

Transactions
of the
Dumfriesshire and Galloway
Natural History
and
Antiquarian Society



LXXXI 2007

Transactions
of the
Dumfriesshire and Galloway
Natural History
and
Antiquarian Society

FOUNDED 20th NOVEMBER, 1862

THIRD SERIES VOLUME LXXXI

Editors:

JAMES WILLIAMS, F.S.A.Scot.,
R. McEWEN

ISSN 0141-1292

2007

DUMFRIES

Published by the Council of the Society

Office-Bearers 2006-2007
and
Fellows of the Society

President

Dr D Devereux

Vice Presidents

Mr I Cochrane-Dyett, Mr J Neilson, Mr J McKinnell and Dr A Terry

Fellows of the Society

Dr J Harper, MBE; Mr J Banks, BSc; Mr A E Truckell, MBE, MA, FMA; Mr A Anderson, BSc;
Mr D Adamson, MA; Mr J Chinnock; Mr J H D Gair, MA, JP; Dr J B Wilson, MD;
Mr K H Dobie and Mrs E Toolis – as Past Presidents.

Mr J Williams and Mr L J Masters, MA – appointed under Rule 10.

Hon. Secretary

Mr R McEwen, 5 Arthur's Place, Lockerbie DG11 2EB
Tel. (01576) 202101

Hon. Membership Secretary

Miss H Barrington, 30A Noblehill Avenue, Dumfries DG1 3HR

Hon. Treasurer

Mr L Murray, 24 Corberry Park, Dumfries DG2 7NG

Hon. Librarian

Mr R Coleman, 2 Loreburn Park, Dumfries DG1 1LS Tel. (01387) 247297
Assisted by Mr J Williams, 43 New Abbey Road, Dumfries DG2 7LZ

Joint Hon. Editors

Mr J Williams and Mr R McEwen

Hon. Curators

Mrs E Kennedy and Ms S Ratchford, both Dumfries Museum

Ordinary Members

Mrs J Brann, Mr J Copland, Mr R Copland, Dr J Foster,
Mr A Gair, Mrs C Iglehart, Mr I McClumpha,
Mr D Rose, Mr M Taylor, Mr J L Williams,
Mrs M Williams, Mrs P G Williams.

CONTENTS

The Dragonflies and Damselflies breeding in Dumfries and Galloway 1975-2006 by Barbara Mearns	1
The Breeding Birds of the Solway Islands by Richard & Barbara Mearns	7
Palaeoenvironmental Investigations of Rispain Mire, Whithorn by Susan Ramsay, Jennifer Miller and Rupert Housley	35
The Annanfoot Roman Camp, Newbie by Thomas Rees and Douglas Gordon	57
Brittonic Place-Names from South-West Scotland Part 7: Pennygant by Andrew Breeze	61
Building Stone Sources for Whithorn Priory, Dundrennan Abbey and other Historic Buildings in Galloway by Ray Chadburn	63
Bridgend Bridge, Dundrennan – A Monastic Structure? by Alex Anderson and James Williams.....	71
Notices in Scottish Newspapers relating to Dumfries & Galloway 1699-1722 by Innes Macleod.....	77
The Ordeal of Patrick McMaster: A Galloway Merchant in the American Revolution by Colin Nicolson.....	99
The Development of Kirkcudbright in the Early 19th Century by the Emergence of Voluntarism by David Marsden	109
E A Hornel and Kirkcudbright by David F Devereux	115
Addenda Antiquaria	
Additional Information on the Churches at Lochend and Beeswing by Rev William Holland	124
Reviews	
Prehistoric Settlement in the Wigtownshire Moors by Jane Murray (Jane Brann).....	125
The 1745 Rebellion and the Southern Scottish Lowlands by A E MacRobert (Marion Stewart).....	125
From Durisdeer and Castleton to Strachur: Robert Anderson a Farm Diary 1847-1852 by Innes MacLeod (James Williams).....	126
Obituaries	
Andrew Archibald	128
John Neilson.....	128
Alfred Truckell	129
Proceedings	137

EDITORIAL

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

The Hon. Secretary, Mr R. McEwen, 5 Arthur's Place, Lockerbie DG11 2EB, deals with all matters other than membership which are dealt with by the Hon. Membership Secretary, Miss H Barrington, 30A Noblehill Avenue, Dumfries DG1 3HR, Tel: 01387 256666.

Exchanges should be sent to the Hon. Assistant Librarian, Mr J. Williams, St Albans, 43 New Abbey Road, Dumfries DG2 7LZ. Exchange volumes are deposited in the Library of Dumfries Museum at which location they may be freely consulted by members. However, as public opening hours may vary, it is recommended that prior contact be made with Museum staff (phone 01387 253374) before visiting.

Enquiries regarding back numbers of *Transactions* - see rear cover - should be made to the Hon. Librarian, Mr R. Coleman, 2 Loreburn Park, Dumfries DG1 1LS. As many of the back numbers are out of stock, members can greatly assist the finances of the Society by arranging for any volumes which are not required, whether of their own or those of deceased members, to be handed in. It follows that volumes marked as out of print may nevertheless be available from time to time. All payments, other than subscriptions, should be made to the Hon. Treasurer, Mr L Murray, 24 Corberry Park, Dumfries DG2 7NG. Payment of subscriptions should be made to Miss H Barrington (see above), on behalf of the Hon. Treasurer. The latter will be pleased to arrange for subscriptions and/or donations to be treated as Gift Aid under the Finance Acts, which can materially increase the income of the Society without, generally, any additional cost to the member. Important Inheritance Tax and Capital Gains Tax concessions are also conferred on individuals by these Acts, in as much as bequests, or transfers of shares or cash to the Society by way of Gift Aid are exempt from these taxes.

Limited grants may be available for excavations or other research. Applications should be made prior to 28th February in each year to the Hon. Secretary. Researchers are also reminded of the Mouswald Trust founded by our late President Dr R.C. Reid, which provides grants for work on certain periods. Enquiries and applications for grants to that Trust should be made to Primrose and Gordon, Solicitors, 92 Irish Street, Dumfries DG1 2PF. The Society may also be able to assist with applications for funding from other sources.

The Council is indebted the following bodies for substantial grants towards publication costs viz Historic Scotland for the paper on Rispaire Mire; Rathmell Archaeology Ltd for the paper on Annanfoot Roman Camp; Kirkcudbright History Society for the paper on Dundrennan Stone Quarries and also Dumfries and Galloway Council for their annual contribution to the Society.

The illustration on the front cover is of the Wamphray cross-slab from the article 'The Early Church in Dumfriesshire' by W.G. Collingwood, in volume XII, Series III (1926) of these *Transactions*. It is discussed afresh by Prof. Richard Bailey in Whithorn Lecture No. 4 (1996).

THE DRAGONFLIES AND DAMSELFLIES BREEDING IN
DUMFRIES AND GALLOWAY 1975-2006

by Barbara Mearns¹

The Atlas of the dragonflies of Britain and Ireland (Merritt et al 1996) showed the distribution of thirteen breeding species in Dumfries and Galloway (D&G) for the period 1975-1990. I began recording in 1993 and during the summers of 1993-2002 I visited well over 70 lochs, ponds and bogs across the region (some of them repeatedly) without seeing any additional species. There were no additional species reported by other observers during this period except Vagrant Emperor Hemianax ephipigger but this, as its name indicates, was a vagrant, found at Caerlaverock WWT Reserve on 3 November 1996. This was the first (and still the only) record for the region and the first for mainland Scotland. The specimen is in the Tullie House Museum, Carlisle.

However, since 2003, five species of odonata have been added to the list for D&G: Banded Demoiselle, Southern Hawker, Migrant Hawker, Emperor Dragonfly and Broad-bodied Chaser. The first is an established breeder and the two hawkers are probably breeding at one or two sites. With such rapid change underway, the current status and distribution of the region's odonata deserves careful monitoring. The following review is based on the Atlas, my own field observations and other records.

Species known to be breeding: 1975-2002

Emerald Damselfly *Lestes sponsa* is common and widespread all across the region, from lowland pools to upland bogs. The highest site where I have found proof of breeding is the peaty Puldown Pool on Little Millyea (NX502802) where, at 400m, on 1 August 2001, three pre-flight teneral and a large larva were found.

Large Red Damselfly *Pyrrosoma nymphula* is usually the first species to be seen on the wing each year, emerging on the low ground from late April, and is the commonest and most widespread – at least, I have recorded it from more sites than any other species. It occurs from sea level to at least 450m – pairs in tandem were seen at several pools on Darnaw (NX514763) west of Clatteringshaws, on 28 July 2001.

Azure Damselfly *Coenagrion puella* is widespread and often occurs at very high densities, most memorably at Garroch Pond (NX594824) where I found many hundreds of this species, and many hundreds of Common Blue Damselflies, on 25 June 1995. It was a hot day, and the haze of blue damselflies over the water, with hundreds more around the edge and in the surrounding woodlands, made counting impossible. I have found them ovipositing at 250m, at Earshaig Ponds (NT045037) and have seen adults at Manquhill Ponds (NX668957) at 350m.

Variable Damselfly *Coenagrion pulchellum* is absent from most of Scotland, but can be found at low altitude across D&G, except in the far west. It has been recorded at 32 lochs, ponds and slow-flowing ditches, most of them below 80m, with three between 110m and 120m. All sites are within 25km of the coast. For more information see the Local Species Action Plan at www.dumgal.gov.uk/biodiversity/.

¹ Connansknowe, Kirkton, Dumfries DG1 1SX

Common Blue Damselfly *Enallagma cyathigerum* is widespread on lochs and ponds throughout most of the region and I have seen it on Darnaw at 450m.

Blue-tailed Damselfly *Ischnura elegans* is also widespread on lochs and ponds throughout most of the region and occurs on Darnaw at 430m.

Hairy Dragonfly *Brachytron pratense* is known to occur at only four sites, all within 2km of the Kirkcudbrightshire coast: Carrick Ponds, Colvend Lochs, Palnackie Loch and Killiegowan Wood. There is a Local Species Action Plan.

Azure Hawker *Aeshna caerulea* is an arctic-alpine hawker known to breed only at the Silver Flowe and nearby at Ellergower Moss, the most southerly sites in the UK. Although the shallow bog pools are home to the larvae, the adults are rarely seen there. According to Geoff Shaw (*pers. comm.* 2006) they are more easily seen in the morning, and on less than perfect days, when they tend to bask on rocks or tree trunks, or hunt along the sheltered forest rides. There are indications that larvae have been scarcer in recent years – there are no known sightings since Geoff Shaw found some in 2001, though he and David Clarke (experienced larvae hunters) both searched in 2004 and 2005.



Figure 1 The Silver Flowe (shown here) and Ellergower Moss are the most southerly breeding sites in the UK for Azure Hawker.

Common Hawker *Aeshna juncea* is widespread, from ponds and lochs at sea level to small, peaty pools on the high tops. The highest breeding sites include Carrifran ponds (NT157144) in the Moffat Hills at 710m and Cairnsmore of Fleet (NX509656) at 650m. They are on the wing from at least 30 June to 22 September and on the hill ground, breed-

ing activity can be watched on almost any fair weather day during their season. At the small, bare, upland ponds it can be easy to spot exuviae on the emergent vegetation, at the water's edge or commonly, up to 2m from the pools. At the four small Earshaig Ponds (at 250m) on 10 July 1995 I collected 61 exuviae. On 11 August 2000, around the Goat Ponds (NX497904) on Meaul, at 620m, I found 53 exuviae, four hawkers that had died during emergence and eight pre-flight teneral, while on the same day, on nearby Craignelder (NX510888) at 610m, I picked up 13 exuviae. Since exuviae tend to disintegrate or blow away within a few weeks, these totals indicate how abundant the Common Hawker can be at small, high pools. One individual, which I watched as it took its maiden flight on Meaul, soared almost straight up into the sky, then kept going till out of sight.



Figure 2 These small pools on Cairnsmore of Fleet are used by Common Hawkflies, as are many other high hill pools.

Golden-ringed Dragonfly *Cordulegaster boltonii* is a common species of moorland streams throughout the region. The female often oviposits into shallow stream beds, but I have also seen them laying their eggs at the edge of lochs and deep ditches, in a manner more typical of Common Hawker.

Four-spotted Chaser *Libellula quadrimaculata* emerges very early in the season, from the first days of May on the low ground. It is widespread up to at least 400m.

Common Darter *Sympetrum striolatum* is fairly widespread on lochs, small ponds and ditches, sometimes at very high densities. It can also be seen ovipositing into brackish merse pools, though successful breeding at such sites is not proven. They are scarcer on the high ground but have been seen at Polskeoch Pond (NS693024) at 350m, and I have watched them ovipositing at Earshaig Ponds at 250m and Capenoch Loch (NX837928) at 150m.



Figure 3 Small peaty ponds in upland areas can be very good for dragonflies and damselflies. Nine species can be seen at, or near, this pool beside the Southern Upland Way at Earshaig, west of Beattock.

Black Darter *Sympetrum danae* is locally common and widespread on peaty, damp flushes and pools from sea level up to at least 450m.

Recent additions to the local odonata

Southern Hawker *Aeshna cyanea* is absent from most of Scotland, but is spreading throughout its range in Argyll, Inverness-shire and Moray (Batty and Clarke, 2006). In D&G it is presently only known at one site. It was first recorded patrolling two adjacent woodland ponds near Canonbie on 4 September 2003, and now seems to be breeding, as up to 5 males and a female have been seen on visits in 2005 and 2006. The English population has been spreading northwards in recent years and it is now abundant in Cumbria (D. Clarke *pers. comm.* 2004) so it may soon spread further into Dumfriesshire.

Banded Demoiselle *Calopteryx splendens* occurs in only one part of Scotland – around Dalbeattie. In July 2004 a colony was discovered on the Kirkgunzeon Lane where the demoiselles can be most easily seen from the bridge on the B793 at NX847615 (just east of the town). In 2006 they were found by Keith Kirk on the Urr Water below and above the A711 bridge west of the town. The nearest colony is about 40km away on the south side of the Solway, and they are widespread in Ireland. No-one knows, at present, whether these are long-established colonies that escaped detection, or recent arrivals.



Figure 4 Banded Demoiselles lay their eggs into the emergent vegetation here and at other spots along the slow-flowing Kirkgunzeon Lane.

Migrant Hawker *Aeshna mixta* extended their range into NW England several years ago: they were first recorded in the extreme south of Cumbria in about 1999, but were not found in the north of the county until 2003 (D. Clarke *pers comm.*). Both sexes were seen at several sites in Cumbria that summer and there were also several possible sightings in D&G. Occurrence was confirmed on 15 September 2004 when Richard Mearns saw a male, perched on vegetation a few feet above the ground, at the Mill Loch, Lochmaben, Dumfriesshire. They were seen by him at Castle Loch, Lochmaben, in 2004, 2005 and 2006 – when an immature male was photographed on 7 August – so they may be breeding there. They were also seen at Caerlaverock WWT Reserve and Kelhead Quarry in 2006.

Emperor Dragonfly *Anax imperator* has been spreading northwards in recent years and in D&G was first recorded on 15 July 2003 by Tristan Reid at Craigencallie car park, beside Clatteringshaws Loch. Another was seen on 27 August at Caerlaverock WWT Reserve and a third on 5 September between Loch Stroan and Loch Skerrow (west of Loch Ken). All were males. Single males were seen in 2004, on 7 and 17 September, by staff at Caerlaverock WWT Reserve. There were a couple of records in 2006. The first record of this species egg-laying in Scotland was in 2004, on the east coast at Eyemouth, and they were again seen ovipositing at the same site in 2005 and 2006, although larvae and exuviae have not yet been found. During the last three years they have become increasingly common as a breeding species in Cumbria so it seems likely that they may breed here, in time.

Broad-bodied Chaser *Libellula depressa* is absent from Scotland and there are usually just a few scattered records for Cumbria. It was recorded by Stuart Graham from 24-26 July 2006 at a small ornamental pond opposite Crichton Hall (NX980743), Dumfries – a

single female was observed over the three-day period, occasionally ovipositing. Stuart Spray reported a male and a female at a small pool (NX937705) beside Dalshinnie Pond, Mabie Forest, Kirkcudbrightshire on 27 July 2006. These are the second and third records for Scotland (Parr 2007). Larvae take 2-3 years to emerge, so it remains to be seen whether or not they breed successfully at either site.

Summary

From 1975-2002 thirteen species of odonata were known to breed in D&G. At least fifteen, maybe sixteen species now breed here, and it seems possible that one or two other species will breed successfully in the next few years. If the current trend of milder winters and hotter summers in the UK continues, we can expect 'southern' species to continue expanding their range northwards, leading to a more diverse range of local odonata – although perhaps Azure Hawker will no longer find the conditions suitable. The altitudinal ranges of some species may also be affected.

Keeled Skimmer *Orthetrum coerulescens* breeds at many sites in the Lake District, and in Arran and Kintyre, but no colonies have been found in the region. This is a conspicuous dragonfly and if present, it must be extremely localised. *STOP PRESS: A Keeled Skimmer colony was found by Peter Robinson at Cumlodan Deer Parks, near Newton Stewart in July 2007.*

Ruddy Darter *Sympetrum sanguinam* has been breeding in north Cumbria since 1996, so it may be the next species to appear locally (David Clarke *pers comm.*).

In this period of rapid change, monitoring is more important than ever. Please send any local records to the Scottish Dragonfly Recorder or the D&G Environmental Resources Centre.

Acknowledgements

Much of the early survey work for Variable Damselfly and Hairy Dragonfly was undertaken by Betty Smith and her late husband, Bob. I am indebted to them both for help in the identification of *Coenagrions*, for introducing me to larvae-hunting and for all their help and encouragement. I would like to extend my thanks to all those who have sent me records. I am especially grateful to David Clarke for information about the changing status of Cumbria's odonata, and to him and Geoff Shaw for helpful comments on my first draft. Photographs all by Richard Mearns.

References

- Batty, P. and Clarke, D. 2006 Dragonflies: Northern England and Scotland. *British Wildlife* 18(2): 128-130.
 Merritt, R., Moore N.W. and Eversham B.C., 1996 *Atlas of the dragonflies of Britain and Ireland*, HMSO.
 Parr, A. 2007 Migrant Dragonflies in 2006. *Atropos* 30: 26-35.

THE BREEDING BIRDS OF THE SOLWAY ISLANDS

by Richard and Barbara Mearns¹

The Solway islands are little known beyond Dumfries and Galloway, indeed several books about the islands of Scotland omit them altogether (e.g. H. Haswell-Smith. 2004. The Scottish Islands – a comprehensive guide to every Scottish island). Progressing from east to west, there are three single islands: Rough Island, Hestan and Little Ross, with a group of islands further to the west that are collectively known as the Isles of Fleet: Barlocco Isle, Ardwall Isle, and the two Murray's Isles. All these islands have relatively easy access, either by small boat or on foot at low tide, and have often been visited by naturalists. This also means that they are accessible to ground predators and grazing animals. In addition there are the Scares in Luce Bay, a group of rocks that are the most ornithologically significant of all the Solway islands. They are relatively difficult to reach and seem to have been visited rather infrequently by naturalists until the 1940s.

The purpose of this paper is to summarise the historical notes, observations and surveys of breeding birds on the Solway islands, and to present their current ornithological status based on visits during 2002-2005. Unfortunately, many of the earliest published accounts were rather vague about breeding localities, sometimes deliberately so, in order to avoid directing egg collectors to colonies. For this reason, some early records for the islands have perhaps been lost.

The historical data that mentions specific islands was mainly extracted from 'Breeding Birds of the Solway Islands and adjacent mainland' (K. Bruce 1984, unpublished), as well as from additional literature and casual records from local birdwatchers. Information for more recent years was added from the Seabird Colony Register, the local bird reports and individual naturalists. Information credited to the late Donald Watson (A.D. Watson) includes some personal observations but is mainly derived from his correspondence concerning the birds of Galloway and from the local bird reports under his editorship: 1985-90.

In 2004 a special effort was made by a group of volunteers to survey all the islands; and there was some follow up work by the authors in 2005 when all the islands were visited at least once.

Figures in the tables refer to the numbers of breeding pairs, except for Common Guillemot, Razorbill, Black Guillemot and Puffin where numbers refer to individual birds. Count methods for the more numerous species varied from detailed combinations of photographic counts, flush counts and species proportion counts to simple rough estimates of the number of birds present, divided by two to give the number of pairs. There were no set criteria to define proof of breeding, the opinions of recorders as to whether birds were breeding or not have been taken at face value. All the data for each island has not been included in the tables, as it was necessary to be selective, usually including only those years when there were the most comprehensive counts. When there was more than one species count in a year the higher count was taken. Figures in the tables may differ from previously published accounts because of the inclusion of unpublished additional data. For scientific names of birds see e.g. *The British List*, BOU2007.

¹ Connansknowe, Kirkton, Dumfries DG1 1SX

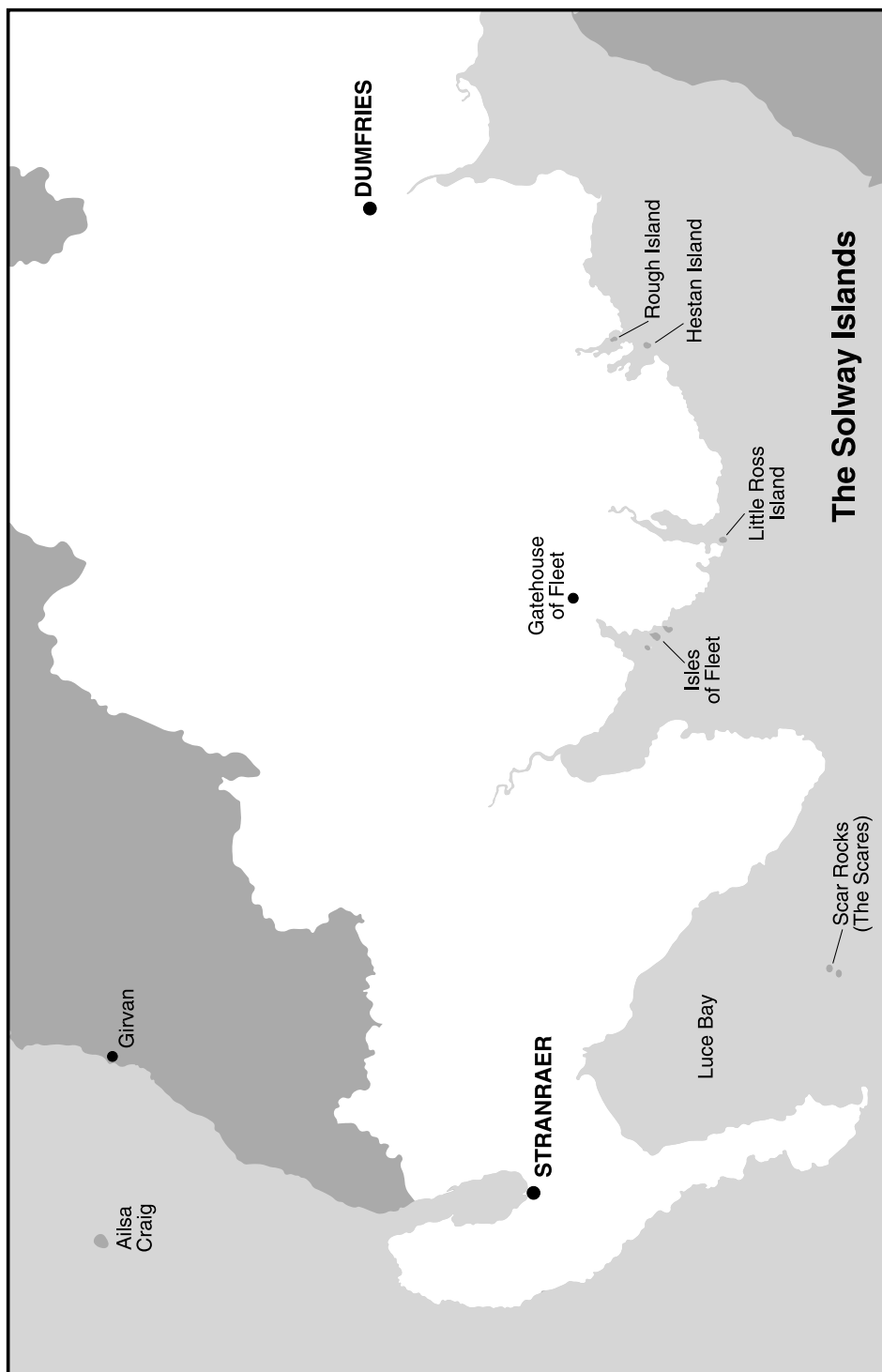


Figure 1

ROUGH ISLAND

Part of East Stewartry Coast National Scenic Area. Formerly part of Auchencairn and Orchardton Bays Site of Special Scientific Interest (de-notified in 1988).

This 8ha island lies in Rough Firth, near Rockcliffe. It is owned by the National Trust for Scotland (NTS) who maintain it as a wildlife reserve, and use it for environmental education purposes outside the bird breeding season, often leading guided walks to it at low tide, out across the mud. It lies about 320m offshore, is about 500m long, and 300m across at the widest part, and does not rise above 24m. The southern portion of the island is rugged but there are few cliffs suitable for breeding seabirds. The island was grazed by sheep until about 1970 when it ceased because of the problem of preventing livestock from wandering off the island. Since then the area of grassland and heathland has decreased significantly, with a marked increase in Bracken *Pteridium aquilinum*, Rosebay Willowherb *Epilobium angustifolium* and Bramble *Rubus fruticosus*, and encroaching Hawthorn *Crataegus monogyna* and Blackthorn *Prunus spinosa* scrub. NTS maintain a path to the highest point of the island and there have been sporadic attempts to clear the shingle beaches of vegetation to encourage nesting waders. There is a policy of discouraging access during the breeding season, but no terns and only a few waders now nest there, a marked change from the days when it was one of the most important local sites for breeding terns. Most, if not all, of the recent tern nests have been on the higher parts of the island rather than on the shingle beaches.

Ornithological significance. In 1947 there were 100 pairs of mixed terns (A.D. Watson). About ten years later, all the tern eggs, including those of Sandwich Terns, were allegedly taken by some Dutch sailors (Scott 2003). In 1959 60 pairs of Common Terns were noted, but in 1960 there were only 20 pairs (Mrs Southern to T. Huxley). In that same year George Trafford reported four Sandwich Tern nests that failed later when the eggs were broken by other birds (T. Huxley in SNH file note). In 1966 there were six Roseate Terns present amongst 40-60 pairs of Common Terns (Gordon Bloor *in litt* to A.D. Watson). Thereafter breeding terns decreased to just four Common Tern nests in 1979, four in 1980 and two in 1983 (K. Kirk). There were no nesting terns in 2004 or 2005.

There seems to never have been many breeding gulls, though in 1970 there were nearly fifty pairs of Herring Gulls. Common Gulls still nest in small numbers. The number of breeding waders rose to a peak of six pairs of Ringed Plovers and up to 27 pairs of Oystercatchers, though this last figure perhaps refers to the number of individuals since the more usual number of pairs is about 7-14 pairs (NTS annual reports).

Outlook. Each spring and autumn there are Sandwich, Common and Arctic Terns feeding in Rough Firth, and they sometimes roost at the north end of the island, on the shingle, but there is little indication that they now try to breed. The current national policy of encouraging public access is likely to discourage terns that are prospecting for nest sites and reduce the breeding performance of the few remaining waders. Unless grazing is resumed the island will turn to dense scrub and some of the plant and insect diversity is likely to be lost. Lesser Whitethroats may breed if the scrub becomes suitable but other passerines will tend towards those species that are common on the nearby mainland.

ROUGH ISLAND: Pairs of breeding birds

	59	60	66	70	74	79	80	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	91	92	93	94	95	98	04	05
Shelduck				*	*	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0		0	0	0	1	1		0	1
Kestrel																		1?				1 bird
Common Pheasant																						1
Oystercatcher			15	2	2	16	27	10	12	11	10	14	12		9	17	13	16	9		9	7
Ringed Plover				4	2	6	6	6	6	4	4	6	6	4	3	4	4	4	4		2	0
Curlew				4	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	0		0	0
Common Sandpiper				*	*	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1		0	0	1	0	0		0	0
Black-headed Gull			13	*	*	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	0		0	0
Common Gull			2	0	0	3	0	4	1	0	3	3	4	5	2	5	3	5	4		0	2
Lesser Black-backed Gull				2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	2	5	20-25	12		0	0
Herring Gull			18	17	28	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1		0	1	3	10-15	10		0	1
Great Black-backed Gull				1	*																0	0
Sandwich Tern		4																				
Common Tern	60	20	40-60	50-60	37	4	6	0	2	1	2	3	3	2	0	1	4	15	4	1	0	0
Arctic Tern			7	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	0		0	0
Roseate Tern			6 birds																			
Wood Pigeon																						2
Sky Lark				*	*																	0
Rock Pipit				5	3					5	4	6	6		9	7	7	4	6			2
Wren				*	*																	4
Duncock				*	*																	0
Whinchat				*	*																	0
Blackbird				*	*					1												2
Song Thrush				*	*																	1
Common Whitethroat				*	*					1												6
Willow Warbler										1												3
Carrion Crow																						2
Starling										*												
Chaffinch				*	*																	3
Linnet																						2
Reed Bunting				*	*																	0

(* = species present but no count)

HESTAN ISLAND

Part of East Stewartry Coast National Scenic Area. Formerly part of Auchencairn and Orchardton Bays Site of Special Scientific Interest (denotified in 1988).

Hestan Island (or Heston Island) lies at the mouth of Auchencairn Bay, 900m south of Almorness Point. It can be easily reached during certain low tides from the tip of Almorness Point, or from the Balcary side of Auchencairn Bay, though access from the west is more difficult as it entails crossing the Orchardton Lane.

The name Hestan may be derived from Estholme, the most easterly part of the lands of the monks of Dundrennan Abbey, who used it for grazing. In 1342 John Balliol completed a fortified mansion or pele tower on the north facing slopes of the island but there are scant remains of it now. Indeed, little is heard of Hestan Island until the 18th century when it was used as a depot by smugglers. Traces of a 19th century copper mine can be seen on the western slopes near the Elephant Rock, a natural feature. In 1893 a light was established on the seaward side, cared for by the residents of the single island cottage though it was later serviced from Balcary until it became fully automated. Nowadays, the cottage is only inhabited occasionally, but it still has clumps of New Zealand Flax *Phormium tenax* beside it. In front of the building, in the mid 1970s there were three palm trees (possibly Campestre Palm *Trithrinax campestris*) but these have now gone.

Grazing has mainly been by sheep, but cattle, pigs and horses have also been kept on the island from time to time. Sheep are still taken across to the island by tractor for the summer months and rabbits continue to add to the grazing pressure. The vegetation is unremarkable, much of the upper parts of the island being heavily grazed as well as enriched by gull droppings; the steeper sides have typical maritime vegetation for the area, with only a small amount of low scrub. The rocks at the south end of the island are often used for loafing by gulls and Cormorants and the latter began to breed there again in 2005.

Ornithological significance: Hestan has hosted significant numbers of terns with up to 400 pairs being recorded in the 1950s. The majority of terns were reported as Common Terns, with smaller numbers of Arctic and Sandwich Terns, with 75 of the latter and a single Roseate Tern in 1956 (A. D. Watson). There were 200-300 Common Terns and 20 Sandwich Terns present in 1957, yet in 1960 only two pairs of Common Terns were present (T. Huxley). Scott (2003) said the Common Tern colony was on the flat area near the lighthouse but knew of Sandwich Terns nesting there only on the first spring that she lived on the island (about 1958). It should be noted that Baxter & Rintoul state that the Arctic Tern 'colony shifts about between Southernness and Heston' so it may not have been unusual for terns to have been absent in some years. Even allowing for such movements the overall decline on this part of the Galloway coast was very swift and no terns of any species have been reported breeding on the island since 1970.

Maxwell (1884) and Service (1902) reported Common Gulls as breeding on Hestan, A.D. Watson reported 20-30 pairs in 1947, and 30 pairs there 10 years later but few if any breed there now. Crosbie (1932) reported that 'A large number of gulls make their home on the southern part of Heston, and in the nesting season they lay their eggs on the top of the rocks.' These days, the number of gulls on the island fluctuates considerably, with

Meadow Pipit	*					5	2				2					0
Rock Pipit	*				18	7	4				2					2
Pied Wagtail																1
Dunnock					1	1	0				1					0
Blackbird			1		1	1	0									3
Jackdaw											3					0
Carrion Crow											1					1
Starling					1	3	7									0

(* = species present but no count)



Figure 2 Little Ross Island from Meikle Ross.

LITTLE ROSS ISLAND

Part of Borgue Coast Site of Special Scientific Interest.

Little Ross Island is not accessible by pedestrians because even on the lowest spring tides a deep channel of water remains, almost 300m wide, with swift currents. Nevertheless, Brian Finlay of Ross Farm, the last farmer to graze sheep on the island, used to swim sheep to and fro in spring when the tides were low enough for this to be done safely.

The lighthouse was built by the Stevensons in the early 1840s, and became locally notorious in August 1960, when one of the keepers murdered a colleague. For several decades, keepers of the light reported wildlife sightings, noted various species crashing into the lantern at night, and sent bird and insect specimens to the Royal Museum of Scotland at Edinburgh (Baxter & Rintoul 1953). There is therefore a longer history of wildlife recording for Little Ross than most other Solway islands. In the published literature, some of the early records may have been confused by local parlance, as 'the Ross' can refer to either the island or the nearby rocky headland where there are higher cliffs. Thus, there is considerable doubt when Baxter & Rintoul say that Guillemots, Razorbills and Kittiwakes have bred on Little Ross as there are few if any suitable ledges. One of the last keepers reported that he had never seen auks breeding there during the fifty years that he had known the island (G. Davidson to K. Bruce).

The light became fully automated in the late 1960s but there is now a single resident, unconnected with the lighthouse service, who spends most of the year there. Grazing on the island ceased at about the time when the light became automated because there was then no one to keep a regular, unofficial, eye on the sheep. More recently, a few goats were kept on the island but there are now no large grazing animals present except for Roe Deer *Capreolus capreolus* that occasionally swim across. The vegetation has become rather rank and a small number of trees have recently been planted, some of them rather inappropriate exotic conifers. In the 1980s and early 1990s Mink were present and raised their young predominantly on gull chicks (K. Bruce).

Ornithological significance. Although a regular haunt of a variety of seabirds there are no breeding records for Fulmar or Shag, and, as discussed above, no confirmed records for Guillemot, Razorbill or Kittiwake. All these species breed 1km to the west at Meikle Ross (though Shags only rarely do so). 'A good many' Black Guillemots were noted on the island's cliffs in 1931 and Baxter & Rintoul (1953) thought that they probably bred, though this was not proven at the time nor since then; they certainly breed at Meikle Ross in small numbers with nests found there in 1967 (A.D. Watson), 1983 and 1985 (K. Bruce) and 2002 (R&BM). Breeding terns have never been recorded as abundant on the island, but in 1959 there were nine Common Tern nests with eggs and one or two pairs of Sandwich Terns (A.D. Watson). There were only two Common Tern nests in 1970 and only one or two pairs have nested subsequently.

Only five seabird species are regular breeders. Cormorants were reported breeding as far back as 1833 and more recently in 1920 (Baxter & Rintoul 1953). Nesting Cormorants alternate between the island and headland, often using both, though for a long period Meikle Ross was by far the favoured site. Herring Gulls have increased from a single pair in 1920 (Baxter & Rintoul 1953), to over 700 pairs fifty years later. The records indicate smaller numbers of Lesser Black-backed Gulls with Great Black-backed Gulls always in the minority. Twelve pairs of Common Gulls were breeding in 1920 (Baxter & Rintoul 1953), and 30 pairs in 1959 (A.D. Watson) and similar numbers continued to breed in 2004 and 2005.

Baxter & Rintoul (1953) note that Peregrines bred in 1915 and 1920, as an alternative to the preferred site at Meikle Ross, and in the latter year a pair of Kestrels bred close to the Peregrine eyrie. Kestrels are still seen above the island but may or may not nest there.

Swallow		2	0			2													1			
Sky Lark		1	1			0														1	1	
Meadow Pipit		4	2			12														3		
Rock Pipit		11	4			2														2	*	
Wren						1															1	
Duncock		1	0			0																
Blackbird		1	0			0																
Jackdaw		2	2			1																
Carrion Crow																					*	1
Starling		3	2			1																
Linnet		1	6																		*	*
Goldfch																					*	

(* = species present but no count)

THE ISLES OF FLEET

The four main islands are part of the Borgue Coast Site of Special Scientific Interest. Fleet Bay, the islands and rocks are part of Fleet Valley National Scenic Area.

The four main islands in Fleet Bay are Barlocco Isle, Ardwall Isle and the two Murray's Isles. All are accessible at low tide though the Murray's Isles only on spring tides for a limited period. Service (1902) suggested that there were a pair or two of Sandwich Terns breeding in Fleet Bay and in 1966 the Fleet Islands were said to hold 70-90 pairs of Common Terns (and one pair of Roseate Terns), with 67 nests of Common Terns present in 1978 (A.D. Watson). It is now impossible to know from these imprecise records where these terns were actually nesting but it seems likely that in the early years they were mostly on the Murray's Isles, as there would have been fewer gulls present then. The later records may refer to a scattering of small colonies throughout the islands of the bay. Close to Mossyard, Cardoness and Skyreburn, there are several tiny rocky islets, including Garvellan Rocks and Cat Craig, known to have had breeding terns. It is also likely that the main colony shifted between the Murray's Isles and the smaller islets, as reported by K. Bruce.

The earliest full bird survey for the Fleet Islands was not until 1970 (NSRG 1975) though unfortunately the published account does not give the number of birds on each island, just a total for the main group. Only if a particular species bred on just one island is it possible to be sure of numbers.



Figure 3 Barlocco Isle from the Mainland

BARLOCCO ISLE

Barlocco Isle is about 600m long on its north-south axis, and about 250m across at the widest part; it is a low, relatively flat island not rising above 10m, and just 300m from the mainland. Although accessible on foot over rocks on perhaps the majority of low tides it is one of the least visited islands, being tucked away to the east of Ardwall Isle, a much less visible and less attractive prospect to the casual visitor than its larger neighbour. This was certainly true until January 2006 when an 18.9 metre beached Fin Whale *Balaenoptera physalus*, estimated at 60 tonnes, attracted many hundreds of visitors.

Ornithologists have paid scant attention to the island, the earliest records are traceable only to 1970 and 1974 (NSRG 1975) with further partial counts only in 1984 and 1994 (K. Bruce), 1996 and 2005 (R&BM), and 2004 (A.White).

Ornithological significance. The island has apparently never been a favourite haunt of seabirds, only a few terns have nested and the highest recorded number of gull nests was 15 Common Gull nests in 1994, all with eggs, though they failed at this stage or later.

The island continues to be grazed by sheep and cattle. In some years it has been very intensive but in 2005 there had been no spring grazing by 5 June and the vegetation was lush, with many tall grasses, a 20m by 20m stand of Common Reed *Phragmites australis*, and beds of flowering Yellow Iris *Iris pseudacorus*. This was reminiscent of the type of

habitat that in the Western Isles might contain Corn Crakes and it is quite probable that they used to breed here in the 19th century and early part of the 20th century. In the more recent past, the wet areas supported single pairs of breeding Redshank and Lapwing, and even Moorhen, but there has been no sign of these species attempting to breed in recent years.

Passerines are few, and because of the close proximity of the mainland it is not always easy to determine which birds breed on the island, and which are just feeding there. Small scrubby patches of Blackthorn certainly allow Song Thrush and Blackbird to nest, and perhaps also Dunnock and Wren. Linnets and Common Whitethroats are probably always from the mainland.

Outlook. Little change is expected if grazing continues at current levels, though any reduction or cessation of grazing would lead to slow scrub encroachment. The number of common passerines breeding would probably increase but there would be a loss of plant diversity and Sky Lark and Meadow Pipit would disappear. Terns have not nested on the island for at least ten years and their return in any numbers would seem to be doubtful.

BARLOCCO ISLE: Pairs of breeding birds

	70	74	84	85	86	87	88	89	94	96	02	03	04	05
Shelduck	*	*											*	1
Moorhen	1	1												
Oystercatcher	*	*	1						4	2			4	5
Ringed Plover	*	*	1						1	2			1	1
Redshank	1	1	1						1	1			0	0
Lapwing			3						1	1			0	0
Black-headed Gull	2	3											0	0
Common Gull	*	*	3						15	4			1	0
Herring Gull	*	*											0	0
Common Tern	1	4	3						0	0			0	0
Arctic Tern	1	1							0	0			0	0
Sandwich Tern	1	2							0	0			0	0
Sky Lark			2						*	*			2	2
Meadow Pipit	*	*	9						*	*			7	2
Rock Pipit	*	*							*	*			12	7
Wren													1	0
Dunnock	*	*							1				0	0
Wheatear										1				
Blackbird			1							*			2	1
Starling													1	1
Song Thrush													1	

(* = species present but no count)



Figure 4 Ardwall Isle from the mainland

ARDWALL ISLE

This is the largest of the Fleet islands, measuring approximately 750m by 400m, rising to a summit of 34m just to the south of an old plantation of Corsican Pine *Pinus nigra* and Scots Pines *Pinus sylvestris*, the only large trees on the island.

At the south end there is a single stone cottage, close to the ruins of an 18th or 19th century farmhouse that are now all but hidden by scrub. At one time there was a continuous sheep dyke encircling the island and there is a tradition that the island was split into several agricultural holdings. At the north end there are sandy beaches, the usual access points when reached on foot at low tide from the mainland, about 400m to the northeast. Formerly there was an obvious constructed trackway across the island to the south end, but this is now largely obscured by vegetation. Archaeological excavations at the north end in 1961 revealed the foundation of a tavern dated to the late 18th/early 19th century, built above the remains of a hall-house of 1250-1350, with a chapel and burial ground nearby (Thomas 1966).

Grazing seems to have decreased after the Second World War and comparison of aerial photographs showed a gradual increase in scrub, though the central portion of the island remains as rank grassland, cut for hay in most years.

Ornithological significance. There are no breeding records for Grey Partridge, Corn Crake or Corn Bunting though it seems quite likely that they would have bred at one

time; Maxwell (1884) noted that the ‘Corn Crake may be said to be found in every field’ in Kirkcudbrightshire. The earliest bird records for the island date only to 1970 (NSRG). Common Gull and Herring Gull were reported breeding at that time, and though numbers were not given it seems likely that there were only a few gulls on Ardwall itself as the Murray’s Isles have long been reported as the main site for them. Since 1970 there have been no subsequent reports of gulls (or terns) nesting on the island, apart from 2 Common Gulls in 1984. Despite this, Ardwall Isle has the greatest number of breeding species of any of the Solway islands, having a wide array of common passerines. In addition, Buzzard bred or attempted to breed in the pines in 2004 and 2005, and Kestrel may also occasionally breed there.

Lesser Whitethroat, a rare summer breeder in Southern Scotland, has its Dumfries and Galloway stronghold in the Cardoness-Kirkandrews area, mainly close to the coastline but sometimes several kilometres inland. There was a single male singing on the island in 1998 (R. Mearns and K. Kirk), two males in 1999 and at least two singing males in 2004 and 2005 (R. & B. Mearns). They almost certainly breed at the north end in the dense tangle of Bramble, Hawthorn and Blackthorn.

Outlook. At the present time the island has probably reached its greatest habitat diversity, still with areas of maritime heath, open grassland and short grazed turf despite the spread of scrub, and bracken. If the current lack of grazing management continues the island will lose its more open and interesting plant communities and their associated birds and insects. Some grazing would be desirable to maintain the status quo – otherwise much of the island will become wooded.

