its private wing, famous for its sumptuous furnishings and facilities, also attracted the rich and famous.

The NHS, as is well known, started seventy years ago and was very unpopular with most of the medical profession here as elsewhere.

Despite that unpopularity with the NHS, Dumfries has always had a very good reputation for its medical services, dating back to the early 1800s, and the Crichton Royal was pre-eminent as a centre of excellence, being mentioned in the British Medical Journal in an article about Dumfries and Galloway called 'Where the NHS Works Well'.

One of the biggest changes to the delivery of health services since the beginning of the NHS in 1948 was the setting up of local health boards in 1974. From that date the national NHS resources were allocated to each health board according to its local population and all planning and delivery was delegated to local management. They had to make the best use of local resources for local services.

That caused a problem for the Crichton Royal because, due to advances in drug treatment, its patients had fallen from more than 1000 to 200 with the consequent fall in staffing requirements. The era of the big asylums was over.

The Dumfries and Galloway Health Board wanted to find a use for this wonderful asset. It approached universities. It tried to develop a science park, all to no avail.

Then it produced a business plan to develop the best head injury centre in the world, in conjunction with Edinburgh University, based on the Crichton campus. It got the guarantee of patient numbers from every health board in Scotland and the north of England. It raised £11 million and it got the support of the then Health Minister. It was, however, the first and biggest project of its type in the UK and the Chief Executive of the NHS in Scotland was concerned and killed the project. What a lost opportunity for Dumfries!

Finally, this conference is taking place in Easterbrook Hall, a magnificently refurbished series of halls on the Crichton site. The opulence of this building is due to the work of the staff of Crichton Royal and the money of the Crown Office.

As a result of the tragedy of the Lockerbie disaster in December 1988 it was decided to hold the Fatal Accident Enquiry in south-west Scotland and the best venue for the lawyers, security services, witnesses, world's press, families and the public was this building which was completely renovated by our local staff. What an asset they created!

The Architecture of the Crichton
Martin Robertson (National Chairman, Architectural Heritage Society of Scotland)

The Crichton, formerly Crichton Royal Hospital, is one of Scotland's best-preserved large hospitals and asylums. Built on an extremely fine site over a hundred-year period from the 1840s it has a consistent character and quality to its buildings which it is difficult to match elsewhere. The site and its buildings divide fairly neatly into three periods of construction, each driven forward by a different important medical director and each using a significant main architect to achieve their vision.

The first period of building followed the purchase by Elizabeth Crichton in 1834 of the small Mountainhall estate to the south-east of Dumfries. William Burn, having recently built the asylum in Perth (1822–7) and made additions and alterations to the Dundee Asylum (1830), was commissioned to design an asylum with a budget of £100,000. As with many of Burn's designs it proved to be far beyond what the budget could stand and only half of the projected building was opened in 1839. This was to be a private charitable asylum as they mostly were before the Lunacy (Scotland) Act 1857, which required all districts to provide an asylum for pauper patients. Surprisingly the Crichton already had the Southern Counties Asylum built in 1848–9. Meanwhile, the first building, Crichton Hall, was extended in 1867 by W.B. Moffat, Burn having retired from practice. These works were overseen by the Medical Director Dr William Browne.

The second period of development, overseen by the Physician Superintendent Dr James Rutherford, with buildings designed mainly by the Edinburgh architect Sydney Mitchell, was brought about both by a need to house a greater number of patients and by new ideas for treatments being developed in

Europe. Rutherford and Mitchell's first collaboration, however, was the Crichton Memorial Church (1890–7) which was meant to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the opening of the institution, the conspicuous expenditure for this demonstrating a clear priority of purpose. Rutherford and Mitchell toured Germany together in 1897, resulting in the series of detached 'Colony' blocks, each for a specific group of patients, which were built on another extension of parkland to the south-east, and it is these buildings that chiefly characterise the part of the site now used by the Business Park and the Universities.

The third period of development, which infilled empty sites within the estate, but did not involve any extension of the Crichton site, was in the 1920s and 30s and was overseen by the Medical Superintendent, Dr Easterbrook who mainly used the architect James Flett as well as contributing to the designs himself. By 1938 the Crichton Royal had become a largely self-sufficient community with its own farm, power station, water supply, gardens, sports facilities and an entertainment and hydrotherapy complex. This was handed over to the NHS in 1948 and survives almost intact today with some buildings having been altered for new uses but only two noteworthy demolitions, the Southern Counties Asylum which stood where the Hospice now is until 1924 and the main boiler house which was on the site of the green hotel.

The Crichton Digital Archive
Graham Roberts (Archivist, Dumfries and Galloway Council)

The Crichton digitisation project had its genesis in the pickle in which the Archive Service in Dumfries and Galloway found itself in 2008. Without an archivist or adequate storage, and with the imminent arrival of the extensive Dumfries and Galloway Health Board Archive, action was needed to avoid a crisis in archival management. This paper seeks to show why, as part of a response to these pressures on the service, the digitisation project was undertaken, how it was carried out, and to what extent it has been a success.

A brief summary of the content and significance of the Crichton Archive will preface a description of the project's inception and funding. The Wellcome Trust funded both the digitisation project and the preceding cataloguing project. The application process and the role of the funder in influencing the shape and direction of the project will be discussed, as will the logistical and practical issues inherent in such activities. The management of a comparatively large project by a small service, and the indexing work carried out by volunteers are elements of this. Specifically, and as part of the agreement with the Wellcome, the Archive Service worked in partnership with Glasgow University and all digitisation work was out-sourced to their Photographic Unit.

The 4-year digitisation project was completed late in 2017, and the Crichton Digital Archive was launched in November of that year. A guide to the use of the Archive will be given including a sample search. An overview of researchers' use of the Digital Archive and the impact on the usage of physical records will follow, and the paper will conclude with an assessment of the strengths and shortcomings of the end result and of possibilities for the future.

The Crichton Farm
Professor David J. Roberts (Professor of Dairy Farming Systems, SRUC)

INTRODUCTION

The Crichton Royal Farm was formed between 1867 and 1895 by the purchasing of land adjoining the Crichton Royal Hospital.

BEFORE CRICHTON ROYAL HOSPITAL

Rosehall

There is a memorial stone at Crichton to Sarah Lowthian. Richard Lowthian, a merchant and Jacobite sympathiser who in addition to owning Rosehall owned a large two story townhouse on the High Street, later the Commercial Hotel, then the County Hotel, now Waterstones.

Brownhall

The Knights of St John owned this land which was known as Spitalfield. In 1549 John McBriar, Provost of Dumfries, obtained an accession of land. This land was subsequently bought by Mr John Brown, Merchant of Liverpool, who changed the name to Brownhall.

Waterloo Merse

This land is below sea level with the River Nith behind an embankment. The course of the river was changed in 1811 to improve navigation to Kingholm and Dumfries.

Netherwood

The first reference to Netherwood is in 1345 when it was granted to Fergus, son of Mathew, in a charter from David II. In 1453 it was granted to Robert McBriar and stayed in the McBriar family until the eighteenth century. In 1807 Netherwood was for sale at public roup in the Royal Exchange Coffee House, Edinburgh.

Hannahfield

The name derives from the Hannah family. There is a large gravestone in St Michael's erected by John Hannah of Hannahfield.

CRICHTON ROYAL HOSPITAL FARM

The farm steading was completed in 1893 to provide food for the hospital and work for patients. The farm was at the forefront of many new farming developments. From 1900 the dairy herd was TB (bovine tuberculosis) tested with any rectors 'eliminated', and by 1932 the herd was declared TB Free. Compulsory testing for TB was not introduced until the 1950s.

The meteorological station was established in 1859 and weather data is still recorded at Crichton. A milking machine was purchased in 1907, this equipment being purchased from J&R Wallace, Castle Douglas, the first company in the world to produce a successful pulsating milking machine.

Tractors were first used on the farm in 1918, by which time there were 209 acres of cereals. In 1925 silage was being made whilst most farms continued to have hay as the main winter feed up until the 1960s.

The farm undertook a number of interesting experiments including work on:

- Ventilation
- Concentrate feeds
- Crossbreeding cattle
- Potato breeding

DAIRY RESEARCH CENTRE

Since 1976 the tenancy of the farm has been held by Scotland's Rural College (SRUC).

Experimental work has included:

- Systems based on clover
- Dairy cow nutrition
- Growing of forage crops

In 2002 the College moved the Langhill herd to Crichton. This herd has the longest farm-animal breeding project in the world. Many of the research projects are now in collaboration with universities in the UK and abroad and recent work has included:

- Development of genetic indices
- Soil compaction
- Reducing agricultural environmental impact
- Reducing lameness
- Animal behaviour and welfare

SRUC also undertakes a wide range of applied demonstrations and has an extensive schools' liaison programme run in conjunction with RHET (Royal Highland Educational Trust).

The Crichton: Present and Future – Panel Discussion
Professor David Clark (School of Interdisciplinary Studies, University of Glasgow)
Dame Barbara Kelly, FRSE (Crichton Campus Leadership Group)
Gwilym Gibbons (CEO, The Crichton Trust)

Gwilym Gibbons (CEO, The Crichton Trust)

The Crichton: A world destination of choice to live, work, study and play

How we work, study, play and live is changing fast. We are entering the fourth industrial revolution (Industry 4.0). The Crichton was born in the middle of the first (Industry 1.0), characterised by mechanisation and the invention of steam power. The Estate has lived through Industry 2.0 (mass production, the arrival of electricity) and Industry 3.0 (automation and the entry of computers and electronics). We now live in a world of 4.0 including Embedded Intelligence, Artificial Intelligence and the Internet of Things.

A fundamental shift is taking place in how we relate to each other, with what we do and where we work. The acceleration of innovation and the velocity of disruption is hard to comprehend. What we know, however, is that if The Crichton is a home for innovation and collaboration; agile, responsive and highly connected globally (we already have Gigabit Broadband), we have a chance to be a world contender. What makes The Crichton unique is that we have a compelling origin story and sense of place to share, one which our community can capitalise and build on, and one which creates distinctiveness in a world marketplace — we need to act globally and think locally.

That's where the 'place' that is The Crichton comes in. We have a place that is very special with lovely heritage buildings, gardens and an extraordinary backstory. Just like every comic book superhero has its origin story to explain his/her superpowers — we have ours. It is this story, encapsulated in the surroundings that we now enjoy, which makes The Crichton a powerful place that stands out in a global crowd, a place to work, play and study — a world destination of choice to Work Well. And what's more, we are a stone's throw away from some of the most stunning landscapes and seascapes in Scotland, yet within easy travelling distance of our major cities.

Today, and increasingly, people work digitally, flexibly and globally. They follow the waves, the snow and the sun. They choose to work in unusual places; places that can tell a story which they can share, be part of and celebrate. People no longer look for 'space' to work but a 'place' to work and preferably within a community which provides an opportunity for collaboration, knowledge exchange and to some extent communion.

So, our challenge, as the custodians of The Crichton Estate, is to adapt to this new exciting age: to develop simple options for individuals and businesses to touch down here, make The Crichton their base for whatever timeframe they need, and help them capitalise on the intangible asset that is our sense of place. We need flexible 'places' for work and collaboration with simple responsive 'pay as you go' or membership overhead cost structures. We need to provide lovely 'places' to work and study and to help the whole Crichton community promote, celebrate and be part of the story and history that is The Crichton Estate.

Professor David Clark (School of Interdisciplinary Studies, University of Glasgow)

I shall reflect on the exciting developments in the work of the University of Glasgow at the Crichton, particularly over the last 10 years. I will examine how the University has been able increasingly to match its academic offering at Crichton to the setting in which it is located. This has led to successful undergraduate programmes in Primary Education, Environmental Science, and Health and Social Policy. We also have postgraduate taught degrees in tourism (with a major new Erasmus Mundus initiative about to begin), as well as education and the science and humanities of the environment. Our two key areas of research strength are environmental science and end-of-life studies. The latter is my own field of expertise and I will describe the work of my Wellcome Trust funded team and its global programme of work. I will conclude with some exciting new initiatives exploring the potential for a 'care campus' at the Crichton, in which I am engaged with a wide range of partners based on the Crichton itself, and further afield.

Dame Barbara Kelly, FRSE (Crichton Campus Leadership Group)

As we reach the end of the story celebrating the history of the Crichton, I will ask the question *Where next?* We must learn from the events of the last 150 years and list what has been achieved so far but given the huge changes which have taken place since 1995 we must identify the opportunities and actions required to sustainably develop the place as a world-class site in the present conditions.