ARDWALL ISLE: Pairs of breeding birds

	70	74	84	94	04	05
Shelduck	*	*			2	1
Mallard	1	1			0	0
Red-br Merganser	*	*	1		0	0
Buzzard	0	0			1	1
Kestrel	1	0			0	1
Pheasant			2			
Grey Partridge	1	1			0	0
Oystercatcher	*	*	2		1	3
Ringed Plover	*	*			1	1
Curlew	1	0			0	0
Common Gull	*	*			0	0
Herring Gull	*	*			0	0
Wood Pigeon	1	2			2	3
Swallow	2	0			0	0
Sky Lark	1	2				0
Meadow Pipit	*	*	7		9	5

Rock Pipit	*	*	1		6	3
Wren	1	1	1		11	10
Dunnock	*	*	1		8	3
Song Thrush	1	1	1		5	4
Blackbird	1	2	4		10	8
Robin	1	1	1		1	
Stonechat					0	1
Carrion Crow			2		2	2
Starling	4	9	6		0	0
Lesser Whitethroat					2	2
Common Whitethroat			3		15	6
Garden Warbler					2	0
Chiffchaff					2	2
Willow Warbler	1	0	13		7	7
Spotted Flycatcher			1			
Blue Tit					2	1
Chaffinch	1	2	4		11	5
Linnet			1		10	5
Goldfinch					1	
Bullfinch			1		1	2
Reed Bunting	1	0			0	

(* = species present but no count)

MURRAY'S ISLES

The two Murray's Isles are owned and managed by the National Trust for Scotland. The two islands are close to each other, being separated at high tide by only about 50m of water and linked at low water by a sand and shingle beach. Both islands are covered with rough, tussocky grassland, heavily fertilized by seabird droppings during the breeding season. The north isle is 320m by 200m (and has the remains of two buildings – walls but no roofs) and the south island is 200m by 100m. The northern tip of the isles lies about 1200m offshore, a greater distance from the mainland than the other Fleet Isles with a consequent greater difficulty for human access (and for land mammals) that makes them the preferred sites for breeding seabirds, now mostly gulls and Cormorants. Almost all bird counts lump the two islands together because of their close proximity and similar ecology.

Ornithological significance. This may have been the favoured site for breeding terns in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Maxwell (1884) reported that both Common and Arctic Terns on the Murray's Isles were 'numerous' with 'extensive breeding colonies' and the Sandwich Tern 'may possibly breed on the Murray Isles or on Knockbrec [Ardwall Isle and/or Barlocco]'. Though there are some tern records for the 1970s and 1990s (including at least one pair of Sandwich Terns in 1972) none have bred in the past few years.



Figure 5 Murray's Isles (and Ardwall Isle at left)

The current main feature of the islands is the high number of breeding gulls, which set up such a clamour when there are human intruders that it is hard to detect the presence of other species. It is not known when gulls first started to breed in any numbers but since 1970 Herring Gulls have increased from 327 to 1700, and Lesser Black-backed Gulls have increased from 120 to 650. Maxwell (1884) did not know of Great Black-backed Gull breeding anywhere in Kirkcudbrightshire but numbers of this species have remained relatively stable here since 1970 with about 40-60 pairs each year, and 100 pairs estimated in 1980 (G. Shaw). By contrast, Common Gulls, a species that Maxwell (1884) mentioned as breeding on the Murray's Isles, have now declined and no longer breed, though there were still more than 100 pairs in 1981. There were no records of breeding Cormorants until the 1990s, increasing from four nests in 1998 to about 150 birds in 2005. They have probably been drawn from Craggleton cliffs (10km to the south west, on the west side of Wigtown Bay) where the colony has greatly diminished. A few birds may have come from the remains of the wartime Mulberry Harbour structure at Rigg Bay near Craggleton where about 30 pairs nest annually or from further afield from Mochrum and Castle Lochs where there have been more significant declines over the same period as the increase on Murray's Isles (P.N. Collin).

Shelduck and Mallard probably breed on the Murray's Isles in most years. A female Red-breasted Merganser was seen with one young on 5 July 1987. Infrequent sightings of Common Eider near the isles suggest that this species may also breed occasionally, indeed a female with young reported nearby, off Sandgreen, in June 1966 was the first breeding record for the Stewartry since 1908 (1966 Bird Report). A few Canada Geese seen on the larger of the two isles each June in the late 1970s to mid 1980s were not thought to breed but were there to moult (K. Bruce).

Breeding passerines are few, seemingly restricted to only Rock and Meadow Pipits.

Outlook. Little change is predicted. Gulls now occupy most of the land available but there is still the potential for Cormorant numbers to increase. The vegetation on the island is unlikely to change significantly whilst gull numbers remain so high and while there are no grazing animals.

MURRAY'S ISLES: Pairs of breeding birds

	67	69	70	74	84	86	87	88	91	94	95	96	97	98	00	04	05
Cormorant											0			4	46	150 birds	45
Eider																5 females	0
Shelduck																*	1
Mallard																	1
Red br Merganser			*	*			1										0
Oystercatcher			*	*	4						*					7	11
Black-headed Gull			2														
Common Gull		60	60	[34]	3		2				5						0
Lesser BI-backed Gull		200	120	87	143				*	88	95	53				650 birds	420 birds
Herring Gull		450	330	[243]	508			600		770 bds	600	480				1700 birds	980 birds
Great BI-backed Gull	25	40	45	37	58	52 y	35 y	10	50	17	63	22				60 birds	
Common Tern				4	21			47		2	2	0	5			0	0
Arctic Tern				1	2							0				0	0
Common and Arctic Tern							29				2						
Sandwich Tern																	0
Rock Pipit			*	*	2						*					5	4
Meadow Pipit					3												2

* = species present but no count, y = number of young recorded.

Cat Craig, Cardoness

This small rocky islet, measuring approximately 100m by 50m lies just 100m offshore. It is partially covered in Juniper *Juniperus communis* and Burnet Rose *Rosa pimpinellifolia*, and lies opposite a busy caravan and campsite but provides a sporadic breeding site for terns. Each year the owner erects signs asking that people keep off the islet during the breeding season, notes the number of birds, looks out for any fledged young but does not always visit the islet (M. Hannay *pers. comm.*). Only a few Common Terns are present, one pair of Arctic Terns attempted to breed in the early 1990s and a single Sandwich Tern was present in 1999. Oystercatchers fledged two young there in 1999. Success is poor perhaps because ground predators can reach the islet at low tide.

There are also old records for terns at Craiggibboch, an even smaller islet in Skyreburn Bay at the head of Fleet Bay; and at Garvellan Rocks, at Mossyard on the west side of the mouth of Fleet Bay. In 1966 there were 40-50 pairs of Common Tern at 'Skyreburn', 30-40 pairs at Mossyard, and 8 pairs at Garvellan Rocks (G. Bloor *in litt* to A.D. Watson and 1966 Bird Report). In 1978 there were 67 nests at 'Skyreburn Islet' and many were robbed of eggs there in the previous year. By 2005 there were no terns breeding on any of these islets except Cat Craig.

CAT CRAIG: numbers of Common Terns

	95	96	97	98	99	00	01	02	03	04	05	06
pairs	6				4	3	7	>1	0	0	2	6
nests	1	4	5				2		0	0		
chicks	0	0	0					5			0	0

THE SCARES

RSPB Reserve. Scare Rocks Site of Special Scientific Interest. Part of Luce Bay and Sands Special Area of Conservation (designated 17 March 2005).

This group of rocky islets lies about 10km (6 miles) from the nearest land, approximately mid-way between Burrow Head and the Mull of Galloway. Little Scares and Big Scare are about 1100m apart, each composed of hard, blue-grey schist with some quartz, completely lacking in soil or vegetation. 'Scares' derives from the Norse word *skjaers* meaning 'rocks'; and though it therefore makes little sense to call them Scare, Scaur or Scar Rocks many people do. Little Scare is of little ornithological importance, being too low lying to offer safe nesting except for the occasional Shag. The Big Scare however holds one of the most significant seabird colonies in Dumfries and Galloway, comprising a single large rock, 150m by 150m, with an attached stack, the latter being too precipitous to offer many nesting ledges.



Figure 6 Big Scare

There seems to be little human history associated with the rocks – they have never been inhabited and there has been no lighthouse there. During the Second World War the rocks were used for target practice and there are still the remains of a bomb upon the Big Scare. It is seldom visited because of the difficulty in landing, although fishermen regularly work in nearby waters, either sea angling or operating lobster pots. The North Solway Ringing Group attempts to visit the rocks each year to ring seabirds, particularly the Gannets and Shags.

Ornithological significance. The development of the Gannetry has been well documented by the Rev McWilliam (1945), Young (1968) and NSRG (1975). According to Robert Service (1902) Gannets may have tried to establish themselves in 1883 but the present colony dates from 1939, when a single chick was seen by McWilliam. Gannet numbers have progressively increased: c10 pairs in 1941, 20-25 nests in 1942, 40-50 pairs in 1943, 35-45 nests in 1945, at least 28 nests in 1946, 90 nests in 1948, 100 nests in 1949, 134 nests in 1953, 158 nests in 1957, 167 nests in 1960, c200 pairs in 1962, and at least 240 pairs with a maximum of 300 nests in 1965 (Nelson 1978). Forty years later, surveys from the sea in 2004 and 2005 estimated 2500 pairs in each year (P.N Collin). This is comparable to figures from an aerial survey of the Gannet colony conducted on 6th June 2004 (as part of a wider SNH contract) that counted 2394 apparently occupied nest sites, representing a 22.6% increase since a similar survey in 1995 (Murray et al 2006). Although relatively small compared to Ailsa Craig (the nearest colony 75km/46 miles to the north)

the Scares is one of only 14 colonies in Scotland and contains about 1.3% of the Scottish population (Wanless *et al* 2005a & b).

Fulmars were first reported breeding in 1941 by Gavin Maxwell who saw four birds (Fisher 1966) but they have never occurred in any great number and do not breed every year. In 1921 McWilliam noted Cormorants on the rocks (without noting if they were breeding or not) and in 1939 the Rev Jourdain counted 71 pairs nesting. Cormorants have declined since then, with only a few pairs breeding, and none recorded since 1975. Most Cormorants in the area nest inland on islands in Mochrum and Castle Lochs (and until the steelwork disappeared in the 1980s nested on a military target off Ringdoo Point (NX 169547), having as many as 84 nests in 1971 (Dickson 1992)). McWilliam (1945) noted Shags on the Scares in 1921 but does not say if they were breeding or not, though in 1943 he counted 40-60 pairs. In between times Jourdain found 16 Shag nests in 1939. This species is also declining probably due to competition with Gannets for nesting space.

Gray and Anderson (1869) noted the presence of Herring Gulls, and McWilliam counted about 30 pairs in 1943. He also noted a single pair of Great Black-backed Gulls in 1921 and in 1939, and one or two pairs still seem to breed in most years. Kittiwakes have been known on the Scares since Gray noted them in 1871. A hundred years later there were over 200 pairs counted but the colony has since gone into serious decline. Gray and Anderson (1869) mention the Common Gull as breeding on the Scares, a record that McWilliam considered doubtful because few if any Common Gulls were then breeding so far south. Gray (1871) makes no reference to Common Gulls breeding anywhere in Wigtownshire, apparently correcting the mistake, which had presumably resulted from confusion with Kittiwakes.

Gray and Anderson (1869) report the Guillemot as occurring 'in great abundance', and at that time and in the 1940s, when McWilliam visited the rocks, it was by far the most numerous species. In 1942 nearly 2000 Guillemots were reported, and in 1943 1505 pairs estimated. Gray and Anderson (1869) noted the Razorbill as 'a native of the Scaur Rocks.' McWilliam (1945) says that it was scarce in 1921 but he refers to Arthur Duncan having located 15 pairs in 1943. Young (1968) states that there were 50 breeding pairs of Razorbills in 1953, 15 pairs in 1965 and 68 pairs in 1968. A gradual decrease since then is shown in the table below. Gray and Anderson (1869) say that the Black Guillemot was 'probably a native of Scaur Rocks', a claim Gray (1871) repeats. Breeding was not confirmed until 1953 (Young 1968) and it is probably an annual breeder, in very small numbers. Puffins were mentioned as breeding on the Scares by Gray and Anderson (1869), Gray (1871) and Maxwell (1884), McWilliam (1945), and Young (1968) thought that a few pairs could possibly breed. There are still no confirmed breeding records for Puffins and as there is no soil for their usual nesting burrows any breeding attempt would have to be in a rock crevice making it unlikely that any more than a handful of pairs could ever nest there.

McWilliam was told that a pair of Peregrines had bred on the highest part of the main stack in about 1922 (McWilliam 1945); other species of birds of prey are unlikely to nest there so there is no reason to doubt the report.

On 16 May 1898 Jack Gordon visited the Scares and recorded two pairs of Rock Pipits, and noted that another observer saw them there on 26 May 1904 (J.G. Gordon unpublished

	81	82	83	84	87	89	95	96	97	00	01	04	05
Fulmar							1	5	0			0	0
Gannet	500	1900 birds	550	770	830	700	1954	1106	1222	1670	3000	2500	2500
Cormorant				0								0	0
Shag	50	100	80	104	81	65	42	30	33	14		34	20
Guillemot	1600		700	2000	3000	700	770	820	630	1753		243	800
Black Guillemot	2		1	3	2		7		1			2	0
Razorbill	25		35	15	22	40	44	42	16	39		6	50
Lesser Back- backed Gull		1						1	1			0	0
Herring Gull	20		25	35	19	80	5	27	27	3		6	1
Great Black- backed Gull				1			2	2				1	1
Kittiwake	40		54	40	66	75	19	44	54	4		5	28
Puffin					3 birds				2				
Rock Pipit													

Additional breeding islands in Dumfries and Galloway

Although outside the Solway there are two important off-shore breeding sites within Dumfries and Galloway that are worth including in this review:

Genoch Rocks

This small conglomeration of rocks on the west coast of the Rhins, north of Dally Bay, is just a few metres from the mainland. The main islet is mostly bare rock but there is some typical maritime vegetation and a small amount of shingle on the protected eastern side. It is easily accessible on foot at low tides, but it is a relatively remote location and few people seem to visit. This isolation and the security provided by high tides encourage terns and Common Eider to breed, and Grey Seals *Halichoerus gryphus* haul out of the water there.

Ornithological significance. This is one of the few sites in the region where Common Eider breed, though only in very small numbers. In the past it held significant numbers of breeding terns (see table) but it has not been productive since the late 1990s. Terns are still often present but there is little or no evidence of breeding, e.g. in 1995 there were 16 Arctic Terns but only three nests (P.N. Collin). It is possible that the birds suffer from predation by foxes that cross over at low tide and any anglers basing themselves on the rocks for long periods could also have an adverse affect on breeding success.

Outlook. Little change is expected, though any increase in the number of human visitors would further reduce success.

	72	75	78	94	95	96	98	99	04
Common Tern	200		1-2	7	20	45	0	3	4
Arctic Tern			80	1	3	11	2	1	0
Sandwich Tern		36							

The Scar, Loch Ryan

Loch Ryan is a shallow sea loch that has been a Marine Consultation Area since 1989. On the west side of the loch, just south of Kirkcolm, is the Wig, a sheltered bay with a natural pebble and shingle spit, almost devoid of vegetation, extending southwards on the eastern side. In recent years the Scar, as the spit is known, has suffered from erosion, due in part to the wash created by the high-speed Northern Ireland ferry service. The Scar is smaller and less stable than formerly and is now probably 25% of the size it was twenty years ago. Ferry operators now co-operate by reducing speed during high tide periods but the Scar is still occasionally inundated at high tides during stormy weather. A sign erected at the north end of the spit asks people not to visit the islet during the breeding season.



Figure 7 The Scar, Loch Ryan

Ornithological significance. In recent years the Scar has been the only significant coastal breeding site for terns in the whole of Dumfries and Galloway, and the only one that could boast a few pairs of Little Terns. It is also a site where both Common Eiders and Red-breasted Mergansers can be seen with young.

Outlook. If erosion continues the Scar may become untenable as a site for breeding seabirds. These erosion processes would be costly to combat so a less expensive solution might be to construct an artificial island for the birds. This could have the advantage of being further offshore and therefore less accessible to land predators and less likely to be disturbed by humans.

The Scar: Pairs of breeding birds

	68	74	79	81	84	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94
Oystercatcher														
Little Tern	1	2	4	3	1	1	3	3	4	9	9	7	5	3
Common Tern						32	25		27	30	32	41	20-30	9
Arctic Tern							35		8	18	23	27	25	20
Common or Arctic Tern							25			50				
Sandwich Tern						2	2	2			14	13	35	59
Black-h Gull											3	15	17	40

	95	96	97	98	99	00	01*	02	03	04	05
Oystercatcher										1	2
Little Tern	2-3	0	1	2-3	1-2 birds			3 birds			1 bird
Common Tern	12	17	7	15	12	22			0	8	13
Arctic Tern	21	12	14	25	22	32		15	12	12	2
Common or Arctic Tern								10			100
Sandwich Tern	80	19	30	120	70	96		30	26	45	10
Black-h Gull		36			46	25-30				6	6

* no records due to foot and mouth disease access restrictions.

DISCUSSION

Although the Solway islands are small and few in number they show a remarkable diversity in habitat and breeding bird populations; ranging from Ardwall Isle with a high proportions of scrub and woodland that enjoys a surprisingly rich passerine community, to the Scares, that are bare rocks frequented almost exclusively by seabirds. On each island, the bird species composition and numbers are changing as habitats are modified by management (or lack of), and as bird populations fluctuate locally and nationally due to a variety of factors. Most noticeable has been the unfortunate loss of a number of tern colonies, counterbalanced by the long term increase in the numbers of breeding gulls and Gannets. There have been some massive declines at some of the larger gull colonies in Northern Ireland and on Ailsa Craig, thought to be associated with botulism and the closure or changes in the management of landfill sites (P.N.Collin) but such events have not greatly affected the gulls on the Solway islands so far.

Changes in seabird numbers on the islands need to be interpreted with caution. Long-term *trends* may reflect trends within the Irish Sea populations but short term fluctuations mean very little because some species are highly mobile when it comes to choosing breeding sites and in some years may choose nearby headlands or travel further afield within the Solway. Several of the islands have nearby cliffs that offer better breeding ledges and it is not unusual, for example, for a Cormorant colony to alternate between

two or three sites, apparently at random, but perhaps due to disturbance or poor breeding success. Earlier surveys have linked these headland-island associations as one ecological unit, e.g. Hestan with Almorness Point and Balcary Point; Little Ross with Meikle Ross; and the Scares with the Mull of Galloway. This, however, ignores wider movements between such places as Hestan Island and Port O'Warren, and Craggleton and Murray's Isles. The only real way to examine the fluctuating numbers of the Solway seabird populations would be to have long term data on all the Galloway colonies as well as those elsewhere in the Solway, such as Rockcliffe Marsh and St Bees Head and to interpret them in the light of national trends.

Fulmars were first reported breeding in the area in 1932, at the Mull of Galloway, and this was followed by colonisation of many of the larger cliffs elsewhere on the mainland. Apart from the Scares there are no breeding records for Fulmars for the islands. Neither have there yet been any breeding records for Manx Shearwaters or storm-petrels, though they have been heard and seen in close proximity to the Galloway coast. It seems unlikely that they would ever become established because the Scares are not suitable and those islands that have easy access for humans are inevitably also accessible to ground predators such as Brown Rats *Rattus norvegicus*, Mink and Foxes *Vulpes vulpes*. Avian predators that take a slight toll on breeding birds, especially chicks and fledglings, include Buzzard, Peregrine and Raven. Peregrines have very occasionally bred on Little Ross as an alternative to Meikle Ross, and all the islands, even the Scares (where they have once been reported breeding), are well within range of local breeding Peregrines. Tawny Owls have been recorded on both Hestan Island (R&BM) and Little Ross Island (Douglas Molineux); they are not known to have bred but are perhaps temporarily drawn to the islands during the summer months by the easy availability of gull chicks.

Human disturbance on most of the islands is slight or negligible. Rough Island has the greatest number of visitors and though NTS discourages access to the island during the breeding season to protect breeding Ringed Plovers and Oystercatchers (and the remote possibility that terns will return to breed) people do still walk across or land from boats. Hestan Island seems to have an increasing number of visitors but the effects on breeding waders are thought to be slight and no worse than for many other parts of the Galloway coast.

The outlook for the islands is uncertain but ornithologically they are likely to remain only of local importance. Of most significance are the Scares where the Gannet population now comprises 1.3% of the Scottish population and 0.76% of the total population of east Atlantic Northern Gannets, that breed in the British Isles, Iceland, Norway, Germany and France etc (Wanless 2005a & b). The Gannet colony has changed remarkably since the day that the Rev McWilliam made his approach to the Scares in 1939 and suddenly saw three or four Gannets on the highest parts: 'We hardly thought it possible that they could be nesting ...' Just a few years later, he had the foresight to say that 'If these Gannets increase to a point they will occupy sections of the rock entirely by themselves ... other birds will have to go elsewhere' (McWilliam 1945).

Acknowledgements

This paper was made possible only by the generous support of a number of local naturalists who supplied records from their field notes or assisted in fieldwork: Mike Abery, Andrew Black, Mark Hannay, Keith Kirk, National Trust for Scotland Ranger Service (Karl Munday, Judy Baxter, Calum Murray and volunteers), William McMichael, Douglas Mollineux, Peter Norman, RSPB (Paul Collin, Chris Rollie), SNH (Andrew Bielinski), Tom Shannon, Geoff Sheppard, Derek and John Skilling, Jean Southall, Anna White and John G. Young.

Roddy Mavor supplied data from the Seabird Colony Register (Seabird Monitoring Programme, JNCC, Aberdeen). Those who contributed breeding records to the Register and to the Dumfries and Galloway Bird Reports are too numerous to mention individually. Chris Rollie gave us access to A.D. Watson's correspondence and notes that included J.G. Gordon's unpublished typescript on the birds of Wigtownshire (the seabird section is missing).

Particular thanks are due to Ken Bruce for making available his unpublished typescript on the breeding birds of the Solway Islands (up to 1984) upon which this paper is based. We greatly appreciate the assistance of Ken Bruce, Paul Collin, Mick Marquiss, Bryan Nelson and Derek Skilling who kindly read through all or part of the text of earlier drafts and provided helpful comments.

References

- Baxter, E.V. and Rintoul, L.J. 1953. *The Birds of Scotland*. Oliver & Boyd, Edinburgh.
- Bruce, K. c.1984. Unpublished typescript: 'Breeding Birds of the Solway Islands and adjacent mainland'.
- Crosbie, S.M. 1932. Heston Island (The green isle of the Solway). *The Gallovidian*, December, pp. 77-81.
- Dickson, R.C. 1992. *The Birds in Wigtownshire*. G.C. Book Publishers Ltd., Wigtown.
- Dumfries and Galloway Regional Bird Reports: 1985-90 (A.D. Watson), 1991-97 (P.N. Collin), 1998-2001 (P. Norman).
- Duncan, A.B. 1947-48. 'List of the Birds of the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright.' Parts I and II. *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society* 24: 129-143; 25: 44-68.
- Fisher, J. 1966. The Fulmar population of Britain and Ireland, 1959. *Bird Study* 13: 5-76.
- Gordon, J.G. circa 1930. Unpublished typescript on the birds of Wigtownshire (lacking the seabirds).
- Gray, R. and Anderson, T. 1869. *The Birds of Ayrshire and Wigtownshire*. Glasgow.
- Gray, R. 1871. *The Birds of the West of Scotland including the Outer Hebrides*. Glasgow.
- Maxwell, J.H. (Ed). 1884. 'The Natural History of Kirkcudbrightshire.' [Birds, pp. 143-149]. *Maxwell's Guide Book to the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright* (4th edn). Castle Douglas.
- McWilliam, J.M. 1945. Birds of the Scar Rocks. The Wigtownshire Gannetry. *Transactions of the Buteshire Natural History Society* 13: 1-11.
- Murray, S., Wanless, S., and Harris, M.P. 2006. 'The status of the Northern Gannet in Scotland in 2003-04.' *Scottish Birds* 26: 17-29.
- National Trust for Scotland annual reports for their Dumfries & Galloway properties, unpublished.
- Nelson, B. 1978. *The Gannet*. T & A D Poyser, Berkamstead.
- North Solway Ringing Group. 1973. 'Breeding Birds of the Solway Islands.' *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, vol L, pp. 1-17.

- Scott, B.M. no date, c.2003. *On a Galloway Island* [Hestan Island]. Privately printed.
- Service, R. 1902. 'The Vertebrate Zoology of Kirkcudbrightshire' [Birds, pp. 199-210]. *Guidebook to the Stewartry of Kirkcudbrightshire* (7th edn). Castle Douglas.
- Smith, R.W.J. 1969. Scottish Cormorant Colonies. *Scottish Birds* 5: 363-378.
- Thomas, C. 1966. 'Ardwall Isle: the excavation of an early Christian site of Irish type, 1964-5'. *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, vol XLIII, pp. 84-116.
- Wanless, S., Murray, S., Evans, S., and Harris, M.P. 2005a. Scottish Gannet Survey 2004. SNH Commissioned Report F04AC301.
- Wanless, S., Murray, S., and Harris, M.P. 2005b. The Status of the Northern Gannet in Britain and Ireland in 2003-04. *British Birds* 98: 280-294.
- Watson, A.D. and Young, J.G. 1967. 'North Solway Bird Report, 1965.' *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society* 44: 6-14.
- Watson, A.D. and Young, J.G. 1968. 'North Solway Bird Report No. 2 – 1966.' *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society* 45: 1-12.
- Watson, A.D. and Young, J.G. 1970. 'North Solway Bird Report No. 2 – 1967-1968.' *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society* 47: 27-43.
- Young, J.G. 1968. 'Birds of the Scar Rocks – the Wigtownshire Gannetry.' *Scottish Birds* 5: 204-208.

PALAEOENVIRONMENTAL INVESTIGATIONS
OF RISPAIN MIRE, WHITHORN

Susan Ramsay¹, Jennifer J. Miller¹ and Rupert A. Housley²

Summary

On behalf of the Whithorn Trust, and with support from Historic Scotland, a palaeoenvironmental study was carried out on a wet fen/mire located 400 m south of Rispain Camp, an Iron Age site in Galloway. The investigation revealed a good late-glacial and early-mid Holocene vegetational record but a rather compressed late Holocene sequence. The early post-glacial landscape around Rispain was dominated by Empetrum heath and herb-rich grassland. As the climate improved, first Betula, then Corylus dominated woodland colonised the area, followed by Quercus and Ulmus as additions to the canopy forming woodland flora. Alnus appears to have struggled to gain a significant local presence, only becoming important once human impact became an influential feature in the landscape. Unlike other parts of lowland Scotland, Pinus is well represented at Rispain which is in keeping with some other parts of Galloway. It is debatable whether Mesolithic woodland disturbance is discernible at Rispain however forest clearance is well documented in later periods although in this study the temporal resolution is low in the late Holocene. By the Iron Age the majority of the native woodland had been felled and the landscape was dominated by open pasture and arable cultivation.

Introduction

Rispain Mire (NGR NX 429 395) is a calcareous fen/mire situated in the upper reaches of Cherry Valley close to the southern edge of the South Machars in Galloway (fig. 1). Drainage is provided by the Ket, a watercourse that flows in a north-easterly direction close to the investigation site. The sampling locality is approximately 400 m south of the ditched enclosure of Rispain Camp; a locally well known archaeological monument last investigated by A. Haggarty and G. Haggarty (1983) in 1978-1981 and believed to date from the late Iron Age. Rispain Mire is also c. 1.5 km west of the town of Whithorn, noted for its early Christian historical links and preserved early medieval archaeological remains (Hill 1997; Clarke 1997). The geographical proximity of these two centres of late prehistoric and early historical settlement was an important factor in the choice of the locality as a site for palaeoenvironmental study.

Initial reconnaissance started in March 2000 when one of the authors (RAH) made some exploratory cores in the area to ascertain whether organic sediments survived suitable for palaeoenvironmental investigation. The results demonstrated that in comparison with other sampled localities, Rispain Mire was the most promising of the sites tested due to the comparatively greater depth of preserved organic sedimentation (>2 m) and its geographical setting. Hand coring and field description of the sediments

1 GUARD, University of Glasgow, Gregory Building, Lilybank Gardens, Glasgow G12 8QQ, UK

2 Department of Archaeology, University of Glasgow, Gregory Building, Lilybank Gardens, Glasgow G12 8QQ, UK

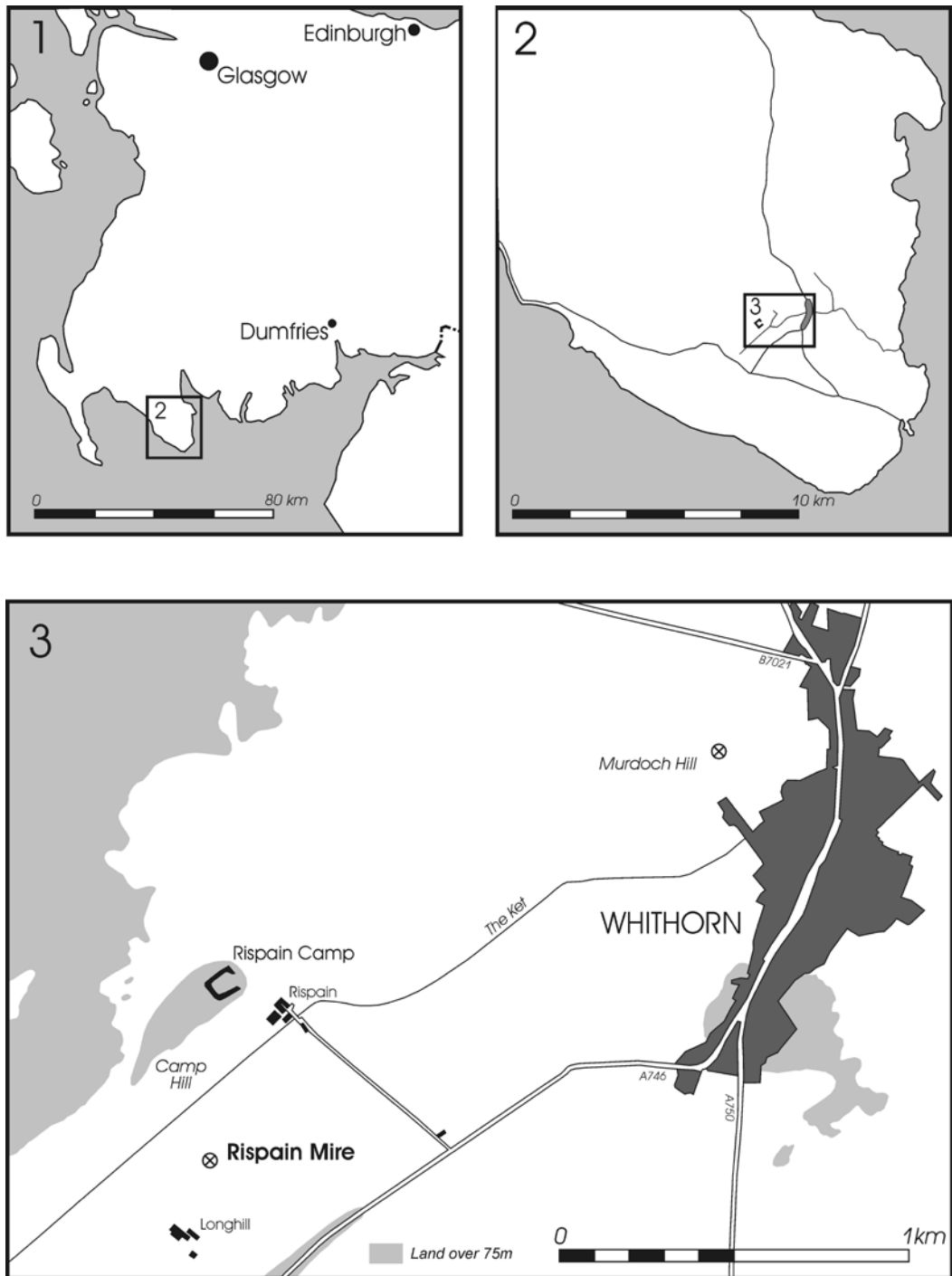


Figure 1 Map showing the location of Rispair Mire in relation to other sites and features discussed in the text

revealed 1.65 m of dark reddish-brown wood peat below the present day land surface at Rispain Mire, with a further 0.60 m of yellow sedge peat underlying (1.65-2.25 m), before yellow silt (2.25-2.67 m) and blue-grey clay (2.67-3.00 m) were encountered. A radiometric ^{14}C age determination on bulk peat from a depth of 1.85-2.00 m (GU-8975: 10540 ± 170 BP, 2σ : 11770-12970 cal BP) showed that organic sedimentation had begun in the late-glacial period. Although peat accumulation could have ceased in later times, or may have been lost through peat cutting or erosion, the location was right spatially for a palaeoenvironmental investigation and so work commenced in 2002.

Financial backing for the study was provided by Historic Scotland by way of a grant to the Whithorn Trust. The investigation formed part of a wider research programme initiated by the Research Committee of the Whithorn Trust which aims to investigate the hinterland outside the 'core' of the medieval priory and the adjacent Northumbrian site. Evaluations by Headland Archaeology (Lowe 2001; Morrison 2001) in the hinterland around Whithorn, and analogous excavations at the Early Historic monastic site of Hoddom (Lowe 1991), had suggested that well developed and highly regulated suites of buildings with specific activities (corn-drying kilns, barns, stables and buildings for other ancillary purposes) may have existed beyond the core of the monastery and been maintained for considerable periods. The purpose of this study was twofold: (1) to extend the hinterland study beyond the 300 m radius adopted by the trial trenching evaluation programme; and (2) to provide time depth to the evaluation by extending the chronological range over which human-environment interactions are examined, thereby including the centuries prior to the establishment of Christianity in south-west Scotland.

Field Sampling

In August 2002 investigation re-commenced when a new core was taken from the mire. A large diameter Russian hand peat corer was used since the larger chamber would provide sufficient material for a joint study involving plant macrofossil, pollen and AMS radiocarbon dating. The pilot study had shown that sediments below *c.* 1.9 m were late-glacial and since the study was focused on human-environment interactions it was deemed not necessary to recover material from below this point. Sampling was confined to the upper 2.08 m of the mire and subsequent analysis focused on the top 1.28 m of the core. To compensate for any disturbance caused by the process of coring, a separate 12 cm top block of peat was removed for study in the laboratory.

As the new core was made, the modern surface vegetation in the vicinity of the coring site was examined. This showed that Juncaceae, Poaceae and Cyperaceae together with significant amounts of *Filipendula ulmaria* dominated the surface of the mire, supplemented by lesser amounts of other flowering plants such as *Lychnis flos-cuculi*, *Potentilla anserine*, *Geum rivale*, *Lotus pedunculatus* and several species of Apiaceae. This information gave useful clues and aided interpretation of the upper part of the peat column.

Methodology and Results

Sampling of the core involved division into 1 cm thick slices that were stored in plastic bags in a cold room at 4°C prior to analysis. During this process the stratigraphy was

analysed and the degree of humification, organic and mineral content and presence of macroscopic plant remains were all noted (for results, see table 1). Samples selected for study were split, 2 cm³ were used for pollen, and the remaining material was given over to plant macrofossil analysis.

Depth	Description
0-8 cm	very humified organic material with modern roots
8-16 cm	very humified yellow/brown peat and silt
16-23 cm	moderately humified yellow/brown peat
23-33 cm	unhumified Sphagnum peat
33-68 cm	slightly humified bryophyte/monocot peat
68-104 cm	moderately humified yellow/brown peat and silt
104-118 cm	yellow/brown silty clay containing plant macrofossils
118-129 cm	dark brown silty clay containing plant macrofossils
129-131 cm	grey/brown clay silt
131-159 cm	brown silty clay containing plant macrofossils
159-175 cm	grey/brown silty clay containing plant macrofossils
175-197 cm	blue/grey soft clay
197-208 cm	yellow/grey compacted clay containing yellow bands

Table 1: The peat stratigraphy as recorded in the laboratory whilst the core is sampled for pollen and plant macrofossil remains

Pollen

Pollen was initially analysed from 4 cm vertical intervals in the core but the degree of compression in the upper part of the core necessitated a finer level of analysis and so additional samples at 2 cm intervals were included subsequently. Preparation of the pollen followed the procedures of Moore *et al.* (1991), with a hydrofluoric acid treatment being applied where the mineral content required it. The concentrated pollen samples were stained with safranin, dehydrated with tertiary butyl alcohol and mounted in silicone oil prior to preparation of microscope slides.

At least 500 identifiable pollen grains were counted from each level using an Olympus CH30 microscope at x400 magnification, with x1000 for critical determinations. Identification was by reference to Moore *et al.* (1991) and to the Northwest European Pollen Flora volumes 1-6 (Punt 1976-1991). All critical determinations were checked against the University of Glasgow pollen reference collection. Nomenclature follows Moore *et al.* (1991) apart from the Ranunculaceae and Polygonaceae where further determination was carried out using the Northwest European Pollen Flora keys. The category "Coryloid" is used for grains that may either be *Corylus* or *Myrica* although in this study it is thought that the majority will have originated from *Corylus*. Cereal-type pollen grains were distinguished from other Poaceae by having a grain size >37 µm and an

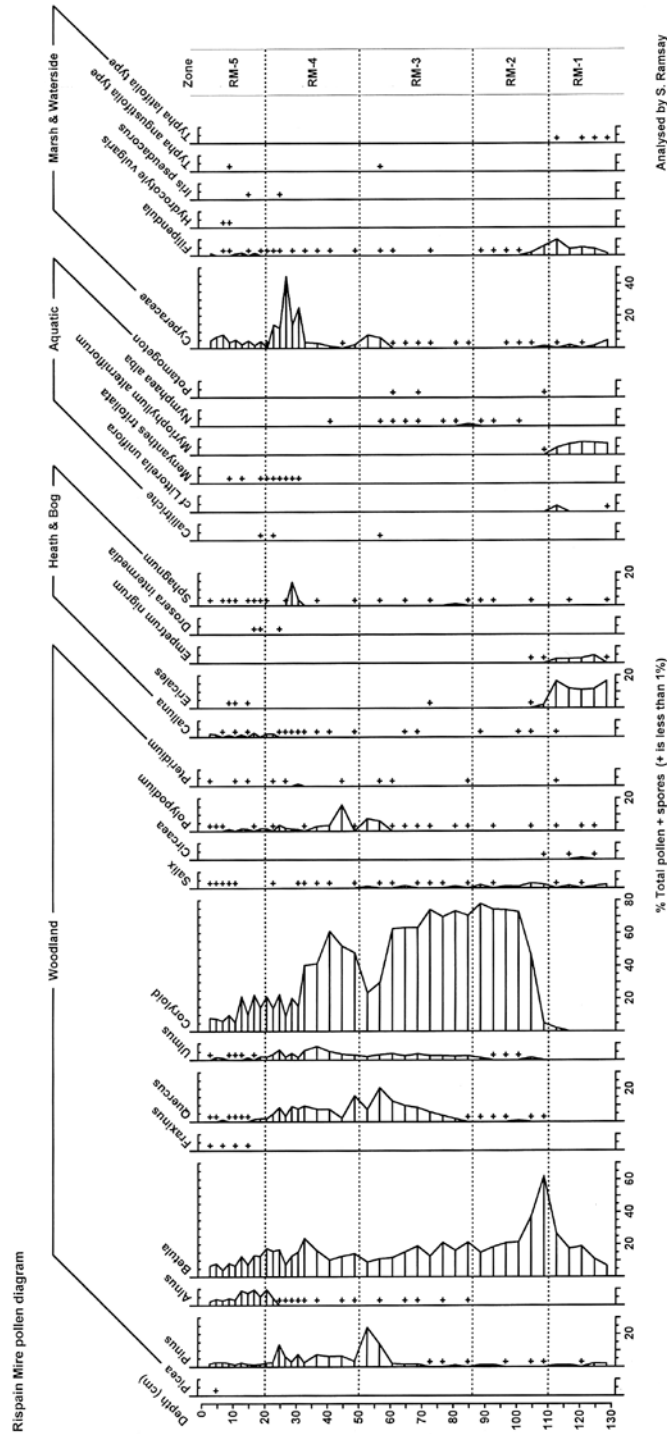
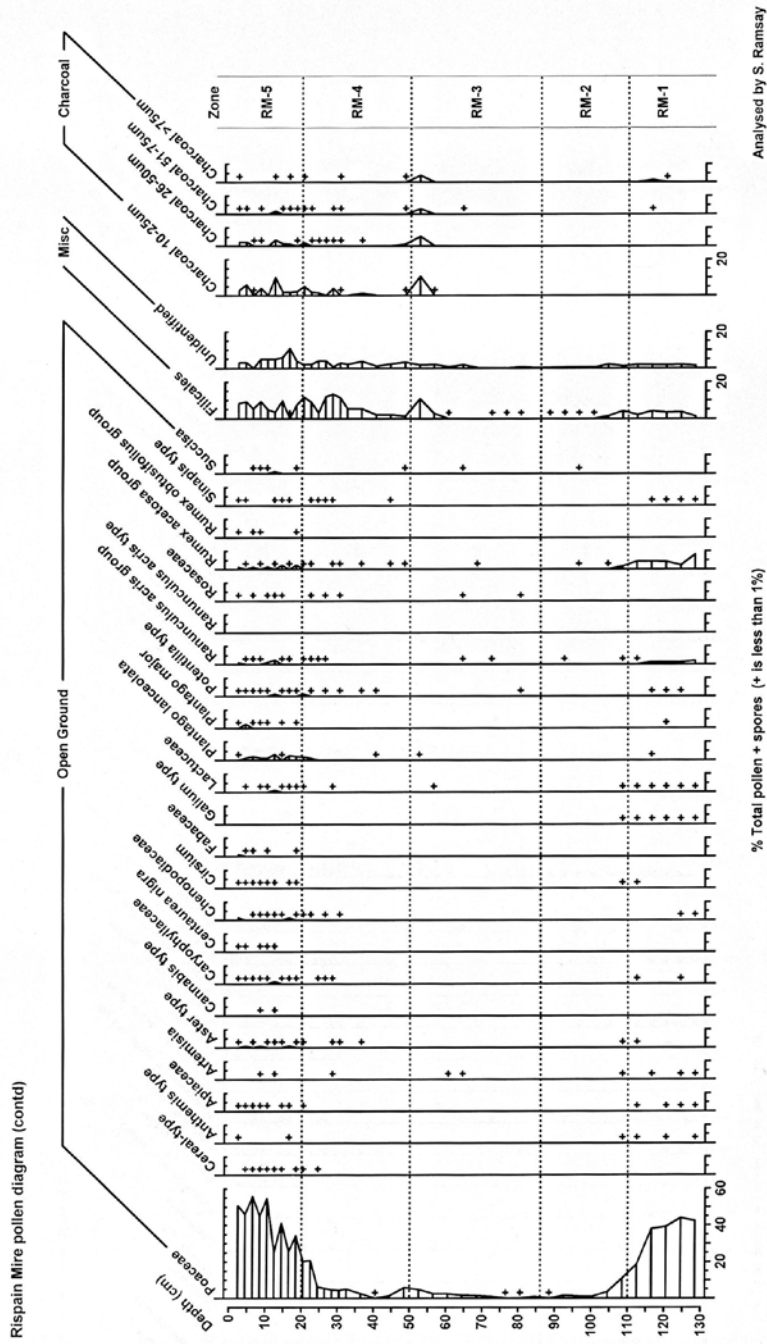


Figure 2: Pollen diagram from Rispain Mire: woodland, heath & bog, aquatic, marsh & waterside taxa.



Analysed by S. Ramsay

Figure 2: Pollen diagram from Rispain Mire: open ground, habitat indeterminate taxa, miscellaneous and charcoal.

annulus diameter of $>8 \mu\text{m}$. Vascular plant nomenclature follows Stace (1997). Broken, crumpled, corroded and otherwise unidentifiable pollen grains were recorded during the counts to give information on the general state of pollen preservation. The analyst on the pollen study was Susan Ramsay.

Microscopic charcoal particles $>10 \mu\text{m}$ were counted on the pollen slides and assigned to the size categories suggested by Tipping (1995), i.e. with the longest axis length of 10-25 μm , 26-50 μm , 51-75 μm and $>75 \mu\text{m}$.

The pollen diagram (**fig. 2**) was produced using the TILIA and TILIA.GRAPH computer programs (Grimm 1991). A few sparse records have been omitted. Individual pollen taxa have been expressed as a percentage of the total pollen sum (TP) and all pollen and spores are included in this sum. Charcoal counts have been expressed as percentages of the total pollen. To facilitate interpretation, the pollen diagram has been divided into five vegetation assemblage zones that have been designated RM-1 to RM-5 (**table 2**).

All the cereal-type pollen grains that were encountered during routine pollen counting were carefully measured, following the criteria of Andersen (1979) and additional notes by Dickson (1988), in order to provide additional information regarding the types of cereal crops that may have been grown in the vicinity of Rispain Mire.

Table 2: Description of the pollen and plant macrofossil vegetation assemblage zones

Depth	Zone	Vegetation characteristics
0-21 cm	RM-5	Significant woodland clearance and increase in agriculture. Cereal-type pollen consistently present. Coring locality was wet mire.
21-50 cm	RM-4	Slight reduction in woodland with corresponding increase in grassland taxa. Coring locality was dry land during much of this zone.
50-86 cm	RM-3	<i>Quercus</i> and <i>Ulmus</i> become significant components of regional woodland. <i>Pinus</i> peaks at the top of the zone. Coring locality was a lake.
86-110 cm	RM-2	Rapid woodland expansion dominated by <i>Betula</i> and <i>Corylus</i> . Coring locality was a relatively deep lake.
110-130 cm	RM-1	Species-rich heath and grassland with low-growing woody shrubs. Coring locality was a shallow lake.

Plant Macrofossils

The same sample depths used for the pollen study were also subjected to plant macrofossil analysis. The samples were disaggregated in water and the silt and clay content assessed before being passed through a 150 μm mesh sieve, which removed the clay, fine silt and smaller organic matter thereby facilitating the recovery of identifiable plant remains.

The retained material was analysed immediately to prevent fungal contamination, with significant finds being stored in a preservative solution of glycerine, ethanol and formalin.

The plant macrofossil remains were sorted and identified using a Zeiss Stemi 2000-C microscope at magnifications of x4-x45. The cell patterns of problematic robust seeds were studied at x200 using the reflected light of a Zenith Metam P-1 metallurgical microscope. Very small seeds and translucent vegetative remains were mounted on slides in glycerine jelly for examination at magnifications of x100 and x400. Exact counts for all seeds were recorded, and a semi-quantitative assessment was made of vegetative remains using the scheme devised by Wells *et al.* (1997). Identification was facilitated by the Glasgow University reference collection and the following reference works: Beijerinck (1947), Jermy *et al.* (1982), Körber-Grohne (1991), Schweingruber (1990) and Watson (1981). Vascular plant nomenclature follows Stace (1997).

Abbreviation	Plant part
bds	bud and/or budscale
brk	bark
cap	capsule
cat	catkin
cns	cone scale
lef	leaf epidermis fragment
lsh	leaf and/or shoot (mosses)
lvs	leaf
mgs	megaspore
oog	oogonium
per	perianth
pro	propagule (seed)
rhi	rhizome or root
scl	fungal sclerotium
sef	stem epidermis fragment
stm	stem fragment
utr	utricle
wwd	waterlogged wood

Table 3: Abbreviations used in figure 3 for plant macrofossil parts

Vegetative remains and seeds were recorded on a 5-point scale of relative abundance (after Wells *et al.* 1997) to facilitate comparison with the pollen diagram. The macrofossil diagram (**fig. 3**) shows all component parts identified for each taxon added together to facilitate interpretation. The types of plant remains recorded for each taxon are given in the diagram as a three-letter abbreviation, after the ABCD database (Tomlinson & Hall

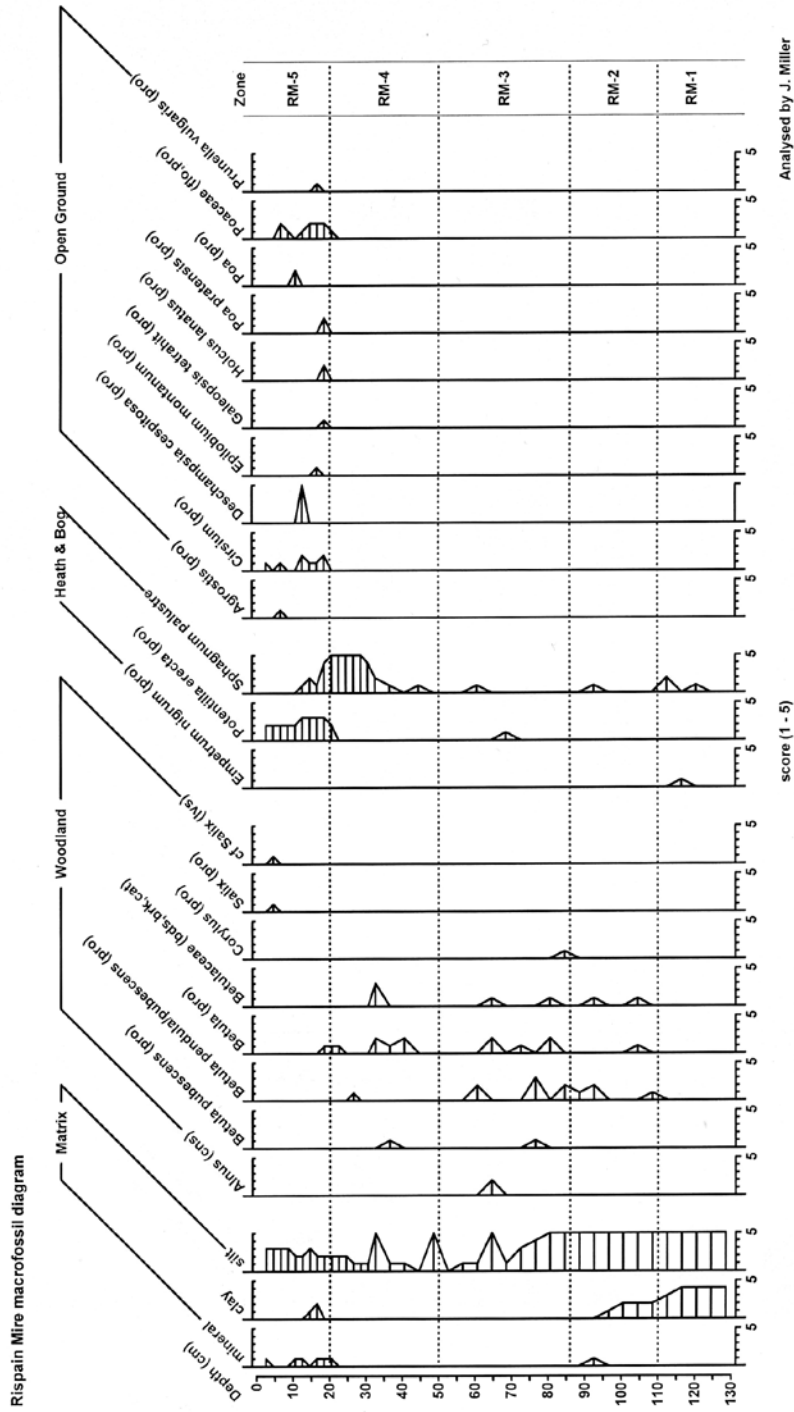


Figure 3: Plant macrofossil diagram from Rispain Mire: sedimentary matrix, woodland, heath & bog, and open ground taxa.

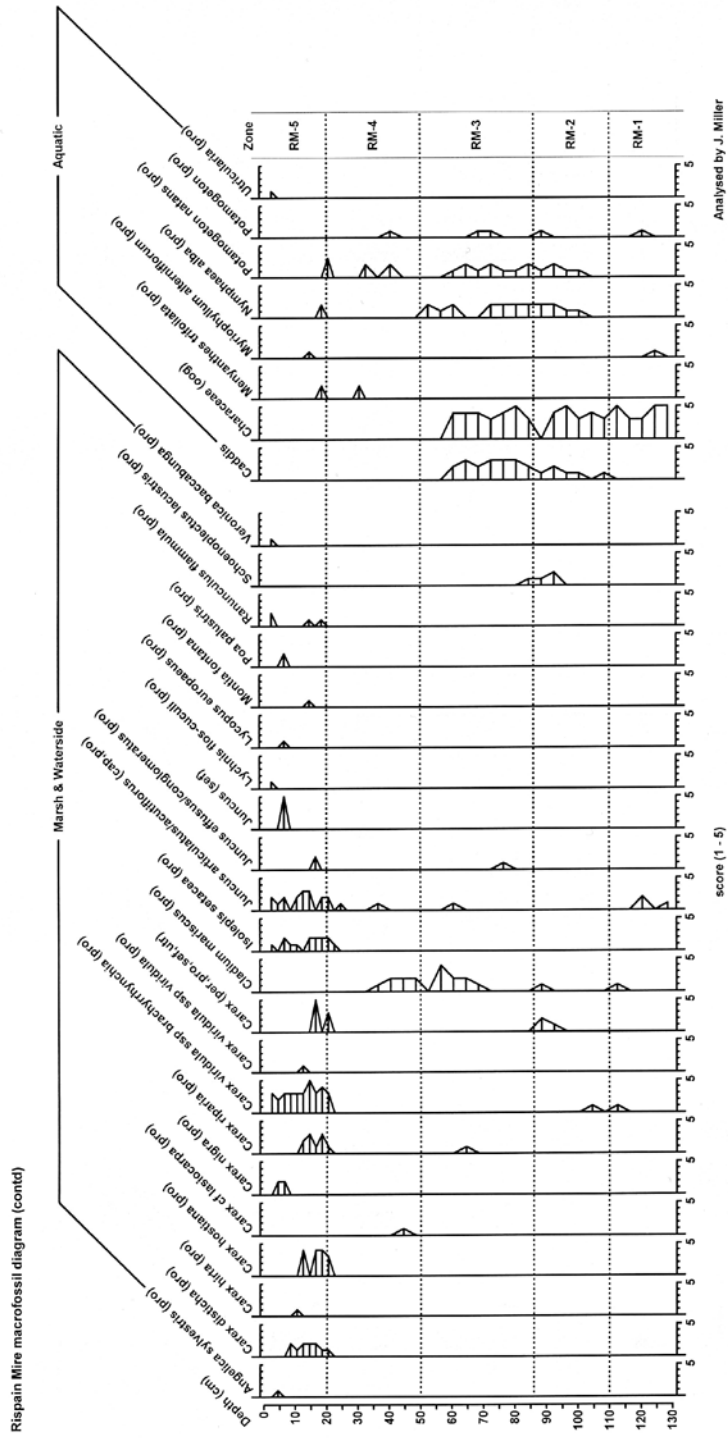


Figure 3: Plant macrofossil diagram from Rispain Mire: marsh & waterside, and aquatic taxa.

1996) and a summary of these codes is given in **table 3**. The macrofossil diagram is divided into the same five vegetation assemblage zones (RM-1 to RM-5) as the pollen diagram. The analyst on the plant macrofossil study was Jennifer Miller.

The identified pollen types and plant macrofossils were assigned to particular habitat categories. The selection of the habitat classification for each taxon was governed by the type of habitat in which the plant is primarily found. This was only possible when the taxon was identifiable to species, or to a genus with species of similar habitat requirements. It was more problematic to assign habitats to pollen taxa than to macrofossils, since pollen types often contain several genera, which may have widely differing habitat requirements. The habitat categories selected for each taxon are not deemed to be either exclusive or absolute, but are those which appear to be the most suitable for each specific case. Habitat classification was assigned by reference to Aichele (1992), Clapham (1987), Hubbard (1968), Grime (1990), Jermy *et al* (1982), Stace (1997) and Watson (1981).

Radiocarbon Dating

Material for AMS ^{14}C dating, in this instance monocotyledonous plant fragments, came from the macrofossil samples. Six samples were selected to provide an independent chronology for the vegetational changes. The depths chosen for dating was primarily based on significant changes in the sediment or taxon composition, although some attention was focused on the need to spread the samples through the column. The age determinations were made courtesy of Historic Scotland's radiocarbon dating service using the SUERC Laboratory (for results, see **table 4**). The pre-treated targets were dated at the University of Arizona's AMS facility at Tucson. The 2 sigma (95% confidence) calibrated age ranges were determined using the University of Oxford Radiocarbon Accelerator Unit computer program OxCal v3.8 (Bronk Ramsey 1995, 2001). The conventional radiometric date obtained from the 2000 pilot study is also given here for reference. The rate of accumulation assumes constant sedimentation between the measured points and has been used to infer the age of events elsewhere in the column.

A further radiometric ^{14}C date (GU-8974: 9600 ± 110 BP) was obtained on a sample of humic acids from peat recovered at 1.41-1.51 m depth in an abandoned watercourse channel below Murdoch Hill, Whithorn (NGR NX 443 405). However, early in the project the decision to concentrate resources on Rispain Mire was taken and so no further work was undertaken on this locality. The location of this sampling site, within c. 100 m of the postulated outer enclosure boundary of the medieval priory at Whithorn, would potentially make it of archaeological interest, although the overall accumulation rate is no better than the rate encountered at Rispain Mire.

Lab codes	Sample material	Dated Fraction	Depth	$\delta^{13}\text{C}$ (per mil)	^{14}C age (yrs BP)	2σ calibrated age range (cal BP)	Accumulation Rate (yrs/cm)
AA-54901 (GU-10850)	Monocot. fragments	Humin	12-13 cm	-27.2	95 ± 35	0 - 280	261 393 256 37 39 23
AA-54900 (GU-10849)	Monocot. fragments	Humin	20-21 cm	-28.1	2220 ± 40	2120 - 2340	
AA-54899 (GU-10848)	Monocot. fragments	Humin	24-25 cm	-26.2	3530 ± 40	3690 - 3910	
AA-54898 (GU-10847)	Monocot. fragments	Humin	40-41 cm	-27.4	7080 ± 55	7770 - 8010	
AA-54897 (GU-10846)	Monocot. fragments	Humin	52-53 cm	-26.0	7585 ± 55	8200 - 8460	
AA-54896 (GU-10845)	Monocot. fragments	Humin	104-105 cm	-23.1	9170 ± 55	10210 - 10490	
GU-8975	Peat	Humic acid	185-200 cm	-22.5	10540 ± 170	11770 - 12970	

Table 4: Radiocarbon age determinations from the pilot investigations and from the study site chosen for subsequent palaeo-environmental investigation. The rate of accumulation is obtained by taking the difference of the means of neighbouring calibrated age ranges and dividing it by the number of centimetres of core that separate the dated samples. For example, the peat accumulation rate in the 20.5 and 12.5 cm section of the core is $(2230-140) / (20.5-12.5) = 261$ years/cm. The accumulation rate is a useful measure of the chronological resolution of the vegetation record and demonstrates that whilst there is reasonable resolution in the late-glacial and early-mid post-glacial periods, at Rispain it is poor for the latter part of the post-glacial.

Discussion: the local environment

Combined pollen and plant macrofossil studies are advantageous for they often allow local vegetational changes in close proximity to the sampling site to be distinguished from those taking place more distantly. The developments close to the sampling point will be examined in this section. The vegetation zones (RM-1 to RM-5) provide a useful structure to this discussion and are based on both the pollen and the plant macrofossil analyses.

Zone RM-1 (130-110 cm) c. 10 900-10 500 cal BP

This zone begins in the early post-glacial period. It shows a landscape dominated by grassland, with significant levels of herbs (particularly *Filipendula*, *Ranunculus acris* group and *Rumex acetosa* group) and heaths, especially *Empetrum nigrum*. In this period the sampling site on the present day mire is thought to have been under shallow standing water, with both the pollen and macrofossil records showing a range of aquatic taxa and the matrix composition indicating that clay was abundant. The lake was colonised by *Myriophyllum alterniflorum* (indicating the water was base-poor) and *Potamogeton*, whilst there is evidence for the fringing vegetation being dominated by *Filipendula ulmaria*. Within this zone the only trees or shrubs present are *Betula* and *Salix*, both of which could be indicative of dwarf shrubs characteristic of tundra vegetation (e.g. *Betula nana*, *Salix*

herbacea), of taller, canopy-forming species, or of a combination of the two vegetation types.

Zone RM-2 (110-86 cm) c. 10 500-9650 cal BP

Zone RM-2 is also characterised by relatively deep standing water, with *Potamogeton natans* and *Nymphaea alba* appearing for the first time in this period. Caddis larvae also first appear at this point, and Characeae oospores continue to have a significant presence. This zone is thought to represent the continuation of climatic warming, with a significant peak in *Betula* pollen, in this case the remains are believed to represent tree birches, since macrofossil remains of *Betula pendula/pubescens* were found in the sediment throughout this zone. This period sees a very rapid expansion in woodland, with *Corylus* soon replacing *Betula* as the dominant woodland type. Once well-established, *Corylus* maintains this dominance throughout the zone. *Quercus* and *Ulmus* appear at the beginning of RM-2, but maintain only trace levels throughout. Open areas of herb-rich grassland and heath decline sharply in RM-2, a consequence of the woodland expansion. The progressive reduction in clay levels recorded highlights the general stabilisation of soils on the slopes surrounding the sampling point, as a result, at least in part, of woodland colonisation.

Zone RM-3 (86-54 cm) c. 9650-8250 cal BP

Open standing water is attested on the sampling site in this zone, with the macrofossil assemblage showing little significant change to the situation prevailing in RM-2. However, increased levels of *Cladium mariscus* in this zone would suggest a higher base status to the water than in the two preceding periods. The pollen assemblage shows a gradual replacement of *Corylus* dominated woodland by *Quercus* and *Ulmus*, although *Corylus* is still maintained at significant levels. The presence of *Ilex* in this zone is another indicator of mature, closed canopy woodland. *Alnus* also appears at the beginning of this zone, but never rises above trace levels; a possible reason for this being that alder is competitively inferior to most of the trees that already would have colonised the area and so the taxon may not have been able to consolidate its position when there was little environmental disturbance taking place. Towards the end of this zone the woodland is at its post-glacial maximum and there is a significant peak in *Pinus*, suggesting a definite local presence by this time.

Zone RM-4 (54-22 cm) c. 8250-3100 cal BP

Around 50-54 cm it was noted that the sediment was very dry and compacted in its structure, with abundant fungal hyphae apparent on the pollen slides and no identifiable plant macrofossils. Consequently, the peak in *Pinus* pollen may reflect drying of the mire surface and local colonisation by pine, although the absence of macrofossils prevents clear verification of this. This part of the zone also shows a general reduction in aquatic taxa, although *Potamogeton natans* soon returns and *Menyanthes trifoliata* makes a first

appearance towards the top of the zone, suggesting a return to wetter conditions by the end of this period. In terms of the woodland elements to the flora, there is generally a slight reduction towards the top of the zone, although Coryloid pollen shows a marked decrease during this period. The first elm decline may be seen at 32-30 cm. This general reduction in woodland components may have resulted in a return to wetter conditions within the localised sampling area.

Zone RM-5 (22-0 cm) c. 3100-0 cal BP

Zone RM-5 shows a most marked decline in woodland, with *Quercus* and *Ulmus* being reduced to trace levels. Only *Alnus* shows any increase, which may be a local event although no macrofossils of *Alnus* were identified from this zone. For the first time, *Fraxinus* appears, and maintains a trace presence throughout this zone.

One notable event in this zone is the massive increase in Poaceae pollen, with cereal type, including both *Hordeum* and *Avena/Triticum* groups, recorded throughout the zone. There is also a marked increase in the diversity of arable and pastoral herbs, especially *Plantago lanceolata*, *Rumex acetosa* group and Asteraceae. There is also a continued and increasing presence of charcoal, especially of the 10-25µm-fragment size category, suggesting increased activities involving fire, perhaps domestic, at some distance from the site. All of these events are linked to the increasing presence of human occupation in the area, including both pastoral and arable agriculture.

The plant macrofossil diagram sees the first appearance of a diverse set of open ground taxa in this zone, confirming the picture of increased agricultural activity which the pollen presents. The dramatic increase in the many marsh and waterside plants points to the development of wet mire environment, which seems to persist to the present day. However, on the 1st edition O.S. map of the area, surveyed in 1849, the land between Camp Hill (upon which Rispain Camp is sited, marked as Roman Camp) and Horse Isles (i.e. Longhill on the modern O.S. map) is crossed by, what appears to be, a series of six or seven drainage ditches. Clearly if there was an attempt to drain the mire it did not ultimately succeed, however there is evidence for such a process in the peat accumulation profile. The estimated peat accumulation rate between the present day surface of the mire and the first ¹⁴C sample at 12.5 cm depth is 11 years/cm, a figure much higher than that for the preceding part of the peat column (261 years/cm). It could well be that this cartographically recorded drainage attempt had a detrimental effect on the uppermost deposits and some of the difficulties in this study are a consequence.

Discussion: the regional environment

Early Holocene environment

As already outlined the basal part of the examined sequence at Rispain, i.e. vegetation zone RM-1, would appear to correlate with the early post-glacial period. The pollen shows a species-rich grassland (including herbs like *Filipendula*, *Ranunculus acris* group and *Rumex acetosa* group) was established in the area following the retreat of the ice sheets and

a slight warming in climate. Although in this period there is a significant representation in *Betula* it is likely to comprise mostly dwarf shrubby birches rather than tree forming species. It is equally probable that dwarf *Salix* were also present. High values for heathland taxa, particularly *Empetrum nigrum* are often seen in Scottish pollen diagrams at this time. However there is no evidence at Rispain for the presence of *Juniperus*, which frequently accompanies this heathland vegetation. It may be that the local conditions were not conducive to its growth. Comparison with other sites in south-west Scotland suggest that this open heath and grassland dominated landscape persisted until c. 11 000-10 600 cal BP (Tipping 1995), which is not greatly at odds with the Rispain evidence where a date of 10 500 cal BP may be suggested for the expansion of tree forming birches which replaced the heath and grassland communities.

Native Woodland

The arrival and establishment of native woodland taxa is a theme that encompasses vegetation zones RM-2 to RM-5, marking as it does the arrival of tree canopy forming *Betula* and *Corylus* in zone RM-2; the appearance of more thermophilous trees such as *Ulmus* and *Quercus* around the RM-2/RM-3 zone boundary; the rise of *Pinus* to significant levels locally late in zone RM-3; the exceptionally late establishment of *Alnus* as a major component of wet woodland near the end of zone RM-4; and the minor presence of *Fraxinus* and *Picea* in RM-5, the final vegetation assemblage zone. The pattern of woodland colonisation at Rispain Mire both reinforces the picture from other analogous investigation sites in the south-west of Scotland but also in some instances contrasts with the recorded situation elsewhere.

The first significant increase in woodland taxa occurs at the beginning of zone RM-2 with *Betula*, followed by *Corylus*, becoming dominant. This initial rise in *Betula* is dated to c. 10 800 cal BP at Burnfoothill Moss (Tipping 1995) and 10 900 cal BP at Bigholm Burn (Moar 1969). At Rispain the rise in *Betula* occurs around 10 500 cal BP. Macrofossil finds of *Betula pendula/pubescens* within the sediment core confirm that tree birches were, indeed, present at this time and probably growing in woodland surrounding the shallow lake.

The abrupt rise in *Corylus* indicates a further amelioration in the climate and, from the very high percentages of Coryloid pollen in this zone it would appear that *Corylus* may have formed almost pure woodland stands on areas with more fertile soils. The post-glacial rise in *Corylus* in south-west Scotland was discussed extensively by Boyd and Dickson (1986) and Birks (1989) who showed that this taxon has a complex history in this area. However, there is broad agreement that the first dramatic increase in *Corylus* pollen seen in most pollen diagrams from this region can be dated to c. 9500 – 10 000 cal BP, although sites in the west tend to show an earlier expansion of *Corylus* (Edwards and Whittington 1997, fig. 5.2). Rispain, as a more westerly site, conforms to this observed patterning in that the rise can be placed around c. 10 350 cal BP. Tipping's (1995, 1997) explanation of the discrepancies in dates for the *Corylus* rise in this area, that the dry climate caused low peat accumulation rates and hence inaccuracies in radiocarbon dating of this vegetation event, may be right elsewhere but at Rispain Mire no such problem is evident, for the peat

accumulation rate in this part of the core (39 years/cm) is reasonable indicating a degree of confidence in the timing of this vegetation event. It is worth emphasizing the rapidity of the process that allowed *Corylus* to replace *Betula* as the predominant tree taxon, for at Rispain it seems to have been completed in the space of 250 calendar years. To what extent this is typical is hard to say for low accumulation rates on other investigation sites would tend to lead to higher estimates.

The establishment of large tracts of woodland would have shaded out many of the herbaceous grassland taxa that previously had formed a significant part of the vegetation around Rispain Mire. Although there is minor evidence for *Quercus* and *Ulmus* during zone RM-2, it is not possible to ascertain whether this represents local colonisation by these taxa or whether they represent long distance transport of pollen grains from further south. However by the beginning of zone RM-3 both *Quercus* and *Ulmus* would appear to have become part of the native woodland of the Whithorn area. In the south-west of Scotland there is a wide spread of dates for this phase of woodland colonisation, e.g. Tipping (1997) suggested a date range of 9000-9500 cal BP for the colonisation by *Quercus* and *Ulmus*, although at Burnfoothill Moss he reported (Tipping 1995) a later date of around 8000 cal BP but this may be due to a hiatus or slowing in the peat growth at this site. At Burnfoothill Moss there was no evidence for *Ulmus* having preceded *Quercus* in colonising the area and a similar, contemporaneous appearance for these taxa is envisaged for Rispain Mire. In terms of timing the local arrival of *Ulmus* and *Quercus* at Rispain may be placed around c. 9400 cal BP.

The next major tree taxon which would be expected to have colonised the area is *Alnus*. However, although occasional grains of *Alnus* appear in the Rispain pollen diagram from zone RM-3, the taxon never seems to develop beyond a trace level before RM-4/RM-5, around 3900-3100 cal BP. The history of *Alnus* in Scotland, and Britain as a whole, is complex with the individual site characteristics seeming to be of much greater importance in the timing of the *Alnus* rise than for most other tree types. At Rispain Mire it may be that *Alnus* was restricted to a very limited habitat type, with environmental conditions in the wider area unsuitable for its establishment or through the effects of competition from other species. It is not until after 4000 cal BP that *Alnus* develops into any significant component of the regional woodland around Rispain Mire. This period of *Alnus* expansion appears to coincide with a decline in many of the other tree taxa, particularly *Pinus*, *Quercus*, *Ulmus* and *Corylus* and with an increase in pollen types normally thought to be characteristic of human impact on the vegetation. Human interference in the form of felling of established woodland or increased agricultural practices may in some way have changed the hydrology of the area enabling *Alnus* to out-compete many of the other tree taxa.

Fraxinus appears in the area only within the last 1000 years and there is no evidence at all for *Fagus* or *Tilia*, both of which demand warmer conditions, within the regional pollen catchment area of Rispain Mire. The presence of low quantities of *Picea* in the top two analysed horizons reflects the introduction of exotic conifer plantations in the last 250 years.

One of the most interesting facets of the native woodland of this area is the presence of *Pinus* and the fact that at certain periods it seems to have flourished in Galloway, notably

in the upland areas. The pollen diagram from Rispain Mire is significant in that it provides new data on the timing and distribution of this taxon. Trace levels of *Pinus* are shown from the earliest post-glacial period but these are not sufficient to make the case for *Pinus* actually growing in the area for it is likely that they represent long distance dispersal of *Pinus* pollen. However, there is a very substantial increase in *Pinus* pollen in the vicinity of Rispain Mire around 8500 cal BP which was maintained, albeit at lower values, for a significant period of time, until c. 3900/3100 cal BP.

The unusual presence of *Pinus* in the Galloway area was investigated by Birks (1972) and Bennett (1984). It is generally accepted that *Pinus* was never a significant component of lowland Scottish woodlands but there seems to be an exception in Galloway. It is thought that *Pinus* could not compete with broadleaved trees under the more favourable climatic and edaphic conditions which prevail in lowland Scotland and that only in the harsher conditions of the Scottish Highlands is it possible for it to have a competitive advantage.

At Rispain Mire the peak in *Pinus* pollen at around 8300 cal BP appears to correspond with a decline in *Corylus* which may indicate some degree of competition between the two taxa, perhaps as a result of a change in the climatic or soil conditions in the pollen catchment area. The sediment stratigraphy at this point in the core indicates a drying of the mire surface and so it may be that some of the *Pinus* was growing directly on the mire surface itself. However, *Pinus* declines after 3900/3100 cal BP at a time when *Corylus* had already declined, but at a time when *Alnus* begins to gain a significant foothold in the area. Possibly a deterioration in climate may have led to the development of wetter soils that might have contributed to the decline of *Pinus* in the area. This expansion of *Alnus* at the expense of *Pinus* was also noted by Bennett (1984), and Birks (1975) suggested that *Pinus* growing on blanket peats in the Galloway area were often killed by increased waterlogging, which, in turn, led to the preservation of pine stumps within the blanket peat.

The evidence for an *Ulmus* decline at Rispain Mire is not conclusive and there may, actually, be two *Ulmus* declines within the pollen diagram. At the sampling site the first *Ulmus* decline, at 32 cm, can be placed around c. 5850 cal BP, whilst the second, at 22 cm, is temporally very poorly resolved but may have taken place around c. 3100 cal BP. This evidence of a first *Ulmus* decline, followed by a slight recovery, and then a second decline has been observed on a number of other sites in south-west Scotland, including Burnfoothill Moss (Tipping 1995), Brighthouse Bay (Wells and Mighall 1999) and Racks Moss (Nichols 1967). The first *Ulmus* decline is usually dated to somewhere around 6300-5850 cal BP but there can be differences in the date depending on the site. In terms of the first elm decline, Rispain agrees well with the broad general pattern although this does not imply the event was necessarily synchronous in its timing. However the timing of the second *Ulmus* decline at Rispain is significantly at odds with other studies (e.g. Hirons and Edwards, 1986) where an age of c. 5300-5100 cal BP is typically cited. It is likely that the slow peat accumulation rate at Rispain is responsible for this discrepancy and that in reality the second *Ulmus* decline represents the major loss of elm from the area in late prehistory.

Human Impact

As already outlined, the original aim of this study was to investigate human impact in the Rispain-Whithorn area in the period leading up to, and including, the establishment of the first Christian community in the area, i.e. from late prehistory into the early historical period. However, the very low peat accumulation rate in the upper section of the core means this cannot be achieved. Despite adopting 2 cm sampling intervals, the fact that the temporal resolution in the upper section of the core at Rispain Mire is not better than 500-800 years prevents a fine grained account being given.

Evidence for human impact in the Mesolithic period around Rispain is, at best, debatable. The start of the first continuous records for Poaceae and *Pinus* at 68 cm; together with trace counts for some open ground taxa and the occasional microscopic charcoal particle, could be taken to imply a degree of opening up of the forest cover and formation of clearings by human communities, but another interpretation is that it indicates the onset of drier climate conditions and more natural fires. From here on the charcoal record becomes continuous, more or less, possibly implying an increase in burning within the region, but the use of fire need not relate to direct burning of the forest but might derive from domestic fires in the vicinity of the sampling site. Overall, the evidence for Mesolithic activity from Rispain Mire is equivocal.

Lithic scatters, some of Mesolithic age, are known both from the Galloway Hills (e.g. from around Loch Doon: Edwards 1989; 1996; Edwards *et al.* 1983) and from along the western Solway coast (e.g. Low Clone and Barsalloch, located on the eastern side of Luce Bay; for the former, see Cormack and Coles 1968; and the latter, Cormack, 1970). Since the coastal sites show evidence of both the exploitation of marine and inland terrestrial resources, interconnection between the two settings seems likely (Cormack 1970). Pollen diagrams from other parts of south-west Scotland often have evidence of possible, and sometimes probable, mid-Holocene Mesolithic woodland disturbance, e.g. Burnfoothill Moss (Tipping 1995), Brighthouse Bay (Wells and Mighall 1999), Catharine's Hill (Milburn and Tipping 1999) and Northholm Plantation (Ramsay, unpublished). The, admittedly arguable, evidence for Mesolithic forest disturbance from Rispain needs to be seen in this context.

By the Neolithic period small-scale woodland clearance for agriculture appears to have begun. There is a continual increase in grassland taxa from this period onwards, with herbaceous taxa such as *Plantago lanceolata*, *Rumex acetosa* group, *Ranunculus acris* group, *Aster* type, Lactuceae, Caryophyllaceae, Chenopodiaceae suggesting that the land was being used for both pastoral and arable agriculture. Cereal type pollen is present from the Neolithic onwards and size measurements undertaken on the pollen grains would indicate that both *Hordeum* (barley) and *Avena/Triticum* (oats/wheat) were being grown. It is worth commenting that there does not appear to be any significant change in the range of cereals grown since the Neolithic, but this statement is only tentative as this conclusion is based on a very limited data set. Furthermore, it is important to note that changes in the cultivation of wheat vs. oats would not be distinguished by such data.

At Rispain Mire it would appear that by the Iron Age the landscape had been virtually cleared of *Quercus* and *Ulmus*. *Corylus* and *Betula* are still present but at much lower levels

than before and only *Alnus* appears to be increasing its hold in the regional vegetation. During this period the diversity of herbaceous “weedy” taxa increases dramatically indicating the spread of agricultural land and the wide range of ecological niches that accompany it. As already said, the resolution of the sediment core is not as good as might have been hoped for the period covering the Iron Age to the present day. Because of this it is not possible to differentiate any significant changes in the environment during the periods which this investigation most wanted to focus on. Although it is possible that the landscape changed in only very limited ways over the past two and a half thousand years, it seems more probable that these changes were too short lived to be detected within the temporally-compressed pollen diagram obtained from this site.

The presence of *Picea* pollen in the uppermost levels of the core is a clear example of human impact on the environment; in this case the diagram is showing the direct planting of exotic conifers for commercial timber production from the 18th century AD onwards.

Conclusions

This attempt to elucidate the environmental background to what was happening archaeologically in the Whithorn area in the late prehistoric and early historic periods foundered on inadequacies connected with the investigation site. Temporal resolution at Rispain Mire proved insufficient for late Holocene environmental change associated with the actions of human communities to be discerned in any degree of detail. However, a good early-mid Holocene vegetation sequence has been obtained that does cast interesting insights regarding the process of arrival of our native woodland taxa in south-west Scotland following the end of the Loch Lomond Stadial. Furthermore, two promising late-glacial palaeoenvironmental sequences have been identified at Rispain and to the west of Whithorn that may repay study in the future. New efforts will need to be made if the original objective of studying human-environment interaction in the period preceding the establishment of early Christianity in the South Machars is to be achieved.

Acknowledgements

We thank Peter Yeoman, of Historic Scotland, for his assistance in the management of this project; Janet Butterworth, of the Whithorn Trust, for negotiating access to the sampling site with the landowner; Chris Conner, of Glasgow University, and Andrew Nicholson, Dumfries and Galloway County Council, for their assistance in the field and (in the case of Chris Connor) for preparing some of the pollen samples; and Gordon Cook, of the Scottish Universities Environmental Research Centre (SUERC), for providing the radiocarbon age determinations.

The investigation was funded by Historic Scotland through the Whithorn Trust, to whom grateful thanks are due.

References

- Aichele, D., Aichele, R., Schwegler, H. W. and Schwegler, A., 1992 *Wild Flowers of Britain and Europe*. London.
- Andersen, S. T., 1979 'Identification of wild grass and cereal pollen', *Danmarks Geologiske Undersøgelse Årbog* 1978, 69-92.
- Beijerinck, W., 1947 *Zadenatlas der Nederlandsche Flora*. Wageningen.
- Bennett, K. D., 1984 'The Post-glacial history of *Pinus sylvestris* in the British Isles' *Quaternary Science Reviews* 3, 133-155.
- Birks, H., 1972 'Studies in the vegetational history of Scotland. II. Two pollen diagrams from the Galloway Hills, Kirkcudbrightshire', *Journal of Ecology* 60, 183-217.
- Birks, H., 1975 'Studies in the vegetational history of Scotland. IV. Pine stumps in Scottish blanket peats', *Phil. Trans. Roy. Soc. London* B270, 181-226.
- Birks, H. J. B., 1989, 'Holocene isochrone maps and patterns of tree-spreading in the British Isles', *Journal of Biogeography* 16, 503-540.
- Boyd, W. E., and Dickson, J. H., 1986, 'Patterns in the geographical distribution of the early *Corylus* rise in south-west Scotland', *New Phytologist* 102, 615-623.
- Bronk Ramsey, C., 1995 'Radiocarbon calibration and analysis of stratigraphy. The OxCal Program', *Radiocarbon* 37 (2), 425-430.
- Bronk Ramsey, C., 2001 'Development of the radiocarbon program OxCal', *Radiocarbon* 43 (2A), 355-363.
- Clapham, A. R., Tutin, T. G., and Moore, D. M., 1987 *Flora of the British Isles*. 3rd edition, Cambridge.
- Clarke, A., 1997 *Whithorn 7: interim report on the 1995 and 1996 excavations at Whithorn Priory*. The Whithorn Trust.
- Cormack, W. F., 1970 'A Mesolithic site at Barsalloch, Wigtownshire', *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society* XLVII, 63-80.
- Cormack, W. F., and Coles, J. M., 1968 'A Mesolithic site at Low Clone, Wigtownshire', *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society* XLV, 44-72.
- Dickson, C. A., 1988 'Distinguishing cereal from wild grass pollen: some limitations', *Circaea* 5, 67-71.
- Edwards, K. J., 1989 'Meso-Neolithic vegetational impacts in Scotland and beyond: palynological considerations', in Bonsall, J. C. (ed.) *The Mesolithic in Europe*. Edinburgh, 143-155.
- Edwards, K. J., 1996 'The contribution of Tom Affleck to the study of the Mesolithic of south-west Scotland', in Pollard, T., and Morrison, A. (eds.) *The Early Prehistory of Scotland*. Edinburgh, 108-122.
- Edwards, K. J., Ansell, M., and Carter, B. A., 1983 'New Mesolithic sites in south-west Scotland and their significance as indicators of inland penetration', *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society* LVIII, 9-15.
- Grime, J. P., Hodgson, J. G., and Hunt, R., 1990 *The Abridged Comparative Plant Ecology*. London.
- Grimm, E., 1991 *TILIA and TILIA.GRAPH*. Illinois State Museum, Illinois.
- Haggarty, A., and Haggarty, G., 1983 'Excavations at Rispain Camp, Whithorn, 1978-1981', *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society* LVIII, 21-51.
- Hill, P. H., 1997 *Whithorn and St Ninian: the excavation of a monastic town 1984-91*. Stroud.
- Hirons, K. R., and Edwards, K. J. 1986 'Events at and around the first and second *Ulmus* declines: palaeoecological investigations in Co. Tyrone, Northern Ireland', *New Phytologist* 104, 131-153.
- Hubbard, C. E., 1968 *Grasses*. 2nd Edition, Harmondsworth, Middlesex.
- Jermy, A. C., Chater, A. O., and David, R. W., 1982 *Sedges of the British Isles*. Botanical Society of the British Isles (BSBI) Handbook No. 1, London.
- Körber-Grohne, U., 1991 'Bestimmungsschlüssel für subfossile *Juncus* samen und gramineen-früchte', *Probleme der Küstenforschung im Südlichen Nordseegebiet* 18, 169-234.
- Lowe, C., 1991 'New light on the Anglian monastery at Hoddom', *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society* LXVI, 11-35

- Lowe, C. 2001 *Early ecclesiastical enclosures at Whithorn: an archaeological assessment*, unpublished report to the Whithorn Trust. Edinburgh.
- Milburn, P., and Tipping, R. M., 1999 'Catharine Hill: Holocene vegetation history', in Tipping, R. M. (ed.) *The Quaternary of Dumfries and Galloway: QRA field guide*. London, 148-152.
- Moar, N. T., 1969 'Late Weichselian and Flandrian pollen diagrams from south-west Scotland', *New Phytologist* 68, 433-467.
- Moore P. D., Webb, J. A., and Collinson, M. E., 1991 *Pollen Analysis*. 2nd edition, Oxford.
- Morrison, J., 2001 *An archaeological evaluation at Whithorn, Dumfries and Galloway*, unpublished report to the Whithorn Trust. Edinburgh.
- Punt, W., 1976- *The Northwest European Pollen Flora*. Vol. 1-6. Amsterdam.
- Schweingruber, F. H., 1990 *Anatomy of European Woods*. Berne and Stuttgart.
- Stace, C., 1997 *New Flora of the British Isles*. 2nd edition, Cambridge.
- Tipping, R., 1995 'Holocene evolution of a lowland Scottish landscape: Kirkpatrick Fleming. Part II. Regional vegetation and land-use change', *The Holocene* 5 (1), 83-96.
- Tipping, R., 1997 'Vegetational history of Southern Scotland', *Botanical Journal of Scotland* 49, 151-162.
- Tomlinson, P., and Hall, A. R., 1996 'A review of the archaeological evidence for food plants from the British Isles: an example of the use of the Archaeobotanical Computer Database (ABCD)', *Internet Archaeology* 1 (http://intarch.ac.uk/journal/issue1/tomlinson_toc.html)
- Watson, E. V., 1981 *British Mosses and Liverworts*. 3rd edition, Cambridge.
- Wells, C., Huckerby, E., and Hall, V., 1997 'Mid- and late-Holocene vegetation history and tephra studies at Fenton Cottage, Lancashire, UK', *Vegetation History and Archaeobotany* 6, 153-166.
- Wells, J., and Mighall, T., 1999 'Brighouse Bay: Holocene vegetation history', in Tipping, R. M. (ed.) *The Quaternary of Dumfries and Galloway: QRA field guide*. London, 51-56.

THE ANNANFOOT ROMAN CAMP, NEWBIE

by Thomas Rees & Douglas Gordon¹

The purpose of this note is to record the findings of an archaeological evaluation at Muirkirk Road, Newbie on 0.74 ha of agricultural ground to be developed for housing (NGR: NY 1808 6528). The evaluation, in November 2004, comprised six trenches covering approximately 5% of the development area.

The development area covers approximately a third of the surviving undeveloped Annanfoot temporary camp, in the eastern margins of the camp. Portions of the camp to the northeast and southeast had already been built upon prior to its original identification by GDB Jones in 1977 (Maxwell & Wilson 1987), there were no observations made or artefacts recovered during the previous developments. Subsequent excavation by GDB Jones (unpublished 1978) cut sections through the western and eastern ditches, the former 2.9m wide by 1.4m deep and the latter 1.8m wide by 0.9m deep. The latter was described as having a 'Punic' profile, the former more U-shaped. The 'Punic' profiled east section was denuded on the downslope side as the ground fell away to the former river meander to the east (Jones 1995). There are no available locations for these sections and hence the information could not be validated. Subsequent aerial photographic analysis by R Gregory determined this camp to be some 3.5ha in extent (Keppie 1996).

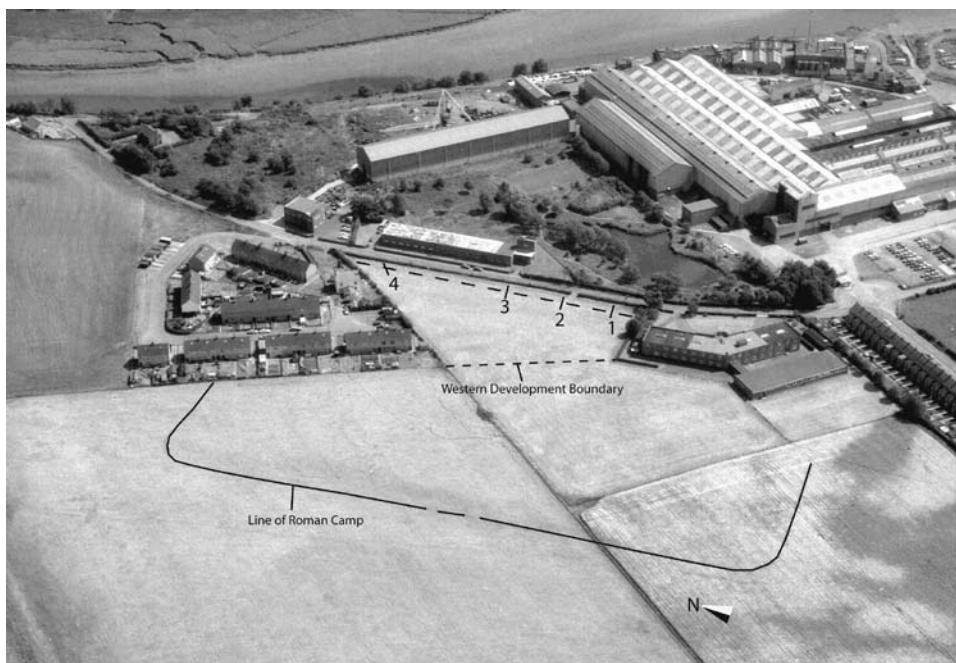


Figure 1 Location of Site²

- 1 Rathmell Archaeology Ltd., 10 Ashgrove Workshops, Kilwinning KA13 6PU
- 2 Illustrations published with permission of RCAHMS

Our evaluation trenches exhibited a common stratigraphic sequence with a ploughsoil overlying increasingly deepening hillwash in the lower slope areas. The inferred line of the eastern boundary ditch for the temporary camp was crossed at four points; at each a linear ditch with a clear V shaped profile, 1500mm wide and up to 960mm deep was located. While the feature appeared to be a Roman military ditch, no break of entrance was discovered along the length - although only four sections were exposed. No artefacts or other dateable material was recovered from the ditch sections, nor were any palaeoenvironmental samples recovered given the vacuous gravel character of the basal fills suggesting no likelihood of survival for charred macroplant material.