I will look at the work of the Crichton Foundation; explain the role of the Crichton Campus Leadership Group and consider the impact of the South of Scotland Economic Partnership and the Borderlands Initiative; ask how we work to help implement the changes in regional primary and secondary school provision in order to give our young people the best possible education and training opportunities and how we grow the FE and HE opportunities to attract not only local youngsters but also national and international students; and how we engage with the business community, local and national, to tackle the skills gaps … and continue to deliver Elizabeth Crichton's visionary legacy.

PROCEEDINGS

5 October 2018
ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING
Nic Coombey (Solway Coastwise Co-ordinator, Solway Firth Partnership)
Stories behind Dumfries and Galloway Coastal Place-Names

The first lecture in the Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society lecture series for 2018–19, entitled *Stories behind Dumfries and Galloway Coastal Place-Names*, was given by Nic Coombey of the Solway Firth Partnership. In his talk he discussed the themes behind the stories of coastal place-names, illustrated with some beautiful photographs of the places he talked about. He made the landscape of Dumfries and Galloway look splendid (no wet days here).

The talk was organised by coastal landscape features, beginning with caves. He showed how different associations influenced names. Place names could alter as their roles changed, thus Castle Port, a safe landing, became St Ninian's Cave. Other caves had historic associations, some probably true like those linked to the Covenanters (Barholm Whigs Hole) or literary fiction such as Scott's *Guy Mannering* — Dirk Hatteraik's Cave. Some cave names were purely descriptive; Sapphire Cave was derived from the nearby abundant supplies of samphire and Butchers Cave from the colour of the red algae on it. Some caves were named after the person who had lived in them; Callies Cave was allegedly named after a smuggler called Cally who used the cave. Another cave known on early maps as Sheep Cave became Logies Cave after Johnny Logies who lived there for about forty years, only leaving in the 1960s!

We also heard about island place names. Ardwall Island used to be known as Larry's Isle after a rather notorious inhabitant. Hestan Island, which once had a monastery has a more historic place name, Monks Pool, which probably contained a mediaeval fish trap. We also heard of cliffs named after birds such as Ducker Bing, a cormorant nesting site.

Finally Nic considered rocks. These seemed to have a guiding role on the Rhins. At the Mull of Galloway, one indicated a safe cave for small vessels in bad seas. Near Annan the Altar Stone seemed to define the boundary between town and parish, and still retained a role in the Ridings.

The talk was much appreciated, as shown by the large number of questions afterwards.

J.H.B.

19 October 2018
Professor Andy Ferguson (retired Professor of Freshwater Biology, Queen's University, Belfast)
Native Freshwater Fish in South-West Scotland: impact of environmental changes

At its meeting on 19 October, the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society enjoyed a talk entitled *Native Freshwater Fish in South-West Scotland: impact of environmental changes* given by Andy Ferguson, Professor Emeritus, School of Biological Sciences, Queen's University Belfast.

He began by noting the past interest in freshwater fish by the society. The first president Sir William Jardine was known for his work on the subject and over the years the *Transactions* of the

society had included various papers on the topic including several by Peter Maitland, the renowned fish conservationist.

He went on to define native freshwater fish as having colonised naturally after the retreat of the ice sheet at the end of the last ice-age and included any species that spent at least part of its life cycle in freshwater. In south-west Scotland native species are restricted to the salmonid family, smelt, shads, lampreys, eel and sticklebacks. He highlighted that freshwater fish are the most endangered group of vertebrates worldwide with 30% of species threatened with extinction. Multiple factors are involved in their decline, with some of the main ones locally being acidification of the water as a result of burning fossil fuels, afforestation, enrichment and pollution, hydroelectric and other dams and the introduction of non-native species.

The salmonid family of vendace, Arctic char, Atlantic salmon and brown trout formed the main focus of the talk.

The vendace, the rarest native freshwater fish in Britain, which had been present in the Castle and Mill Lochs at Lochmaben is now extinct there. No vendace have been recorded at Castle Loch since 1912 possibly due to enrichment from new sewage works in 1911. There have been no vendace from Mill Loch since 1970, probably due to several factors including enrichment from surrounding land and the introduction of non-native bream. A decline in Cumbrian vendace led to their being introduced into lochs in south-west Scotland as refuges. Loch Skeen near Moffat now has a thriving population of fish originally from Bassenthwaite.

Arctic char used to be in Loch Grannoch and Loch Dungeon but are now only definitely known in Loch Doon, although in reduced numbers. Acid precipitation leading to acidification of the water is thought to be behind their decline. Conservation refuge populations were successfully introduced into the Talla and Megget reservoirs in the late 1980s.

Atlantic salmon are present locally in all larger rivers but in much reduced numbers compared to the past. They return from feeding around the Faroe Islands and western Greenland to their home river with a high degree of accuracy, which results in each river having genetically distinct populations. The decline in numbers can be due to changes in the rivers, such as dams which prevent the fish from reaching their spawning grounds, but marine survival has also declined. Food availability at sea can be affected by an increase in sea temperature and changing currents. There is also the problem of parasites such as sea lice from salmon farms which can lead to high mortality in wild salmon and interbreeding with farm escapees which leads to a reduction in the fitness of the wild salmon. Since 2016 Marine Scotland has introduced restrictions on estuary netting and at present 70% of Scottish rivers, in our area the Fleet, Bladnoch, Annan and Dee for example, can only be fished on a catch and release basis in an effort to halt the decline.

Brown trout are present in many lochs and rivers in south-west Scotland, but their numbers have been adversely affected by acidification and the consequent rise in aluminium to toxic levels in the water, especially in the latter part of the twentieth century. Loch Enoch was the first to be affected with trout becoming extinct there by the 1920s. Surveys in the late 1970s found low numbers of, or no trout, in lochs where they had been present in the 1950s. International action to address the problem of acidification in the late 1980s and 1990s led to a decrease in sulphur and nitrogen emissions which resulted in the pH levels increasing, and in lochs where trout had survived, numbers rose rapidly.

The area surrounding Loch Fleet was limed in 1986–87 and an improvement in pH resulted so that it could be restocked.