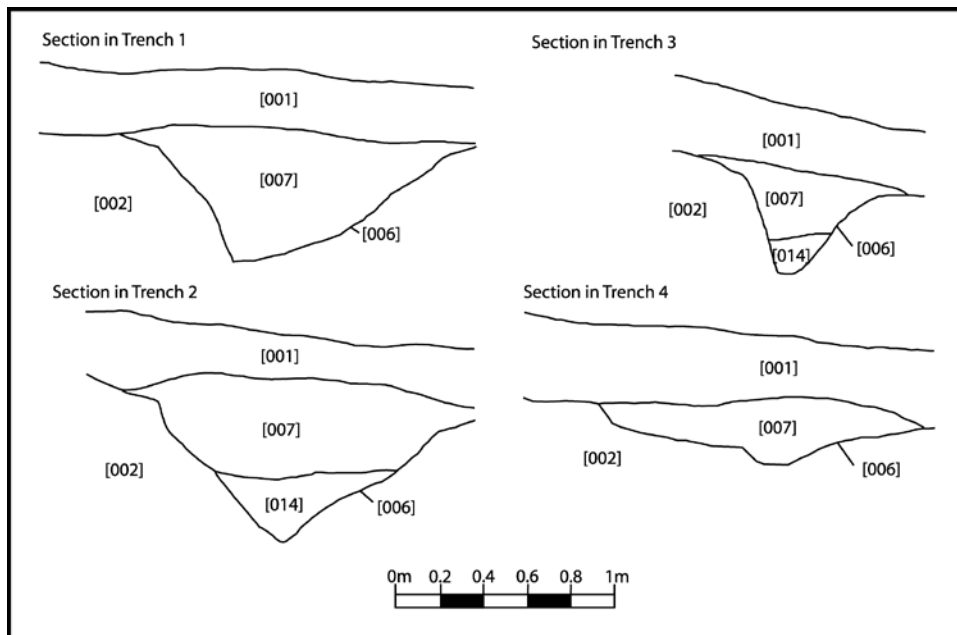


Figure 2 Sections

Within the interior of the temporary camp, across the western, higher portion of the development area, the surviving fragmentary elements of a rig & furrow field system were identified. Within the interior of the temporary camp no significant features that had the potential to relate to the Roman occupation were identified. It is probable that any interior features had been severely damaged by the prolonged arable agriculture since the mid eighteenth century.

The temporary camp at Annanfoot has broadly been linked to the progressive establishment of the Roman province of Britain during the reign of Vespasian. Traditionally the camp has been associated with the coastal or maritime campaigns during the Governorship of Julius Agricola during 80-81AD mentioned by Tacitus (Maxwell & Wilson 1987). The preceding campaigns of Q. Petillius Cerialis (71-73AD) and even Marcus Vettius Bolanus

(69-71AD) to suppress the Brigantes are additional potential origins for this military enclosure (Wilson, 2001). For instance Cerialis's campaign is known to have reached Carlisle establishing a fort there by 72/73AD and a 'softening up' of Southern Scotland has been inferred (Wilson 2003). Regardless of which postulated origin is sound, it suggests that the temporary camp was Flavian, constructed between 69 and 81 AD.

The location of the temporary camp is intriguing, to the immediate west of the River Annan, potentially located to allow easy maritime resupply with the potential for the Roman fleet to lie in the mouth of the river, to the immediate east. The use of coastal routes, offering a route for land forces operating in conjunction with naval transports landing troop detachments along the coast and up the estuaries, ties in with descriptions of 'combined operations' by Tacitus (Shotter 1984). However, the camp does not lie within a barren land, Gregory (2001) has shown a pre-existing settled landscape in the immediate vicinity with a field system or droving system continuing through to respect the boundaries created by the camp.

Bibliography

- Gregory, RA 2001 'Excavation at Haysknowes Farm, Annan', *TDGNHAS* 75, 29-46.
- Keppie, LJJ 1996 'Scotland', *Britannia* 27, 402
- Jones, DGB 1995 'Dumfries – Annan Waterfoot (Annan Parish), Roman Camp', *Discovery and Excavation in Scotland*.
- Maxwell G & Wilson D 1987 'Air reconnaissance in Roman Britain 1977-84', *Britannia* XVIII.
- Shotter, D 1984 *Roman North-West England*, Centre for North-West Regional Studies Occasional Paper 14.
- Wilson, A 1989 'Roman Penetration In West Dumfries and Galloway; A field Survey', *TDGNHAS* 64, 7-20.
- Wilson, A 2001 'Roman and Native in Dumfriesshire', *TDGNHAS* 77, 103-160.
- Wilson, A 2003 'The Novantae and Romanization in Galloway', *TDGNHAS* 75, 73-131.

BRITTONIC PLACE-NAMES from SOUTH-WEST SCOTLAND

Part 7: Pennygant

by Andrew Breeze¹

Pennygant is a fell in Roxburghshire/Borders, by the border of Dumfries and Galloway. Its name has been of obscure meaning, but seems to mean 'hill of the English, summit of the foreigners' in Cumbric. It would apparently date from the occupation of the Dumfries area by Strathclyders in the ninth century, when it lay on the new frontier between Strathclyde and Northumbria.

Pennygant (NY 4498) is a conspicuous hill, 1805 feet high, and rising above the headwaters of Hermitage Water in Roxburghshire/Borders, a mile east of the border with Dumfries and Galloway. Its name has long been recognized as a Cumbric one, from a language (similar to Welsh) spoken in Strathclyde and Cumbria until about the year 1100. Pennygant Hill has also been regarded as a namesake of Pen-y-Ghent (SD 8373) in North Yorkshire, a bleak eminence 2273 feet high, familiar to rail travellers between Settle and Carlisle. For both hills the first element is clearly Brittonic *pen* 'head; summit'. But the meaning of the last part has been obscure.

An early suggestion here was from *pen y gwant* 'head of the mark' or 'head of the butt' (Watson 1926: 354). But this cannot be right, since Welsh *gwant* is a late form, is not attested until 1592 (in a treatise on rhetoric), and does not mean 'mark' or 'butt' as a landscape feature. More popular has been the attempt to link the last element with Welsh *cant* 'outer circle, rim; hoop' (Coates and Breeze 2000: 344). Yet this has always been felt to be unsatisfactory. Recent scholars thus refrain from explaining the last part of the toponym, either passing over it in silence (Nicolaisen 2001: 212) or describing it as 'of unknown meaning' (Watts 2004: 434).

Nevertheless, early forms of the Yorkshire name allow a solution here. The mountain is recorded in 1307 as *Penegent* and in 1378-99 as *Penaygent*. The present writer has argued that the persistent *e* of the last element points to a cognate of early Welsh *gynt* '(foreign) tribe, (alien) nation', from Latin *gent(em)*, which the Welsh used of the English and then the Vikings. He argued farther that Pen-y-Ghent was given this name in the tenth century, after Strathclyders occupied Cumbria as far south as Ais Gill (SD 7796), almost 1200 feet up, where the modern road and railway reach the summit of the pass. In the tenth century Ais Gill marked an international frontier, with the Cumbric-speaking kingdom of Strathclyde to the north and the Norse-speaking kingdom of York to the south. Hence the name of Pen-y-Ghent 'summit of the foreigners', the pagan Vikings of York. The mountain would be a landmark for Strathclyders venturing into the Scandinavian territory of Ribblesdale, whether in peace or war (Breeze 2006: 161-5). Ais Gill to this day separates Yorkshire from Cumbria, on a boundary established by British and Viking fighting men over a thousand years ago.

But what implications has this for Pennygant in Borders? Although early forms of the name are unrecorded, it seems likely they would also show *e* and not *a* in the last syllable, with the same meaning 'summit of the (foreign) tribe, hill of the aliens'. Such an interpretation suits Pennygant's location on frontiers ancient and modern. It is closer to a border than Pen-y-Ghent

1 University of Navarre, Pamplona

is, lying just within the regional boundary of Borders, by a moorland pass where a minor road reaches the 1050-foot contour.

This boundary would be older than the one north of Pen-y-Ghent, and would have been between Briton and Angle, not Briton and Viking. Events of the time show this. In the eighth century the Northumbrians occupied most of south-west Scotland, the limit of their power being reached in 756, when king Eadbert, having annexed Kyle, inflicted a crushing defeat on the Strathclyders. Yet the Viking conquests of the ninth and early tenth centuries, both in the Yorkshire region and on the Solway Firth, weakened Northumbrian power. The Britons of Strathclyde could thus push southwards along the Annan and then up by the Eden. The whole of their new territory remained in Celtic hands for nearly two centuries, until 1092, when William Rufus reoccupied Carlisle (Jackson 1955: 77-88).

However, the lands to the east (the Lothian, Northumberland, and Co. Durham regions) remained English for another century or more. In the long run Lothian could not be held, outflanked as it now was by Celtic domains. Edinburgh was abandoned by the Northumbrians soon after 950; the English king Edgar made over the region between the Forth and the Lammermuirs to Kenneth II in 975; and Malcolm II's victory at Carham in 1018 confirmed Scottish power over the whole area as far south as the Tweed (Dickinson 1977: 32).

Pennygant's name would thus date from the ninth century, when the pass by it marked a new frontier between Strathclyders to the west and the rump of Northumbria to the east. It could not postdate the later tenth century, when the English were being forced south of the Tweed by the king of Scots. That suits the explanation of it as 'summit of the (foreign) tribe, hill of the aliens, height of the English', the equivalent of Welsh *pen y gynt*. After the ninth century, when Cumbric-speaking Strathclyders took advantage of Northumbria's difficulties to advance into the Dumfries area, any Britons moving east towards Hermitage Water (still followed by a minor road) entered hostile territory. No wonder that the hill looming above them as they descended should be called 'hill of the English, summit of the foreigners'.

Those taking the lonely moorland road from the A7 to Hermitage Water may thus now see Pennygant Hill in a new way. It has a name marking what in the ninth and tenth centuries was the border of Strathclyde and England. For a continuity in Scotland's history one may note that Pennygant still, after a thousand years, looks down on a regional boundary, changes in Scottish local government notwithstanding.

References

- Breeze A C 2006 'Three Celtic Toponyms: *Setanti*, *Blencathra*, and *Pen-y-Ghent*', *Northern History* 43.
- Coates R A and Breeze A C 2000 *Celtic Voices, English Places*, Stamford.
- Dickinson, W Croft 1977 *Scotland from the Earliest Times until 1603*, 2nd edn, Oxford.
- Jackson K H 1955 'The Britons in Southern Scotland' *Antiquity* 29/114.
- Nicolaisen W F H 2001 *Scottish Place-Names*, 2nd edn, Edinburgh.
- Watson W J 1926 *The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland*, Edinburgh.
- Watts V E [Ed] 2004 *The Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names*, Cambridge.

BUILDING STONE SOURCES FOR WHITHORN PRIORY, DUNDRENNAN ABBEY AND OTHER HISTORIC BUILDINGS IN GALLOWAY

by Ray Chadburn¹

In 2003, during a survey of the collection of decorative carved stones from the ecclesiastical buildings on the site of Whithorn Cathedral Priory (figure 1), the writer was asked to add a geological annotation to the stonework typologies. Upon analysis, the stonework appeared to reflect the various phases of construction and alteration to the building fabric from the 12th century to the dissolution and disassembly of the Priory in the late 16th century. Although there were ecclesiastical structures on the Whithorn site prior to the 12th century, in the present collection the only stonework types of pre-12th century date are the Celtic memorial stones, including the crosses classified as products of the 'Whithorn School', most of which utilise flat slabs of the local greywacke bedrock that outcrop in and around the Whithorn area.

The stones comprising the Whithorn collection fall into six distinguishable groups. After analysis, it became apparent that there was a direct collation with some of these groups to the rock types that outcrop on the Solway Coast, and in particular to the exposures around Abbey Burnfoot. These groups also matched the stones used in the building of Dundrennan Abbey. With the completion of the analysis of the Whithorn collection, the potential value of a more extensive study of building stone used in various medieval and later buildings in the Galloway area was indicated and is a current ongoing project.

The Geology of the South West of Scotland

The physical features of the South of Scotland are formed from rocks deposited in the Ordovician and Silurian succession parts of the Lower Palaeozoic geological period (figure 6). These rocks are mainly shales and greywacke, a form of sandstone with a variety of minerals and rock fragments in a fine-grained matrix or cement. These were deposited from turbidite currents, and formed by currents of water holding in suspension large quantities of silt and sand moving down slope within a geosyncline as dense fluid bodies. As the currents slowed down the suspended material was deposited with some degree of sorting by size and density. The greywacke and shale sediments were later folded and fractured by the large earth movements of the Caledonian Orogeny with subsequent extensive denudation. Large granitic masses in the region at Loch Doon, Cairnsmore of Fleet and Criffell were intruded into the greywacke sediments in the Old Red Sandstone Period.

The Carboniferous System follows and is formed mainly by sequences of limestones, mudstones, sandstones and conglomerates that are exposed in a few outcrops in the South West of Scotland, in particular on the Solway coast to the south of the Solway Fault. These sediments of Dinantian age (the Calciferous Sandstone Measures) were deposited unconformable on the Lower Palaeozoic strata, the first of these sediments of sands and conglomerates are down thrown against the Solway Fault and were derived from the un-roofing of the Dalbeattie – Screele granite pluton. The first of these sedimentary sandstone formations produced the distinctive Wall Hill sandstones outcropping in a localised

¹ Ray Chadburn, 28 Maxwell Street, Dalbeattie



Figure 1 The Whithorn Priory collection of decorative, carved stones.



Figure 2 Detail of the Group 5 rock type – Wall Hill, Netherlaw



Figure 3 Whithorn Priory – 12th century doorway detail, using Wall Hill, Netherlaw sandstone



Figure 4 Wall Hill, Netherlaw sandstone conglomerate sample in the Whithorn Priory collection



Figure 5 Wall Hill, Netherlaw sandstone carved stone arch mouldings, probably from Dundrennan, re-used in the Tolbooth, Kirkcudbright

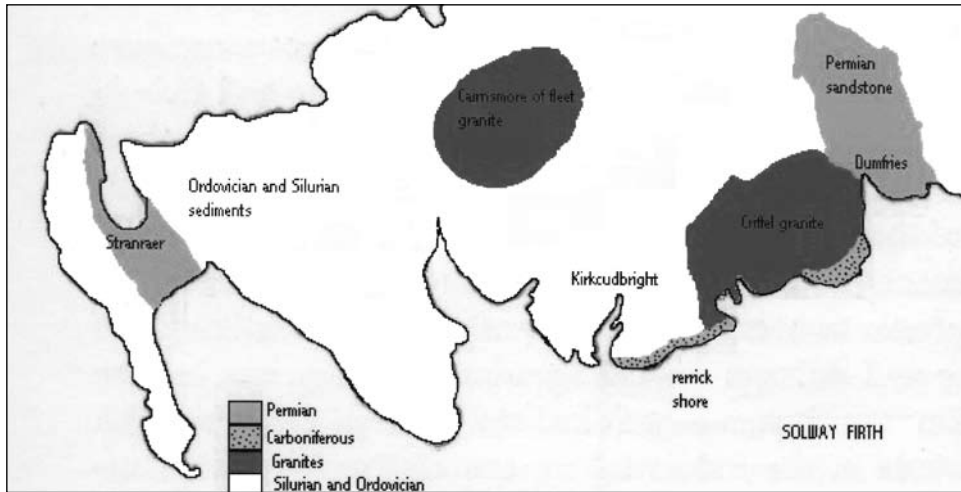


Figure 6 Sketch Map – general geology of Galloway

area at Netherlaw, Abbey Burnfoot near Dundrennan (figure 7). This is the most likely quarry source for the architectural decorative carved stones used in a number of medieval buildings throughout Galloway, as well as being the main architectural building stone used at Dundrennan. The Solway Coast from Kirkcudbright to Dumfries provided the later Carboniferous sequences of interbedded mudstones, siltstones, sandstones and thin cementstones. After the Carboniferous Series the next geological sequence suitable for decorative and utilitarian building use in the South of Scotland are the distinctive rocks of the Permian and Triassic sediments exposed in the Stranraer, Nithsdale and Annandale areas and showing as desert sandstones and breccias of brick red colour with rounded grains indicating arid aeolian conditions of deposition.

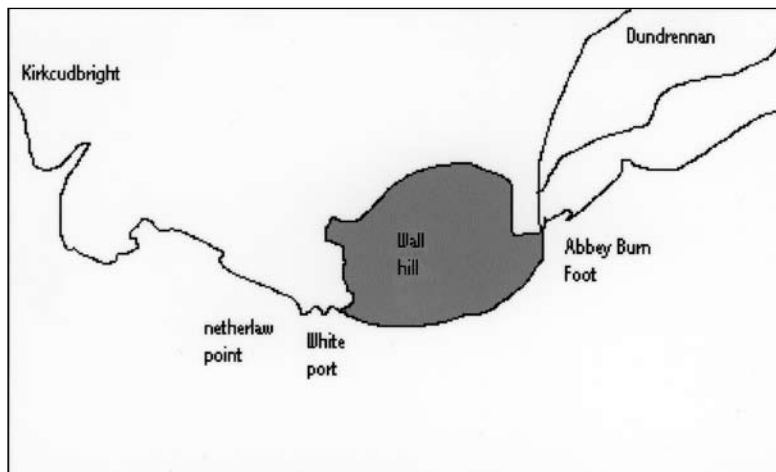


Figure 7 Sketch Map – Wall Hill, Netherlaw, Abbey Burnfoot, Dundrennan.

Quarries and building stones

After a suitable stone source had been found, a quarry had to be developed to extract it. This required a blend of skill and brute force and usually involved wedging large blocks from a cliff face. The blocks would then be sawn and chiselled into final shape. This work would have been carried out before transport to the building site. The cliff faces at Netherlaw would have been ideal for this (figure 8). The Netherlaw stone is composed of sand or grit with calcareous cement occurring in thick beds that could be quarried from the cliff face and cut freely in any direction. It can be called a *freestone*, which after facing is termed *ashlar*, that is a stone with straight sides. This type of stone also permits intricate decorative carving.



Figure 8 Quarry face at Wall Hill, Netherlaw, Abbey Burnfoot.

Greywackes and granites can be used for basic building construction but are difficult to shape. For the more intricate shaping, freestone is necessary. The range of the Wall Hill Carboniferous sandstones at Netherlaw, Abbey Burnfoot are of freestone quality, having a fine grained structure with a range of colours from white with a purplish tinge to pink, (figure 2). These were ideal for most decorative requirements of the medieval masons; for example the 12th century doorway on the south wall of the nave at Whithorn is fashioned from the white variety of this stone (figure 3). The flaggy coarser sandstones and conglomerates on the Rerrick coast near Abbey Burnfoot (figure 4) were used for the more

utilitarian structures including stairs, internal walls and roofing stone etc.. Permian red sandstones, as found further east near Locharbriggs, Dumfries, consist of fine grained, soft and easy to shape stones with a distinctive red colour, and were also used in a number of buildings in Galloway especially as a colour contrast to paler building stones.

Sea Transport

The Solway has many bays and river estuaries thereby providing an economical means of transporting quarried and shaped building stone in bulk by water to the nearest landing point to the building construction sites where it was required. Abbey Burnfoot was used as a loading port in this way to allowing the Netherlaw sandstones from this locality to be distributed throughout Galloway, including to Kirkcudbright and Whithorn.

Whithorn and other historical buildings

The primary geological survey of the carved and decorative stones around Galloway indicated that greywacke was used for the carved crosses and basic building structures around Whithorn. Most of the stones for decorative work consisted of various sandstones, and, in many cases, after use in the original building the stones were reused in subsequent constructions. For example in the Tolbooth, Kirkcudbright, many of the dressed stones around doorways and walls display anachronistic features that probably indicate their origin as from former ecclesiastical structures (figure 5).

Geological description of rock types

The survey of the decorative carved stone work collection at Whithorn identified six groups of rock types covering the range of stonework examined.

Group one, red sandstone

Red coloured sandstones, usually fine to medium grained often showing dune or water lain bedding, suggesting place and period of origin in the Permian or Triassic geological sediments,

Group two, purple or pink sandstones

A varied range of grain sizes, textures and colours suitable for a wide range of general structural building stones.

Group three, sandy coloured sandstone

Fine to medium, even grained, very well sorted, pale brown to buff in colour and well suited to intricate or detailed use.

Group four, brown sandstone

A general-purpose type of building stone suitable for interior walls and structures, a wide range of grain sizes textures and colour,

Group five, grey and lilac sandstones

Various grain sizes and usually well sorted with sub angular to rounded grains, suitable for detailed surface decoration and shaping.

Group six, 'specials'

This group includes the other stone types not represented in the above groups, comprising granites, greywacke and special sandstones etc.

Morphological examination

The above groups were classified by a hand-lens examination of the stonework in the Whithorn collection and of samples collected from the geological areas for comparison. The following geological criteria were used in the classification process: grain size, composition, cement, sorting, grain shape, fabric and maturity.

Quarry sources

Group one. This could have come from the Permo-Triassic rocks around Dumfries. Sweetheart Abbey and Lincluden are built from this stone

Group two. Wall Hill, Netherlaw, Abbey Burnfoot

Group three. From a Carboniferous strata not yet identified.

Group four. Solway coast.

Group five. Wall Hill, Netherlaw, Abbey Burnfoot (figure 4)

Group six. Glacial erratics, localised quarrying, and non-local stones.

Discussion

Buildings prior to the medieval period were mainly constructed of timber, with a few exceptions, but in the 12th century an expansion of ecclesiastical building created the demand for stone which could be easily shaped and carved for decorative purposes. The Carboniferous sandstone series on the Solway coast provided both the ideal stone types and convenience of transport by sea to many areas of Galloway.

The major part of research into the stone types described above was carried out on the Whithorn stone collections where all of the above groups were represented. Dundrennan Abbey stone types are more restricted but the closeness to the quarries at Netherlaw enabled the best material to be utilised from there, in particular the group five stone was ideal for general shaping and construction and the pink variety of this group was used for some of the decorative arches. A few of the more intricate carvings use stone that does not have a local derivation and may have been imported from a more distant source, as the Abbey probably had its own ships for trading, stone from distant shores may have been brought back and used. In this primary assessment classification these stones are included in group six.

Harder rocks from small outcrops of metamorphosed sediments were utilised by small scale working in the later medieval periods but apart from some roof slates at Whithorn, possibly quarried from a local source, these types of stones were not observed in this study.

Limestone was used in the early centuries of Whithorn but the function of this material was not apparent from the archaeological excavations at Whithorn. It may have been for metallurgical use or for lime wash as small amounts of plaster were found. However the main building mortar was mostly derived from burnt shell lime.

Although this primary assessment study was carried out mainly from the original Whithorn research, the potential value of an extension to cover the dressed stone used and reused throughout the Galloway region is indicated.

BRIDGEND BRIDGE, DUNDRENNAN - A MONASTIC STRUCTURE?

Alex Anderson & James Williams

Bridgend Bridge at Dundrennan is situated on the branch road to Rerrick Kirk and Orroland and has the appearance of a mediaeval ribbed arch. In order to gain some idea of its age and origin, the writers have examined both the documentary evidence and the physical appearance of the bridge.

Description of the bridge.

The bridge, which is 'B' listed, is situated on the side road to old Rerrick Kirk and Orroland and spans the Abbey Burn at the east end of the village, overlooking a field adjacent to the Abbey. The span is 16 feet 6 inches (5.0 metres), the rise of the arch 7 feet 6 inches (2.3 metres) and the total width over parapets approximately 16 feet (4.9 metres). It consists of an arch with one rib on the downstream side, with evidence of another rib having been removed on the upstream side of what had been the original bridge of about 9 feet (2.7 metres) width, with a further widening by a plain rubble arch about 6 feet (1.8 metres) on the upstream side. A cross-section of the arch soffit is shown in figure 2. AB indicates the downstream rib in sandstone ashlar; BC is a rubble arch in sandstone, and CD is a narrow strip, of equivalent width to a rib in sandstone ashlar. DE is a whinstone rubble arch of later date. The present width between parapets is 14 feet (4.27 metres), and it can be deduced that the width between parapets of the original bridge was about 7 feet (2.13 metres). On the downstream parapet cope is carved.- **REPAIRED // OCT 1894.**



Figure 1 View of Bridgend Bridge, Dundrennan, looking upstream.

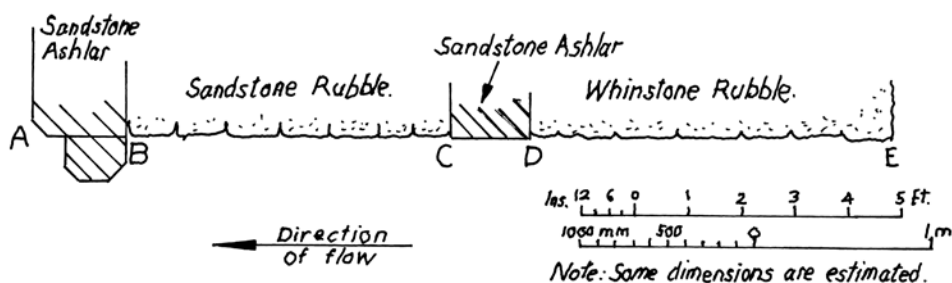


Figure 2 Cross-section of bridge soffit.

Documentary records.

The earliest known reference to the bridge is in a minute of the Stewartry Road Trustees of 11th. November 1814, as follows¹:-

‘Mr. Maitland of Dundrennan for himself and Mr. Fergusson Cutlar of Orroland, stated to the Meeting that it had been only very lately discovered that the Bridge over the Abbey Burn on the Road leading from Dundrennan Abbey to the Church of Rerwick is got into such a State of disrepair as to be almost ruinous, and that if some immediate Steps are not taken for its reparation and improvement it must fall before next October Meeting which will be a severe loss to the Stewartry. That the Bridge is only seven feet wide of Roadway and therefore will never be commodious for the public unless widened to a suitable extent. That the expence of the Repairs and widening may amount to about Sixty Six pounds. Under these circumstances, and considering the urgency of the case, Mr Maitland for himself and Mr Cutlar prayed the Meeting to grant the necessary sum for repairing and widening the said Bridge; which having been considered by the Meeting they Grant a Sum not exceeding twenty six pounds ten shillings out of the Bridge funds for repairing and widening the said Bridge; and Appoint Mr. Maitland of Dundrennan, Mr. Maitland Younger thereof, Mr. Fergusson Cutlar of Orroland, or his Commissioner, or Factor, Mr. Hannay of Blairinnie, Mr. McCartney of Barlocco, Mr. Mure of Twynholm Mains, Mr. Bell of Gribdae, and Mr. Bell younger thereof, or any three of them as a Committee to contract for the Work and draw upon the Collector of the Bridge money for the Expence thereof, not exceeding the said sum of Twenty six Pounds Ten Shillings, and Appoint Mr. Mure Convenor of the Committee.’

The granting of only part of the cost from the ‘Bridge Money’ reflects the common practice of the local proprietors paying much of the cost of such works. However, it is significant that the width of the bridge is stated as “7 feet” (2.13 metres), this being a common width for mediaeval bridges, corresponding to the width of “natural” unmade roads formed by the passage of horse traffic. There are no details of the nature of the ‘disrepair’. No doubt this would not be understated!

The bridge is not included in the list relating to a repair contract entered into by the Commissioners of Supply on 15/5/1790. This is of little significance, as it is on a very

1 *Minutes of the Road Trustees of the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright*, Vol. 6, pp. 229-30. Ewart Library, Dumfries

minor road. There is a reference to a grant for a bridge over the 'Abbey Burn' in 1790, but this can hardly be the bridge which was 'ruinous' 24 years later – however, there are several other bridges over the Abbey Burn.²

There is no entry with respect to the bridge in the following works:-

The '*Old*' *Statistical Account of Scotland*.

The '*New*' *Statistical Account of Scotland*.

The Abbey of Dundrennan by Alex. H. Christie, Dalbeattie, 1914.

'The Ancient Bridges in Scotland and their relation to the Roman and Medieval Bridges in Europe.' Harry R. G. Inglis, *PSAS* vol. XLVI, 1911-12, pp. 151-177.

'The Roads and Bridges in the Early History of Scotland'. Harry R. G. Inglis, *PSAS* vol. XLVII, 1912-13, pp. 303-333.

The earliest 'Antiquarian' reference to the bridge is provided by Hutchison³ in 1857.- 'In connection with the external parts of the Abbey, it seems right to mention the existence, at the distance of two small fields to the North, of a very *ANCIENT BRIDGE* Which I should think was coeval with the Abbey. It is supported on two square ribs of very solid work, which form a nearly perfect round arch. It seems originally to have been built about ten feet wide at the water's edge; but it has a modern addition of about five feet on the North side. Probably it was originally only a horse bridge; but as the road over it now leads to Orroland House and the parish Kirk, it has been found necessary to increase its breadth. It is called in the neighbourhood *Bow Bridge*, probably from its construction.'

This clearly identifies the 1814 widening and establishes the presence of two supporting ribs beneath the arch.

In 1876, Harper⁴ refers to the use of stones from the Abbey ruins being used for local building works, including bridges. He further writes⁵.-

'Pursuing our walk to Dundrennan Village, we cross the Abbey burn by a bridge, which is supposed to have been built from stones of the abbey. It is supported on two square ribs of very solid work, and forms a nearly perfect round arch. Originally its dimensions seem to have been much less, about 5 feet having latterly been added to it on the north side, so as to allow vehicles to pass to the residences on the shore.'

This last reference confirms the presence of 'two square ribs' but the story changes by the time of the 3rd. Edition⁶ in 1908.-

'... It was supported on two square ribs of very solid work, but from repairs made upon it in 1894 only one rib is now to be seen ...'

2 *Minutes of the Commissioners of Supply of the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright* on dates cited. Ewart Library, Dumfries.

3 *Memorials of the Abbey of Dundrennan in Galloway* by Aeneas Barkly Hutchison, Exeter: Printed, for private circulation, by W. Pollard, 1857 and being the published account of a reading at College Hall, July 30, 1857, before the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society.

4 Malcolm M' Lachlan Harper, *Rambles in Galloway*. Edinburgh, Edmonston & Douglas, Princes Street, 1876. Page 41.

5 Harper, *op. cit.*, page 44.

6 Harper, *Rambles in Galloway*, 3rd. Edition. R.G. Mann, 111 and 113 High Street, Dumfries. Page 68.

The Inventory of 1914⁷, after describing the bridge in detail, continues.-

‘...The most interesting features are the outer arch and stone rib on the south side, carefully built of shaped voussoirs with chamfered angles. Judging by appearances, the stone seems to have been taken from the same quarry that supplied material for the building of the abbey. The bridge has every appearance of being ancient, and may possibly have been erected, primarily for the use of the religious community and their dependants at Dundrennan ...’

Discussion.

It will be noted that, while both Hutchison and Harper appear to imply that the bridge has been built with stones taken from the Abbey, whereas the *Inventory* inclines to the view that the bridge may be contemporary with the Abbey. While no definite proof is possible, it is necessary to consider which of these views is the more probable, and also whether there may be some other origin for this bridge.

Taking the latter point first, it could be conjectured that the bridge was constructed some time after the Reformation in the style of the Abbey architecture. However, this kind of ‘folly’ is only likely to have been built in or near the policies of a ‘big House’, which is not the case here, and also is only likely during the 18th. century. Since it was alleged to be ‘ruinous’ in 1814, and small arch bridges are usually very robust structures, this possibility may reasonably be dismissed.

With regard to the possibility of the bridge being built from stones taken from the Abbey after the Reformation, while there is no doubt that the Abbey was treated as a quarry, the construction of a ribbed arch would require suitable stones to be available - that is, a bridge already existing perhaps nearer the Abbey. No part of the Abbey buildings is likely to include an arch of this size. If such a bridge did exist, then it must be asked ‘Why move it?’. The demolition of any arch is a difficult operation even without the necessity of preserving the stones without damage: centring similar to that required for new construction might be required. The alternative of finding stones of sufficient size in the ruins and re-dressing them is equally unlikely. On the ‘balance of probabilities’, it may be assumed that the bridge is of monastic origin and in its original position.

Inglis⁸ lists several pointers for estimating the age of a bridge: these are (a) its width, in this case originally 7 feet, (b) the form of piers, which is not applicable here, and (c), its relation to other bridges in the neighbourhood. In this case, we may instead relate it to other bridges attributable to the Cistercian order. The bridge is very similar to a span of the three span ‘Guest House Bridge’ at Fountains Abbey, also Cistercian and therefore likely to be in the same architectural tradition, possibly by the same master mason. However, it has only two ribs in place of three at Fountains. Also at that place are several culverts of similar span which are plain unribbed arches, so it may have been recognised that ribs had

7 *Inventory of Monuments of the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright* (Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, 5th. Report, Galloway, Volume 2, 1914). Entry 399, p.228. Parish of Rerwick.

8 ‘The Ancient Bridges in Scotland and their relation to the Roman and Medieval Bridges in Europe.’ Harry R. G. Inglis, *PSAS* vol. XLVI, 1911-12, pp. 164-5.

little structural advantage. Dundrennan was obviously a less prosperous foundation, and two may have been considered enough! A further pointer to the antiquity of the bridge is the low span/rise ratio of 2.2.

There remains the question of why one rib was removed in 1894. Unfortunately, the records of the 'Roads Board' of the then newly-formed County Council appear to have been lost. The removal of the rib would be a difficult enough operation with modern equipment; in 1894 it would be at the very least laborious, involving removing the rib with great care to avoid damage to the rest of the arch and also cutting back the skewbacks to the new profile. It would only be undertaken if there was a good reason. It is possible that the rib was already separating from the arch and it would not be worth while replacing a rib which could not readily be seen, but this does not seem likely. There is no structural advantage in removing a rib if it is sound. Another possibility is that the rib was interfering with the flow of water, causing vortices to form with consequent scour of the foundations - but this is pure conjecture. The reason for the removal of the rib must at present remain a mystery.

Conclusion.

It appears most probable that Bridgend Bridge was built in connection with the Abbey, no doubt to provide access to Abbey lands, some time after 1142 and probably before 1500. It was used by the local population, and in 1814 was repaired and widened by the Road Trustees. In 1894 it was repaired by the County Council and the upstream rib removed.

One implication of this is that the bridge may be the oldest still standing in the former Stewartry, probably in Dumfries and Galloway and possibly in Scotland.

Acknowledgments.

In these investigations, the kind assistance is acknowledged of Mr. Hetherington, Dundrennan, and Mr Charles Clemie, Principal Roads Services Officer (Stewartry), Dumfries and Galloway Council.

NOTICES IN SCOTTISH NEWSPAPERS RELATING TO DUMFRIESSHIRE AND
GALLOWAY 1699-1722
by Innes Macleod¹

The notices and advertisements in this article were taken from *The Edinburgh Gazette* (1699-1708), *The Edinburgh Courant* (1705-06) and 1708-10), *The Scots Courant* (1710-20), *The Edinburgh Evening Courant* (1718-22), *The Caledonian Mercury* (1720), and *The West-Country Intelligence* (1715-16).²

For the first ten or twelve years post 1699 the Scottish newspapers were mostly small (for example twelve by seven inches) single sheet publications, printed on both sides and coming out twice in each week. Inevitably there are many gaps in the runs held in national and local collections. James Donaldson's *Edinburgh Gazette*, for example, is available in sets from 1699 to 1705 and in 1706 and in 1707-08; it continued through to 1714-15 under various titles, including *The Scots Post-Man or New Edinburgh Gazette* and *The Edinburgh Flying Post*.

Adam Boig's *Edinburgh Courant* (no. 1, 14-19 February, 1705 to no. 706, 17-20 March, 1710) was probably the best newsheet in Edinburgh. James Muirhead's *Scots Courant* was perhaps more a rival than a successor, but, confusingly, it ran from no. 707, 20-22 March, 1710 to no. 2251, 20 April, 1720. It appeared in a small and awkward eleven/twelve page format between 1715 and 1720.

Outside Edinburgh Robert Johnston's excellent *West-Country Intelligence* (11 November, 1715 to 28 April, 1716), which began as *The Glasgow Courant*, and Robert Rae's *Drumfries Mercury* (1721), had only brief lives. The slow growth and improvement in the Scottish economy and the greater political stability after 1720 perhaps provided the conditions that allowed *The Edinburgh Evening Courant* (1718-1886) and the also Edinburgh based *Caledonian Mercury* (1720-1867) to increase the number of copies sold and build up a more geographically diverse circulation outside Edinburgh. *The Caledonian Mercury*, for example, was printing three issues a week by the later 1720s.

The Drumfries Mercury exists now only in no. 18 for 1-8 May, 1721. Printed by Rae and sold by him at his shop at the sign of the Hand and Bible on the east side of the street a little below the Fish-Cross, at his Printing-House in the Kirkgate, and at Mrs Lawson's Coffee-House above the Cross, it is impressive in terms of the quality and correctness of layout and punctuation, including colons and semi-colons. Unusually it begins with local reports, a notice of the meeting of the Justices of the Peace anent their repair of the High Ways and Bridges in Dumfries-shire, and details of the meetings of the Justices and Commissioners of Supply to be held every year on the third Tuesday in May to choose clerks, surveyors and overseers and to convene tenants, cottars and labouring men to work for three days before and three days after Harvest on the maintenance of highways, bridges and ferries.

¹ Lower Glengorm, 14 Station Road, Biggar, Lanarkshire ML12 6JN

² EG = *The Edinburgh Gazette*, EC = *The Edinburgh Courant*, SC = *The Scots Courant*, EEC = *The Edinburgh Evening Courant*, CM = *The Caledonian Mercury*, WCI = *The West-Country Intelligence*, DGC = *Dumfries and Galloway Courier*, GMBGMG = *The Glamorgan Monmouth and Brecon Gazette and Merthyr Guardian*, KA = *The Kirkcudbrightshire Advertiser* and DWJ = *Dumfries Weekly Journal*, SNL = Scottish National Library.

It existed essentially, however, to provide ‘an Account of the most Remarkable Occurances Both Foreign and Domestick, being an Impartial Account of the Material in the London and Edinburgh Prints.’ Number 18 included reports from *The Evening Post*, *The Whitehall Post* and *The Flying Post* on what was happening in London, Paris, Rome, Leghorn, Stockholm, Venice, Antwerp, Dusseldorf and Hamburg. And indeed most of the Scottish newspapers did consist largely of columns of copy plagiarised from the London press with details of wars in Europe and events in London. There was very little space left for Scottish news items, notices or advertisements.

The *Edinburgh Courant* carried a deceptively promising notice in six of the first seven issues which seemed to indicate that future editions might include reports from faraway places ... ‘there are Post-Offices settled at Wigtoun and New-Galloway: Therefore all Letters and Pacquets must be given in at Wigtoun every Wednesday morning, and at New-Galloway every Wednesday night, and at Edinburgh every Saturday.’ In practice, however, only a few items from the south-west appeared in Scottish newspapers until the 1720s.

The advertisements and notices illustrate many diverse aspects of life throughout Lowland Scotland at the beginning of the eighteenth century and are important in suggesting subjects for further study. These might include the undiluted deceit of the offers for sale of exotic and infallible cures, pills, ‘famous Lossinges’ and lotions to eliminate ‘pestilentious fevers’ and fluxes, asthma, colick, rheumatick pains and smallpox; and the rich diversity of popular culture, for example the opening of the new Cockpitt at the Links of Leith in 1702, ‘where there are several Cock Matches to be fought, partly with Gantlets, and some with their own Naturels, for considerable wagers’ (*EG*, 15-18 June, 1702), and the fair at Cockenzie in 1720 ‘with a Race for a very good Saddle’ on the 27th of October and ‘excellent Bull-baiting’ on the 29th (*EEC*, 18-20 October, 1720).

A. Coastal Trade and Shipping

The reports of profitable prizes taken and colliers lost are a reminder of the vulnerability of shipping to predatory privateers, British or French, whether in coastal waters or in the Irish Sea, the North Sea and the Baltic, the Mediterranean or the Atlantic. Some privateers came out of French ports, in particular Brest, St Malo and Dunkirk; some may have been licensed by the Jacobite Court in exile. And there were few periods in the eighteenth century when Britain was not either at war with France, or contemplating recent hostilities and peace treaties, or anticipating a revival of the struggle for supremacy in the world at large.

Pirates, whatever their nationality, were also a problem. They were likely to meet with rough and summary justice if caught. In November 1720, for example, seventeen men were tried for piracy before the Court of Admiralty in Edinburgh. Seven were acquitted. The other ten were sentenced to be hanged within the Flood-Mark on the Sands of Leith: Roger Hews and John Clark on the 14th of December, 1720, William Fenton, John Stewart, William Green and James Sail on the 4th of January, 1721, and William Minty, Richard Luntly, Richard Jones and Hayman Saturly on the 11th of March, 1721 (*EEC*, 22-24 November, 1720).

Shipping news at this time rarely included much more than notices from Leith and, less frequently, Aberdeen. The reports of shipping in Stranraer and Lochryan in *The Scots*

Courant in 1711 and 1712 and in *The West-Country Intelligence* in 1716 are therefore a quite exceptional delight. They provide a neat cameo of the shipping calling at the small but growing burgh of Stranraer en route to and from New England, Maryland, Carolina, Virginia, the West Indies, Spain, Portugal and Sweden, and on the local trade routes to Ireland and along the Ayrshire coast to Glasgow and the Clyde.

Notices of ships for sale include the *Mary* of Lochryan in 1706 and, in 1713, the *Hathorn* at Leith. The *Hathorn* is of interest because it probably belonged to the Hathorns, Edinburgh merchants, but also perhaps of Meikle Airies in Kirkiner parish and, from the 1740s, as the result of a good marriage by Hugh Hathorn, proprietors of Castlewigg estate near Whithorn. Hugh Hathorn was appointed one of the Baillies of Edinburgh in October 1720 (EEC, 4-6 October, 1720).

The 1709 smuggling report is a good example of the enormous difficulties faced by the Scottish, English and Irish Customs and Excise services responsible for the seaways around the Isle of Man and of their inability to provide effective patrols and back-up along the Solway shore.

Shipping Reports from Stranraer 1711-12

‘Stranraer, Jan. 8. On the 5th Instant came in here from Dublin, the *Endeavour* of Irvine, loaden with Beef, Leather, and Bale Goods for Carolina, burden 100 tuns, William Mursie Master. The *Virginia Merchant* of Liverpool for Lisbon, with Victual, burden 200 Tuns and 16 Guns, Augustine Woodworth Commander, bearing Letter of Mark. The *Russia Merchant* of Liverpool, with Provisions, Bale Goods, and Servants for the West Indies, 150 Tuns burden and 16 Guns, Joseph Hall Commander. A small Vessel from Bristol, with Sugar and Sugar-pots for Glasgow, which sailed the next Morning.’ (SC, 10-12 January, 1711)

‘Stranraer, Oct. 15. There is now in the Loch the following Ships, viz. the *Success* Brigantine of Glasgow, Andrew Gibson Captain, laden with bale Goods and Butter, etc., for Boston; she was got to the Westward of Ireland in her Voyage about 100 Leagues but was forced back thither by hard and contrary Winds; also the *Margaret* Brigantine of Boston, for Boston, with Bale Goods, Herrings and Butter, John Slocum Master; and a large Bark from Saltcotes bound for Stockholm.

On Monday last came in here also a French Prize laden with Salt, burden 130 Tuns and 4 Guns, taken by the *Cesar* of Liverpool, bearing Letter of Mark, and 16 Guns, in his way to Newfoundland; the Captain took all the French-Men into his own Ship but 5 which he left in the Prize and to them added 6 of his own Men, who all at present ly very peaceable in our Loch, waiting for a fair wind for Liverpool to unload the Salt and pursue an other Voyage with her, the Ship being well riged and in good Condition every way. The Prize has also 4 Tuns of Wine aboard.’ (SC, 17-19 October, 1711)

‘Stranraer, Nov. 12 ... There is also here the *Amity* of Lochryan, John Mackitrick Master, bound for Bristol with Kelp, burden 30 Tuns, and Wind at south west. We have at last received the welcome News, that the Ship called the *Mary* of Lochryan belonging

to this place, burden 70 Tuns, John Basnet Master, is safely moored in Belfast Loch with Salt from Spain, and is expected here shortly to proceed to another Voyage. She was taken by the bad Conduct of the Master, and conveyed into Cadiz, and ransomed for about 200 lib....' (SC, 14-15 November, 1711)

'Stranraer, May 19. Last week, a Privateer of Calais of 6 Guns, met in the Channel off Lochryan, a Fleet of Light Colliers from Dublin, belonging to Irvine and Saltcotes; consisting of 24 Sail, 4 of the smallest were taken being at some Distance from the Rest; the other 20 came up close together, a large Pink of 2 Guns being Commodore, fired a Gun, and seem'd to ly by for the Privateer, which had so good Effect, that the Privateer durst adventure no further; under Colour of which they got in safe in hither. 'Tis informed, that the Captain of the Privateer used the Seamen aboard the 4 taken, most barbarously, by beating and cutting them, and sending off the Barks with but 2 or 3 Boys in them; one of them had none but Two Women and a Boy of 12 Years, when they left her, and 'tis not yet known what is become of them: Though they took Ransomers, one of them escaped is here who gave this account.' (SC, 21-23 May, 1712)

'Stranraer, June 2 ... On Saturday last arrived also the *William and Mary* of Glenarm, Archibald Galbraith Master, from Stockholm, with lead and Plank; she is to perform Quarentine here.' (SC, 4-6 June, 1712)

The *Scottish Courant* editions of 9-12 November, 5-7 and 26-28 December, 1711 and 6-8 February, 1712 also have returns from Stranraer.

A Ship for Sale

'The Ship *Mary* of Lochryan, now lying at anchor in Lochryan, about 70 Tuns burden, and every way in a good Condition, is to be put to publick voluntar Roup, upon Thursday the 25th Instant, at Skipper John Caldwell's House in the Town of Stranraer in Galloway, betwixt the Hours of Two and Five in the Afternoon, where the Inventar of every thing belonging to the said Ship are to be seen.' (EC, 3-7 July, 1706)

'That the *Hathorn* Galley, burden 100 Tuns or thereby, now lying in the Harbour of Leith, is to be exposed to a voluntary Roup on Thursday the 19th Day of February Instant, betwixt 2 and 3 a Clock in the Afternoon, at the House of William Richardson on the Shoar of Leith, where the Inventory of the said Ship is to be seen; or at the Exchange Coffee-house in Edinburgh.' (SC, 16-18 February, 1713)

Shipping Reports from Portpatrick and Stranraer, 1716

'Portpatrick, Jan. 16 ... There is a Ship which belongs to Liverpool cast away about 8 Days ago on the Cobline Isles near Dunnochader, and there is 17 of the Men cast a Shoar dead.' (WCI, 19-21 January, 1716)

'Portpatrick, Jan. 21. As for the Ship I told you in my last, she is a Collier come from Belfast, bound to Irvin in her Ballace.' (WCI, 21-24 January, 1716)

‘Stranraer, Jan. 30. On Saturday last came in here the *Unity* of Air, John Murchie Master, from St Sabastine, but last from Isle of Man, loaden with Salt and Hops and bound for Air. And Yesterday came in the *Providence* of Air, James Tannahill Master, from Dublin for Air, with another small boat belonging to the same place.’ (*WCI*, 31 January – 2 February, 1716)

‘Stranraer, Feb. 1. Yesterday arrived the *Arthur* of, and for Greenock, John Sinclair Master, from Norway, with Timber, Dales and Tars; but last from Orkney.’ (*WCI*, 2-4 February, 1716)

‘Stranraer, Feb. 7. Yesterday came in here the *Hanover* Brigantine of and from Belfast, James Weir master, loaden with bale Goods and provisions for the West-Indies, and this day sailed from hence the ship *Arthur* of Greenock ... mentioned in my last’ (*WCI*, 9-14 February, 1716)

‘Stranraer, Feb. 15. This morning sailed from hence for Barbadoes, the *Hanover* Brigantine of Belfast, James Weir Master, formerly mention’d, unloaded their white, Candles, and Tallow, of which they made entry in this Custom house, paid duty, and obtain’d a British Cocket for the same.’ (*WCI*, 18-21 February, 1716)

‘Stranraer, March 19. On Friday last came in here the *Hamilton* Gally of Glasgow, John Hodge Capt. With Servants and Bale Goods for Virginia. The *Mary* Transport of Air, James Crawford Master, with Salt and Herrings for Stockholm. The *Mary* Brigantine of Dublin, Henry Crawford Master, bound for Killybegs in Ireland to Loaden there for the Cannarys, with Beef and Salmond, etc.. The *Mary* of Saltcoats in Ballast for Dublin, William Boyd Master, for Saltcoats, he has on Board several Passengers belonging to the Army in and about Stirling.’ (*WCI*, 20-22 March, 1716)

Smuggling along the Solway

‘31st March ... there was seized by Her Majesties Officers of the Customs at Newbie near Annan ... a considerable Quantity of Brandy Illegally Imported; great part whereof was carried to the Prison-House of Annan for its better security, until the same could be sent to Her Majesties Ware-house at Dumfreis.

That about 10 a Clock at Night on Sunday the 3d of this Instant April, a great Multitude of Armed Men, both Horse and Foot, with Carts and Carriages to the number of about Eighty Person; did in a Violent Fellonous and Riotous manner, to the great hazard of the Lives of the Persons that had the Guard and Care of the said Brandy; and in manifest Breach of the Peace, Fellonously and Forceably Broke open the Prison Doors, and did take away the said Brandy.... Reward 20 lib. Sterl.... Charles Graydon Esquire, General of Her Majesties Customs in Edinburgh.’ (*EC*, 27-29 April, 1709)

B Trade Goods, Lodgings and Properties for Sale

Early newspapers contain numerous advertisements for the sale of everyday commodities, but only two examples relating to the south-west have been noted. They deal with a parcel

of Galloway white woollen cloth for sale in Edinburgh in 1705 and with luxury goods — ‘Dead Cloaths’ — available in Pickergill’s shop in Dumfries in 1709.

Advertisements of property for sale or rent in Edinburgh are plentiful throughout. The examples included lodgings belonging to the Duchess of Buccleuch and Lady Hamilton of Baldoon near Wigtown. Many country families kept town houses in Edinburgh, and, indeed, in smaller burghs, Dumfries, Kirkcudbright, Wigtown, Ayr.... Galloway’s Land, Gosford’s Close, Weir’s Land, etc., refer to their proprietors, for example James Galloway.

After 1712 advertisements for town and country properties in the Borders, Fife, Lanarkshire, Ayrshire, etc. appear more frequently. One of the more unusual was the commercial rabbit warren, ‘a rich Cunnigary to be set ... lying upon the Sea Coast within the Paroch of Largo ... in Fife (*SC*, 22-25 March, 1717). A cunnigary was rather more than just a survival from the mediaeval economy: a much later Galloway example with an annual rental value of £100 ‘in the sandy district of Glenluce’ was mentioned in the Rev. William Learmont’s *Statistical Account* (1790-91) of the parish of Old Luce.

The first property advertisements in the south-west appear about 1721. These included farms, sheep-grounds and cattle parks for rent, woodland, and an inn in Portpatrick. The insertion of these advertisements in Edinburgh newspapers in itself suggests that some landowners thought that there were prospective tenants outside the south-west of Scotland and that competitive tenders would result in increased rents from the highest offerers. This is perhaps part of the beginnings of the eighteenth century Lowland Clearances and of important changes in the pattern of land tenure.

Lairds, particularly on estates close to the Cree and the Dee, for example in Tongland, Twynholm, Kelton, Kirkcudbright and Crossmichael parishes, were amalgamating small ‘crofts or Feys.’ This might have involved the eviction of four, five, seven, even thirteen families who had to ‘flitt and remove themselves’ from their multiple tenancy ‘touns’ or ‘townlands.’ They were replaced by a single tenant in a large farm for which he paid a larger rent. The economic basis of this was the introduction of more black cattle who were sold on as part of the droving trade to the markets in East Anglia, and ultimately to London.

Joseph Train estimated that five hundred families in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright received notices to leave their habitations at Whitsunday 1724 (*SNL* Ms. 874, letter J. Train to Sir Walter Scott, 14 January, 1831). This seems a high figure. However, four or five townlands were cleared from Basil Hamilton’s Baldoon estate and this could have represented on its own some twenty families in Wigtownshire. Baldoon, although it was not in the end forfeited, was valued in the Survey of Forfeited Estates in 1716-17 at a yearly rental of £1,495. This included £1,225 in money, so this estate was already a highly organised business enterprise. In comparison the estate of the deceased Viscount Kenmore was valued at a yearly rental of £608, including £538 money rental and various items in kind, 32 bolls of oats Kirkcudbright measure at £22, barley, oatmeal, wethers, hens, butter at £7 and one lamb at 1s. 6d.

Change was localised rather than general throughout Galloway and most improvements took place much later in the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, the new ways were seen in Galloway, particularly in the Stewartry, as a revolution and led to the short-lived but bitter

Levellers Rising in 1724, which seems to have been focused on knocking down the new march and sub-division dykes, perhaps as the most obvious and visible symbol of the aims of the 'great and mighty men / Who covetous are of gold' (*Levellers' Lines*).

The woodland on Hills or Hillis estate near Dumfries was perhaps advertised in the hope of attracting new money from England. The York Buildings Company, that is The Company of Undertakers for raising the Thames Water in York Buildings, had accumulated a vast amount of spare capital, in total £1,295,575, in London in 1719 for investment in the acquisition of forfeited estates. It spent £308,913 in 1719-20 alone in purchasing the Panmure (£60,400), Kilsyth, Fingask, Winton, and Inversnaid (£820) estates. In the 1720s and 1730s it engaged in massive and ultimately foolish and wasteful expenditure in developing timber resources, saw mills and iron works on Speyside, on lead mines in Angus and Ardnamurchan, and coal works and salt pans with new technology, including a wooden railway, at Preston Saltworks. This was of enormous benefit to the Scottish economy, Highland and lowland, in transferring English money into Scottish pockets, and not least of all into those of Scottish lawyers. It was, indeed an example of the Union of 1707 transforming the prospects of a number of Scots through the infusion of large scale capital resources in investment in Scotland. Any landowner in Scotland with timber for sale in 1721 might have been justified in having great expectations.

Goods for Sale

'There is a parcel of good Galloway white Woolen Cloth to be sold at a reasonable Rate by whole Sale; any one who has occasion for the same , may be informed at the Exchange House in Edinburgh.' (*EC*, 30 March – 2 April, 1705)

'There is to be Sold in Dumfrice, at the Shop of Simon Pickersgill, Dead Cloaths ready made, for Men, Women, and Children, of Crape, both fine and Course, either Cut or Sewed Work, as use in London.' (*EC*, 18-21 November, 1709)

Edinburgh Lodgings

'The Great Lodging lately Possesst by the Duches of Buccleuch in the Parliament Closs, Consisting of Seventeen Fire Rooms, with Closets and many other Conveniences, is to be Set in haill or in part. Any who intend to take the same, may Enquire at Mr Johnstoun's within the Entry.' (*EC*, 17-19 May, 1708)

'Two young Coach Horse to be sold, to be seen at Creagiehall. Any who has a mind to buy them, may enquire at the Marquis of Annandale's Lodgings, the Third Story of Corbiston's Land, at the Back of the Cross, where they shall be informed of the Prices.' (*SC*, 15-17 February, 1716)

'That the Lodgings presently possess by Lady Mary Hamilton, Lady Baldoun, lying on the South Side of the High Street of Edinburgh, in the Land-market, in the Closs called Gosfoord's Closs, betwixt Libertoun's Wynd and the Bank-Closs, below the second Pend, on the West Side of the said Closs, consisting of Nine Fire-Rooms, besides Closets, all well

lighted from the four Airths, with Garrets and three Vaults, two of which entring within the said Turnpike, is to be set for one Year or more, by Richard Condie Writer in Edinburgh, to be found at the Royal Coffee-House there, or at his house on the South Side of the high Street of the Canongate opposite to Weir's Land.' (*SC*, 7-9 March, 1720)

'Sale Notice of Tenement of Land ... 10th August, 1722 ... commonly called Galloway's Land ... 5 stories ... North side of the High Street opposite to Libberton's Wynd in the Land Market ... and Tenement of Houses and Yard at the West end of the Burrow Loch adjacent to Bruntsfield ... lately pertaining to James Galloway merchant in Edinburgh (deceased).' (*EEC*, 6-7 April, 1722)

Galloway Properties for Rental and Sale

'That the Lands of Buss and Upper-Forrest, lying within the Parochin of Kells and Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, being valuable Sheep-Grounds, are to be for in Tack at a publick Roup at Mill of Glenlie the second Wednesday of March next, being the eight day of the samen; the Tack to commence at Whitsunday first. The terms of the Roup to be seen in the hands of Provost McCourtie in New-Galloway.' (*EEC*, 14-16 February, 1721)

'That the Parks of Livingston, lying within the Parochin of Balmaghie and Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, belonging to Mr John Maxwell of Ardwall, are to be set by way of publick Roup at Boatcroft of Livingston, upon the 3d Day of February 1722, betwixt the hours of 11 and 12 in the Forenoon and one and two in the Afternoon, and that to the highest Offerer, he always finding sufficient Caution for the Rent; which Parks are computed to hold ninescore of Cattle, and to sow 30 Bolls of Corn, and 4 Bolls of Bear, and their lies within the said Parks above 60 Acres of Meadow, and there is a convenient Dwelling-House, Office-Houses and Gardens, situate on the Lands: The conditions of the Roup are to be seen in Dumfries, in the Hands of John Somervell of Barnhowrie Writer there, and at Murehead's Coffee-House in Edinburgh.' (*EEC*, 21-23 November, 1721)

'That the Bankwood belonging to Edward Maxwell of Hills, two Miles and a Half from Dumfries, and near the same Distance from a good Harbour, is to be sold by way of voluntary Roup at Lightwaterfoord, near the said Wood, upon the eight day of January, 1722. And any who design to purchase the same, may see the Terms and Conditions of Roup in the Hands of Joseph Currie Writer in Dumfries.' (*EEC*, 21-23 November, 1721)

'That in Portpatrick, in the Shire of Galloway, there is a convenient new publick House, at the sign of King George's Head, to be set; where is good Entertainment for Men and Horses, going or coming from Ireland. Enquire at Adam Barclay, Turner in the back Stairs in the Parliament-Close, Edinburgh; or at the said House at Portpatrick.' (*EEC*, 1-3 May, 1722)

The 1727 *Edinburgh Evening Courant* is worth examining for advertisements of properties in the south-west, for example 'Barlay, Netherwood and Pulmeddie' in Carsphairn parish, 'Garverly' in Kells parish, and, in particular, Mains in Southwick parish 'within 10 miles of Dumfries, upon Solloway-Furth.'

'That upon Thursday the third day of August next, betwixt the Hours of Two and Four afternoon, the Lands and Estate of Mains lying in the parish of Southwick and Stewartry of

Kirkcudbright, holding Blench of the Crown, and paying a Yearly free rent (after deduction of the Stipend payable to the Minister) the sum of 1720 Pounds Scots, a considerable number of Hens and Poultry, and a twelfth part of the Grain growing upon one of the Mealings of the said Estate, which pays 40L Sterling of Rent, beside a good Mansion House, Gardens and Planting of a very good Value, and the Multures of a Corn Mill, to which the Hail Lands are Thirled, presently collected by a Servant for the behoof of the Heritor, are to be exposed to Sale by way of publick voluntary Roup in John's Coffee-house in Edinburgh. The Progress Rental and Conditions of Sale are to be seen in the Hands of John Hynd Writer, at William Veitch Writer to the Signet his Writing Chamber in Edinburgh.' (*EEC*, 29 June – 3 July, 1727)

C Crime and Punishment

There are advertisements and notices with descriptions of crimes and criminals, murderers, thieves, burglars, brigands, kidnappers (of dogs and horses), dealers in stolen property, moral deviants, whores and gypsies, and of the punishments meted out to those who had been taken into custody. These make a useful starting point for any attempt to understand just how dangerous everyday life was for people in the early eighteenth century — just how thin, how fragile, how tenuous was the veneer of civilization and good order and just how savage was the state apparatus of control and retribution.

The description of Robert Carmichael, the Moffat schoolmaster who had beaten to death his pupil, the laird of Dornock's son, is very striking. Before the age of prints and photographs a vivid and detailed description of the men and women wanted for murder, for theft, for desertion, etc., was enormously helpful to those charged with hunting them down. It was not easy for criminals to disappear into towns, even perhaps into Edinburgh, and much more difficult in small burghs and rural parishes. The value of requiring newcomers to produce testimonials from their parish ministers, a sort of internal passport control mechanism applied before permitting residence, is obvious. These pieces of paper mattered, not least of all because the banishment of petty criminals and persistent moral deviants was still the norm in the early 1700s.

One surprising entry is the notice of the January 1706 transportation across the Atlantic, from Lochryan to Maryland, of forty-six Edinburgh women, thieves and whores, as indentured servants. This had the advantage to the English government of helping to populate their North American colonies, to the Scottish government of exporting, permanently, local undesirables, and for the women concerned giving them the opportunity of making a new life for themselves in America. How did they get from Edinburgh to Stranraer? Did they walk under guard via Biggar, Leadhills, Moniaive and New Galloway to Minnigaff and hence to Stranraer? Or were they taken in carts through to Glasgow and then by sea to Lochryan? Were the women 'sold' in Stranraer to an English ship's captain, who in turn sold them on five/seven year indentures to their new masters in Maryland?

The McMin case in 1712 is a good example of the formal savagery imposed by the state, here cutting off a murderer's right hand before his execution, in other cases branding and flogging.

Details of thieves and hamesucking include well-organised and daring raids on the houses of the privileged and wealthy. In December 1713, for example, some rogues broke into the house of Mr Cuthbert, the minister of Culross, and removed his cloths, linen, his wigs, his silver spoons, even his Bible (*SC*, 6-8 January, 1714). In February 1714 the Countess of Sutherland's house at Rosebank was 'done' and a gold watch, silver salt and caddel-pot and spoons, a red leather purse with £9 Sterling and six guineas gold, a diamond ring valued at £8, six pairs of English kid gloves, two masquerade suits and three plaids, etc., were taken (*SC*, 8-10 February, 1714). Two large silver communion cups were stolen out of the shop of George Martin, the kirk treasurer of Jedburgh, in August 1720 (*EEC*, 1-5 September, 1720). Cloths, linen, plaids, even perhaps wigs, could be marketed through a network of professional dealers.

However, there were far more advertisements about horses and ponies stolen than about household goods. Horses were taken from fields and enclosures and parks, from The Hirsell in Berwickshire and the Earl of Haddington's estate, from stables in, for example Renfrew and Penicuik and in Edinburgh Canongate, from an Army Camp at Stirling and the Office of the Excise in Lasswade, from the Boathouse of Hyndford near Lanark and the Selkirk Mills, and from agitated owners as far south as Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Chester-le-Street.

A few of those taken were work horses, for example the grey mare 'shaven with the plough' from Carlops – reward £40 Scots (1699) and a bay 'naig' from Dolphington – reward 4 dollars (1699); and the 'little brown Zeatland Pownie' – reward 3 dollars (1702) and the 'little grey Schelty' belonging to the Earl of Kilmarnock (1713); and a large black 16 hands Coach Mare from Teviotdale - £5 reward (1714). But most were, like the durable Galloways, country horses, roadsters and gentlemen's horses, valued at upwards of £3, £4-10s, and five guineas.

Paying for information received, organising a chain of supply and demand, marketing, finding buyers for stock, moving horses and ponies south to England or perhaps across the sea to Ireland, all these may have been part of the special skills developed over the years by the 'gypsies' accused of being horse breakers, i.e. breakers of the law and dealers in stolen property. Perhaps, however, there were others, smugglers, broken men, outwardly respectable ostlers and farmers making their way in the world as rustlers and thieves.

The rewards offered, for example 'a Guinea reward for each Horse, over and above Charges and No Questions Asked' for two horses belonging to the Earl of Haddington (*SC*, 13-15 July, 1713), may have suggested other devious ways of making 'easy money.'

Stealing, kidnapping and recycling spaniels and greyhounds taken in Edinburgh and the Lothians was another profitable ploy for specialist dealers. The spaniels, working dogs rather than 'little dogges,' were variously described as Spanish, for example 'a Spanish Bitch very fat and big in the Whelps, being of the French or Brat kind' (*SC*, 21-24 April, 1710), English, and of the 'Brack Kind,' for example the dog taken from Sir Alexander Murray of Blackbarony's fowler, David Fleming (*SC*, 2-4 November, 1715). The names of their owners, the Duke of Gordon, the Earl Marischal, the Earl of Linlithgow, were sometimes inscribed on their collars. Rewards varied from 10s. to a guinea.

The grey / White / Black Grey-hounds included racing dogs owned by 'Noblemen and Gentlemen' and raced on 'Edin's Moor' (*SC*, 6-9 April, 1711) for a silver collar.

Miscellaneous Notices

‘Moffat, July 14. Last Tuesday, the Schoolmaster of this Town most inhumanly Murdered the Laird of Dornock’s Son, a Youth of about fifteen years, one of his Scholars, by Dragging him over a Gate, and beating him with such Cruelty, that the youth immediately expired amongst his Hands....

Robert Carmichael late School-master in Moffat, of a middle stature, small body’d, thin and lean of a swarthy Complexion, Pock-marked, full Eyed, Cloudy brow’d, one of his feet swel’d, if not running a sore thereon, he wore his own hair, which is very black, and almost jesh straight; Murdered a Gentle-man’s Son is fled from Justice. It is earnestly desired, that all good Christians may use their best Endeavours, to discover and secure the said Robert Carmichael, and give notice thereof to William Alvis Writer in Edinburgh, to the Town Clerk of Glasgow, or to any publick office in Dumfries; and the Parent of the Deceas’d Youth, will pay their Charges, and give them all other Reasonable Satisfaction.’ (*EG*, 17-20 July, 1699)

‘Edinburgh, January 18th. This morning there was sent from hence 46 Women for Thift and Whoredom under a strong Guard for Lochryan, to be ship’d off thence to Mary-land.’ (*EC*, 25-28 January, 1706)

‘Edinburgh, Jan. 24. Yesterday James McMin a Galloway Man, had his right Hand cut off, and was afterwards executed in the Grass-Mercat for the murdering of a Packman. He confessed the Crime that he was condemned for, acknowledged that he was guilty of Theft from his Infancy, and warned all the Spectators to take Example by him.’ (*SC*, 23-26 January, 1712)

Stolen Goods

‘That whereas one John Henderson living in the Parish of Hoddam and Stewartry of Annandale a little thick red Faced Man short Broun coloured Hair, and his wife Janet Stewart a lusty Pock marked red Faced Woman with child, were entrusted in the end of July or the month of August last with the Carrieng from that place to Edinburgh of five Ells and a half of sad coloured Cloath, with seven or eight ells of small Serge of the same colour for linning of a Sute of Cloaths, the said John Henderson with his Wife and three Children have run away with the same Cloath and Linning, and whoever can give an account or discover them to the Author at the Exchange Coffee-House shall be thankfully rewarded.’ (*EG*, 1-4 October, 1708)

‘November 26. Several Goods Stollen from Carriers going to Dumfreiss, out of a Country House, viz. Siller-burn, about eight Miles from Edinburgh. One Piece Narrow Stript Scots Callamanco. One Double Callico Night-Gown, both Sides Black and White. One Temen Gown and Coat, Dark Olive-Green. One course Night Gown Stript and an incarnet Crape Coat. Six Linen Shirts, Five Suits of Night-Cloaths, and Twelve Piners. One fine “Glasgow” Plaid, and one coarser, another fine Plaid marked M M, a Gown and Coat of Blue and White Spanish Paplin Stript, and a big Coat double breasted of Whitish English Cloath. If any of the foresaid Goods can be discovered, they may call at Baillie

Gilchrist's Shop in Dumfreis, or at William Robertson's Shop in Edinburgh, and they shall have a sufficient Reward.' (SC, 2 November – 2 December, 1717)

Horse Thieves

'There was stoln out of the Paroch of Dinscori in the Shire of Dumfreis, a broun Horse, about eight Years of Age, about 14 or 15 Handful High, Stud Mouthed, large Headed, on Monday night or Tuesday Morning, being the third or fourth of November 1712. Any that can give Notice of the said Horse, let them call at Robert Corsan's Stabler in the Grass Mercat, and they shall have a Guinea for their Pains.' (SC, 5-7 November, 1712)

'Upon the 7th of February Instant, there was stolen out of the Paroch of Disdeer, in a Town called Inglistoun, within the Shire of Nithsdale, a Round Sorel Horse, with a white Main, white Tail, round docked, with some few white Hairs in his Brow, about 3 Pound Price: As also, there was stolen two Canes, one with a Bone Head, the other with an Alchimy Head, belonging to Alexander Wood, whose name is upon it: And likeways, a Bridle, Saddle, Boots and Spurs.

The Fellow who stole the above Particulars is called Alexander Thomson, a little Man, about 24 Years of Age, of a red Complexion, broad Fac'd, with long black Hair, little curled on the Top; wears a Snuff Coloured Meet Coat and Breeches. He is a Fife Man, living in the Paroch of Flishmilan, in the Town of Logie. Whoever can apprehend or discover him, and bring him to Mr Alexander Hunter Stabler, at the Foot of the West Bow, they shall be sufficiently rewarded.' (SC, 18-20 February, 1713)

'On the 26th of October, there was Stoln out of the Shalloch Minoch in Carrick, in the Paroch of Barr, a grey Horse, whiter before than behind, being a well favoured Country Horse, about Four Pounds Ten Shillings Sterling. Any Person that can give notice of the said Horse, so that he may be got back, let them enquire at James Littlejohn's, Stabler in the Grass-Merket, and they shall be sufficiently rewarded.' (SC, 2-4 November, 1713)

'That the Persons following, going under the Name of Gypsies, who have no settled Residence nor known way of Living, and are suspected to be Breakers of Horses, are in the Tolbooth of Jedburgh, viz. Alexander Thomas Chapman, born in the Parish of Abernethy, though he had his Residence in Danbog in the Shire of Fife; Patrick Faa in the Shire of Roxburgh; William Walker in the Shire of Selkirk; Mabill Stirling relict of the deceased Henry Faa younger; Mary Faa; Jean Ross; Elspeth Lindsay; Joseph Wallace, born in the Town of Jedburgh; John Fenwick born in the Paroch of New-Abbey in Galloway; Janet Yowston in the Paroch of Meriston in the Shire of Berwick; Mary Robertson, in the said Paroch of New-Abbey and Sheriffdom forsaid; Janet Wilson of the Town and Shire of Air.

Any Person who knows any of the foresaid Persons, or have any Thing to lay to their charge; are desired ... to appear before the ... Justices at Jedburgh, upon Tuesday the second of March next ... and give in their Charges and Grievances....' (SC, 24-26 February, 1714)

‘Edinburgh, May 5. The two famous Gypsies and Horse-Breakers, William Baillie and James Watson, are now Prisoners in this City ... one silver box, one silver case to be claimed....’ (SC, 3-5 May, 1714)

‘Edinburgh, August 27. On Wednesday last, James Watson, William Baillie and Agnes Brown were execute at the Gallowlees betwixt Leith and Edinburgh, for Robbery and House-Breaking. The Two Men were hung in Chains, and the Woman was buried at the Gallows Foot. And this Day there are other Two Men to be execute in the Grass-Mercat for the same Crimes, viz. Charles Hutchison and Duncan MacDougal.’ (SC, 25-27 August, 1714)

‘On Tuesday the 20th Inst., one Alexander Stevenson, a profess’d Dancing master, of a little Stature, black Complexion, a little Pock-marks, pretty well bodied, thick legged, and nimble, speaks commonly English, tho’ he gives himself out to be a Scotsman of the Shire of Air, and married to a Dumfries Woman; came up to a Gentleman’s Man riding home to East Lothian from Edinburgh on his Master’s Horse, forced the Horse from the Boy, after beating of him, and made off with the Horse. The Horse Marks are, A thin Bright Bay, black tail’d, and black main’d in the near Side, a little Curle in his Main, and large legged, about 14 Hands high, ‘twixt 7 and 8 Years old, a little bare Scope on his Face above the Eyes, and some white Hairs in it, where a white Star misgave. Mr Stevenson commonly wears an old Scarlet Coat, a black Wigg, other times he wears an old black Coat and a tartan Vest ... 5 Guineas of Reward....’ (SC, 26-28 November, 1716)

‘That upon Friday the 29th September last, there was seized at Carlingwork in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, by Order of one of his Majesty’s Justices of Peace, two large black Mares, suspected to be stolen: If any Gentleman or other Person can claim and prove the Property of the said Mares, they may repair to the House of Samuel Brown, Vintner in Carlingwork, where, upon giving sufficient Proof, that the said Mares do belong to them, and Payment of Charges, the Mares shall be returned.’ (EEC, 11-12 October, 1721)

McCulloch and the Spaniels

‘Stolen ... a large lean Spaniel, smooth hair’d, with light brown Spots, of the French kind, two dew Claws behind, one of his Ears fore being slit at the End, about a Year and a half old ... taken by fraud Monday noon 9 March, fellow in the Maitland’s Livery, Grey fac’d with Yellow, and Yellow Waistcoat, about 20 years old, his own hair ... came to Col Hawley’s Servants at Fisheraw, telling them a long story, that he lived with Lord Lauderdale, and that Col Hawley had sent him for one of his dogs, naming him by his Name, and giving a little key for a Token ... Guinea Reward to Col Hawley, or Mr Davis at the Coach and Horse at the Foot of the Canongate.’ (SC, 9-11 March, 1713)

‘On the 11th of March 1713, There came a Fellow to the Laird of Dinmoore’s House in Fife; and after he had inquired where Dinmoore went to dine, he came to his House, and called for his servants; and when he got them, he told them he had seen Dinmoore; and that he was to dine in such a Place, and that by the Token he was to bring the setting Bitch to him where he was at Dinner.

He called himself McCulloch: A little Man. His Clothes were a yellow Waist-coat with red Button Holes, and a dark Coat above it shorter than the Waist-coat. Whoever can give Notice of this Fellow, shall have a Guinea Reward. The Bitch had a Collar about her Neck, and the name on it was George Paterson: Her Colour is dark brown and white.’ (SC, 13-16 March, 1713)

D. Galloways

Daniel Defoe (1660-1731) included his well-known description of Galloway horses and ponies in the third volume (1727) of his *A Tour thro’ the Whole Island of Great Britain*. They were ‘the best breed of strong low horses in Britain, if not in Europe, which we call pads, and from whence we call all small truss-strong riding horses Galloways; these horses are remarkable for being good pacers, strong, easy goers, hardy, gentle, well broke, and above all that they never tire and they are very much bought up in England on that account.’ Defoe may have passed through Dumfries en route to or from Edinburgh during his Scottish period, c. 1706-08, but it is highly unlikely that he travelled throughout Galloway. His *Tour* was not a travel journal. His description of Kirkcudbright, for example, is all-too-probably a cleverly improved and rephrased copy taken from John Macky’s *A Journey through Scotland* (1723).

Defoe’s account of the Galloways is more likely to have been based upon notes taken during discussions with the excellent Sir John Clerk of Penicuik (1676-1755). Clerk was a member of the Scottish Parliament between 1703 and 1707, representing the interests of Whithorn and his father-in-law. In 1701 Clerk had married Lady Margaret Stewart, the daughter of the 3rd Earl of Galloway. In his Mss *A Journey to Galloway* in 1721 Clerk noted that Galloway horses were bred in the moors of Minnigaff and about the hills of Craignelder and Poultrybui.³

The years between the 1680s and the 1740s were perhaps the golden age of the Galloways, when the best of them were regarded in Scotland and England, in Edinburgh and London and York and Newmarket, as valuable roadsters and racehorses. They were also much prized by criminal gangs and opportunist thieves.

Galloways were horses and ponies. It is quite clear from the descriptions of Galloways for sale, of Galloways stolen and retrieved, of racers and roadsters, that although many or most were 13 or 14 hands high saddle horses, there were others at only 11 or 12 hands, for example the ‘small Galloway, well made, about 12 Hands high ... short Main’d’ (1720). There was no necessary uniformity of colour — black, blew grey, sandy grey, brown, milk white, sorrel stone, bay stone, strawberry — nor of length and thickness of coat and mane. The Welsh Pony and Cob Society recognises four types and had the Galloway survived as a breed they too might have been divided into four categories of up to 12, 13, 14 and over 14 hands.

The Galloways do seem to have lived up to their almost legendary reputation for speed and stamina and reliability — for going on for 10 to 15 miles without breaking trot and

3 I.Macleod, *Where the Whaups are Crying. A Dumfries and Galloway Anthology*. Edinburgh, 2001, pp.142-147.

for tackling as routine a 60 mile journey in one day. At the Newmarket trials in 1754 they covered 100 miles in three days without showing any signs of distress. Eighteenth century country lairds, prosperous lawyers, affluent parish clergy and estate factors riding, for example from Stranraer to Ayr or from Kirkcudbright to Dumfries and Annan, and perhaps excise officers on their daily rounds, relied on Galloways.

It does seem, however, that by the 1770s and 1780s the old Galloway bloodline was being more and more diluted as the new heavier, more powerful horses, 15½, 16 or 17 hands high, were introduced from England. The *Dumfries Weekly Journal* between 1788 and 1793 has all too many notices of stallions being itinerated through Kirkcudbrightshire and Wigtownshire from Kirkbean and Kelton and Glasserton. Roadsters, carriage horses and draught horses were increasingly less likely as each year went by to be 'true' Galloways. Landowners and affluent tenant farmers preferred to work with and to be seen with horses of superior bone and muscle.

Some of the parish ministers make the same points in their contributions to *The Statistical Account of Scotland* (1791-99). Dr Isaac Davidson on Sorbie — 'Some of the most antient breed of Galloway horses are among the mountains and less improved parts of the country' — agrees with Mr Maitland in Minnigaff, where, 'in the upper part of the parish, there are still some remains of the true Galloway breed.' Dr Scott in Twynholm, however, believed that 'the old breed of Galloway, so highly valued for spirit and shape ... is almost entirely, if not totally extinct.' Dr Davidson again, on Glasserton, explains that 'the variety of the horse now prevalent in these parts of Galloway, has been gradually produced by the continual crossing of the old Galloway breed, with foreign stallions' and, in Sorbie, 'through the attention of the noblemen and gentry, this neighbourhood has a breed of horses fit for the saddle, and carriages of every kind ... they were originally Galloways.'

Of course even in 1816 there were still some farmers who bred and sold Galloways, for example Patrick Hannay at Caldons in Stoneykirk parish who had six young horses 'of the true Galloway breed' available for sale and he was 'well known' to have 'amongst the best stocks in the county.' (*DGC*, 14 May, 1816) The great Joseph Train described in his letter to Sir Walter Scott from Newton-Stewart on the 9th of May, 1817, how at the kirking of a newly married couple parties of 40 or 50 people would come into town from the moors, each man with a woman behind him on a Galloway.

The local picture may seem uneven, for example the small Gatehouse-of-Fleet Horse Fair in July 1828 consisted, with Irish horses scarce, almost entirely of Galloways (*DGC*, 8 July, 1828). However the *Courier* report on the Castle-Douglas Horse Fair in November 1832 is probably a more accurate summary of the situation. 'The breed of horses is fast improving in Galloway. Farmers and breeders see the nonsense of rearing from the small-boned breed — what we call good-for-no-purpose animals.' (*DGC*, 4 December, 1832)

By the 1840s and 1850s Galloway horses and ponies had virtually disappeared from the lists of stocks at markets, horse fairs and agricultural shows. The Rev. John Muir, the Church of Scotland minister in Kirkmabreck parish, noted in 1840, perhaps with some real regret, that the celebrated Galloway horses, 'well known in Shakespeare's day,' had 'by neglect been allowed to degenerate, and it is difficult now to find a genuine Galloway pony.'

It would scarcely be safe to state, that there is one of the pure breed in the parish.⁴ Perhaps it was no longer fashionable to appear in public on a Galloway?

A rather similar story of decline and fall can be followed in the history of the Galloway ‘racers’ or ‘racing Galloways’ from the 1710s to the 1780s. Although faster racehorses with Arab bloodlines competed for much larger purses of 60 to 100 guineas, nevertheless the prize money allocated for races contested by Galloways at the Sands of Leith course near Edinburgh in the 1710s and 1720s was still significant — for example, 30 guineas for Galloways not exceeding 14 hands in 1717 (*SC*, 7-10 June, 1717), the silver plate of 20 guineas in November 1722 (*EEC*, 15-19 November, 1722), and a Galloway plate of £25 given by the Town of Leith in September 1726 (*EEC*, 21-25 July, 1726). The rewards at provincial meetings were similar, for example a plate of £20 for Galloways over a four mile course at Dumfries in August 1726 (*EEC*, 23-27 June, 1726), a Silver Plate to the value of £10 at the Sands of St Andrews in April 1725 (*EEC*, 29 March, 1725), and a plate of 10 guineas value for Galloways 14 hands high at Berwick in June 1725 (*EEC*, 24-25 May, 1725).

An interesting distinction was made between Galloways and ‘Country Galloways,’ for example at the new Muir of Coupar (Cupar) course on the north side of the Water of Edin in April 1714, when a Saddle or Prize of Ten Shillings was to be run for ‘by Country Galloways’ (*SC*, 29-31 March 1714). At Lintoun (West Linton) in the County of Tweedale the race in June 1717 for a pair of Silver Spurs was open to any Galloway not exceeding the value of £5, ‘the least siz’d Galloway to be allowed a proportionable Desalcation of Weight for their Want of Size’ (*SC*, 29-31 May, 1717).

By the 1780s and 1790s there are only occasional references to Galloways at Scottish racecourses, including even Dumfries, or at local country fairs and meetings, for example at Gatehouse-of-Fleet, Castle-Douglas, Kirkpatrick-Durham, Rhonehouse, Creetown or on the Sands of Luce. Two notices in the *Dumfries Weekly Journal* show that there was at least some sort of attempt to revive and recover the famous breed. In 1794 the owner of a ‘beautiful young dark, Chestnut Horse, *Hearts of Oak* ... nearly 15 hands high....’ announced that he was available ‘to Cover’ at Kirroughtree ‘at One Guinea per Mare, and Half a Crown to the Groom.’ He was ‘got by *Young Hearts of Oak*, out of a little Britain mare; his grandma by a son of the *Flying Childers*.’ He was ‘a very honest horse as a hunter, or on the road, and seems to be the best qualified to get good stock for the field or road, as well as to restore the famous breed of Galloways’ (*DWJ*, 1 April, 1794). This might, of course, have been not much more than a marketing ploy to enhance the income earned by his stallion’s efforts. However, the reference to ‘a little Britain mare’ is interesting, as this coincides with the Rev. Mr Maitland’s comment in his Statistical Account of Scotland entry for Minnigaff parish (1792) — Galloways ‘are the same with the Cornish, the Welsh, and Hebridean ponies, and are the ancient British.’

In 1801 the Dumfries and Galloway Hunt sponsored ‘a Plate of Fifty Pounds ... to be run over the Course of Tinwald Downs’ for ‘Horses bred in Scotland not exceeding 14 hands high, and carrying not less than 12 stone. The object of the Hunt in giving this Plate, being to recover the breed of Galloways now almost lost.’ Although it was ‘in their

4 *The New Statistical Account of Scotland, Kirkcudbrightshire*. 1845, p.319.

contemplation' to offer an annual plate on similar terms at other Dumfries Races, there is no evidence to show that further action on these lines was taken.

Some of the last reports of race meetings with Galloways taking part appear to have been not in the south-west of Scotland but in Wales, for example in the 1834 and 1835 races at Abergavenny and Brecon.

There are still many questions to answer. Were many Galloways described as 'of the Hunting Kind?' One example was the 'dark bay Galloway, of a Hunting Kind, near Fourteen Hands High ... with Mr Giffard Smith his Mark upon his Shoes,' which strayed from near Duddingston Mill in 1730 (*EEC*, 5-7 May, 1730). Was the 'Grey Galloway, 5 years old, through broke to carry a lady as a stalking pony' (*DWJ*, October, 1815) a deer forest pony? How much chaos, carelessness and confusion surrounded the term 'Galloway?' *The Scots Magazine* (Vol. 52, 1790, p.539) had a *most unlikely* story about a Galloway, foaled in 1745, which 'was rode at the battle of Prestonpans by a young gentleman, who afterwards sold it to a farm near Dunbar.' This 'very small black Galloway, not exceeding eleven hands high, of the Shetland breed ... is now forty-seven years of age, and can trot above eight miles an hour for several hours together ... and has not, to appearance, undergone the least alteration whatever, either in galloping, trotting, walking, or in body, for these twenty years past.'

Galloways: At the Races

'Edinburgh, November 19, 1722. This day is to be run for at Leith the Silver Plate of 20 Guineas, by three Horses; the Owners are, Mr James Steuart, a sorrel Stone Galloway, called *Wanton Willy*, Rider's Name, Kenneth Wright, Livery, striped Cotton Satin. Captain William Areskine, a Grey Stone Galloway, called *Small-hopes*, Rider's Name, John Slaeman, Livery, White Fustain. William Morgan, a Bay Stone Galloway, called *Murecock*, Rider's Name, James Ronald, Livery, Red Satin.' (*EEC*, 15-19 November, 1722)

'Leith races began Aug. 15 ... an input of four guineas was run for by a white Galloway belonging to James Boyd, and a bay mare belonging to James Birkmyre; and was won by the mare. Between the ... races five men in sacks ran for a guinea. On the 16th the King's plate, value 100 guineas, was run by Robert Fenwick Esq's bay mare *Lady's Thigh*, Thomas Tilly Gent's chesnut horse *Steady*, William Carr of Etall Esq's gray horse *Tom Jones*, Abraham Dixon Esq's gray mare *Flirt*, Sir William Scot of Ancrum's chesnut horse *Young Darling*, James Murray of Broughton Esq's gray horse *Favourite*, and Sir William Maxwell of Monreath's gray horse *Don del Combo*; and was won by *Lady's Thigh*.' (*SM*, 15 August 1753)

'Leith Races. March 5. The following horses started for a give-and-take purse of 20 guineas: *Post-Boy*, a bay Galloway belonging to the Right Hon. the earl of Errol; *Whisk*, a grey gelding belonging to Matt. Henderson, Esq.; *Gipsey*, a bay mare belonging to Alex. Scoular, Gent.; and *Sally*, a bay mare belonging to James Boyd, stabler in Edinburgh; which was carried off by *Sally*.' (*EM*, 1, 1763)

Galloways: Stolen or Strayed

‘Stoln out of Grange Parks, a little white Galloway cut tail’d, Paces and Trots well, whoever can give a notice of the said Galloway at the Flanders Coffeeshouse shall have Two Dollars reward.’ (*EG*, 20-24 April, 1699)

‘Stoln on the 19th Instant, out of the Churchyard on Innerask a blew grey Galloway, value 24 Pounds, a Slit in one of his Ears, and two places of his back hurt with the Sadle. Whoever shall bring notice of the said Galloway to George Bishop Stabler in the Cannongate or to Alexander Rae Smith in Inneresk shall have two Dollars reward.’ (*EG*, 24-27 April, 1699)

‘Stolen or Strayed from a Stair-foot at head of the Cowgate betwixt Four and Five o’Clock at Night the 17th instant, a Black Galloway, going to betwixt Six or Seven Years, Cut tail’d, with a Dair of Harden Sodds and a Blanket on him, some White hairs on each side beneath the Saddle, with a White Leather Curpil, and Branks with an Iron Runner, he has a high or Bucktooth on the left side of his Mouth. Whoever can give notice of him, so as he may be got again, to Robert Lang Stabler at the West Port, shall have Ten Shillings Reward and Charges.’ (*EC*, 18-21 November, 1709)

‘There was Stolen the 26th of June at Night, out of the House of William Hay, near the Colt-Bridge, a pretty Large Galloway, Milk White, cut Tail’d, with a slough on the far Eye ... a Gunia Reward and Reasonable Charges.’ (*SC*, 28-30 June, 1710)

‘Strayed, on the last Day of October, from the Laird of Blair-Drummond’s House in Monteith, 6 miles west from Stirling, a little bay Galloway, Six Years old, comes Seven, his Mane cut close, no white upon him except some Spots under the Sadle, goes but not thoroughly, supposed to be gone southward ... Sufficient Reward and Charges born.’ (*SC*, 22-24 November, 1710)

‘There is stolin or strayed about ten days ago from a Gentleman in the Parish of Ersken, and Sherifffdom of Renfrew, a little dark gray Galloway, with a white Tail and Mane, 6 years old, well paced, about four Pound Sterling Price ... to David Pinkerton Stabler in the Grass Mercat, Edinburgh, or James Morison Baxter in the Tron-Gate of Glasgow.’ (*SC*, 21-24 December, 1711)

‘Stoln out of the Kings Park at Edinburgh, about the 7th of July or thereby, a blackish Bay Galloway, about 14 Hands high, full in his Gates, 3 White Feet, not to the Pasture, Black Man’d, and Black Tail’d, Brownish in the Counter and in the Inner-side of the Thigh, with a small Snip in the upper Lip, cut in the Mane, about 7 years old ... Two guineas reward and all Charges.’ (*SC*, 13-16 July, 1716)

‘Whereas, One John McFarland, who was Colonel Agnew’s Footman, ran away on Thursday’s Night being the Nineteenth Instant, from Lochryan in the Shire of Galloway, and stole from his Master a dark bay Coloured Galloway, very well Paced, about 13 Hands high, of 8 Years old, cut half Mane back, the Hair shorn on his far Thigh, and a Little mealie Mouthed; he took likewise a light Pad-Sadle, a Pair of Pistols and a Firelock; the Sadle is mounted with blew Cloath and Gold Lace, and over it a plain mourning Cover: the Pistols are mounted with Iron, some cutting on their Taps, and Royal Scotch Dragoons on their Barrels, but the Letters are almost worn out; the Firelock is plain, mounted with iron, L.C. burnt, and I.W. cut on the stock.