Brown trout vary considerably in appearance and have become the model species for scientific

work, the focus of which is to conserve the genetic biodiversity represented by the various populations. The years 2010–13 saw the Galloway trout study undertaken. The trout in Loch Grannoch have been found to be genetically unique and have a genetically-based tolerance of low-pH/high-aluminium level. Trout from Loch Grannoch have been introduced successfully into lochs where previously no trout survived, such as Loch Enoch. Professor Ferguson would like to see Loch Grannoch established as an SSSI or other type of reserve.

The non-salmonid native freshwater fish species were then mentioned.

Smelt, which smell like cucumber, live in coastal waters and enter rivers to spawn. They used to be in all of the larger Solway rivers but are now only found in a short stretch of the River Cree. They used to be an important fish locally but numbers have declined since the 1980s. The Galloway Fisheries Trust is monitoring smelt in the Cree as part of the *Saving the Sparling* project.

The shads — allis and twaite — were formerly known to spawn in Solway rivers, but there is no recent evidence of spawning.

Solway rivers contain all three species of lampreys — brook, river and sea.

The European eel was formerly abundant, but numbers have declined in recent decades and it is now considered to be critically endangered.

All native freshwater fish species in south-west Scotland have declined, with only the brown trout showing a good recovery post-acidification. Many of these fish species have been socially and economically important to local communities and businesses in the past, but even in the present, Atlantic salmon and brown trout anglers contribute large amounts annually to the local and national economy.

In conclusion, future challenges to native freshwater fish survival were listed, so continued monitoring is required.

A.C.

2 November 2018
Professor Sir Tom Devine (University of Edinburgh)
Historical Amnesia and the Lowland Clearances

On 2 November 2018 the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society welcomed Professor Sir Tom Devine OBE. Tom addressed a very large turnout of members and guests with a talk entitled *Historical Amnesia and the Lowland Clearances*.

Professor Devine, aware that his view could cause controversy, explained that changes to the rural population of southern Scotland in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were just as profound as those occurring in Highland Scotland, especially with reference to the so-called ‘Highland Clearances’.

Industrialisation, accompanied by rapid urbanisation, population increase and the movement away from subsistence farming forced massive change in the rural landscape and economy. In the mid-eighteenth century up to a third of rural inhabitants were cottars (a person who rented and worked a small plot of land from a landlord). By 1820 this class of person had almost disappeared from the rural landscape. The result of this was a significant movement of people away from the countryside, sometimes on a voluntary basis and sometimes by clearance from the landowner. Yet these turbulent

events are almost completely forgotten in the Lowlands and Borders but the Highland Clearances have entered the national psyche.

Sir Tom's new book *The Scottish Clearances* explains this. Apart from the Levellers' protests in Galloway there was a lack of violent protest in the south and unlike the events in the Highlands, it does not live on in Lowland poetry, song and books.

Furthermore there was a cultural explanation of the disparity. The concept of 'dualchas', largely obsolete in Lowland Scotland, was still strong in the Highlands. This idea promoted a personal connection to heritage and the paternalism of the clan and dispossession was a clear violation of this long-standing ethic. In the south it was almost accepted that, although deeply regrettable, the landlord had a right to close tenancy agreements.

Furthermore, although many former cottars were moved off the land there was often an alternative. The new industrial revolution began as a mainly rural-based phenomenon so the impact of clearance was partially mitigated by available jobs and the rise of urban opportunities. Those who remained on the land often worked as labourers or servants in tied conditions, so losing a job also meant losing a home. This tended to encourage any Lowland protest to be rather muted.

Professor Devine wrapped up his address by briefly touching on the present-day legacy of these dispossessions in terms of land ownership. The address concluded with a lively series of questions and the evening was brought to a close as the professor was warmly thanked by an appreciative audience.

J.M.B.

16 November 2018
Dr John Brennan
The History and Restoration of Barholm Castle

The speaker at the meeting on 16 November 2018 was Dr John Brennan, who gave an illustrated talk about the history and restoration of Barholm Castle.

John and his wife Janet purchased Barholm Castle, near Carsluith, in 1999. At the time it was little more than a crumbling roofless ruin. Over the next ten years or so the Brennans painstakingly restored the castle, converting it into a comfortable home, while retaining many of the original features of the building.

John started by describing the history of Barholm Castle. It was built in the fifteenth century, and was the seat of the Barholm McCullochs until about 1760, but thereafter fell into ruin, and by 1782 it was being used as a farm outbuilding. The original hall house, with entrance via the first floor, was extensively modified and enlarged in the sixteenth century. A report in the 1845 *New Statistical Account of Kirkcudbright* for the parish of Kirkmabreck stated that a room in the upper part of the tower, still present today, once served as a hiding place for John Knox, though there is no other confirmation of this.

The restoration process was long and laborious. Because Barholm Castle was a Scheduled Ancient Monument, all restoration work had to be approved by Historic Scotland (now Historic Environment Scotland, HES). In particular, work had to be carried out in such a way that the castle was restored to the state it was in when last inhabited, i.e. circa 1760. For example, the fireplace in the main

hall bedroom, which was originally much larger than it is today, had already been partially filled in by 1760, and thus could not be restored to its original size. Likewise the exterior walls needed to be harled, as was the case in the eighteenth century. The south wall was unstable and had to be demolished and rebuilt using the original stones. Lime mortar had to be used throughout. A garderobe (ancient latrine) was discovered in one of the walls and has been preserved (albeit in a non-functional state!)

Much of the interior was reconstructed from scratch, keeping as far as possible to the 1760 room layout. The timber ceiling of the great hall has been very attractively painted in mediaeval style by an artist who specialises in traditional Scottish painted ceilings.

The gardens have been reinstated and form a beautiful outdoor space overlooking Wigtown Bay. In late winter snowdrops, present since long before the Brennans' time, carpet the ground

After his talk John Brennan answered a number of questions from the audience, and it is hoped that the society will be able to organise an excursion next year so that members can see the castle.

J.H.B.