He is a young Man, about 5 Foot high, a little Ruddie Fac'd, thick Bodied, with dark Colour thick hair. He took with him a Suit of black Cloaths, and a light gray coloured Coat lined with red, and red Button Holes, with Brass Buttons, and a Silver-trac'd Hat; he served some time in Flanders in Brigadier Preston's Regiment, he speaks a little with the Highland Accent.

'Tis said that his Relations live about Camstroden, near Loch-Lomond, in the Shire of Dumbarton; he passed by Maybole on the Friday following.

Whoever apprehends and secures the said John McFarland, so as the Horse and the other stolen Goods may be recovered, and give Notice thereof to Mr Wallace of Carnhil Merchant in Glasgow, at his Dwelling-House at the Head of the Bridgate, or to the Printer hereof, at the Printing-House in the College, shall receive 5 Guineas Reward.' (*WCI*, 26-28 April, 1716)

'In Tolbooth of Dunbar, James Deuar, and Jean Muirhead his mother ... apprehended at Cockburnspath, for stealing linen webs ... of which already convicted ... in possession when apprehended of a dark gray Galloway, aged betwixt 5 and 6 years, with a white Spot on the inside of the Forehead, which the Justice of the Peace suspects to be stolen ... James Deuar pretended to live at Hindford near Lanark and that he bought the Horse at Carnwath Fair from a Highland man.' (*SC*, 17-19 July, 1717)

'On Monday 29 July ... strayed out of the Lands of Heartside, Paroch of Channelkirk ... a broad lyered well going Galloway, snipt in the Face, cut Tail'd, about 8 years old, trots and prances....' (*SC*, 31 July – 2 August, 1717)

'Stoln or strayed 31st October at night ... from Loanhead in the Parish of Deny a little gray horse or Galloway, belonging to James Muirhead, cut tail'd, of a Sandy gray colour, spotted about the head, and Six Years of age ...' (*SC*, 31 October – 3 November, 1718)

'On Thursday the 27th Instant, sometime in the Afternoon, there strayed or was stolen from Leith Links, a small Galloway well made, about 12 Hands high, switch Tail'd, short Main'd, a small white Spot on his Forehead, with full Mark on the mouth ... one Guinea Reward.' (*EEC*, 27-31 October, 1720)

'These are to give Notice, That at the Rood-Fair of Drumfries, being the 21st September last: There was apprehended by the Sheriff-Depute of Drumfries a Fellow who Sometimes goes by the Name of David Maxwell Brasier and Sometimes by the Name of Pinkertoun, as is informed, who had with him two Gray Horses, one a dark Gray about five Years old of a pretty good Size, well paced, and the other a thick little Galloway pretty old, which Horses are secured by the said Sheriff-Depute. So that if any Person have any Claim to lay to the said Horses, or any Information to give against the said David Maxwell, who is now in Prison; they would acquaint the said Sheriff-Depute, betwixt and the first Day of December next 1720.' (*CM*, 11 October, 1720)

'On Monday the 19th Instant, there was Stoln or stray'd out of one of the Horse Closses, belonging to Berwick upon Tweed, a light Gray Galloway, about thirteen Hands high, switch tail'd, pais'd and trotted well; Any Person that can give Notice of the said Horse, so as he may be got back, shall have a Guinea reward, and no Questions asked....' (*EEC*, 27-29 June 1727)

‘Stoln or stray’d out of an Inclosure at West-Nisbet, near Duns ... on 30th of August last, a high Coloured Gray Gelding, of a Galloway Size being about 14 Hands high, going six Years old ... two Guineas reward.’ (*EEC*, 7-11 September, 1727)

In Galloway and Wales 1822-1835

‘There was stolen, out of Clanty Boy’s Stable, parish of Mochrum, on Wednesday night, the 13th instant, a Black Mare, about 14 hands high, of the real Galloway breed. The animal is 5 years old, and has a white star on her forehead; a part of the far hind foot is white; and there is a scratch on the far hind hip rubbed off against the wall. Whoever can give any information respecting the said Mare will be handsomely rewarded, by applying to Alexander Mckenna, Clanty Boys.’ (*DGC*, 18 March, 1822)

‘Sale of Horses, Hay and Barley, and Let of Foggage ... by Public Roup, at Troquhain, in the parish of Balmaclellan ... on Friday the 12th day of January next, From 10 to 15 HORSES from 3 to 8 years old, part of them fit for husbandry purposes, and part for either saddle or harness; also a very fine Bay STALLION, got by *Tam o’ Shanter*, out of a remarkably fine mare of the true Galloway breed. The Stallion would be of great value to those who wish to breed first rate Roadsters, it being well known that they are superior travellers to any breed of horses that have ever been in the country.’ (*DGC*, 2 January, 1827)

‘Sale of Stock, Farming Utensils, and Household Furniture; and Set of Grass Parks ... at Troquhain ... on Tuesday the 8th day of May next, Three or four superior Work Horses four years old, a riding Mare ... Also, a very Handsome Stallion rising four years old, nearly fifteen hands high, of a dark bay colour, with no white, got by *Tam o’ Shanter*, out of a remarkably fine travelling mare of the true Galloway breed ... will be sold previously, by private bargain, by Mr McMillan at Viewfield, or Mr Cannon at Sheil, if a suitable offer is made.’ (*DGC*, 24 April, 1827)

Sale of Stock, etc. At Viewfield, near New-Galloway, on Saturday 30th June ... apply to Mr McMillan at Viewfield ... Two Husbandry Mares. One excellent Galloway Mare, useful for riding or drawing a Gig. One particularly good Mare, three years old. One ditto, two years old. One Colt, one year old. One Filly, one year old; and One Pony, all of the true Galloway breed.’ (*DGC*, 26 June, 1827)

‘Valuable Hunters, etc. for Sale ... Abergavenny ... 3rd November. Lot 10. A Clever Galloway (*Diana*), Five Year old, 13, 3 and a half high, a good Hack, and has been ridden occasionally by a Lady (for her performance on the Turf, see *Racing Calendar*).’ (*GMBGMG*, 24 October, 1835)

‘The Abergavenny Races. 30th October ... Fifth Race. Purse of Five Sovereigns added to a Sweepstake of One Sovereign each for Galloways. Weight to be handicapped. Heat, one mile and a distance.’ (*GMBGMG*, 11 October, 1834). ‘The Galloway Race was won by *Crazy Jack* at 2 Heats heading four others. A good race.’ (*GMBGMG*, 1 November, 1834)

‘Grossmont Races ... Spring Meeting ... A Match between Mr Parry’s brown Galloway, and Mr Bower’s strawberry ditto, one mile, was won easily by the former.’ (*GMBGMG*, 25 April, 1835)

‘Swansea and Neath Races. 4th August ... A Sweepstake of Two Sovereigns each, for Galloways and Ponies under 13 hands high, half forfeit, with Fifteen added from the Fund. The Galloways to be handicapped by the Steward.’ (*GMBGMG*, 4 July, 1835)

‘The Breconshire Races ... 23/24 September ... 2nd day. Fourth Race. A Cup (given for Galloways and Ponies) by the Tradesmen of Brecon ... to carry weight for age, and weight for inches, to commence at 13 hands high ... 7 lb. For every inch from 13 to 14 hands. Heats, one mile and a half.’ (*GMBGMG*, 1 August, 1835)

The Last of the Galloways

Although it is quite possible that the last Galloway in Galloway died on Kirkmabreck farm in the 1930s,⁵ an article originally published in *Farming World* in 1890 has some interesting points about just how few of the old breed were left at the end of the nineteenth century. ‘At Kenmore in Wigtownshire there was till lately a breed of ponies which had been on the farm longer than any one could remember, the farm having been in the hands of the same family for generations. These were supposed to have belonged to the Galloway breed, and in outward appearances (colour excepted) and sure-footedness they resembled the old Galloways, but we do not think they were remarkable for endurance. One of this breed is now in the possession of Mr Alexander Morton, grain merchant, Newton-Stewart. A few years ago we had the pleasure of examining a pony belonging to Messrs R. and W. Callander, Newton-Stewart, which though admittedly not a pure-bred Galloway, comes nearer to the Galloway type than anything we have seen. On the farm of Pibble, above Creetown, there was also an old breed of Galloways, one of which is now in the possession of Mr Hunter of Mark and Pibble.’ (*KA*, 23 May, 1890)

A great deal of confusion has arisen from the use of the term ‘Galloway’ (or ‘Fell Galloway’) as a generic name customarily and very loosely applied to any small pit pony in coal mining areas, including Yorkshire and the North-East of England. There may have been smaller Galloways or, more likely, ponies with some Galloway genes in their ancestry, in the mining districts of England and Wales until the 1970s and 1980s. But — note the story about a miner and a horse-keeper in the north of England comparing the qualities of their respective pits. ‘Wey, lad,’ said the miner, ‘the best Galloway down wor pit is a cuddy.’ And a ‘cuddy’ in the north of England dialects is a donkey. (*KA*, 12 July, 1878) Some pit ponies may have been Galloways of a sort. One reference has been noted for the Ayrshire coalfield. ‘Wanted for Air Colliery. Four or five galloways as Pit Ponies. They must not exceed in height four feet three inches.’ (*Air Advertiser*, 25 November, 1804) In 1827 agents for collieries in Cumberland and Northumberland were purchasing smaller Galloways at the Rood Fair Horse Market in Dumfries. (*DGC*, 2 October, 1827)

5 A Dent and D M Goodall, *A History of British Native Ponies*. London, 1962, p. 219

THE ORDEAL OF PATRICK McMASTER:
A GALLOWAY MERCHANT IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION
by Colin Nicolson

In the summer of 1770, during the advent of the American Revolution, an unremarkable Englishwoman made a remarkable allegation arising from the mistreatment of an obscure Galloway merchant in colonial Boston. Patrick McMaster, originally of Challoch, was seized by a mob on the afternoon of Tuesday June 19, having ignored a ‘warning [to] Quit the Town within 3 days, or . . . take the consequences.’ The mob had him ‘put into a Cart, exhibited . . . thro the Town, & were going to Tar & F [*eather*]: him, but . . . [*instead*] they forced an Oath from him, that he wod leave the place.’ McMaster was singled out for rough treatment, the Englishwoman Ann Hulton reported, ‘in return’ for some of Boston’s Scottish traders threatening to relocate their businesses to another port after being refused permission by the town and the merchants to sell imported goods in order to raise capital for a shipbuilding project. Hulton went further, however, and claimed that the mobbing of McMaster was a prelude to something altogether more sinister: that the ‘Town or Leaders of the [*merchants?*]’ had ‘resolved to banish all the Scotchmen’ from Boston.¹

Ann Hulton readily sympathized with the unfortunate McMaster, for later that night she was visited by a noisy mob at the Brookline home she shared with her brother Henry (a senior imperial official)² and his family, a few miles from where the Scot was making his escape. Whatever the truth of the matter, the Hultons and the McMasters, were so terrified that they sought refuge at Castle William in Boston harbour. They remained on the island for three to four months, returning to Boston only when they supposed that their personal safety was not in jeopardy. Thrown together by circumstances, unquestionably the genteel Englishwoman and the obscure Scot exchanged stories in the cramped apartments or castle grounds. McMaster and one of his brothers, observed Ann Hulton, looked like ‘ruind men & forlorn Wanderers.’³

Recent scholarship has analyzed the ordeal of Patrick McMaster within the context of American historiography. In short, the McMaster case illuminates the predicament of Britons living in pre-revolutionary Boston, and their relationships with each other and with angry colonists. Ann Hulton believed that Patrick McMaster was a victim of what today would be called ethnic violence or racial intimidation and revolutionary plots. These allegations are startling even for a time when racism, sectarianism, servitude, and slavery were prevalent, and community violence was a common feature of political mobilization. Hulton’s atavistic depiction of crowd action, however, does not withstand scrutiny: if there were a plan to expel the Scots it was never implemented. Her terminology is disingenuous in so far as it implies that the Boston town meeting and/or the merchant leaders were acting corporately to expel McMaster and other Scots when in fact no such decision was ever formally taken. Neither the Scots nor any other national group were persecuted by colonial civic authorities or voluntary associations on account of their ethnicity, and none of their ilk was ever murdered by a lynch mob.

While Hulton’s allegations of ethnic conflict and sedition may have been rash, they were not wholly unwarranted and inflammatory. Her letters can be read as testimony to

cultural tensions between New Englanders and the British imperial elite, and between ordinary Bostonians and incomers like Patrick McMaster. The victimization of Hulton and McMaster was due to their 'Britishness.' The Hultons' status as imperial officials and the McMasters' economic situation as merchant-shopkeepers importing British manufactures rendered them obnoxious to the colonial merchants protesting British taxation by means of a general boycott of British imports. Because of their national origins and outsider status they were probably easy targets for radicals trying to mobilize popular support for a non-importation movement that was under severe strain. Their attempts to rationalize what happened to them—to make sense of their victimization—reveal an awareness of a common British identity. Alienated as they were from the political mainstream and subjected to intimidation, they re-affirmed a commitment to British imperialism and what it conveyed, or, for them, ought to convey: economic opportunity, Liberty, protection, and the rule of law—all of which they believed were being jeopardized by the colonial protests.⁴

This article aims to consider local perspectives on events of international significance. The ordeal of Patrick McMaster raises numerous questions about the social and economic connections between Galloway and the American Colonies, to which readers of the *Transactions* may be able to contribute.⁵

Patrick McMaster was born on March 19, 1741 at Currochtrie farm in Kirkmaiden parish, a few miles north of the Mull of Galloway; that same day, he was baptized in the local Presbyterian church likely because he was sickly. He was the fourth of eleven children born to John McMaster and Jannet McGeoch. For the most part (from 1737 to 1746 and 1749 to 1754, and beyond) the family lived at Challoch, near Dunragit, in the parish of Old Luce, seven miles east of Stranraer.⁶ Challoch Farm belonged to the Hays of Park, local gentry, and Patrick McMaster's father John McMaster was likely a tenant farmer or 'gudeman'—occupying a rung above that of the humble cottar but below the Hays' tacksman from whom he would have leased the farm.⁷ A paternal uncle, one Patrick McMaster (a father of ten children) was a modest property-holder in the nearby village of Glenluce, and another relative, Thomas McMaster, was a merchant in Stranraer.⁸ It is tricky to explain the subtle social gradations of early-modern rural Scotland in modern terms, but in view of his father's tenancy, his own literacy, his family's connections, and his relatives' property portfolio, our victim Patrick McMaster could be said to have been of a lower-middling status.

What persuaded the McMaster brothers to leave Galloway were limited life opportunities (as was the case with Galloway's most famous son—John Paul Jones [b.1747].) The local agricultural-based economy was slowly improving, largely as a result of new farming techniques encouraged by landowners and longer leases being given progressive tenants; farmers who grew oats, barley, and wheat were diversifying into rearing black cattle for beef markets in central Scotland and northwest England. The economic condition of the peasantry, however, remained dire in the short term; in the seventeenth century the peasantry sustained the Covenanter rebellions; in the eighteenth century, their anger at the mass evictions which accompanied early attempts to enclose land for beef cattle was vented in the Levelers' Rising of 1724-25, and latterly found a safety-valve of sorts in emigration. Many years later a local minister reported on how little impact the improvers

had made in Old Luce, and that the local population was declining. By the time of the American War, when Scottish emigration to the American Colonies was at its peak, nearly thirty men, women, and children had left the parish for the New World.⁹

With no property likely to come their way either from their father or uncle, Patrick McMaster and three of his four surviving brothers joined the exodus. Sailing from the port of Leith, near Edinburgh, John McMaster entered Boston on September 22, 1765. He soon established the business which James, the oldest brother, took over a year later; twenty-six year old Patrick arrived from Glasgow on August 17, 1767 with a 'large' cargo of goods; they were aided by the youngest brother, Daniel, then just thirteen years old.¹⁰ James McMasters & Co. imported linen, silk, textiles, and tobacco from Glasgow and London, which they sold in their Boston shop and distributed to other shopkeepers in the province.

It is a mystery how or from whom the McMaster brothers managed to acquire capital to set up shop in America. They may have been financed by their uncle Patrick or by his social superiors among the Galloway elites, many of whom had substantial interests in the slave trade and colonial commerce. It is also likely that they were factors for firms operating out of Glasgow, a town growing prosperous from trade with the Chesapeake region. Scottish trade with North America had been growing since the Act of Union between Scotland and England (1707), which allowed Scots full access to the English colonies—and to lucrative tobacco markets in Virginia and Maryland. The McMaster brothers were aiming to profit from developing trade links between Scotland and New England, which were relatively minor in the larger scheme of transatlantic commerce and did not take off until the mid-1760s, just as they were locating to Boston.¹¹

The McMasters were to weather the vicissitudes of nonimportation rather better than some of their colonial counterparts. Later, they claimed to have imported around £15,000 worth of British manufactures annually between 1769 and 1774, a figure which, if taken at face value, would mean that McMasters & Co. dominated the Massachusetts market in Scottish imports.¹² They also set up a distribution network from and acquired property in Portsmouth, New Hampshire. A whiff of snobbery can be detected in Ann Hulton's condescending depiction of Patrick McMaster as 'an honest industrious Tradesman,' though it was a common descriptor, and a start of surprise on learning he and his brothers had amassed '3 or 4000 £ sterlg in Effects, & . . . more in outstandg debts.'¹³

The McMasters' commercial aspirations go a long way to explaining their reluctance to submit to the nonimportation agreements drawn up by Boston's merchants between March 1768 and October 1769 and endorsed by the town meeting. Their firm received at least seven consignments of British imports while the boycott was in force.¹⁴ The McMasters consistently refused to bow to pressure from the merchants, and endured twelve months of petty abuse: the frontage of their home and adjoining shop was smeared with 'filth,' their characters 'reviled' in the local newspapers and at town meetings, and their doors and windows regularly broken.¹⁵ Eventually, local people were exhorted to boycott their shop, a method both legal and highly effective.¹⁶

The subsequent mobbing of McMaster was not indicative of civil disorder but can be viewed as a logical progression from verbal abuse to physical intimidation, in keeping

with the escalation of controlled violence and the mobilization of popular support that characterized the nonimportation movement.¹⁷ What set the McMasters on a collision course with the Whig merchants was the latter's insistence that the boycott applied to all traders and consumers irrespective of whether or not they were permanent or temporary residents, or recent arrivals. By the autumn of 1769, non-cooperation was regarded as a tacit refusal to abide by a community decision. But Patrick McMaster was the only importer to be threatened with the humiliation of tar and feathers.

In part, this was because the brothers remained obdurate. James McMaster was 'highly insolent' to a committee of inspection, a Whig source reported, telling them to 'do as they pleased' having '*found they intended to make a Riot, which he should be very glad to see.*'¹⁸ On November 15, the McMasters received their largest consignment yet—twenty-five containers of silk, ribbons, millenary, cambrics, and other items.¹⁹ McMasters & Co. was again proscribed in the town records, on March 16, yet a month later the Whigs learned that James McMaster had been selling imported goods up in Portsmouth.²⁰ The most provocative of all their activities, however, was their participation in a nascent counter-movement of dissident merchants held on May 1 and 23 at which they called for an end to general non-importation.²¹ Boston's non-importation agreement, however, remained operational until October, and the boycott on tea was to continue indefinitely until the duty on tea was lifted. It is inconceivable that the mobbing of Patrick McMaster was unconnected to this power struggle, and that in punishing malefactors like McMaster, the radical Whigs aimed to curtail dissent more generally.

The humbling of Patrick McMaster was swift and brutal.²² On the evening of Friday June 1, 'hundreds of Men and Boys' led by 'one Doctor Thos. Young' visited the McMasters' shop to deliver a cacophony of 'threatening Declarations.' The scene depicted by the McMaster brothers in a petition to Gov. Hutchinson recalls the Body's behavior at the homes and premises of other importers, notable for the sheer size of the gathering, the noise, and the absence of serious physical violence. What was different this time, however—and this was the reason why the brothers subsequently sought Hutchinson's protection—was that Young 'commanded' the McMasters 'in a Magisterial tone . . . 'To keep their House and stores shut and to depart the Province with all their Effects and property, at, or before 6 O'Clock on Monday following [*June 4*], or else to expect the consequence.'²³ Never before had a 'warning out' to importers carried so precise a timetable for its execution.

By way of a compromise, the McMasters, evidently—perhaps on Monday June 4—proposed to shut-up shop and reship imported goods 'or do any thing else that the Committee should direct.'²⁴ These concessions the brothers deemed 'repugnant to their inclinations and injurious to their real Interest,' and in their petition to Governor Thomas Hutchinson of June 5 asserted their determination to remain in town. The protection that Hutchinson was willing and able to afford at short notice would not have amounted to very much. British soldiers had never been used to protect importers, and, with feelings running high after the killing of five Bostonians by the Regulars in the 'Massacre' of March 5, any company assigned to guard the McMasters' shop would have been in for a rough time. Still, Hutchinson assured the brothers that a 'gentlemen' of influence had managed to lift the warning out. And thus what happened on June 19 was as unexpected as it was shocking.

At 3 pm²⁵ the house and store of the McMaster brothers were ‘Surrounded by Numbers of the Inhabitants’—‘some hundreds’ strong, an observer, Nathaniel Coffin, recalled. Only Patrick McMaster was at home; according to his account ‘dreadful imprecations’ ensued, and a few ‘swore my immediate destruction.’ After tearing down the signboard above the front door, several of the assailants forced entry. Patrick was promptly ‘seized’ from his hiding place and ‘draged away.’ He certainly struggled for he had to be manhandled outside, where he was bundled into a waiting cart containing buckets of tar and feathers ‘previously prepared for that purpose.’²⁶

A common prelude to administering tar and feathers was to exhibit the victim to public ridicule. McMaster was duly carted through the ‘principal streets,’ whereupon he was exposed to ‘every mark of cruelty and Disgrace amidst the loud acclamations of innumerable Spectators.’ McMaster was so terrified that he ‘Sunk down Speechless.’ Coffin thought he had fainted in terror, for the Scot was taken to a nearby apothecary and there revived with smelling salts. McMaster was actually thankful for the ‘Compassion’ of these people, whom he believed had saved him from a severe beating; however, their intercession could not stay the ‘clamerous’ mob, which was anxious to resume, and quite prepared, he later concluded, to let its human quarry ‘die without any Assistance.’ Back in the cart he went, ‘Suported’ (probably tied into) in a chair. Thereupon he was beaten, spat upon, and ‘reviled with the most Abusive Epithets.’

The next stage of the ritual invariably involved stripping the victim naked before applying the coat of tar and feathers. Coffin was in no doubt that this was intended. McMaster’s collapse, however, had prompted the intervention of ‘some prudent persons present,’ and at their ‘earnest Request,’ Coffin reported, McMaster was spared the hot tar and kept his clothes. A lengthy punishment still awaited the Scot, however, and a smaller crowd carted him across Boston Neck and two and one half miles out to Roxbury. There he was obliged to forswear that he or his brothers would ever return to Boston, on pain of death. His assailants then formed a ‘Line primitive’ escorting him out of the cart and across the town boundary into Roxbury. McMaster was ‘no sooner dismissed,’ Coffin notes, than a Roxbury mob desired to have the ‘same amusement’ with him. McMaster does not specify what these ‘similar preparations’ were that ‘compelled me to fly by’—and may again have involved tar and feathers and a mock gallows—but it was a ‘hair breadth Escape’ according to Coffin.

By then it was dusk, and somehow McMaster evaded pursuit from ‘detached parties’ by hiding in ditches and hedges until around 10 PM. At some point during the next two hours he set out for Castle William. He does not mention how he managed to get there or if he had assistance; if he took the quickest route, by way Dorchester Neck, he would have had to have been ferried across (unless of course he stole a boat). We can be sure, however, that he arrived disheveled, bruised, dirty, and ashamed. One of his brothers (we do not know who) was run out of Marblehead and Salem but managed to reach the castle; he believed that the mob was ‘diligently’ searching for the other two, and it was at least one week before Patrick learned that they were unscathed.²⁷

Limitations of space does not allow for a forensic analysis of the McMaster mobbing. It is sufficient to note that lower-order Bostonians reveled in the anti-authoritarian aspects of the ritual that they had embarked upon. American Loyalists or Tories were not tarred and feathered with impunity, but the ritual was a means to celebrate both the patriotism

of protest and community power. The punishment of an obnoxious Scot carried little prospect of retribution, yet went a long way in reminding *all* Britons of their distinctiveness and vulnerability. No-one was ever prosecuted for involvement in the mobbing.

As sure as revolutions have their victims, empires need their collaborators, and in Patrick McMaster and Ann Hulton the British had staunch defenders. Neither Ann Hulton, a disdainful metropolitan sojourner, nor Patrick McMaster, an aspirational Lowland Scot, were culturally creolized to any significant degree, and both were agents of imperial authority albeit in different ways.

Boston provided fewer economic opportunities for Scottish migrants than other parts of the colonies, yet for the McMaster brothers it had been a gateway to an empire of opportunity. When that gateway closed they quickly sought others. First at Castle William, where the McMasters defiantly conducted business as usual from a temporary 'warehouse'—no doubt with the aid of those Bostonians who 'Joyfully received' the brothers on their return to Boston when the boycott ended. For the next five years the McMasters concentrated on building up their business at Portsmouth, out of which they ran the ship *Glenluce* (of which they owned three-quarters) in the American coastal trade. On July 5, 1775 Patrick McMaster joined the fourth company of the Loyal American Association with Daniel and a handful of other Scots merchants. The following year he left Boston with the British evacuation fleet that sailed for Halifax, Nova Scotia. The McMasters settled in Penobscot, from whence they joined the Loyalist exodus to New Brunswick; they succeeded in re-establishing the family business and, after receiving several Crown grants of land, went on to acquire substantial landholdings in Charlotte County, where their descendants remain.²⁸

At their journey's end, the McMaster brothers sought and won compensation for their losses from the British government—but only after reminding the royal commission of how far their Loyalism was a fusion of their Scottish and British imperial identities. The brothers' memorial stands as a badge of honor to the 'unblemished reputations and unshaken loyalty' of their Galloway 'ancestors,' whose world was blighted by the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745, and to their own tribulations in an Atlantic world beset by revolution. Even if, like most Loyalists, the brothers exaggerated the value of their losses, their estimates of £8,808 New England currency for debts due to the business at Boston and £7,561 for Portsmouth indicate that the McMasters were substantial, successful traders. The *Glenluce* and her cargo, together worth some £4,000 currency, were also lost.²⁹ Eventually the brothers received £405 sterling for a claim of £569 (the sixth highest among Boston's Scots) with respect to property confiscated by New Hampshire and Massachusetts.³⁰

Despite Patrick McMaster's ordeal it cannot be assumed that his Loyalism during the Revolution derived from deep-seated ethnic antagonisms toward the Scots. More significantly, the McMaster brothers were not so much conscious of their minority status as assertive of a possessive individualism that they believed was legitimized by their imperial identity. We might think it unfortunate that they arrived at politically inopportune moments; the less charitable contemporary Bostonian view is that the acquisitive Scots all too readily embraced British imperialism for their own ends. Had McMaster been tarred and feathered it is conceivable that this savage ritual could have been iconized in the popular prints as a treatment peculiarly suitable for greedy Scottish merchants.

References

- 1 Ann Hulton to [Mrs. Lightbody], Castle Island, Near Boston, Jul. 25, 1770, in Ann Hulton, ed., *Letters of a Loyalist Lady: Ann Hulton, Sister of Henry Hulton, Commissioner of Customs at Boston, 1767-1770* (Cambridge, Mass., 1927), 26-27. The editorial interpolations in roman type are the source editor's, while those in italics are my conjectural readings. The rendition of '[merchants?]' fills an intriguing lacuna in the published transcript likely indicating an illegible word in the original manuscript, which has not been found.
- 2 Henry Hulton was senior commissioner of the American Board of Customs, relocated to Boston in 1767, whose principal duties were to enforce the trade laws and collect revenues: it was the most unpopular imperial agency ever foisted upon the American Colonists.
- 3 Hulton, *Letters of a Loyalist Lady*, 26-27.
- 4 See Colin Nicolson, 'A Plan 'to banish all the Scotchmen': Victimization and Political Mobilization in Pre-Revolutionary Boston,' *Massachusetts Historical Review*, 9 (2007), forthcoming.
- 5 The author can be contacted by email at the University of Stirling: colin.nicolson@stir.ac.uk. I wish to thank archivists Cathy Gibb (Dumfries Archives) and Gina Young (Stranraer Museum), my sister Margaret McCall, Prof. John McQueen, and Dr. Richard Oram for aiding my enquires into Galloway history, and Richard Smedley and Robert Wells for clarifying the genealogy of the McMaster family.
- 6 The baptismal records for Patrick and his ten siblings give Challoch as their parents' residence. Elizabeth (bap. Mar. 3, 1734); James (bap. Jul. 28, 1735, d. 1804); William (bap. May 2, 1737); Andrew (bap. Oct. 7, 1743, d. Jan. 31, 1746); Jean (d. 1740) John (bap. Jun. 26, 1746); Thomas (bap. Mar. 19, 1749, d. Sep. 26, 1759); Ann (bap. Sep. 28, 1751); Grace (bap. Apr. 15, 1758); Daniel (bap. Jul. 21, 1754). Indexes to Old Parochial Registers, Dumfries Archives; Old Parochial Registers, for Old Luce and Glenluce, 894/1: 7, 11, 16, 38; Kirkmaiden, 890/1: 58, The National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh.
- 7 John McMaster and his wife were not among the indigent poor, 'fornicators,' and other transgressors called to account in the Kirkmaiden Kirk Session Minutes, 1716-1779, CH2/1551/2-3, Dumfries Archives. Challoch Farm was acquired by John Dalrymple (1749-1812), the laird of Dunragit and a scion of the Stairs, the most powerful aristocratic family in the region, through marriage to Susanna Hay (b.1764) daughter of a Hanoverian veteran, Sir Thomas Hay (c.1715-1777/8), third baronet of Park. Dalrymple fought in the American War of Independence and was created first baronet Dalrymple-Hay of Park in 1798. In 1792, Challoch Farm was leased by John Dalrymple, sixth earl of Stair (1749-1821), to his tacksman John Ross for nineteen years, with a rent of 1,000 Scots merks. The tacksman invariably sublet properties to tenants: the McMaster family may have rented Challoch continuously from the mid-eighteenth to the early nineteenth century, when the farm was divided in two. East Challoch farm, comprising 220 acres in 1872 was reckoned 'a very good farm worth £300,' and occupied by one William McMaster in 1899. J Lockhart Smith, *Wigtownshire Agriculturalists and Breeders* (Stranraer, 1898), 121-129; Abstract from the Tacks of the Rt. Hon. the earl of Stair's Estates in the Shire of Wigton, GGD 316/12; G A Grey, 'Report on the Estates of Park and Dunragit,' May 10, 1861, GGD 316/10; Dunragit Rent Roll, 1899, GGD 316/6, in John McQuaker's Collection of Papers on Galloway Farms, Dumfries Archives.
- 8 The paternal uncle married Grizel Adair and owned the Bridge Stone house and land in Glenluce vennel, whose feuar was the earl of Stair. Wigton Sasines, 1782-1860: 462-463, 492, Dumfries Archives; *Dumfries Weekly Journal*, Jul. 28, 1778.
- 9 Sir John Sinclair, *The Statistical Account of Scotland, 1791-1799*, 21 vols. (Edinburgh, 1799), 5:490-500; James Edmund Handley, *Scottish Farming in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1953), 198-200, 204-206; T C Smout, *A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830* (London, 1969), 282-286, 304-305; Ian L Donnachie and I F Macleod, *Old Galloway* (Newton Abbot, Eng., 1974), 48-74; Andrew McCulloch, *Galloway: A Land Apart* (Edinburgh, 2000), 425-443.
- 10 The Humble Petition and Memorial of James McMaster, Patrick McMaster, and John McMaster, brothers and partners, [1786], AO 13/51: ff.136-138, Audit Office Papers, The Public Record Office. John returned to Boston on Aug. 29, 1768, with 'another large cargo.' Ibid.; William Henry Whitmore, ed., *Port Arrivals and Immigrants to the City of Boston, 1715-1716 and 1762-1769* (Baltimore, 1973).
- 11 In 1765, imports to Scotland from New England amounted to £29,754, by far the largest figure for any single year in the eighteenth century (six times the average), and constituted 17 per cent of Britain's imports from

- the region; in 1766 they were worth £15,809 (10 per cent of all British imports) and in 1767, £19,309 (13 per cent). Jacob M Price, 'New Time Series for Scotland's and British Trade with the Thirteen Colonies and States, 1740-1791,' *WMQ* 32(1975):307-325.
- 12 The Petition and Memorial of James McMaster, et. al. [1786], AO 13/51: f.136. The value of imports to New England from Scotland had also increased but fluctuated less dramatically than the value of exports from New England to Scotland. Imports from Scotland were valued at £17,404 in 1765 (twice the average), £9,773 in 1766, £10,105 in 1767, c.£11,000 in 1768, and c.£15,700 in 1769. This does not mean that non-importation had little effect on trade with Scotland, for the figure for 1766 was a post-war low point. The McMaster brothers would have been responsible for a large proportion of this trade if their claim is accepted at face value. The boycott impeded New England exports to Scotland, including timber for ships' masts and bowsprits: values fell to £9,429 in 1768, increased to £13,422 in 1769 and dropped again, to £9,432, in 1770; when trade recovered exports never exceeded £12,775 before the cessation brought on by the war. These figures do not take account of cargoes returned by merchants or delay in re-sale occasioned by the boycott. Price, 'New Time Series for Scotland's and British Trade with the Thirteen Colonies and States, 1740-1791.'
 - 13 Hulton, *Letters of a Loyalist Lady*, 29. The McMasters' middling social status as merchant-shopkeepers and creditors is confirmed by the province tax list of 1771, which noted that Patrick and James had £600 of merchandise and recorded the assessed annual rental of their shop and house at £26, well above the median (£18-19) for Boston, and placing them in the top 50 per cent of property-holders. Colin Nicolson, 'Governor Francis Bernard, the Massachusetts Friends of Government and the Advent of the Revolution,' *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 103(1991): 24-113, at 36, 90.
 - 14 John Mein, *A State of Importations From Great-Britain into the Port of Boston, From the Beginning of January 1770 to Which Is Added an Account of All the Goods That Have Been Re-Shipt From the Above Port for Great-Britain, Since January 1769: the Whole Taken From the Custom-House of the Port of Boston* (Boston, 1770).
 - 15 The petition of James, Patrick and John McMasters [sic] of Boston to Thomas Hutchinson, Jun. 5, 1770, CO 5/759, f.271, enclosed in Hutchinson to John Pownall, Boston, Aug. 29, 1770. Colonial Office Documents, The National Archives of the UK: Public Record Office, London.
 - 16 *Boston Evening Post*, May 8, 1769; Jul. 31, 1769; *Boston Gazette*, Aug. 14, 1769.
 - 17 John W Tyler, *Smugglers & Patriots: Boston Merchants and the Advent of the Revolution* (Boston, 1986)157-158; Hiller Zobel, *The Boston Massacre* (New York, 1970) 33-34; Alfred F Young, 'English Plebeian Culture and Eighteenth-Century American Radicalism,' in *The Origins of Anglo-American Radicalism*, ed. Margaret C Jacob and James R Jacob (London, Boston, 1984), 185-212, at 209n.
 - 18 *Boston Gazette*, Oct. 9, 1769.
 - 19 *Boston Chronicle*, Jan. 1-4, 1770.
 - 20 Record Commissioners of the City of Boston, *Reports of the Record Commissioners of the City of Boston*, 38 vols. (Boston, 1886), 18: 16; Tyler, *Smugglers & Patriots*, 151.
 - 21 Tyler, *Smugglers & Patriots*, 154-158.
 - 22 Patrick McMaster, Memorial to Thomas Hutchinson, Castle William, Jun. 27, 1770, enclosed in Hutchinson to John Pownall, Boston, Aug. 29, 1770, CO 5/759, f.273. There is also 'hearsay' evidence comprising a report in the *Boston Gazette*, Jun. 25, 1770 and a letter written by Nathaniel Coffin, the deputy cashier and paymaster of Customs, who had remained in town and may have been an eyewitness to McMaster's carting through Boston, if not his actual abduction, and learned more details on visits to the castle. Coffin to Charles Steuart, Boston, Jun. 29, 1770, Ms. 5026, ff.74-76, Charles Steuart Papers, The National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
 - 23 McMasters, petition, Jun. 5, 1770.
 - 24 Coffin to Steuart, Boston, Jun. 29, 1770.
 - 25 Ann Hulton, however, gives 12 noon as the starting time, and the *Boston Gazette* 2 pm in Jun. 25, 1770.
 - 26 McMaster, Memorial, Jun. 27, 1770; Coffin to Steuart, Jun. 29, 1770.
 - 27 Ibid; *Boston Gazette*, Jun. 25, 1770.

- 28 John McMaster received a 200-acre lot reserved for Loyalists in Kingston township, New Brunswick, while Patrick McMaster was granted 2,000 acres in the Passamaquoddy Bay area. Land Grants in New Brunswick: NS-2, p.60 (Patrick McMaster); NS-A, p.109 (John McMaster), Index to New Brunswick Land Grants, 1784-1997, Provincial Archives of New Brunswick, <http://archives.gnb.ca/APPS/GovRecs/RS686/?L=EN> (accessed Mar. 17, 2006.) The brothers were sufficiently wealthy for Patrick in 1786 to purchase Deer Island, to the south of the town of St. Andrews, and, with James, to lend £500 to a fellow Loyalist, John Jones. Jones's one-third share in Grand Manan Island, at the entrance to the Bay of Fundy, was provided as security for the loan, which James's widow and five children tried (unsuccessfully?) to acquire in 1807, when they were 'considerably embarrassed in their circumstances.' Hugh Mackay to Edward Winslow, Suther Hall, Aug. 20, 1807, in W O Raymond and Edward Winslow, *Winslow Papers, A D 1776-1826* (Boston, 1972), 588-590. In 1795, the brothers purchased Hardwood Island, Long Island, and Hog Island in Passamaquoddy Bay. GenWeb site for Saint Patrick Parish, Charlotte County, New Brunswick, Canada. The bulk of the property was inherited by Daniel McMaster. <http://www.rootsweb.com/~nbstpatr/villages/3isles.htm#Land> (accessed Mar. 17, 2006); St Croix Courier, Glimpses of the Past: Contributions to the History of Charlotte County and the Border Towns, <http://members.shaw.ca/caren.secord/locations/NewBrunswick/Glimpses/Intro.html>, (accessed Mar. 3, 2006).
- 29 Petition and Memorial of the McMaster brothers, AO 13/51: ff.136-138; List of Debts due to James McMaster, Patrick McMaster & Co., [1786], *ibid.*, ff.146-158. Gallovidians were ardently anti-Jacobite, for which see Andrew Agnew, *The Hereditary Sheriffs of Galloway Their 'Forebears' and Friends, Their Courts and Customs of Their Times, With Notes of the Early History, Ecclesiastical Legends, the Baronage and Place-Names of the Province*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1893) 2:301-305.
- 30 Gregory Palmer and Lorenzo Sabine, eds., *Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution*(Westport, Conn., 1984), 571.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF KIRKCUDBRIGHT IN THE
EARLY 19th CENTURY BY THE EMERGENCE OF VOLUNTARISM

by David Marsden*

In the 1790s Kirkcudbright was developed by an initiative inaugurated and overseen by the Burgh Council and inspired by a touch of personal design imparted by the interaction of the Burgh Council and the local lairds, the Dunbar family.⁽¹⁾ Thus there emerged the grid formation created by the new street, Castle Street, inserted into and linked by Union Street to the old single L-shaped High Street which until then had comprised the town. The 1790 plan laid out two other new roads extending the town on both the North/South and East/West axes by what are known as St. Mary Street and St. Cuthbert Street. It is the development of these two new thoroughfares which is the subject of this paper.



Figure 1

The start of the nineteenth century saw the advent of voluntarism in the development of the Town. Its seeds had been manifest for half a century in the Friendly Society and subscription libraries which were among the first of their kind to appear in Scotland. It was, however, in 1807 that voluntarism became active in the town's physical development. The Kirkcudbright Burgh Council Minutes of 10th December 1807 ⁽²⁾ record that,

The Magistrates and Council being informed that a Number of the Inhabitants have agreed to enter into an association or Society for building Houses within the Borough Resolve to give them liberty to take Stones and Building materials gratis from any part of the Town's Property to be pointed out by the Magistrates upon paying the Tenants for damages arising from opening the Ground and cartage through the same. They moreover as an additional encouragement to the Society agree to make them a present of three Guineas for each of the first eight Shares consisting of a half House which are built by the Society within four years from Whitsunday first payable when the Houses are finished.

Under its Preses or chairman, William Mure, who was factor to the Earl of Selkirk, the Society drew up very precise specifications as to the design and building standards of the houses to be built at the north end of Castle Street and round the corner in Castle Gardens facing Maclellan's Castle.

WALLS) - The Walls to be Two Feet Thick, sufficiently built - The Stones of good quality - The mortar well mixed with good building sand, and not less than Fifteen Carlisle bushels of Lime to each Mason Rood - The Doors and Windows in Front, to have Freestone Rabbits, Lintels and Soles, of suitable strength and dimensions; and where the Houses are Separate, or at the Corner of a Street, the Peens to be Freestone two feet long and one foot of head., formed into Rustic corners - separate Gavels to have Freestone Sques of twelve inches Breadth with suitable summterpits. - The Vents to be twelve inches square; and if Round or Circular, eleven inches diameter

* 57 Castle Street, Kirkcudbright.

- And the Chimney tops to have Freestone water berges Freestone tops, not only on the Haunches, but also over the Roof.

ROOF) - The Couples Six inches deep by Two and a Half inches thick - The footing Beams the same depth and Two inches thick - The Baulks to places at the height of Seven feet, and the same dimension otherways as the footing beams - The distance of the Couples to be Eighteen inches from centre to centre - And the Pitch of the Roof to be Twenty-four inches below the square - The Slate laths to be cut from Clean Fir timber, One and a Half inches broad by Five eights thick - The Slates to be the Best Second Lancashire Tons, and hung on the laths with Memel Fir Pins - The top of the Roof to be covered with Freestone Ridge stones; and as the Corner houses fronting two streets must be hipped, the angle corner of the Roof to have Freestone as well as the top of the Roof - The Roof to be rendered with good Lime mortar, and Beam-filled : and the rendering shall always be done when the weather is perfectly suitable for such work. - The oposite angle at the corner of two streets to have a Lead Gutter.

DOORS, WINDOWS, and other Inside Finishing.) – The Joists to be Six and a Half inches deep, and Two inches thick, and placed at the distance Eighteen inches from centre to centre,

The Partitions in the Lower story to be Brick flat, as also the Staircase partitions - The middle division betwixt each house to be Brick flat from the foundation to the top of the Roof: these brick partitions to be strengthened with perpendicular and horizontal runds of wood where necessary.

The Partitions in the second story to Lath and Plaister, as well as the Recess at the Bedroom door; the Partition Styles for Plaister to be two inches by three, and to be sufficiently fixed to the footing Joists to strengthen the Garret floor

The Flooring to One inch thick, and each Board not more than Six inches broad when finished; and the Floor to be Jointed not Dowaled.

The door Styles to be Three by Four inches; and the outer Front Door to framed Six pannels, two inches thick; and to have a good fanlight over the top to light the passage, &c. Where a Back Door is necessary, to be Plain work, inch thick, with three Bars. - The Room Doors to be Bound or Panned of wood, One and a Half inch thick - a plain Door such as the back Door, for the Closet, or Cellar at the foot of the Stair.

The Front Door to have a good Lock, of the value, at least, of Five Shillings and Six-pence. Where there is a Back Door, the Lock to be of two Shillings value; every other Door to be furnished with a Spring Latch with a Spring Latch with Brass Nob Handles, of the value of two Shillings or upwards: or that sum allowed if the tenant inclines, and does purchase others of more value.

The Chimneys to have good Freestone Jambs, Lintels and Hearths; the Jambs to have each a moulding of wood of two inches round the freestone.

The entering passage to be of good Freestone Flags, neatly Joint, and Scabbled on the surface; the Kitchen, and the Front Room of the Lower Story, to be floored either with

Wood, Freestone, of a composition of Lime and Coal cynders, at the expense of the individual who gets the house, and not to be included in the Estimate.

The windows to be of the dimensions and form of those laid out in the Plan, and glazed with Second Glass, and Lead where necessary. – The entering Passage and the rooms in the Upper Story, to have Wash-boards Half and inch thick and Six inches broad; and the house to have angles Beeds every where that may require them. –Each Door and Window to have Plain Facings, three inches broad and five eights thick. The lower Front room to have Bound Shutters, and One and a Quarter of an inch thick – The Cielings of the Lower Story and Second Story to Lath and Plaister. The Walls every where to have one coat of Plaister; and where the cielings or partitions are lathed, to have two coats of Plaister.

The Garret to be floored of the aforesaid dimensions, but in no other respect divided or finished. –the Stair to be made and erected as represented in the Plan, and properly Executed and Supported. - The Joists, Couples, Baulks, and Partition Styles, to be of good Memel timber. – The Doors, Flooring, and other inside work, may either be of Memel or good American wood. The Wood work, in every instance where the dimensions are not other wise specified, shall be of the thickness, at least, of One Inch.

The Outer Doors and Windows to be painted with Three Coats of Paint, the Windows White, and the outer Door of a Wainscot colour. – The Size of each Apartment, Height of the Stories, and general appearance of the Houses, to be regulated and finished conform to the Plan exhibited to the Undertaker, and signed by him as relative to this Specification.⁽³⁾

I have not been able to find very much more about the activities of what has come to be known as the Old Building Society, apart from a couple of references in the proceedings of the body that called itself the Kirkcudbright New Building Society. The minute book of this society ⁽⁴⁾ records its work of building the properties in St. Cuthbert St. and St. Mary St. until 1827 when it was wound up. From its pages also glimpses of the Old Building Society can be gained. The two societies are shown to be co-operating in the production of bricks, and the closure of the Old Society in 1822 is recorded when the New Building Society took over from it responsibility for completing properties in Castle Gardens at the foot of Castle St..

The New Building Society was founded on 4th April 1810, two years and four months later than the Old Building Society. A month earlier the Burgh Council minutes record the receipt of a petition. This stated that

‘A number of the Inhabitants of the Burgh of Kirkcudbright and Others, taking into consideration the general want of accommodation in the Town owing to the scarcity of Dwelling Houses, have, with a view of obviating this bar to the Improvement of the Place, and contributing to the means of increasing and accommodating its Population, agreed to unite themselves under the title of The Kirkcudbright New Building Society, - for the purpose of building houses on the two lines of Road leading from the Town to the Tan-yard at Milnburn ...’

The minute records that: 'the Magistrates and Council having taken the said Petition into their mature and serious consideration observe with much pleasure a rising Spirit of Improvement in the Burgh and feel cordially disposed to encourage what appears to be a laudable and public spirited undertaking - under these impressions the Magistrates and Council are willing to grant every reasonable facility for erecting new houses within the Burgh to such individuals as they approve of.'

A committee was set up to agree the terms of feus which reported on 7th April.

At the inaugural meeting of the New Building Society on 4th April 1810 it was resolved that its 'members should not exceed 100 in number, each member paying for one share, 2 guineas on entry and 1 guinea on the first Wednesday of April 1811, 1812, 1813 and 5 shillings on the first Wednesday of every month at 7pm commencing the monthly payments on the first Wednesday of May 1810 and to continue until each member has received a House, or Share, agreeable to the Plan and Specification now subscribed as relative hereto.'

If they failed to pay their 5 shillings in any month, the next month they had to pay it along with that month's 5 shillings plus 3 pence. If a member became 12 months in arrears and failed to pay up then he forfeited all right and benefit in the Society. The houses were to be built of stone. Originally it was the aim to build four houses, or whatever number the funds will allow, each year.

'Four houses or Shares or whatever number the funds will afford, shall be built annually and upon the first Wednesday of January each year the members shall cast lots for the Houses to be built the ensuing season.'

Those who had been successful in the casting of lots held the house as a tenant of the society until all the houses were built paying rent at five per cent upon the total expenses thereof. Rent was payable half-yearly at Martinmas and Whitsunday, beginning the first half year's payment at the first term of Martinmas after his entry with interest from the term it falls due until payment. When all the houses were built, then the tenants were to receive feus in their own names. The rules of the society permitted any member to 'make an additional Door in front for a Shop, and such Alterations, Additions or Improvements to the inside of his House, differing from the plan herein referred to, provided always that the Society are not to put to, or made liable in, any additional expence, beyond the contracted Price; and that such Alterations, Additions or Improvements render the whole House more valuable than it would be at the contracted price.'

The minutes of meetings of the New Building Society recount the ups and downs in its life - members falling into arrears, members withdrawing and forfeiting rights etc... In August 1811 there is mention of making bricks for the joint behalf of the Old and New Building Societies. There were problems from time to time with cash flow. In November 1811 the Society had to procure a loan of £250. On 15th April 1813, because the Society was out of funds, its treasurer was authorised to issue a bill to contractors for £63.15s. payable at 3 months. On 19th February 1814 a new plan for future houses was adopted and proposals were made to indemnify those who had already taken shares. On 1st January 1817 the Society was in financial difficulties again and it was trying to raise £200-£300 from private individuals. There were disputes with the Burgh Council - in 1814 about the terms of feus, and in 1817 because the Council found that the Society were encroaching beyond the al-

lowed land. This was at the point on the North side of St. Cuthbert's St. where Williamson and Henry's Property Shop now stands. The Society were trying to build on land that the Council required for harbour improvements. This dispute dragged on until the end of 1821, when the Council asserted its rights and the Society had to demolish work already begun and form the corner property which is now used by Williamson and Henry.

The General Meeting of the Society on 6th April 1810 records that David McLellan Esq. of Marks was elected Preses. David McLellan had been baptised on 11th June 1763, the son of Andrew McLellan and Janet McConnell who lived in Millburn Street. David was a writer (solicitor) and notary and lived in Castle Street. He purchased Marks in 1805 and according to Pigot and Co.'s Directory for 1825-6 ⁽⁵⁾ he was then serving as Town and Stewartry Clerk. He died on 31st August 1832. John Douglas, a merchant, was elected Treasurer & John Hope, a schoolmaster, was elected Clerk and together with Thomas Anderson, William McWhinnie junior, Robert Gordon, John Callie, John Beck, Andrew McDowall, Robert Carson, Peter McKie, Thomas McWhinnie they formed the Committee of Management of the Society in 1810. The following year Robert Gordon, a writer in Kirkcudbright, had become Preses. The former Preses became a committee member. John Beck was no longer on the Committee and Samuel Malcolmson, David Morrison and James Allies appeared as new members

In the autumn of 1819 some members of the Society, who were also members of the Burgher Society, came up with a proposal to convert their shares into a sum of cash equal to the average estimate of value of the shares in the following year, which sum they would use to build a chapel so soon as they could procure a proper site for the purpose. The Annual Meeting in November refused to agree to their proposal as being in 'violation of the principles upon which the Society was founded.'

The work of the New Building Society continued until 1827 when it was wound up, because those members who wanted houses had been satisfied and remaining members indicated that their interest had been in helping the Society to achieve its objectives and play a part in the town's improvement. They received repayment in the form of a distribution of funds. By this time St. Cuthbert St. and St. Mary St. as well Castle St. and Union St. had been built. As stated in the foundation documents of the societies, the properties were intended to be dwelling houses, but, as has already been noted, very early provision was made for the possibility of the conversion of these properties to form shops as well. The commercial development of the new streets began first mainly in Castle St. and only later did the main centre of shopping in Kirkcudbright come to be in St. Mary's St. and St. Cuthbert's St.



Figure 2 St. Cuthbert's Street

The abortive scheme of members of the Burgher Society to use shares in the New Building Society to obtain a chapel for their connection has been mentioned above. Although their scheme of 1819 was rejected, by 1822 they had managed to raise the funds to build the Associate Presbyterian Church in High St., the building which is now Osborne's antique furniture store. This attainment by the seceders' efforts

is in contrast to the long running saga of Kirkcudbright's new parish church. In 1819, the self-same year that the Burgher Society folk were pursuing their objective, a petition was presented to the parish minister, Dr. Robert Muter, by a number of parishioners calling for a new church, because of the inadequacy of the accommodation in the church which had been built in 1730 on the Moat Brae. This replaced the section of the former Greyfriars Priory which after the Reformation had been allocated to the townsfolk for their place of worship. The new parish church which was eventually built in 1838, was the product of the co-operation, not always totally harmoniously, of the Earl of Selkirk, the Magistrates and Council, the Incorporated Trades of Kirkcudbright and the Kirk Session. Five years after the completion of the new church the Disruption occurred and the young incumbent minister left it with seceding members of his congregation. By then voluntarism must indeed have taken hold of the shaping of Kirkcudbright life, for within two years a new free church was built and its minister was housed in a manse - all this by the generosity of the townsfolk with some help from Kirkcudbright people who had made it good overseas. So the development of Kirkcudbright went on apace, with new housing developed along the new road to Tongland by the individual efforts of prospering residents, and new public buildings and eventually a bridge across the Dee erected by public subscription helped by gifts again from Kirkcudbright folk now living overseas.

Notes

- 1) D. E. Marsden 'The Development of Kirkcudbright in the late 18th Century – Town Planning in a Galloway Context' *TDGNHAS* Vol. 72 1997 pp.89-96.
- 2) Kirkcudbright Burgh Records held in the Stewartry Museum, Kirkcudbright.
- 3) A copy of this specification is in Kirkcudbright Burgh Records in the Stewartry Museum, Kirkcudbright. The form was required to be signed by the tendering builder supplying the names and signatures of Cautioners on his behalf.
- 4) Minute Book of the New Building Society, Kirkcudbright held in Broughton House, Kirkcudbright
- 5) Pigot & Co.'s Directory, 1825-26. Facsimile publication 'Pigot & Slater: Commercial Directories of Dumfries and Galloway from the nineteenth century', Dumfries and Galloway Libraries, 1992.

E A HORNEL AND KIRKCUDBRIGHT

David F. Devereux*

Introduction

This paper is based on the script of a lecture entitled 'E A Hornel – Citizen of Kirkcudbright' presented by the author as a contribution to a study day arranged by the National Trust for Scotland, which took place in Kirkcudbright, on May 13 2006.

E A Hornel was born in Australia in 1864, but the Hornels were a long-established Kirkcudbright family. The family returned to Kirkcudbright in 1866, where Hornel grew up. At the age of 16, he left to study art at the Trustees Academy, Edinburgh, and then went on in 1883 to study at the Academie Royale des Beaux-Arts, Antwerp. Returning to Scotland, he became a leading member of the 'Glasgow Boys', but from 1895, Kirkcudbright became his base, particularly after his purchase of Broughton House in 1901. Apart from several lengthy foreign trips, he spent the rest of his life in Kirkcudbright until his death in 1933. His life and career as one of the leading Scottish artists of the late 19th and early 20th centuries has been comprehensively presented by Bill Smith in his recent biography.¹

From a historical perspective, Hornel can undoubtedly be regarded as one of the key figures in the development of Kirkcudbright's artistic community, although it would be over-simplistic to describe him as its founder. The community evolved through the interaction of individual artists, and was not planned in any way. Even referring to a 'community' implies a coherence which the artists themselves would think artificial. Nevertheless, for convenience of expression, this community of artists – sometimes described as an 'art colony' – was unique to Kirkcudbright and an important feature in the town's social and cultural history from the 1880s to at least the 1950s. Although unique in Scotland, Kirkcudbright's artistic community was contemporary with other artistic communities in coastal towns in Britain and Europe, and comparison has been made recently with Pont-Aven in Brittany.²

However, rather than discuss the artistic career and achievements of Hornel, this paper attempts to describe, in as much as the evidence allows, his impact on the Kirkcudbright community and seeks to assess the wider public attitude to Hornel, in anticipation that this will contribute to a better insight into the relationship between the town and its artistic community in general.

E A Hornel and Kirkcudbright

Since Hornel grew up in Kirkcudbright and spent most of his adult life there, Kirkcudbright people would know of him in different contexts; for example, some knew him as the boy they went to school with others might have appeared before him as the Honorary Sheriff-Substitute in court, and several were his tenants. In 1931, he was the largest private property owner in Kirkcudbright after Sir Charles Hope-Dunbar of St Mary's Isle Estate, with a portfolio of 31 rateable properties and 27 paying tenants.³

* The Stewartry Museum, St. Mary Street, Kirkcudbright DG6 4AQ

Whilst personal accounts of Hornel are scarce, it has been possible to survey and collect a series of written appreciations of him by individuals, and it is assumed that the range of opinions thus gathered will broadly reflect the prevailing view about him, although allowance has to be made of accounts of different date and therefore for the development of opinion over time. At the outset, leaving aside his national significance as a Scottish artist, he can certainly be ranked as probably the leading figure in the social and cultural history of Kirkcudbright in the 20th century and certainly one of the key figures in Dumfries and Galloway over the same period. Through his generous legacy of Broughton House to the population of the Stewartry, including its art and library collections and garden – all now in the care of the National Trust for Scotland – his foresight continues to have a positive impact on the cultural and economic well-being of the town and the region.

Hornel died in 1933, and the obituaries published at the time in two local newspapers – the *Galloway News* and the *Dumfries Standard and Advertiser* – are an obvious starting point for this survey. Of course, obituaries can have a tendency to be generous and a little too forgiving of their subjects. Nevertheless the two local newspapers probably give an essentially fair account of the man's achievements and can be taken to reflect the prevailing view of the community at that time.

In the *Galloway News* published in Castle Douglas, we read:

*“By his death, Kirkcudbright has not only lost her most famous son, but also one who dearly loved the old town, and who ever kept her in front of the eyes of the world”.*⁴

The last comment recognised the undoubted distinction that Hornel's long-term residence in Kirkcudbright brought to the town. However, perhaps the statement is a little exaggerated as there is no evidence that Hornel ever pursued the objective of promoting Kirkcudbright to the wider world. In contrast, his friend and fellow Kirkcudbright resident, the artist and illustrator Jessie M King, did so through the publication of her booklet of drawings '*Kirkcudbright – A Royal Burgh*', which, as it was published in 1934, was probably in preparation at the time of Hornel's death. Hornel's actions suggest he wished to conserve the town's built environment, its way of life and its status as the county town but in a quieter and understated way. All this probably stemmed from his appreciation of the long history of the burgh and an awareness of his family's roots in the town, and the role his forebears had played in the community in the past. In his book, *A Painter's Pilgrimage*, published in 1939 six years after Hornel's death, Hornel's acquaintance, A S Hartrick, wrote:

*‘It is impossible to think of Hornel apart from Kirkcudbright, as he lived there nearly all his life and bought up much of the town in the days of his prosperity, in the hopeless attempt to save it from change.’*⁵

His love for his hometown is remarked on in the obituary in the *Dumfries Standard and Advertiser* published in Dumfries, where his death prompted an editorial piece as well as an obituary. In the editorial, it was noted that:

*‘The name of Mr. Hornel is inseparably associated with Kirkcudbright, for which he had a love comparable to that of the ancient prophets for Jerusalem’*⁶

This was true, but at the same time Hornel was by no means a stay-at-home and seemingly enjoyed foreign travel, first to Japan with George Henry in the 1890s, financed by the art dealer Alexander Reid, and thereafter with his sister Elizabeth or 'Tizzie' to Burma, Australia, America and elsewhere, all financed from his own resources. His love for Kirkcudbright was not such that he was unhappy to be away from the town for any length of time.

The *Dumfries Standard and Advertiser's* editorial continues:

*'Mr Hornel showed his love for Kirkcudbright in a practical manner and its beautiful Academy and War Memorial are among the possessions for which the town is considerably indebted to Mr Hornel. His memory deserves to be perpetuated in Kirkcudbright.'*⁷

In the later 1920s the local Education Committee had considered closing the antiquated Kirkcudbright Academy and building a new secondary school for the county at the more geographically centrally-placed town of Castle Douglas, 10 miles north-east of Kirkcudbright. However Hornel and others successfully campaigned against this and thereby preserved Kirkcudbright's traditional role as the education centre for the county, at least for the foreseeable future at the time. In order to raise funds for the building, Hornel was central in setting up the 'Old Pupils of Kirkcudbright Academy'. He wrote fund-raising letters to former pupils, such as this extract from a letter written on 20 April 1925 to Mrs. Charlton in Dumfries:

*'The Education authority having decided to retain the Academy as the centre of education in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright are now building a most handsome up to date school. this has been greatly helped by the generosity of W A Cavan, who, besides providing two extra fields for the playground, has given money to erect a handsome tower. Now it occurred to a few of us that this would be a fitting time for Old Pupils to follow W Cavan's example, as a tribute to the old profitable and happy days spent in the Old Academy.'*⁸

Mrs Charlton sent back 2 guineas, which Hornel acknowledged with exemplary gratitude.

The new Academy opened in 1926, and Hornel was invited to serve on the Education Committee, which he did so until 1929. He was further involved in encouraging the American Thomas Cochran to build a new gymnasium as a memorial to his Cochran forebears in Kirkcudbright. This opened in 1931.⁸

His commitment to the Academy and thereby to Kirkcudbright was acknowledged by Dr Frew, Chairman of the Education Committee at the meeting of the Committee immediately after Hornel's death. Dr Frew is quoted as saying:

*'His quiet dignity, modesty and kindness of manner made his association with us an unalloyed pleasure ... Only those in close touch with the movement of that time know the time and toil and thought that he expended on it.'*⁹

The Kirkcudbright War Memorial was another project Hornel was involved with. He was the senior of several local artists involved in selecting a short-leet of four designs which were put on public exhibition in the former museum room on the top floor of

Kirkcudbright Town Hall. His friends E A Taylor, Jessie M King, Charles Oppenheimer and W S MacGeorge were also on the steering committee. However, it was to Hornel that the sculptor G H Paulin wrote to express his anxiety that the male nudity in his design would be too strong for the 'Kirkcudbright bourgeoisie', as he called them.¹⁰ Hornel saw no problem with the design and clearly had a great respect for Paulin's work. Hornel's correspondence, held in the Broughton House collection, also reveals that he was called on to advise on the design and siting of the Maxwelltown and Crossmichael war memorials.

Public tributes also came for his judicial work. The *Galloway News* of July 8 1933 reported that before proceedings started at the previous Kirkcudbright Sheriff Court, Sheriff Skinner had remarked that:

*'Mr Hornel was associated with this court for eight years as Hon. Sheriff-Substitute...Mr Hornel showed undoubtedly qualities that would have made him a good lawyer...He acted often and he was keenly interested in the work. In other respects he showed a wide range of interests ... antiquarian... music... on the Town Council... member of the Education Authority. He had recently been appointed a Justice of the Peace for the Stewartry, and had been looking forward to taking his oath.'*¹¹

Mr James Williamson, Dean of Faculty, also spoke on the same occasion and noted that:

*'Mr Hornel, while a man of strong individual personality, did not seek publicity but was always prepared in his own quiet way to do what he could for the community in which he lived.'*¹²

Returning to the *Galloway News* obituary, we read:

*'Another interesting side of Mr Hornel's life was his great affection for the home of his ancestors and the story and traditions of Galloway...in the field of literature he found scope for the expression of Gallovidian instincts in the founding of a library of all the literary works written by authors in the three southern counties.'*¹³

The collection of books and manuscripts for his library was the major interest and preoccupation of his later life, for after 1910, as Smith observes in his biography, Hornel's painting had become formulaic. In a recent paper Ysanne Holt has argued that Hornel transferred his creative energy from painting to the design and establishment of his Japanese garden.¹⁶ In contrast to his other more public projects, there are few references to this interest in the contemporary commentaries, presumably because it was essentially a private interest, unlike the library project. The *Dumfries Standard and Advertiser* confirmed that:

*'His chief enthusiasm during the later years of his life was his Dumfries and Galloway Library. His aim was to collect all the works that had been written by or about people living in the three south-western counties, and in making that collection he spared neither time, nor labour, nor money. He began rather more than twelve years ago by acquiring the collection made by the late Mr Thomas Fraser of Dalbeattie, which consisted of some 4,000 volumes. ... Mr Hornel's intention was that this collection should never be broken up, but that it would be a permanent possession of the people of Kirkcudbright.'*¹⁴

Hornel's correspondence in Broughton House shows us that he enjoyed a great deal of support for the library project from across the region, with many offers of volumes and practical help in gaining access to country house libraries together with tips on forthcoming antiquarian book sales. There are several letters which praise him for his initiative in creating what was to become a publicly accessible collection. Hewison's article on Hornel in the *The Gallovidian Annual* of 1924, in its 'Sons of the South' biographical series, makes it clear that this was his chief pre-occupation at that time.¹⁵

We must remember that Hornel's interests in art, local history and literature were not just focused on Kirkcudbright, in a parochial way, but on the wider region of Dumfries and Galloway, and particularly in Dumfries where he played an significant role in the promotion of these cultural activities. We read in the *Dumfries Standard and Advertiser's* obituary that:

*'...the formation of the Dumfries and Galloway Fine Arts Society was largely the result of his inspiration and support. He was one of the first honorary members. In later years he took an active interest in the Dumfries Burns Club, of which he was a Past President, and of the Antiquarian Society. He was most constant in his attendance at the excursions and lectures of this Society...'*¹⁷

The latter is a reference to the Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society, of which he was a paid-up Life member from at least the early 1920s, and a Vice-President of the Society from 1927 until his death.. The Society's lectures usually took place in Dumfries, but excursions were arranged across the region. Hornel's correspondence reveals that he frequently offered fellow members seats in his chauffeur-driven motor car. From his younger days he had been a member of the Stewartry Museum Association in Kirkcudbright, and had donated a collection of Japanese coins to the museum in 1894 on his return from a 13 month visit to Japan with George Henry. He seems to have taken a greater direct interest in the museum from the 1920s, and from 1926 until his death was Convener of the museum's Management Committee – in the minutes of the committee's meetings he is always formally recorded in the sederunt list as 'Hon. Sheriff-Substitute Hornel.'¹⁸

Hornel's role as a founder of the Dumfries and Galloway Fine Arts Society in the 1920s was not his first experience of setting up an artistic society in the region. He was also one of the founders of the Kirkcudbrightshire Fine Art Association established in 1885/1886. The Association's first exhibition, held in 1886, was the first public manifestation of Kirkcudbright's developing artistic community. In the absence of any documentary evidence, it is difficult to establish who were the chief protagonists in the Association; however we can probably assume that Hornel was instrumental in encouraging his friends amongst the 'Glasgow Boys' – especially George Henry and James Guthrie – to exhibit in the Association's short series of annual exhibitions, held annually between 1886 and 1889.

The obituaries in the two local newspapers also offer an assessment of Hornel's character, as well as describing the range of projects and public duties he was involved with. According to the *Galloway News* he was:

'Endowed with a strong individuality and possessed of powerful imagination and a mind governed by striking contrasts, he thought for himself and mapped out the course of his career, untrammelled and uninfluenced by any man'.¹⁹

We read a similar view in the *Dumfries Standard and Advertiser*. He was:

'A man of clear vision, indomitable courage, and unremitting industry'²⁰

And in his younger days, Hornel had been described as:

'A young man of free and independent outlook of vigorous personality and unremitting energy'²¹

Clearly a strong character – of independent thought, confident in his own opinions, and reading between the lines - perhaps a little arrogant and strong-willed? Without this, perhaps he would not have painted in the radical way he did in the early part of his career. It was perhaps also the same trait, which led to his unusual decision to turn down the offer of Associate membership of the Royal Scottish Academy in 1901. This dismayed many of his friends, but to Hornel his decision was perfectly reasonable and a sincere action on his part. In a letter to Thomas Fraser, the Dalbeattie publisher and his collaborator in the library project, he wrote

'Many thanks for your letter of congratulation. It will not come as a surprise to you that I have declined the honour of Associateship. I have been very happy as plain Hornel and I mean to remain such, as far as these trumpery affairs are concerned. I am not built right someway for wearing purple and fine linen. This decision will surprise some, gratify others, and disappoint a few. I am quite indifferent...'²²

Four years before this in 1897, Hornel had been elected to Kirkcudbright Town Council at the age of 33. His resignation in 1899 after just two years as a councillor may also reflect his youthful impatience with authority, and perhaps that he did not suffer fools (as he saw them) gladly. Hornel resigned in some frustration with the inconsistent behaviour of Provost McEwen, who was also the Burgh Surveyor, over the replacement of the town's Caithness paving slabs with concrete. This does not seem to have been an over aesthetic issue, but rather his despair of the Town Council's handling of the affair. An important factor must also have been his sympathy with his friend Robert M'Conchie, a Kirkcudbright tailor, who was locked in legal dispute with the Council over the matter. He explained his resignation in identical letters published in both the *Kirkcudbrightshire Advertiser* and the *Dumfries and Galloway Standard*²³ in which he did not shrink in his criticism of Provost McEwen. McEwen was a distinguished local citizen - master-builder and architect of many of Kirkcudbright's new building projects, including the Bank of Scotland just along St. Mary Street from the Town Hall. He was also a passionate and committed member of the Total Abstinence Movement. In contrast, Hornel, as a young man, had a reputation for drinking.²⁴ Perhaps this had a bearing on Hornel's antagonism? McEwen was first elected a town councillor when Hornel was just three, so it is no surprise that the younger Hornel's public rebuke seems to have done McEwen no political harm for he served as Provost for nine years until his retirement in 1907.

For all his apparent youthful confidence, Hornel may have had an aversion for public occasions, which carried through to later life. His obituary in *The Scotsman* mentions that:

'in public places a sort of shyness seemed to settle somewhat uneasily upon his sometimes brusque but not unkindly habitual manner'.²⁵

After his visit to Japan with George Henry, Hornel prepared a lecture on the country, illustrated by slides. One lecture was scheduled for the Maclellan Galleries in Glasgow in 1895, but Hornel withdrew at the last minute and his friend John Keppie delivered the lecture for him. Another lecture was arranged for Liverpool, but on this occasion his friend Robert M'Conchie gave it for him. Were there good reasons for his absences on both occasions, or was he averse to public speaking?

The writer Dorothy L Sayers also apparently observed his brusque manner. Her crime novel - *The Five Red Herrings* - was based on the artistic communities she knew in Kirkcudbright and Gatehouse in the late 1920s. The late Librarian of Broughton House, Mr L L Ardern, recounted the following anecdote to a Dorothy L Sayers Society conference in Kirkcudbright in 1986:

'Jessie M King was friendly with Dorothy L Sayers and one day she asked Jessie if she could be introduced to Mr Hornel because she had seen him about the town. She thought it was about time she met him formally. So Jessie M King fixed it up, and her husband, E A Taylor, took Dorothy Sayers along to Broughton House and said, "I will leave you on the doorstep and you can find your own way back in an hour or so perhaps". Dorothy Sayers was admitted but five minutes later in Green Gate Close, Jessie King, working by her window, saw Dorothy Sayers coming back, red and agitated: Jessie dashed out and asked what was wrong. Dorothy replied "He is a rude and obnoxious man and I never want to see him again". Jessie said, "Well, if you feel like that about him, you can always put him into one of your books."' ²⁶

This may be why the character of Gowan, one of the criminal suspects in *The Five Red Herrings* appears to be partly based on Hornel.

For a later view of his character we find John or 'Cheery' Graham writing the following in the *Galloway News* in 1963 under the title *Memories of a Distinguished Artist*:

*'And what sort of man was this Ned Hornel whose century we are noticing? I had the privilege of knowing him in the 1920s, but I understand that by that time he had reached an age when some mellowing takes place. Success did not go to his head. With him you could talk freely for he soon put you at ease, and, if it happened that you were a native of the Town, and your roots sunk deep in the place, then you were all the way. He was fond of argument and a good debater, very forthright too. He served for a spell on the Town Council...he was also connected with other bodies in the town, such as the Parish Council, Mechanics Institute etc., and it must not be forgotten that but for EAH, the Cochran Gymnasium would not have been gifted by Thomas Cochran. He used his persuasive powers on old pupils of the Academy when the new school was built in 1925-26, and made them disgorge so that the pupils would enjoy amenities hitherto unknown.'*²⁷

He also gives us an affectionate account of Hornel together with some of the town's other old worthies:

'In my mind's eye I can see EAH rounding the Castle Corner dressed in his usual knickerbocker suit, stockings and boots, stick in one hand – lost in thought until someone

accosts him and hands him a piece of paper. He takes from his waistcoat pocket his magnifying glass (for he refused to wear spectacles) and we leave him peeping with screwed-up nose at the writing. EAH was one of a quartet of townsmen who, almost every day, forgathered at the Institute (Town Hall) just as the clock struck two. I greeted them on my way back to the office for I knew them all – Walter Wallace, retired builder; Alex Caven, retired banker; David Clark, retired baker and of course Ned Hornel. I used to watch them as they made off for the Sandside Road which was their favourite walk. Each one of these men had done his stint on the Town Council or other bodies, and, having retired, considered himself justly entitled to spend the rest of his days sitting in judgement on his successors in office. None of them was frightened to air his opinions, and, anyone caring to eavesdrop would have got much entertainment.’²⁸

It is clear from the above that E A Hornel was deeply rooted in the burgh of Kirkcudbright but a man of his vision and energy needed a bigger stage to act on. The scope of his library and manuscript collecting covered all of Dumfries and Galloway, and the legacy of Broughton House was bequeathed to the inhabitants of the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, not exclusively to the burgh alone. Hornel was not one to seek a high profile; he had a strong personal interest in Kirkcudbright and a sense of duty towards it, but there is no indication that he sought or expected anything in return for his community activities. In his biography, Bill Smith concludes that Hornel was ‘respected rather than liked’.²⁹ We could draw a contrast here with the popularity of Jessie M King in the town; we might say she was more outgoing as a personality and presented a more colourful image both in a literal and figurative sense. Perhaps the account of Hornel’s funeral from the *Galloway News* of July 8 1933 conveys the prevailing sense of respect rather than grief at his passing:

‘On the route [to the Kirkcudbright cemetery] there were many signs of mourning; blinds were drawn at all the houses. The approach to the churchyard was lined with the 1st Kirkcudbright Troop of Boy Scouts under Rover leader John P Mackenzie.... and with boys from Kirkcudbright Academy under Mr W Davidson. The pallbearers were Mr W H Mouncey, London (nephew); Miss Hornel; Miss Janet Hornell; Miss Grace Hornell; and Miss Annie Hornell (sisters); Mr John Keppie, A.R.S.A.; and Mr H J Hewat, Castle-Douglas.’³⁰

Acknowledgement

My thanks to Jim Allan, Assistant Manager and Librarian at Broughton House, Kirkcudbright, for his assistance in making available Hornel’s correspondence held in the collections there.

Notes

1. Bill Smith 1997, *Hornel : The Life and Work of Edward Atkinson Hornel*. Edinburgh.
2. David Devereux, John Hudson, and Catherine Puget 2005, *Kirkcudbright Pont- Aven: Artists in Search of Inspiration*. Kirkcudbright.
3. *Valuation Roll for the Burgh of Kirkcudbright, 1931-32*. The Stewartry Museum.

4. *Galloway News* July 1st 1933.
5. A.S. Hartrick 1939, *A Painter's Pilgrimage*. Cambridge.
6. *Dumfries Standard and Advertiser* July 1st 1933.
7. op. cit.
8. Accession No. 2003/57/03. The Stewartry Museum, Kirkcudbright.
9. *Galloway News*, July 8th 1933.
10. Letter from Paulin to Hornel. Broughton House, Kirkcudbright.
11. *Galloway News*, July 8th 1933.
12. op. cit.
13. *Galloway News* July 1st 1933.
14. *Dumfries Standard and Advertiser* July 1st 1933.
15. J. K. Hewison, *Mr E A Hornel – A Distinguished Galloway Artist* in *The Gallovidian Annual*, 1924. Dumfries.
16. Ysanne Holt, 'The Veriest Poem of Art in Nature': *E. A. Hornel's Japanese Garden in the Scottish Borders* in *Tate Papers* Autumn 2004.
17. *Dumfries Standard and Advertiser* July 1st 1933.
18. Stewartry Museum Association Minute Books. The Stewartry Museum, Kirkcudbright.
19. *Galloway News* July 1st 1933.
20. *Dumfries Standard and Advertiser* July 1st 1933.
21. op. cit.
22. Letter from Hornel to Fraser dated March 25th 1901. Broughton House, Kirkcudbright.
23. *Kirkcudbrightshire Advertiser* October 6th 1899; *Dumfries and Galloway Standard* October 7th 1899.
24. Bill Smith 1997, *Hornel : The Life and Work of Edward Atkinson Hornel*. Edinburgh, p.99
25. *The Scotsman* July 1st 1933.
26. Dorothy L Sayers Historical and Literary Society, *Proceedings of the 1986 Seminar held at Kirkcudbright on Saturday and Sunday 19th and 20th July* p.22. The Stewartry Museum, Kirkcudbright.
27. John Graham, *Memories of a Distinguished Artist : E A Hornel* in the *Galloway News* July 5th 1963.
28. op. cit.
29. Bill Smith 1997, *Hornel : The Life and Work of Edward Atkinson Hornel*. Edinburgh, p.122.
30. *Galloway News* July 8th 1933.

Additional Information on the Churches at Lochend and Beeswing

Rev. William Holland¹

In Richard Smith's recent article *Presbyterian Divisions and Edifice Rivalry in Galloway, 1743-1900*² the author gives the following entry for Kirkgunzeon under the appendix listing of the Free Churches of Kirkcudbrightshire: '*Kirkgunzeon, New Abbey and Lochend*' church of 1857 at Lochend, fractionally within Kirkgunzeon parish (bordering New Abbey and Lochrutton parishes). Rebuilt in Beeswing 1867 - later became parish Church. Disused.

I have no knowledge of a previous church building just into Kirkgunzeon parish - but am aware of two Church buildings in the village of Beeswing. The entry in the *Annals of the Free Church* gives clarification — stating that 'Public worship was held in a barn at Lochend Farm, until the church was built at the east end of the village of Beeswing, in 1857. A new church was built at the west end of the village in 1868, and in 1873 the old church was transferred to the School Board.' The apparent gap of use is probably only a paper one. The old church would have become a local school immediately. The transfer to the School Board in 1873 reflects the fact that School Boards only came into existence with the Education Act of 1872. After the Union in 1929 Lochend Church was recognised by the Presbytery and allowed to have its own minister and parish - with former Parish members joining it. Bridgend Church (New Abbey) members joined New Abbey Parish Church. In 1952 Lochend and New Abbey were linked - and the two congregations have now been united in 2006.

Local information is that the first Free Church was built further up the Village, prior to 1860, just beyond where the former Schoolhouse now stands. It was a condition of the 1867 lease of the ground for building the new Lochend Church that the former Church would be used as a school. It continued as such until c1965 - when the new Beeswing School was built (more recently the Educational Training Centre). Until the 1929 Union the Minister of New Abbey Parish Church held services in the School for his parishioners in the Beeswing area. The Church/School is now a dwelling house, called 'Drumkirk'. The Minister who lived in the Free Church Manse at Beeswing (now Mansefield) was also the minister of the sister congregation at New Abbey, worshipping in the Bridgend Church (now the Woman's Guild Hall).

Our local handed-down knowledge for the name of 'Lochend' for the Church has another source. Beeswing village was started because Nathaniel Caven, who had won money on the famous horse, Bee's Wing, built an inn with his winnings on ground at West Park of Locharthur which his father-in-law, James McLeod had bought. Other houses followed and Beeswing was born. It is recorded that the Free Church members, being staunchly against gambling and alcohol, would not call their Church after a racehorse, hence the geographical description of 'Lochend'.

1 The Manse, 28 Main Street, New Abbey, Dumfries DG2 8BY

2 *Transactions*, Series III, Vol., LXXX, pp. 123-142.

Prehistoric Settlement in the Wigtownshire Moors by Jane Murray; ISBN 0 9542966-5-6, paperback, coloured cover 52 pp with half-tone illustrations and plans throughout. Printed by Stranraer and Wigtownshire Free Press and published by the Stranraer and District Local History Trust. Price £4.75 + £1 post and packing from the Hon. Secretary, Christine L Wilson, Tall Trees, London Road, Stranraer DG9 8BZ (Tel: 01776 703 101).

This is the latest publication by the Stranraer and District Local History Trust, established in 1998 at the instigation of the Stranraer and District Chamber of Commerce.

The booklet's purpose is 'to awaken interest in and stimulate awareness of a remarkable landscape of prehistoric survival that exists on the moors of west Wigtownshire.' Well illustrated and succinct, it achieves this admirably.

The importance of discoveries in Wigtownshire to the study and understanding of the archaeology of Scotland are outlined. The uncovering of crannogs by Sir William Maxwell through the drainage of Dowalton Loch in 1862 was mirrored by the discovery of the massive ritual complex at Dunragit in the 1990's through aerial reconnaissance.

However it is the Wigtownshire moors that are the subject of this study. These uplands, extending from Loch Ryan in the west to the River Cree in the east are a distinct landscape, shaped by the human response to changing climate and economic drivers. Today, these peat covered moors appear remote and on the fringes of human settlement, but this study shows that this has not always been the case.

The main types of prehistoric structure that are found on the moors are authoritatively introduced with reference to recent pertinent discoveries elsewhere. Particular sites described and illustrated: Neolithic cairns, round cairns, standing stones, small cairns, hut circles, field systems, burnt mounds and forts. A final section on patterns of settlement asks what these remains tell us about the 'big picture' of human settlement.

The booklet is very welcome and timely. Climatic change, its effects on the environment and the human responses are central and very current themes.

It will be of great interest locally and also bring the archaeological wealth of this landscape to a wider audience in a very accessible format.

Jane Brann.

The 1745 Rebellion and the Southern Scottish Lowlands by A E MacRobert, ISBN 1-905226-37-3. Melrose Books, St Thomas Place, Ely, Cambridgeshire CB7 4GG £14.99. 168 pp including index and extensive notes - hardback - ½-tone illustrations and map. A E MacRobert, 6 Fergus Road, Kirkcudbright DG6 4HN Tel: 01557-331018.

So much has been written about the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745-46 that it is surprising how little attention has been paid to its effect upon the Scottish Lowlands. A E MacRobert's book sets out to fill this gap by examining the response of the key elements of society in southern Scotland to the arrival of the Young Pretender and their reaction to the progress of his army – both in triumphant advance and in retreat. This different approach to a familiar episode of Scottish history is stimulating and enlightening and opens up a fresh perspective upon it.

The book begins with an outline of the '45 and earlier Jacobite activities and then turns to an analysis of the society into which the Rebellion exploded. First it considers Scotland's established order of government at the national and local level, in the burghs and in the countryside alike, noting the administrative strengths and weaknesses which might help to explain the apparent inertia of the

authorities at the news of the Prince's arrival and their relative inability or reluctance to offer an effective resistance to his advance. The churches and the Scottish banking system are also examined as key elements of Scottish society, thus providing an interesting insight into possible motivation for Lowland response to the Rebellion.

The presence of the Jacobite force in Edinburgh, on its buoyant southward advance, is described in fascinating detail, much of it in the words of contemporary observers. In contrast, after its defeat at Derby, the army is described, more briefly, in Dumfries and Glasgow on its way north to annihilation at Culloden in 1746.

The aftermath of the Rebellion in southern Scotland is discussed in terms of Highland migration to the Lowlands, the demise of heritable jurisdictions, effects on political, ecclesiastical and intellectual life and, of course, the establishment (or development) of several famous Scottish regiments.

The style of this book is admirably lucid and its format - dividing each chapter into short, clearly labelled sections - makes it pleasant and easy to read. Its apparent "simplicity" is deceptive, however, because its contents are both thoughtful and thought-provoking and its many fresh interpretations are fully justified by impressively comprehensive reference to primary sources. A E MacRobert's book is a worthy addition to Jacobite historiography..

Marion M Stewart.

March 2007

From Durisdeer and Castleton to Strachur. Robert Anderson: A Farm Diary 1847-1852 by Innes Macleod and Margaret Maxwell. Copies may be obtained from the publisher, Innes Macleod, Lower Glengorm, 14 Station Road, Biggar ML12 6JN, £4.50 - please add £1.00 for post and packing.

Robert Anderson, born 1810, was the son of a farmer from Durisdeer parish in Dumfriesshire. In early life he made his way in the world as a packman, itinerant tea dealer and draper in London (St Pancras) from about 1827/28. From the late 1830s to 1845 he was a draper and tea-dealer in Stony Stratford, Buckinghamshire; as a shopkeeper in the same line of business in Liverpool from 1845 to 1847 - and finally as a tenant sheep farmer of 2000 acres at Strachurmore in Argyllshire from 1847 until his early death at the age of only 42 years in 1852.

The facts of this short but busy life have been culled from a diary and account book maintained originally by Robert Anderson - the volume, some 370 pages, was first used in February 1837 to keep a record of his business accounts and transactions in the drapery trade. Details of the drapery business between 1840 and 1846 in Stony Stratford fill some 69 pages. His expenses in moving from Stony Stratford to Liverpool in 1845 and from Liverpool in 1847 fill 11 pages. The Strachur farm diary occupies 99 pages and further five pages provide details of farm servants and their wages. Following Robert's death the volume was utilised by his wife, and then by his son for various farm accounts between 1852 and 1874 - and remains in the possession of the family today.

Robert's wife Margaret was a Nichol from Thornlieshope in Castleton, Liddesdale - both sides of the family maintained solid and frequent links with all the various branches of their families, friends and associates - and the notes and details of family life make fascinating reading for genealogists and those interested in family and general history: The Nichols, Armstrongs and Murrays of Liddesdale, Northumberland, Buckinghamshire, Liverpool and Argyll; The Andersons, Corsons, McCheynes and Mackays of Durisdeer, Glencairn, Moniaive and Dumfries are all included.

The whole varied way of life is brought out by extensive quotations from the account books and diary sections - the vagaries of Anderson's spellings have been retained and add to the charm of the

volume. These descriptive accounts particularly bring out the dynamic nature of travel in the 1840s and 1850s with access to the new railways, steam and traditional forms of navigation, horse, carriage – and eventually ‘shanks pony’ over distances that we would hardly contemplate as a routine at the present day. The trials and tribulations of Robert’s health – and final death – are, as ever, recorded in detail.