30 November 2018
THE JAMES WILLIAMS LECTURE
Dr Richard Jones (University of Glasgow)
The Romans in South West Scotland: a view from geophysical survey

At a packed meeting on Friday, 30 November 2018, over 100 members and guests of the society heard Dr Richard Jones give the James Williams Lecture on *The Romans in South West Scotland: a view from geophysical survey*. Dr Jones began by identifying the Roman sites in our region where Glasgow University has carried out geophysical surveys in recent years, namely Burnswark, Dalswinton, Birrens, Broomholm and Carzield. His talk focused on the last four sites, and involved the investigation of forts, temporary camps, fort annexes and associated civilian settlements. Before presenting each site in detail, Dr Jones outlined the methods currently available for archaeological investigation, namely excavation, aerial photography, geophysics and lidar (light detection and ranging). Geophysical survey includes both magnetometer (where local variations in the ground's magnetic field intensity are detected, for example over a ditch or, better, an oven or fire pit) and resistivity (where variations in the ground's resistance to an electrical current can indicate buried walls or ditches for example).

At Dalswinton, there is Flavian (first century AD) period fort at Bankhead and temporary camps at Bankfoot adjacent to the River Nith. Geophysical survey has confirmed that Bankfoot was a Stracathro-type camp rather than a permanent fort. Perimeter ditches and fire pits or ovens were located, and two phases of occupation were indicated. The Bankhead fort had been interpreted as having two phases by St Joseph and Richmond. Magnetometer survey found two annexe phases, with scattered pits for burning. The fort was confirmed as two-phase; it was expanded in the second phase but probably not turned through ninety degrees as St Joseph and Richmond had proposed. Roadways were also evident, and in the north part of the site were found rectangular structures typical of legionary buildings, implying the presence of legionary detachments in the second phase of occupation. The south part of the fort site has not been ploughed resulting in better survival of the archaeological evidence. Here the commandant's house can be provisionally identified. An east annexe showed evidence of expansion, but with little detail of the interior, suggesting that the annexe was used largely for workshop activities. In the south annexe was evidence for the existence of the

fort's bath-house. Geophysical survey has confirmed that Dalswinton was a large fort requiring the provision of three annexes for storage and workshop activities.

The Flavian fort of Broomholm was investigated in the 1960s by Charles Daniels (University of Newcastle) by the excavation of narrow trenches. The evidence found was interpreted to indicate a first phase involving a fortlet with a south annexe. In a second phase the annexe area was taken in to form a larger fort with a new south annexe added. The more recent geophysics survey confirmed the existence of the phase-one fortlet and annexe. In phase two the fortlet was expanded to become a fort which incorporated and built over the previous annexe. At the fort's northern end and leading to the gate there appeared to be an area of 'unused' space. Hints of later post-Roman buildings were evident here.

Birrens fort has a classic layout and was occupied in two Antonine phases. A geophysical survey was carried out immediately to the west of the fort, and found evidence of roads and buildings to suggest a 'vicus' or civilian settlement lying adjacent to the fort, comparable with the 'vicus' at Maryport.

The most recent geophysical survey has been carried out at Carzield. Here there was a large cavalry fort in the Antonine period, which probably replaced Dalswinton as the cavalry fort in the south-west. It was excavated by Birley and Richmond in 1939, Alf Truckell in the 1950s and 1960s, and there have been subsequent watching briefs. Recent surveys have investigated the areas around the fort. In Area B, where Truckell found a significant amount of general debris, geophysics has confirmed that this is a very disturbed area, probably indicating workshop activity. There is also a strong suggestion that the fort's bath-house is in this area, and possibly parts of a civilian settlement. To the east in Area C, curved ditches were found which may be pre-Roman, and moving westward up the slope to the fort aerial photography suggests the existence of an annexe here. The area was generally disturbed suggesting workshop activities.

Dr Jones concluded his lecture by observing that recent geophysical surveys of these four sites made it clear that these forts were constantly changing to adapt to circumstances and that different phases within and outwith the forts could be identified. New evidence for civilian settlements had been found at Birrens and Carzield, comparable with that known at Inveresk fort. Survey had also indicated pre- and post-Roman activity on these sites. He thanked the various agencies which had supported the work, including our society, the Mouswald Trust, Historic Environment Scotland, Liddesdale Archaeological Society and Kirkmahoe Community Council.

D.F.D.

11 January 2019
Ian Wilson
Antarctica: in the wake of Shackleton

At this meeting members and guests enjoyed a very interesting and informative talk by Ian Wilson about a trip that he and his wife made to Antarctica.

Embarking at Ushuaia in Argentina, with about 100 fellow passengers, they sailed across the notoriously rough Southern Ocean to the Falklands, a collection of 420 islands. The capital, Stanley, has a population of less than 3,000. The islanders are British and fiercely patriotic, displaying the Union Jack at every opportunity. Following the locally named 'conflict' of 1982, there are still areas of minefields which are out of bounds and being slowly cleared. The 14 June is celebrated as

Liberation Day, otherwise known as Margaret Thatcher Day. The Anglican priest from Christchurch Cathedral joined the ship here to visit her parish, which extends to South Georgia and Antarctica.

While sailing between the Falklands and South Georgia, passengers were 'hoovered' to prevent any alien invasive species being imported to this very important wildlife habitat. Although South Georgia is small (100 miles by 20 miles) it is home to 30 million breeding bird pairs, as well as aggressive fur seals and enormous elephant seals. These can weigh 5 tons and were previously hunted almost to extinction. Gold Harbour hosts a colony of 20,000 breeding pairs of king penguins. South Georgia is also the scene of Ernest Shackleton's 1916 coast-to-coast trek, the finale of his heroic and successful mission to bring rescue to the crew of his expedition ship *Endurance*, which had been crushed and sunk in the ice. Shackleton is buried at the cemetery in Grytviken, having died during a later expedition in 1922.

Leaving South Georgia the ship continued to Elephant Island, where 22 of Shackleton's crew spent three months in 1916, in the shelter of two upturned lifeboats, with no certainty of the rescue that eventually came.

Ian's own journey continued down the west coast of Antarctica. This is the fifth largest continent, the highest, coldest, windiest and perhaps unexpectedly, the driest of the continents. Visits were made to several sites. At Half Moon Island passengers were greeted by chinstrap penguins. Deception Island is the caldera of a collapsed volcano and steam rises from the seawater. At Paradise Harbour passengers were fortunate to experience the blue ice of glaciers and the weird shapes of huge glacial formations under a clear, blue sky. Their tour ended with a two-day voyage back through the rough seas to Ushuaia.