The authors – Margaret Maxwell is a descendant of the family described – are to be congratulated on producing an important and readable text describing a way of life now long gone. The volume is well produced and printed and although un-indexed the use of descriptive chapter and section heads means that the contents can be easily accessed. There are photographic illustrations of scenes, plans and a series of Anderson and Nichol family photographs for the period 1855 to 1870. The whole volume runs to 117 pages and is to be heartily recommended to all those with an interest in Dumfriesshire – and the area’s interwoven links with other parts of the country.

James Williams.

Andrew Archibald.

When in 1970 DGNHAS found itself in need of a treasurer, the president, the late James Robertson, asked a recently retired friend with commercial and financial experience to take on the job. Thus, although not a member, Andrew Archibald became the Society's treasurer and held that post until 1975. At the same time, he joined the Society and remained a keen member until his death, only a few weeks short of his 97th birthday, on 1st December 2006.

Andrew Archibald was born near East Kilbride on Christmas Day 1909. During the first World War the family moved to Glasgow and subsequently to Helensburgh and then Cove. On leaving school in 1926 he was fortunate enough to find employment as an office boy at the headquarters of Scottish Oils and Shell Mex, a firm with which he stayed for the rest of his career, except for war service. During the pre-war period and also afterwards his main interests were music, the Church, the Scouts, travel and golf, among other activities playing the violin with the City of Glasgow Post Office Orchestra and visiting Germany for a Scout Jamboree.

In the second World War he saw service in the Royal Artillery in North Africa, Syria, Palestine, Cyprus and Italy, and took the opportunity to visit the Holy Land, the Pyramids, the Valley of the Kings and Rome. After the war, he returned to the service of Shell Oil and in 1947 he was appointed area commercial representative at Castle Douglas, where he continued his interest in golf and travel. Here he also met his future wife Lexa, a sister at the cottage hospital, and they were married in 1955. Their first son, David, was born in 1956 and their second son, Brian, in 1958, and thereafter his main interest was in his family, although this included much travel while on holiday. Later he returned to golf and, on retiring, became a member of Dumfries Burns Club, the Probus Club and the Dumfries Music Society, as well as DGNHAS, which he served faithfully and competently.

Alex Anderson

John Neilson 1913- 2006.

John Neilson was a member from of the Society from 1977 and Treasurer from 1989 - 1998. He was well known in many circles, a retired consultant surgeon who in his earlier days saw experience in the London Blitz, and after his retirement continued his support of the St. Andrew's Ambulance Association. In his private life he was a keen supporter of the arts, being Secretary of the Guild of Players at the time of fund raising for the purchase of the Theatre Royal. He also found time to produce a number of plays including the first in the refurbished theatre.

A great enthusiast for travel, he visited a large number of European countries and latterly the United States where he visited family and friends. He was a keen supporter of the Glasgow University extra mural classes and many hours were spent after the classes in discussion about facets of the arts where he made sure of including everyone in the conversations.

After giving up as Treasurer he continued on the Council and took charge of the management of subscribers and business subscribers to the *Transactions*. A regular attender at Council meetings he gave freely of his wide knowledge and experience. He is sadly missed.

Kirkpatrick H Dobie

Alfred Truckell MBE, MA, FMA, FSA, FSA Scot (1919-2007)

Alfred Edgar Truckell, the Society's Honorary Member, passed away peacefully at Charnwood Nursing Home, Dumfries, on the morning of Sunday 25th February 2007. His funeral was held at the Crichton Royal Memorial Chapel on Wednesday 7th March – respecting Alf's inclinations and no doubt instructions – it was a humanist non-religious service with readings from favourite works, the playing of favourite music and spoken eulogies from both sides of his family. David Lockwood, his assistant and successor at the Museum, spoke on behalf of the 'profession'. There was a large representation of Society members. The burial was in the family grave at the High Cemetery – appropriately looking out over Dumfries and Maxwelltown with, in the distance, the museum taking centre stage.

Alf, or Alfie, as he was affectionately known to generations of local people, was born on St Valentine's day 1919 at Barrow-in-Furness — where his father Henry had, since 1917, been engaged in wartime work in the 'Shell Shop' of Vickers Armstrong. He was named after his paternal grandfather who had been born in 1854 at Titchfield near Southampton where the family name is still frequently found. The Christian names Alfred Edgar – seem to stem from a Jolin family connection on the island of Jersey.

Alf attended primary school at Noblehill and would generally speak of it with affection. However, there was a darker side: he had been allowed to develop a competency as a natural left-handed writer — but was subsequently forced to write with his right-hand: this destroyed his confidence and he developed a profound stammer which would affect him seriously throughout childhood and into early adult life. His secondary education was at Dumfries Academy. Leaving school he was employed for a short time with Dinwiddie's printworks before joining the Town Clerk's office as a junior clerk in 1937. He was rescued from what was becoming a life of tedium by the outbreak of war in 1939 — '6¼ years in Army – in it but never of it – 4¼ years overseas'. Private Truckell, 7663175 RAPC saw war service from 1940. Firstly, with the Pay Corps, he served in various locations in the UK before being moved overseas in early 1942 — Sierra Leone, Durban, Bombay, Baghdad, Damascus, Palestine and finally to Egypt. By which time he had transferred to the Pioneer Corp at 101 Salvage Depot at Alexandria reaching the rank of lance corporal and also acting as a part time medical orderly. Whilst in Egypt he met a French-speaking sephardic Jew Marguerite Benchiat (Margot) – they were married at Mustashfa Barracks 21st February 1946 shortly before his return to the United Kingdom.

Following demobilisation in May 1946 he returned to work in the Town Clerk's office but being supernumerary in terms of normal activities he was put to work by James Hutcheon, the then Town Clerk, on the indexing of Town Council and Committee Minutes which had been un-indexed since the early 1920s. In addition to these modern materials he also literally read his way back into the past and became a highly proficient palaeographer in late mediaeval and 17th century scripts. By 1947 he was working back through the records to make lists of Town Clerks and of Burgesses. In this work his competence was becoming well-known to George Shirley the Librarian and more especially R C Reid our Society's Editor.

When this Society's Museum was taken over by the local authority in the mid-1930s its first Curator was G W Shirley – the hands-on administration being undertaken by the now well-known local artist-craftsman Tim Jeffs. During the war years Jeffs left for Kirkcudbright and by the time of Alf's re-employment at the Town Hall there was still no full time custodian. R C Reid takes up the story in correspondence¹ to the effect that 'the Museum had just been purged of rubbish and was under the Library Committee of the Burgh. That Committee had no clear status as the Burgh Library

1 *R C Reid MSS*, Ewart Library — Vol. 190, Manuscripts Various, Mr Truckell's Honorary Degree. Reid to W Croft Dickinson, Edinburgh University, 19 Dec. 1961.

had been amalgamated with the County Library ... it consisted of a handful of burgesses who knew nothing, or cared less, of Museum work or administration but who refused to disband as a committee. The Town Clerk had found Truckell willing and useful and consulted me as to what he should do as Truckell had reached his maximum of pay as a clerk, yet merited some promotion and responsibility. I told him that what was wanted was a curator paid at standard rates & he should advertise for one and that Truckell should be told to apply. The Town Clerk prevailed on the Town Council to do so ... the Council refusing to offer standard rates of pay ... unofficially (but, backed by the Town Clerk) Truckell carried on at the museum & the public began to take notice of him & the museum.

I persuaded the Dumfriesshire Educational Trust to give him a grant to visit museums in Britain to study the latest ideas in display & at the Ashmolean he met [D B]Harden who urged him to sit for examination for a Museum certificate ... Truckell sat for his certificate and passed easily. ... The Town Clerk again approached me ... [and] it was agreed that in view of his certificate we should try again & I promised to get a letter of support from some distinguished person. Professor Eric Birley of Durham was invited to stay here [Cleuchbrae] a night & I told him of the position. Next morning I took him to the Museum where Birley not only had a talk with him but asked him to visit Durham for a night then wrote me a letter which I could show the Town Clerk. That letter along with a commendation from me was read to the Museum Committee and Truckell became Curator' [in 1948].

Alf had found his niche, and he was one of those lucky people whose passion was also their job. Following his appointment as curator Alf became a member of numerous antiquarian, archaeological, natural history and other societies – all self-funded as personal memberships but with the aim of providing the museum with the core of an operating specialist library. In archaeology he worked with others on established digs and diligently made site visits to all local excavations. He also initiated excavations and field work himself — at an early period he had a tremendous commitment to 'get it done' – initially excavating at Carzield under postal direction from Professor Birley at Durham, he later worked at (among many others) Castledykes, Dumfries; Glenhowan; Blacketlees; Wardlaw Roman Fort; Tynron Doon training excavations for his extra-mural classes at Thornhill and, effectively lone-working in some of the 1960s and 1970s tenement and close clearance schemes, he was early in the field of urban archaeology. Even if, as he admitted himself, some of the excavations were in the nature of a 'bit of a howk' — others would have waited for an organised process but he did it when it was needed and when the opportunity arose — otherwise nothing at all would have been achieved. Throughout all this period he also continued to act as Burgh Archivist.

In what was becoming effectively a regional multicultural museum he turned his hands and mind to a wide variety of subjects, topics and skills – conservation, all periods of archaeology, all sections of natural history – he had a particular passion for botany and would organise, in season, plant tables; collect geological specimens, install an exhibition bee-hive and dealing with the bee-keeping himself as a newly elected member of the Scottish Beekeepers' Association. He enthused others and the proposals under his name for membership to this Society and that of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland were to be counted in the hundreds over the years – particularly the young and students. If funds were not available or there was no official budget he would simply put in his hand into his own pocket – for example, many of the coins in the teaching collections were funded by this route – bought month by month from Spinks, Seaby's and other coin catalogues. All sorts of people were similarly funded or assisted – a particular example being the late Werner Kissling. At one time he even completed a weekly entry on the football pools – he admitted that he probably did not fully understand the permutations that were involved but the chance of winning, however remote it might have been, was seen as one worth taking if there was any potential to increase museum funding. In the early days, like his father before him, he walked everywhere and one of the regular ways of moving museum artefacts was by haversack – motor technology, firstly a scooter and then his faithful '1100', offered an opportunity to move further afield and carry even more. He was not a

natural driver but he persisted through countless lessons and re-sits of his driving test until he finally achieved his aim — motor travel with Alf was never a restful experience!

By the early 1960s he was in full flow in all the above topics and R C Reid can again take up the story². ‘... It is greatly to Truckell’s credit that he has overcome his affliction of stammering ... He now is an active lecturer in archaeology for the Glasgow Extra Mural classes in Galloway – no mean achievement. At every local excavation he manages to put in a few days work & is well abreast in field work. He has taught himself to read with reasonable efficiency 16th to 17th Century handwriting which can be very baffling ... and has persuaded the Town Clerk to allocate him a room where a girl typist is listing and boxing the loose papers from 1700 onwards under his direction, so as to complete the task I set myself many years ago - up to 1700. He himself is preparing in odd moments the transcription of the earliest Burgh Court Book 1509 – 1580 for publication in the Scottish Record Society with a grant from the Burgh³.

Formerly the Museum was largely deserted – visitors being some 2000 a year almost entirely Bus Tours from Lancashire. Today the average 7-8000 are mainly local visitors seeking personal attention. Students are well appreciated ... the personnel of the Museum Committee have changed for the better. The Old Bridge House has been taken over as a bygone & folk Museum & developed in period displays under his charge. Outwith the Burgh, Truckell ... started a Burgh Museum at Annan ... At Torthorwald he secured [again achieved through personal funding] a tumbledown cruck-framed thatched cottage for the Torthorwald Trust which has restored it and is furnishing it with period objects to be officially opened in the new year. Within his charge and direction is a new museum at Stranraer & he is frequently called in an advisory status to the Kirkcudbright Museum lately purged & modernised by J Scott of the Glasgow Museum. ... Schools are specially catered for ... and parties of school children are even taken to climb hills [and] to visit national & local monuments.

Three years ago the Antiquarian Soc[iety] appointed him my co-editor of its *Transactions*. In view of my age & sought continuity & two years ago Harden, as President of the Museums Association, nominated Truckell as a member of its Council. Truckell is easily the hardest worked public servant in Dumfries, willing to take on anything whether archaeological or historical & like his Museum he himself has become an institution. I strongly urge you to give him the recognition you suggest: nothing would please Harden more, and many folk whom he has helped one way or another.’ His honorary degree was awarded on 5th July 1962.

His early knowledge of the work of our society had perhaps been kindled by his grandfather and namesake who had been a member from October 1880 and acting as Assistant Secretary in 1881-82. He had also acted as Treasurer to the ‘linked’ Astronomical Society. Further personal stimulus came in 1937 when his father obtained for him a copy of the late George Shirley’s *Topography of a Scottish Burgh*. He became a member in 1947; elected to Council in 1948; appointed co-editor of these *Transactions* with the late R C Reid from 1951 to 1962 and then with the late W F Cormack for the period 1965 to 1975 and was President 1974-77. Throughout his professional museum life he acted as Hon. Curator of the Society’s collections held in their former museum. He had a tremendous sympathy for Dr T B Grierson of Thornhill — a founder member of the Society in 1862 — and was proud to be able to take part in the dispersal of the ‘Grierson Museum’ in 1965.⁴ They were alike in so many ways — an encyclopaedic breadth of knowledge of natural history, archaeology, history, folklore: Both developed their museums with a strong emphasis on education to all ages — but particularly the young. It was not an unexpected surprise when he was awarded an M.B.E. for his

2 Ibid.

3 Only finally achieved in his retirement – with printed extracts appearing as a two-part article in volumes 73 and 74 of the *Transactions*.

4 The Grierson Collection, Thornhill, and its Dispersal, *Transactions*, 43, p. 65.

services to education on 1st January, 1970. Upon his retirement as Dumfries Museum Curator in 1982 a testimonial account was initiated and he was subsequently presented with a microscope and a telescope as gifts from the society. He was elected an honorary member in 1983 and remained thus until his decease.

Alf's mother was a Robson from Carsethorn and he had spent many childhood holidays there with family members. He had ships' captains on the Robson and Galloway sides of his family and it was with the greatest pleasure that he inherited his Aunt's house Castle Rag at the North end of the village. In retirement he also continued with his love of gardening – typically he savoured the serendipity of buying Chiltern Seeds' '*anonymous packets*' – and thoroughly enjoyed himself by seeing what eventually propagated.

Transcription remained a lifelong commitment — often starting a seven o' clock in the morning at the Museum (before the start of normal business and when he knew he would not be disturbed) – this was an every day duty in acknowledgment of the enormity of the task. In retirement he continued the service to much the same schedule – particularly to help the Archive Centre but also for correspondents all round the globe. At the Carse he worked from photocopies and a host of microfilms of early records – using his own quirky microfilm viewer which was latterly held together by tape, patches, string – and with automobile light-bulbs substituting when proper replacements could not be had. The transcriptions were lodged with the Archive Centre and the highlights were published as papers in the *Transactions*. Latterly, when he was dealing with particular batches of transcription, he was always anxious that he would live long enough to get it finished — and he did.

Retirement also saw an opportunity to embark upon more frequent trips to see family members in Israel and France – but in addition trips of self exploration to places he had always wished to visit — among which were New Zealand, Argentina, Chile, Tierra del Fuego, Majorca, Cyprus. The trips to South America finally made an honest man of him in terms of his plant collecting – taking out a License to Import Wild Plant Material – IMP/PRIV/5/91 from The Scottish Office – no more secret caches of plant cuttings in his luggage! Retirement was equally a time for getting things completed – finishing off aspects of research, particularly into things local to Kirkbean and district, writing up his own memoirs; in 1999 editing and organising the publication of his father's 1937 novel *Fisherman's Haul*; and disposing of his book collections to the new Crichton University Library. He continued to enjoy reading on a wide variety of subjects: He had been a 'science fiction addict since 1931' and during his retirement he had commenced a science-fiction tale – *The Rash Young Man* - about inter-stellar exploration post 2515 AD.

The eldest of four children: His siblings Harry and John having died young of diphtheria, he was close to his brother Hamilton, 9¼ years his junior and who, before his untimely death in 1997, was also his immediate neighbour in retirement at Carsethorn. His wife pre-deceased him in 1973 and there were no children of the marriage – a matter he frequently regretted. He was genuinely 'different' and we shall undoubtedly not see his like again — his publications, research papers and The Museum will remain enduring monuments to his dedication. He is survived by his sister-in-law Anne and numerous nephews and nieces (of multiple generations), from all sides of his family and in many different countries.

James Williams.

Bibliography of A E Truckell***Transactions of this Society***

- 1950 *Excavation Notes*, Vol 27, p.202
- 1952 *Some Recent Museum Acquisitions* (1951), Vol 29, p.139
- 1953 *A Stone Axe from Watcarrick*, Vol 30, p.194
A Thirteenth Century Seal Matrix, Vol 30, p. 195
- 1954 *Roman Roads in S-W Scotland, Pt. 4: From Castledykes (Corbiehall) to Crawford* (Co-Author with R C Reid and C A R Radford), Vol 31, p.30
The Summer School (Co-Author with R C Reid), Vol 31, p.200
Field Meeting to Staplegorton (Co-Author with R C Reid), Vol 31, p.202
- 1955 *Recent Museum Acquisitions – 1955*, Vol 32, p. 172
Note on Local Excavations, Vol 32, p.192
Note on a Clepsydra, Vol 32, p.193
- 1956 *Early Shipping References in the Dumfries Burgh Records Part I*, Vol 33, p.132
Archaeological Finds, 1955, Vol 33, p.199
- 1957 *Early Shipping References in the Dumfries Burgh Records Part II*, Vol 34, p.29
- 1958 *A Bronze Age Cist at Mainsriddle*, Vol 34, p.213
An Excavation at Blacketlees, Vol 35, p.112
Finds at Twiglees, Vol 35, p.140
Notes on a Site at Glenhowan, Vol 35, p.140
- 1959 *Tynron and Penpont Tenants, 1695*, Vol 36, p.95
The Antiquarian Jaunts of Thomas Johnston (Co-Author with A McLean and J Scott-Elliott), Vol 36, p.108
- 1960 *The Kirkland of Longcastle*, Vol 37, p.168
Three Sweetheart Abbey Charters, Vol 37, p.171
The Cairn on Whitecoomb (Moffat), Vol 37, p.172
- 1961 *Lord Maxwell in Dumfries, 1523* (Co-Author with R C Reid), Vol 38, p.196
Finds and Sites, 1960-61, Vol 38, p.202
- 1962 *Finds and Sites, 1961-62*, Vol 39, p.161
- 1963 *The Observatory Museum, Dumfries*, Vol 40, p.33
The Mesolithic in Dumfries and Galloway, Recent Developments, Vol 40, p.43
Dumfries and Galloway in the Dark Ages: Some Problems, Vol 40, p.89
Records of Dumfries and Galloway, Vol 40, p.168
A Group of Separate Cup and Ring marked Slabs in the Cairnholy-Auchenlarie District, Vol 40, p.192
- 1964 *The Archaeological Collections of the Society*, Vol 41, p.192
- 1965 *A Neolithic Axe Roughout*, Vol 42, p 149
The Foregirth Cross, Vol 42, p.150
- 1966 *The Grierson Collection, Thornhill, and its Dispersal*, Vol 43, p.65
The Pottery from Dunrod Moated Manor, Kirkcudbright, Vol 43, p.131
Tynron Doon, 1964-65, Vol 43, p.147
- 1967 *A Late Mediaeval Mortar in Dumfries Museum*, Vol 44, p.224
Mediaeval Pottery in Dumfriesshire and Galloway (Co-Author with J Williams), Vol 44, p.133

- 1969 Appendix to *Three Roman Intaglios from South-Western Scotland* by M.Henig, Vol 46, p.108
- 1972 *Finds and Sites, 1971-72*, Vol 49, p.127
- 1975 *Unpublished Witchcraft Trials Part I*, Vol 51, p.48
- 1976 *Unpublished Witchcraft Trials Part II*, Vol 52, p.95
 Old Harbours in the Solway Firth (Co-Author with A Graham), Vol 52, p. 109
- 1978 *A Neolithic Axe Rough-out from Roadside near New Abbey*, Vol 53, p.181
 The Battle of Brunanburgh, Vol 53, p.183
 The John Alexander Stone at Hoddom, Vol 53, p.184
 Further Notes on Mediaeval Pottery (Co-Author with J Williams), Vol 53, p.187
- 1979 *Dumfries Rentals of 1674-1703*, Vol 54, p.152
 Suicide Stones from Lowther Hill, Wanlockhead (Co-Author with J Williams), Vol 54, p.159
- 1980 'Cassilis Estate Rental for 1614/15', *Record Text Publications*, Vol. 1, p. 33
'A Dumfries Rental for 1674', *Record Text Publications*, Vol. 1, p. 42
'The Dumfries Burgess Lists', *Record Text Publications*, Vol. 1, p. 67
- 1985 *Inventory of the Estate of the late Sir John Dunbar of Mochrum* (Co-Author with W F Cormack), Vol, 60, p.62
- 1987 *Wigtown Burgh Court Book. 1512-1535*, Vol 62, p.66
- 1989 *A Proto-History of Galloway*, Vol 64, p.48
 The McCartney Documents, Vol 64, p.88
- 1991 *Early Stranraer Records*, Vol 66, p.91
 Kirkbean Parish, Vol 66, p.94
- 1992 *Arbigland Accounts 1751-59*, Vol 67, p.81
 Some 18th Century Transatlantic Trade Documents, Vol 67, p.86
- 1997 *Extracts from Dumfries Burgh Court Records*, Vol 72, p.112
- 1999 *Dumfries Burgh Court Books in the 16th Century. Part I*, Vol 73, p.183
 Carruthers of Warmanbie. A note from the Dumfries Burgh Court Records, Vol 73, p.223
 Two Mediaeval Inscribed Stones from Dumfries, Vol 73, p.225
- 2000 *Dumfries Burgh Court Books in the 16th Century. Part II*, Vol 74, p.77
- 2001 *Some 17th century Custom and Excise Records for Dumfries and Kirkcudbright*, Vol 75, p.173
 The Stewarrie of Kirkcudbright Court Minutes 1670 and 1684, Vol 75, p.181
- 2002 *Portpatrick Customs (1671-99)*, Vol 76, p.160
 William Fullarton's Expenses (1689-92) about the War in Ireland, Vol 76, p.162
 Alisonbank Custom Records, Vol 76, p.166
- 2003 *Mouswald Kirk Session: 1640-1659*, Vol 77, p.167
- 2004 *The Dumfries Incorporation of Fleshers, 1658-1829*, Vol 78, p.115
- 2006 *A Microfilm Miscellany* [Torthorwald Kirk Session, 1696-1882; Baronie of Cluden papers, 1712-31 and Dumfries Burgh Treasurer's Accounts, 1708-10], Vol 80, p.165

In addition to the above papers he contributed obituaries for the late John Clarke (Vol 41) and James Robertson (Vol 71) and some thirty five reviews of publications over a wide variety of subjects.

Other Publications.

Museum *Local Studies* information sheets – upwards of eighty publications on all aspects of the natural history, archaeology and history of Dumfriesshire and Galloway. Also included in this type of work were detailed ‘Guides’ to the *Burgh Museum* and *The Old Bridge House Museum*. For many years, on a weekly basis he wrote entries for *Curator’s Corner* and *Museum Notes* which were published in the week-end editions of the *Dumfries & Galloway Standard* and the *Galloway News*, respectively: These accounts represent an almost item by item account of new acquisitions to the Museum’s collections. On an annual basis throughout his professional career he submitted entries to *Discovery and Excavation* for the counties of Dumfriesshire, Kirkcudbright and Wigtown. From 1948, and for many years thereafter, he submitted detailed accounts of all the Society’s meetings to the local press.

- 1962 ‘Historical Background’ in *The Third Statistical Account of The County of Dumfries*, Collins, Glasgow, pp. 34-39.
- 1968 ‘Modernization at the Dumfries Museum’, *Museums Journal*, Vol. 68, No. 1, June 1968.
- 1972 ‘Introduction’ to the reprinted 3rd edition (1906) of William McDowall’s *History of the Burgh of Dumfries*.
- 1983 ‘Dumfries Roup Lists’ in *From the Stone Age to the ’45. Studies presented to R B K Stevenson*, ed. Anne O’Connor and D V Clarke, John Donald, Edinburgh, 1983. pp. 520-545.
- 1984 ‘Some Lowland Native Sites in Western Dumfriesshire and Galloway’ in *Between and Beyond the Walls*, R Miket and C Burgess (eds.), Edinburgh, 1984, pp. 199-205.
- 1986 New introductory chapter added to the Octocentenary (4th) edition of William McDowall’s *History of the Burgh of Dumfries*, T C Farries & Co. Ltd in association with the Octocentenary Committee of Nithsdale District Council pp. 1-65.
Audio tape radio interview. [Dumfries Museum DUMFM:1986.26]
History of the Parish of Kirkbean [local booklet]
Kirkbean School and Its Environment [typescript version at Dumfries Museum]
- [] *The Rash Young Man* – partial MS extending to 36 pages and detailing a science-fiction tale about inter-stellar exploration post 2515 AD
- 1989 *Memoir* – Typescript detailing family origins and life from childhood to old age. MS notes, preparatory to the above also exist.
- 1999 *Continuation of Memoirs* – MS extending to 20 handwritten A4 sheets

A E Truckell, J G Scott and W F Cormack: A retrospective view

Fifty years ago, as a new research student of Stuart Piggott, I was introduced to the archaeology of south-west Scotland. From 1957 to 1960 I was based in Edinburgh and could make many forays to the museums for my studies of Bronze Age metalwork. Subsequently I continued to visit the collections in Scottish museums from a base at Cambridge, and ventured into Mesolithic archaeology in the west of Scotland. My good fortune in these years was to encounter three men who had substantial influences on my work, and this little note is to set out my thoughts on their contributions to my own Scottish studies.

Stuart Piggott and I made several visits to the museum in Dumfries, where he pursued his interest in Neolithic and Bronze Age pottery, and I began to look at the bronzes. In this of course we were

guided by Alf Truckell; I recall his gentle but firm instructions about the handling of the objects laid out before us, and his careful and precise explanations of the catalogues and papers relating to the material. Alf continued to impress upon me the need to assess the archaeological evidence for its shortcomings as well as its positive aspects, and it was a great thrill to meet him again during the visit of The Prehistoric Society to the museum in 1998.

At this same time I met Jack Scott, long-retired from his influential position as Keeper of Archaeology in the Kelvingrove Museum. My early meetings with Jack were a bit intimidating, I recall – such a huge museum and vast collections, and such a man with very firm ideas about the material and its need for study. Jack's corrections to my early listing of bronzes were extensive, and he guided me through the relevant literature as well as often providing me with lunch at his home with his wife Margaret. He became a close colleague as the years went on, as I became more interested in his beloved megalithic monuments.

During the Society's visit to the museum in 1998 I also met Bill and Sheila Cormack, whom I had not seen for some years. I first encountered Bill when, somehow, I was invited to look at the Mesolithic flintwork that he had collected from a number of sites along the coast of Wigtownshire. Bill and I then moved on to joint excavations at Low Clone and he continued with further work. In terms of my education, I think Bill's penetrating questions, delivered somehow in a way that did not jar (although I often deserved it), showed his deep understanding of the archaeological potential and importance of the evidence whether that was Mesolithic or medieval.

I hope this note will put on record my thanks to these three men, all of whom made major contributions to my own archaeological career, and I consider myself fortunate to have come to know them as friends as well as colleagues.

John M. Coles.

6 October 2006

Kirsty Dingwall, Headland Archaeology

Recent Work at Whithorn: Research and Training Excavation in the Manse Field

In 2001 and 2003, Headland Archaeology conducted a series of evaluations at the Manse Field in Whithorn, including a training excavation for students from the University of Bradford. The work was an opportunity to learn more about the activities in the area around the monastic settlement, and in particular, about the area to the north of the church, which had not been examined until this point. The excavations revealed features dating from the prehistoric period onwards, the most impressive and potentially interesting of which were two structures in the east of the field. One of these was a sunken structure and had evidence of metal working in association with it. The other was a larger stone built structure, which may date to the early to mid 16th century. Further evidence of ditches, pits and other structures were identified, some of which dated to the Bronze Age. Comparisons with other features identified in the Manse Field can be seen at Hoddom, also in Dumfries and Galloway, where excavations revealed extensive evidence of the industrial activities taking place around the Early Christian monastic settlement. The types of activities taking place, the layout of features, and in some cases the structures are very similar to those at Whithorn. The location of the features in the Manse Field also support the supposed layout of the settlement suggested as a result of previous excavations at Whithorn.

20 October 2006

John Threlfell, Wildlife Artist

History of Wildlife Art

Wildlife Art as such is a fairly recent development coinciding with a desire to celebrate the natural world and to conserve it. Animals and birds have featured in art of one form or another however down the centuries, from cave paintings onwards, but subsequent progress has been closely linked to the invention of printing and reproduction processes, of optical equipment, photography, the media, the desire to identify and latterly conservation. The presentation concentrated on those individuals who have advanced the representation of wildlife in art showing many fine examples of their work.

3 November 2006

Dr S Carter, Council for Scottish Archaeology

The work of the Council for Scottish Archaeology

Scotland has an archaeology heritage of great value. The many well-preserved and accessible sites help us to appreciate how people lived in the distant past, particularly in prehistoric periods when the knowledge, values and beliefs of communities were very different from our own. However, recognising the value of archaeology sites does not mean that they are secure for the future. A wide range of natural and man-made threats are constantly destroying or degrading valuable sites. This situation, with its positive and negative issues is the challenge faced by the Council for Scottish Archaeology (CSA). The CSA is Scotland's national archaeology charity that works both to promote and safeguard our archaeological heritage. It is a membership-based organisation and depends on the support of individuals and organisations like the DGNHAS, both for funds and its 'voice'. The CSA has three main areas of activity:

Education, both formal and informal, about Scotland's archaeological heritage – Promotion of the conservation, management, access, understanding and enjoyment of Scotland's archaeological heritage – Support through the provision of advice, guidance, resources and information related to archaeology in Scotland.

17 November 2006

David Collin

Shipping in Kirkcudbright 1300 to 2005

1 December 2006

Dr David Caldwell, Keeper of Scotland and Europe, National Museums for Scotland
The Firth of Clyde in the Medieval Period – a clash of cultures?

It is reasonably obvious to many that the two sides of the Firth of Clyde, the coast of Ayrshire on the one hand and Kintyre on the other, are two different worlds. This was not always the case. What is more, the flow of ideas and on occasion people, was sometimes from the west rather than the east. The spread of 'cill' names suggests how Ayrshire and Galloway were exposed to missionary activity from the 6th to the 8th century by Irish monks, just as Argyll. The distribution of duns in the south-west may demonstrate a migration of people from Argyll in this period, if not earlier, while a group of 'pennylands' in South Ayrshire may be accepted as evidence for a colony of Gall-Gaedhel (people of mixed Gaelic-Scandinavian ancestry) from Argyll in the late 9th or early 10th century. People of similar origin gave their name to Galloway.

British kingdoms in Ayrshire and Galloway were overrun by Northumbria in the 8th century, apparently with little lasting effect, and although a strong British kingdom of Strathclyde re-emerged in the 10th century it is not clear that it controlled the coastal areas. By the early 12th century the lands from the Solway Firth northwards to Renfrewshire were part of a Gaelic speaking lordship or kingdom of Galloway. Kings of Scotland intruded Anglo-French lords of this area in the 12th and 13th centuries and there was a general opening up of the country to new European ways, but perhaps the contrast between the new lords and their native predecessors and contemporaries has been overemphasised. The spread of new fashions, architecture and products was not dependent on Anglo-French settlers, and as time went on, these incomers would have become more and more Scottish and indistinguishable from native families, whether in Galloway, Ayrshire or Argyll.

A real gulf opened up in the Firth of Clyde in the late 14th and 15th centuries. This was the division between Lowland and Highland society commented on by the historian Fordun. It was desired and created by the Lords of the Isles, the holders of Kintyre and the Hebrides. It appears that they deliberately created a lordship, culture and society that was different from Lowland Scotland. The effects of this policy were to be long lasting.

19 January 2007

Morris Service

Hannahfield and the War Department Connection

An illustrated talk on a Dumfries estate c.1829-1928 was given by a local military enthusiast who, having discovered by chance two War Department Boundary Stones near the Kingholm completed some months of on site investigations and research which culminated in the production of a narrative/record of the War Department's use of public land during the Boer and the First World War. The Talk described the links between Castledykes Castle, The Upper and Lower Kingholm and the transfers between Council bodies, the Crown, the War Department and the Crichton Royal Hospital and detailed the War Department's 16 Boundary Stones and their locations.

2 February 2007

Gordon M. A. Savage

The Railways of South West Scotland

Railways in Scotland began with the Kilmarnock and Troon Railway, built by the Duke of Portland and opened in 1812. The first main line in the south west was the Glasgow and South Western Railway. This company came to dominate the south west, although always threatened by the large

and powerful Caledonian Railway with its main line over Beattock. The Caledonian ran rival lines from Glasgow and Carstairs into G&SW territory, reached Dumfries from Lockerbie and forced the G & SW into joint operation of the Portpatrick and Wigtonshire Joint Railway (the 'Paddy' line). This line was largely financed by English railway companies seeking a foothold at Portpatrick for the Irish traffic, later transferred to Stranraer. The G&SW built a main line south from Ayr via Girvan to Stranraer, and several branches were constructed in the south west by the Sou' West and the Caley. The demise in railway traffic after World War 2 saw many lines close, including the 'Paddy' line and most of the branches.

16 February 2007

Ron Forrester, Scottish Ornithologists' Club
Changes to Scotland's Birdlife – a new Avifauna

The birdlife of Scotland continues to evolve and our knowledge and understanding of these changes is much greater than in the past. Over one hundred and fifty Scottish birdwatchers and ornithologists have contributed to a new book *The Birds of Scotland* which brings together much of the vast information that now exists about birds in Scotland. This illustrated presentation discussed many of the changes that have taken place to the birdlife of Scotland and provided details about the new book

2 March 2007

Members Night

Mr James Copland: Action at Sea the struggle between the smugglers and the revenue cutters in the Solway, Mr J L Williams, Mrs M Williams, Mr Colin Campbell: Kirkmahoe and the Hannahs

16 March 2007

Magnus Kirby, CFA Archaeology
Excavation at Lockerbie Academy

An archaeological excavation carried out by CFA Archaeology at the site of the new Lockerbie Academy identified four concentrations of archaeological features. These consisted of a Neolithic timber hall, a segmented ditched enclosure, an Anglian timber hall and a small Bronze age cremation and inhumation cemetery with a later medieval or post-medieval corn kiln cut into it. The Neolithic timber hall is understood to be only the fourth of its type excavated in Scotland. It measured c.27m by 8m, making it comparable in size to those excavated at Balbridie, Crathes and Claish Farm. Pottery recovered from this structure suggests that it dates from between 3900 and 3600 BC, placing it in the early part of the Neolithic period. Items recovered from the Bronze Age cemetery include a collared urn, a stone wrist guard and a copper alloy dagger of the 'Butterwick' type. These items suggest a date between 2200BC and 1600 BC. The Anglian Hall was constructed using large trenches. It measured 19m by 8m overall and consisted of a main hall with a small annexe at the northern end. No items were recovered, but the ground plan of this structure closely parallels those found at Yeavinger, suggesting a 7th century AD date. The Anglian hall overlay an earlier post-built structure. Parallels with Doon Hill near Dunbar suggest a 5th century date for the post-built structure. The segmented ditched enclosure remains undated, but post-excavation analysis is ongoing.

31 March 2007

Ingval Maxwell, Historic Scotland
Early Christian and Pictish Stones

J. Romilly Allen and co-author Joseph Anderson published 'The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland' (ECMS) in 1903. One hundred years on that work still provides us with the most definitive overview of the subject. Over the same period weathering and decay continues to threaten those stones still exposed to the elements. On the occasion of the ECMS centenary the opportunity was taken to compare the current physical state of some of the stones with the recorded evidence presented by Allen and Anderson. The presentation looked at the emerging findings from that process.

Publications funded by the Ann Hill Research Bequest

The History and Archaeology of Kirkpatrick Fleming Parish

- No.1 Ann Hill and her Family. A Memorial, by D. Adamson (1986)
- No.2* Kirkpatrick Fleming Poorhouse, by D.Adamson (1986)
- No.3* Kirkpatrick Fleming Miscellany
Mossknow Game Register 1875
Diary of J. Gordon Graham 1854
edited by D. Adamson and I.S. MacDonald (1987)
- No.4* Middlebie Presbytery Records, by D. Adamson (1988)
- No.5* Kirkpatrick Fleming Miscellany
How Sir Patrick Maxwell worsted the Devil
Fergus Graham of Mossknow and the Murder at Kirkpatrick
both by W.F. Cormack (1989)
- No.6 Kirkpatrick Fleming, Dumfriesshire - An Anatomy of a Parish in
South West Scotland, by Roger Mercer and others (1997) – Hardback, out of print;
Reprint in laminated soft cover, 1997.
- No.7* The Tower-Houses of Kirtleside, by A.M.T. Maxwell-Irving (1997)

Nos.1 to 5 and No.7 are crown quarto in size with a 2-colour titled card cover.
Publications marked * are reprinted from the *Transactions*

The Records of Kirkpatrick Fleming Parish

- No.1 Old Parish Registers of Kirkpatrick Fleming, 1748-1854, indexed and in 5 parts
- No.2 Kirkpatrick Fleming Census 1851
- No.3 Kirkpatrick Fleming Census 1861
- No.4 Kirkpatrick Fleming Census 1871
- No.5 Kirkpatrick Fleming Census 1841
- No.6 Kirkpatrick Fleming Census 1881
- No.7 Kirkpatrick Fleming Census 1891
- No.8 Kirkpatrick Fleming Graveyard Inscriptions

The Record series is duplicated in A4 size with a titled card cover

Information on the availability and prices of Ann Hill Publications can be obtained from
Mr R. McEwen, 5 Arthur's Place, Lockerbie DG11 2EB

Publications of the Society

Transactions and Journal of Proceedings: 1st Series - (a) 1862-3*, (b) 1863-4*, (c) 1864-5*, (d) 1865-6*, (e) 1866-7*, (f) 1867-8*. **New or 2nd Series** - (1) 1876-8*, (2) 1878-80*, (3) 1880-3*, (4) 1883-6*, (5) 1886-7*, (6) 1887-90*, (7) 1890-1*, (8) 1891-92*, (9) 1892-3*, (10) 1893-4*, (11) 1894-5*, (12) 1895-6*, (13) 1896-7*, (14) 1897-8*, (15) 1898-9*, (16) 1899-1900*, (17) 1900-5 (in 4 parts)*, (18) 1905-6*, (19) 1906-7*, (20) 1907-8*, (21) 1908-9*, (22) 1909-10*, (23) 1910-1*, (24) 1911-2*. **3rd Series** - (i) 1912-3*, (ii) 1913-4*, (iii) 1914-5*, (iv) 1915-16*, (v) 1916-8*, (vi) 1918-9*, (vii) 1919-20*, (viii) 1920-1*, (ix) 1921-2*, (x) 1922-3*, (xi) 1923-4*, (xii) 1924-5*, (xiii) 1925-6*, (xiv) 1926-28, (xv) 1928-9, (xvi) 1929-30, (xvii) 1930-1, (xviii) 1931-3*, (xix) 1933-5, (xx) 1935-6*, (xxi) 1936-8, (xxii) 1938-40*, (xxiii) 1940-4, (xxiv) 1945-6, (xxv) 1946-7, (xxvi) 1947-8, (xxvii) 1948-9 (Whithorn Vol. I), (xxviii) 1949-50, (xxix) 1950-1 (with Index of Vols. i to xxvii), (xxx) 1951-2, (xxxi) 1952-3 (Hoddom Vol. I), (xxxii) 1953-4, (xxxiii) 1954-5, (xxxiv) 1955-6 (Whithorn Vol. II), (xxxv) 1956-7, (xxxvi) 1957-8, (xxxvii) 1958-9, (xxxviii) 1959-60, (xxxix) 1960-1 (with Index of Vols. xxvii to xxxviii), (xl) 1961-2 (Centenary Vol.), (xli) 1962-3, (xlii) 1965 (new format), (xliii) 1966, (xliv) 1967, (xlv) 1968, (xlvi) 1969, (xlvii) 1970, (xlviii) 1971, (xlix) 1972 (with Index of Vols. xxxix to xlviii), (l) 1973, (li) 1975, (lii) 1976-7, (liii) 1977-8, (liv) 1979 (Wanlockhead Vol.), (lv) 1980, (lvi) 1981, (lvii) 1982, (lviii) 1983, (lix) 1984 (with Index of Vols. xlix to lviii), (lx) 1985, (lxi) 1986, (lxii) 1987, (lxiii) 1988, (lxiv) 1989, (lxv) 1990 (Flora of Kirkcudbright Vol.), (lxvi) 1991 (Hoddom Vol. II), (lxvii) 1992, (lxviii) 1993, (lxvix) 1994 (Birrens Centenary Vol. with Index of Vols. lix to lxviii), (lxx) 1995 (Barhobble Vol.), (lxxi) 1996, (lxxii) 1997, (lxxiii) 1998, (lxxiv) 2000, (lxxv) 2001, (lxxvi) 2002, (lxxvii) 2003, (lxxviii) 2004, (lxxix) 2005, (lxxx) 2006.

Prices: Single Volumes (to Members) - Current Vol. £14, previous Vols. £1. All plus post & packing.

Single Volumes (to non-Members) - Current Vol. £14, previous Vols. £6. All plus post & packing.

Runs of Volumes - on application to the Hon. Librarian.

A List of the Flowering Plants of Dumfriesshire and Kirkcudbrightshire, by James McAndrew, 1882.*

Birrens and its Antiquities, by Dr J.Macdonald and James Barbour, 1897.*

Communion Tokens, with a Catalogue of those of Dumfriesshire, by Rev. H.A.Whitelaw, 1911.*

History of Dumfries Post Office, by J.M.Corrie, 1912.* **History of the Society**, by H.S.Gladstone, 1913.*

The Ruthwell Cross, by W.G.Collingwood, 1917.*

Records of the Western Marches, Vol. I, 'Edgar's History of Dumfries, 1746', with illustrations and ten pedigree charts, edited by R.C.Reid, 1916*.

Records of the Western Marches, Vol II, 'The Bell Family in Dumfriesshire', by James Stuart, W.S., 1932.* (for reprint see Reviews in Vol 75)

Records of the Western Marches, Vol III, 'The Upper Nithsdale Coalworks from Pictish Times to 1925', by J.C.McConnel, 1962*.

Notes on the Birds of Dumfriesshire, by H.S.Gladstone, 1923*

A Bibliography of the Parish of Annan, by Frank Millar, F.S.A.Scot, 1925*

Thomas Watling, Limner of Dumfries, by H.S.Gladstone, 1938*

The Marine Fauna and Flora of the Solway Firth Area, by Dr E.J.Perkins, 1972, Corrigenda to same*.

Birrens (Blatobulgium), by Prof. A.S.Robertson, 1975*

Craggleton Castle. Report of Excavations 1978-1981 by Gordon Ewart, 1985, 72pp 33 figs. £3.50 plus £2 post and packing to Members. £4.50 to non-Members plus post and packing.

Index to Transactions, Series 1 and 2, £2.00 plus postage and packing.

Electronic Index to Series 1, 2 and 3 - development copies available on CD-ROM at £10.00 inc. p&p from Mr J.Williams.

Excavations at Caerlaverock Old Castle 1998-9 A4 format 128pp. £10 plus post and packing.

* Indicates out of print, but see Editorial.

Reprints

The Early Crosses of Galloway by W.G.Collingwood from Vol. x (1922-3), 37pp text, 49 crosses illustrated and discussed, £1.50 plus post.

Flowering Plants etc. of Kirkcudbrightshire by Olga Stewart, from vol. lxxv (1990), 68pp, Price on application to Hon. Librarian.

Publications in print may be obtained from the Hon. Librarian, Mr R.Coleman, 2 Loreburn Park, Dumfries DG1 1LS

Kirkpatrick Fleming, Dumfriesshire - an Anatomy of a Parish in south-west Scotland, by Roger Mercer and others, Hardback*. Reprint in laminated soft cover, 1997. This publication was funded by the Ann Hill Research Fund - see inside back cover for details of availability.