Ian's talk was illustrated throughout with his excellent photographs of the unique Antarctic landscape and its major inhabitants — penguins and seals.

H.B.

25 January 2019
Dr Jeremy Ganz (retired neurosurgeon)
The Life and Contributions of James Hill, Surgeon in Dumfries

Dr Jeremy Ganz, a retired neurosurgeon from Cumbria with professional service in Norway, spoke on the subject of *The Life and Contributions of James Hill, Surgeon in Dumfries*. In the 1980s he completed a PhD on epidural haematoma, bleeding in the head. He came across a monograph, written by Jacobson of Guy's Hospital in 1886, in which 70 historical cases had operations in the head; 13 survived. Two of the 13 survivors were treated in Dumfries by James Hill, who reported on them for up to 14 years afterwards. He is 'an undeservedly forgotten celebrity'.

Dr Ganz outlined the period prior to the birth of James Hill, (1703–1776). His father, also James Hill, (1676–1743), graduated MA from Edinburgh in 1691 and was ordained in 1699. Murray's *Literary History of Galloway* states that he was the first Hill to come to Galloway. He served as minister in Kirkpatrick Durham parish, 1699–1743, where there is a monument to him. According to *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae* for that parish, 'he was a man of piety … but much under the influence of melancholy'. James's mother was Agnes Muirhead, daughter of James Muirhead, bailie of Dumfries.

The parents were married in 1702 and James was the eldest of their twelve children. There is no documentation about his childhood. There was a schoolmaster in Kirkpatrick Durham, but the charge for teaching writing was greater than for reading. Evidence of James's poor handwriting was

displayed on the PowerPoint presentation. Two of the children became surgeons: Robert died in Jamaica in 1737. James was trained in Edinburgh. His training was in the form of an apprenticeship, not a university education. The fee was costly at 500 merks. He was trained by George Young, an able but unpleasant man, who later resided in what is now Deacon Brodie's Tavern.

The name Monro is very significant in Edinburgh medicine. Three men by the name of Alexander Monro occupied the chair of Anatomy for 126 years. It was Alexander Monro, primus, in whose class Hill studied. He acquired his diploma in 1713 and joined the navy, serving until 1732. Operating skills were not included in his training, but they could have been acquired at sea. He settled in Dumfries in 1732. In the following year he married Ann McCartney, through whom they acquired Blaiket as a home. She died in 1742 at the age of 64.

Noteworthy events attending those early years in Dumfries were the building of the Caul; the erecting of the Midsteeple in 1707; and the Act of Union taking place in 1707, creating a period of great unrest. The parents' personal life was much affected when a son Robert, aged eleven, was drowned in the Nith. Hill practised in English Street, where the County Buildings are now located. He served as a GP as well as a surgeon and dispensed medicine, as was the practice in Scotland. It must be remembered that there was no general hospital in Dumfries until 1776.

Hill's remarkable book, *Cases in Surgery*, was published in 1773. In it he tabulated the results of cases of cancer, a practice novel for the time, and, as he knew his patients over a long period, he was able to follow up the cases for many years, another practice of merit. His case recording lacks cohesion but the information is nevertheless all included.

His wound management was simple and involved no tissue loss. In those days before X-Rays incisions were made for inspection as well as therapy. In the field of trepanning, entry of the skull, he had successes worthy of mention. There were two procedures: circular and cruciate, the latter of which went back to the teachings of Celsus (2nd century AD). Hill did not favour it because the flaps of the cross hampered inspection.

Hippocrates (5th century BC), taught that blood collection at a wound turned to pus in the body and with trepanation he recommended letting out the blood at a fissure. Hill rejected that teaching. He only trepanned if, following a head injury, there were symptoms of headaches, vomiting and drowsiness. He also noted brain pulsation carefully and was the first to do that in modern times: this had been done by Galen (2nd century AD), but it had been forgotten. He did not operate when it wasn't necessary. He treated four cases of epidural haematomas and all survived. His treatment relieved cranial pressure without knowing what it was. Patients were referred to him from further afield and even from England. Hill was greatly respected for 100 years after his death. The gravestone of this 73-year-old man, is in St Michael's Churchyard on one of the handsome memorials backing on to Brooms Road.

It states of James Hill: 'To a very superior skill in his profession, he joined a sense of science, which he cultivated to the latest period of his life. His benevolence to the poor who had not then the resources of an Infirmary, was unwearied. Here also lies the remains of Ann McCartney of Blaiket, his spouse.' The names of six children are mentioned.

Very few people nowadays have heard of James Hill because there was no big medical institution to keep his memory alive historically. Dr Ganz is to be congratulated for publicising the work of this eminent surgeon who for 30 years achieved notable success in treating difficult cases long before anaesthetics became available in the middle of the 19th century, again in Dumfries early in the history of their introduction.

The *Memorials of St Michael's* by William McDowall records Hill as the chief surgeon and compounder of medicines in the Burgh of his day and records that 'one of his apprentices whom he instructed in the healing art, Dr Benjamin Bell of Blackethouse, Middlebie, rose to be the greatest surgeon of his day in Scotland.'

Dr Ganz believes that Hill merits a blue plaque if an appropriate site could be found, in the absence of an extant building associated with him. How about somewhere in the vicinity of the County Buildings!

M.W.

8 February 2019
John Maxwell
Policing Dumfries and Galloway

There was an excellent turnout for the society's meeting on 8 Friday — despite the wild weather brought in by Storm Erik. Members and guests were treated to a comprehensive guide to the history of policing across Dumfries and Galloway by retired police officer, John Maxwell. John began with a brief outline of his career with Dumfries and Galloway Constabulary. He was drawn to the police force in 1978 — having already established a good career with ICI as a qualified engineer. He went on to serve the region for 30 years. It could be argued that he continues to serve the police force. In retirement, John speaks about its history, and has brought together some of his 15 years of painstaking research to produce the definitive history of the Royal Burgh of Dumfries Police (1788–1932), first published in 2013 under the title *Without Fear or Favour*. Like his book, John's talk was illustrated with images of Burgh Police memorabilia, including batons of office, group photographs of policemen and officials, individual portraits of Superintendents and Chief Constables, as well as the places in Dumfries and Maxwelltown that we associate with policing through the decades. John gave an account of the origins of policing in Dumfries and Galloway, the Parliamentary Acts (such as the Police Act of 1811) and the taxes which were put in place to enable improvements to local living standards and public safety. He outlined the development of the burgh, county, stewartry and municipal policing divisions which amalgamated across the region at various times, ultimately becoming part of Police Scotland in 2013.

Perhaps we believe that we live in an area of Scotland where fewer incidents and crimes occurred over the past 200 years, and therefore have less to contribute to the history and development of policing in Scotland? Our speaker detailed several instances in which our region has experienced significant events in policing history, as well as events which tested their skills and resources to the extreme:

• The last public hanging of a female in Scotland (Mary Timney) was in Dumfries in 1862.

• The last public hanging in Scotland (Robert Smith) was in Dumfries in 1868.

• The worst rail disaster in British history occurred at Quintinshill near Gretna in 1915.

• One of the deadliest maritime disasters in British waters was the sinking of the MV Princess Victoria, a British Railways car ferry on the way from Stranraer to Larne in a storm in 1953.

• The worst air disaster in British history occurred when the Pan Am Flight 103 exploded over Lockerbie in 1988.



Dumfries Burgh Police Force, 1932 (on the date of the amalgamation with the Dumfries County Police). Courtesy of Dumfries Museum.

The region has been at the forefront of change and innovation in policing. Women were employed to police the workforce at HM Gretna Munitions Factory during the First World War. The murder at the Little Ross Lighthouse led to a manhunt across Europe in 1960, and early use of forensic techniques were seen in Moffat when Dr Ruxton's victims were discovered in a ravine in 1936. John Maxwell patiently answered the audience's questions and was thanked with an extended round of applause, leaving the audience with a greater appreciation of Dumfries and Galloway's contribution to the history of policing.

J.T.

22 February 2019
MEMBERS' NIGHT
David Dutton
Unwelcome Visitors? Sir Oswald Mosley and 'Lord Haw-Haw' in Dumfries 1934–35

The speaker for the 2018–19 members' night, when one of the members of Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society takes the floor, was academic historian, David Dutton. He chose to retire to Dumfries, where he has made his mark with his wide knowledge of modern history.

David said that the 1930s was a much-denigrated decade and represented an era of appeasement and chronic depression. British democracy was not at risk, compared to the situation on the continent

of Europe where far-right politics were a serious threat. Although the British Union of Fascists (BUF) failed to have any member elected to Parliament, that is not the best way to assess their strength.

Martin Pugh's publication of 2005, *Hurrah for the Blackshirts!*, suggested that fascist ideas permeated right-of-centre politics far more extensively than previously thought. It is best to see fascism as part of a political spectrum, rather than a self-contained entity. Fascism at its height in Britain tapped into a widespread feeling that parliamentary democracy was a failing political model, unable to cope with post-World War I problems.

British Members of Parliament of all persuasions in the 1920s and early 1930s failed to inspire. Many in Britain admired the model presented by Mussolini, who came to power in Italy in 1922, and in the early 1930s he enjoyed a short favourable phase. Winston Churchill even had a grudging regard for Mussolini because at that time the Italian leader wasn't racist or anti-semitic.

The first mass rally north of the border in Britain was held in the Drill Hall (now Loreburn Hall), Dumfries, on Friday 6 April 1934. The speaker was Oswald Mosley, a handsome man and leader of the BUF. More than 3,000 people attended; yet on the night before opposing elements broke into the hall and cut cables; emergency repairs had to be carried out. Extreme right-wing politics lead to a counter-reaction from the extreme left. There were some interruptions and a little violence occurred.

However, the crowds were largely enthusiastic because Mosley was a powerful orator. He held the platform for two and a half hours. In the front row sat eminent citizens like Cecil Dudgeon, MP for Galloway, 1922–24 and 1929–31, and Dr Joseph Hunter, the local MP, who even took Mosley to view the sights of Dumfries. Press coverage, while critical on some counts, presented a balanced and fair judgement of Mosley's performance. The *Dumfries and Galloway Standard* expressed surprise at seeing several hundred blackshirts in the audience. Dictatorship by consent was the message. Britain might again be great. He knew how to excite a crowd and received a wonderful ovation.

From a 21st-century standpoint we might well ask why the first major meeting of the BUF in Scotland, took place in Dumfries? Why not Edinburgh or Glasgow? After all Mosley had had strong links with Glasgow — but as a Labour MP. (When he did appear later on Glasgow Green to campaign for the new party he was attacked with severe physical abuse as a Labour renegade.)

The answer lies in the fact that the most successful branch of the BUF in Scotland was based in Dalbeattie, the cradle of 'the new faith' with the largest branch office, from which meetings were organised in south-west Scotland. There were 400 BUF members in Dumfriesshire. Much of that success was attributable to James Little, bank manager and town clerk, who softened the public image. Besides, funds were distributed to local good causes. Little, being so able, became fascist organiser for Scotland.

Sadly, for the BUF in Britain the 'honeymoon' period was coming to an end. At a meeting in Olympia in June 1934 it was already evident that Mosley was losing respectable middle-class support. The change was demonstrated in Dumfries when Mosley's mother came to the town to present the branch colours, which had been ordered at the zenith of local popularity. It was even more pronounced when Irish-American William Joyce, later Lord Haw-Haw, who had teamed up with Mosley, came to the town to speak in February 1935. An audience of about 50 turned up and the speech was not reported favourably. The BUF was already a spent force in Scotland by the time of the outbreak of war in 1939.

Fascism in Britain rapidly declined, developing into blackshirt brutal thuggery, racism and anti-semitism for control of heckling and rejection of BUF pronouncements. Communist devotees encouraged counter-demonstrations as Mosley in one year toured the country and delivered 200 speeches, designed to appeal to a conservative populace. Joyce left the BUF in 1937.

Post-war Mosley attempted, but largely failed, to resurrect his political career. He was banned from the BBC and was interned in 1940. Joyce achieved notoriety for his war-time 'Lord Haw-Haw' propaganda broadcasts from Germany and was executed for high treason. Nevertheless, briefly in the mid-1930s Scotland stood out as a fascist success story.

Throughout David Dutton's excellent, illustrated talk, laced with witty asides, parallels with the current UK political situation emerged.

M.W.

8 March 2019
Carole Bainbridge (Rock Garden Society)
The Mountain Plants of Scotland

The speaker at the meeting held on Friday, 8 March 2019, was Dr Carole Bainbridge, a former president of the Scottish Rock Garden Club. Carole's talk was entitled *The Mountain Plants of Scotland*. In a wide-ranging presentation, Carole described the various mountain plants — or 'Alpines' — growing in different habitats in Scotland. Those growing at the highest altitudes, for example near the summit of Ben Lawers, including the dwarf juniper, (*Juniperus communis nana*) and the alpine snowbell (*Soldanella alpina*), have to cope with strong winds and rapidly changing weather conditions, so they tend to grow in sheltered rock crevices. Many plants growing in these conditions are very short, for example the mountain azalea (*Rhododendron canescens*) grows only 1–2 inches tall. New species have been added to the Scottish flora comparatively recently, for example a relict population of the pincushion plant (*Diapensia laponica*), found normally in Alaska and Scandinavia, was discovered in Glenfinnan in 1953. Recently a survey of mountain plants on the inaccessible parts of Ben Nevis has been made, which involved botanists having to learn rock-climbing.

Some species prefer short grasslands, at somewhat lower altitude, including club mosses, the hairy stonecrop (*Sedum villosum*), mountain avens (*Dryas octopetala*), and the alpine moonwort (*Botrychium nivalis*), which only grows 2 inches high. Longer grass, in areas protected from grazing, is inhabited by the alpine bartsia (*Bartsia alpina*), and the alpine sow-thistle (*Cicerbita alpina*), the latter being confined to the glens of Angus. Lower still, woodland edges are favoured by various species of orchids, the primrose, and the wintergreen (*Orthilia secunda*).

The Scottish mountains contain many wet habitats and bogs, and these host species such as the starry saxifrage (*Saxifraga stellaris*), found on Ben Nevis as high as 1340m. The flow country of the north-east, Scotland's largest area of bog, holds the marsh saxifrage (*Saxifraga hirculus*), only discovered in 2002, as well as the much more common cloudberry (*Rubus chamaemorus*). The insect-eating sundews also favour boggy habitat.

Paradoxically, some species considered as alpine or mountain plants occur on the coast in Scotland, especially the north coast, due to the cool climate. For example the mountain milk-vetch (*Oxytropis halleri*) is coastal in Scotland but a mountain species in continental Europe. Some occur in our area, for example the spring squill (*Scilla verna*), is common on the Mull of Galloway, while the pyramidal orchid (*Anacamptis pyramidalis*) has been found near Gatehouse of Fleet.

Carole concluded her talk by pointing out that some species have been lost in recent years due to changes in land use and climate change, but given the inaccessibility of many mountain habitats in Scotland it is also likely that there are new species out there waiting to be discovered.

J.H.B.

23 March 2019
Stephanie Johnstone
Saving Scotland's Red Squirrels

Dr Stephanie Johnstone, Conservation Officer, South West Scotland, although from Australia originally, has lived in Dumfries and Galloway for many years.

She outlined the differences between the red squirrel and the grey squirrel and the threats to the red from the grey and from squirrel pox which is carried by the grey squirrels. The reds are native to Scotland; they are approximately 300 gm in weight to the greys 550 gm, and they vary in colour but always have tufted ears. They have been here for some 7000 years whereas the greys were introduced from America in 1876. The greys have a very wide habitat, including urban areas, whereas the reds need forests, which have declined to approximately 4% of their original area.

The red squirrels build 'dreys', one summer and one winter, have a diet of berries, mushrooms, seeds, insects and breed from 11 months when they are sexually mature and polygamous. Their babies, 'kittens', become independent at 10 weeks.

Stephanie discussed 'Why save?' and the main threats. The red squirrel is a native breed, a key indicator of forest health and a major part of the food chain for carnivores but it is seriously threatened by habitat loss, cats and dogs, and road traffic kills, as well as native predators. The biggest threat is the grey squirrel in competition for food, of which it eats more, and more efficiently, and has a higher survival rate and digs up the reds' supply of nuts. The grey also carries the squirrel pox virus, which only affects reds but can be passed on by greys and results in death in 15 days.

The grey squirrel does millions of pounds worth of damage; it damages woodlands, rings and kill trees, and is a real threat to native woodland in the UK. They also take birds and chicks, deprive native wildlife of food and even invade and damage premises.

From 1945 to 2010 grey squirrels have taken over all of England (except Cumbria) and the central belt of Scotland but it is estimated that there are 1,250,000 red squirrels in Scotland, mainly in the Highlands and Dumfries and Galloway.

A thirty-year strategy has been developed with five-year funding from the Heritage Lottery Fund and three years from the Leader Project for Dumfries and Galloway.

In Dumfries and Galloway the reds have an advantage because they require conifer forest and the Galloway Forest is the largest commercial forest in the UK. It has been agreed that landowners will not clear fell, will leave planting corridors, will plant small seeded trees and thus will create mixed-age forests. It has also been agreed that, to control the spread of squirrel pox, greys will be removed.

A series of Community Action Groups has also been developed and there are nine networks in Dumfries and Galloway. They carry out spring monitoring surveys and manage to remove most grey squirrels. They have created a squirrel-sighting map which can be seen on the website www.scottishsquirrels.org.uk.

The long-term plan is to further research a contraceptive for grey squirrels, although that might not be available for ten years and, on a positive note for Dumfries and Galloway, pine martens kill grey squirrels and we have a pine marten population in this area.

M.D.C.

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.*
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History of the Society, by H.S. Gladstone, 1913.*
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Records of the Western Marches, Vol. I, 'Edgar's History of Dumfries, 1746', edited by R.C. Reid, 1916.*
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Excavations at Caerlaverock Old Castle 1998–9, by Martin Brann and others, 2004. **(**128pp. £5 plus post and packing)
The Early Crosses of Galloway, by W.G.Collingwood, reprinted from *TDGNHAS* ser.III, vol.10, 1922–3. (49 crosses illustrated and discussed, 37pp. £1.50 plus post and packing)
Flowering Plants and Ferns of Kirkcudbrightshire, by Olga Stewart, reprinted from *TDGNHAS* ser. III, vol.65, 1990. (68pp. £3 plus post and packing)

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Series III vol. 1, 1912–3* to vol. 92, 2018.
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