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Natural History
and
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EDITORIAL

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

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Limited grants may be available for excavations or other research. Applications should be made prior to 28th February in each year to the Hon. Secretary. Researchers are also reminded of the Mouswald Trust founded by our late President Dr R.C. Reid, which provides grants for work on certain periods. Enquiries and applications for grants 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 to the following bodies for substantial grants towards publication costs viz the Horace Gillman Trust, The Scottish Ornithologists' Club and West Skelston Services, Dumfries for the 2008 Rook Census paper; Loreburn Housing Association for the paper on Evan Road, Beattock; The Ann Hill Fund for the paper on a Discoid Gravemarker from Kirkconnel; Dumfries and Galloway Council (National Scenic Area project) for the paper on the Cally Designed Landscape and The Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland for the paper on Sir Herbert Maxwell. Dumfries and Galloway Council are additionally thanked 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 CONTINUING DECLINE OF THE ROOK IN DUMFRIESSHIRE:
RESULTS OF THE 2008 CENTENARY CENSUS.

Including comparisons with the surveys of 1908, 1921,
1963, 1973, 1975, 1993, 2003, 2004, and 2005

L R Griffin,¹ D Skilling,² R T Smith,³ and J G Young⁴

Summary

During the complete county census of 2008 the total of 13,459 rook nests was recorded. Thus, in the five years since 2003, there has been a 25% decline in nest numbers. This continues to confirm the 5% per annum rate of decline extrapolated from the partial surveys of 2004 when a random sample of 29 of Dumfriesshire's 43 parishes were surveyed and in 2005 when 33 parishes were surveyed. During these surveys a decrease of 6% on the previous year's total and 5% were recorded respectively. The 2008 survey suggests this rapid rate of decline has continued at a constant rate from at least 2003 onwards, and continues the long-term decline in numbers since the maximum recorded in 1993. Thus in 2008 the underlying trend of decreasing rookery size since 1963 has continued with only 36 nests per rookery on average and of greater concern the number of rookeries – 373 - has started to decrease compared to 2003 when there were 405 although remaining higher than in 1993 when 356 were noted. The 2008 census showed that 16 rookeries that had been recorded in 1908 were still active. This represents a decline from 2003 when 21 were still active and 1993 when 25 were active. Although the reason for the decline is no clearer in 2008 than it was in 2003, it is suggested that the population has entered a different and more critical phase of decline and that in response all shooting, trapping and disturbance at nest sites and the direct cull that results should stop.

Introduction

The 2008 survey of Rook *Corvus frugilegus* nests in Dumfriesshire marks the centenary of Sir Hugh S Gladstone's first county census. In 1908 Gladstone conducted a census of Dumfriesshire rookeries that covered the whole county, the results of which were included in his *Birds of Dumfriesshire*.⁵ This, like his 1921 census,⁶ was largely correspondence-based, involving ornithologists and landowners. These two early surveys provided the foundation of what now constitutes one of the most complete records of rookeries in Britain.

The 1963 census and later surveys were carried out by observers who had become more mobile and probably achieved more complete coverage of the county. As the objective of all the surveys following 1908 was to compare rookery and nest numbers, the decision was taken to continue to use Dumfriesshire's 43 parishes as the unit of sub-division, as adopted by Gladstone.

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4 John Young, 11 Ash Grove, Heathhall, Dumfries DG1 3TG

5 *Birds of Dumfriesshire*, Hugh S Gladstone, 1910, pp 124 - 146

6 'Notes on the Birds of Dumfriesshire', Hugh S. Gladstone *TDGNHAS* IIIrd Series, 9, pp 10 - 17

It should be noted that the County of Dumfriesshire no longer exists as a political entity, having been incorporated into Dumfries and Galloway Region in a restructuring of local government in 1975.

Census methods and accuracy

The census methods have remained essentially the same as in 1963. Each observer was provided with a set of guidelines, a 1:50,000 Ordnance Survey map of the relevant parish and a list of all rookeries recorded in that parish in previous censuses. Record sheets asked for nest numbers, count date, place-name and, latterly, Ordnance Survey Grid References. Additionally, observers were asked to note where possible, whether the Rooks were being controlled.

Counting was mainly carried out in the middle two weeks of April. This had been found to be the optimal time in a separate local study carried out in 1994 i.e. when nest building was slowing and before emerging foliage had begun to obscure the nests.⁷ As in previous counts, observers were asked to use their own judgement as to whether discrete groups of nests constituted offshoots of nearby rookeries or separate colonies entirely.

Including the organisers, some 34 observers carried out the work of searching for and counting rook nests. Many of the lead observers are the same as in 1993 and 2003, providing valuable continuity.

Censuses of this scale; covering an entire county, will suffer some level of inaccuracy. Locating small colonies, counting nests within large rookeries and even deciding how many nests are in a compound nest as found frequently in Scots Pines all work against precise numbers. We believe however that similar levels of accuracy, were achieved in all censuses since, and including 1963 and we consider therefore that the data are valid for the purpose of population monitoring.

Part censuses

A Census of the whole of the county requires a considerable amount of the observers' time and effort and considerable travel expenses on their part and are too demanding to be carried out annually. However, following the surprising decrease found in 2003⁸ a census of part of the county involving 29 (67%) of the 43 parishes was completed in 2004,⁹ this showed a decline of 6% in the year and when these parishes plus four additional parishes (77%) were resurveyed in 2005 a further 5% decrease was revealed. These results are consistent with the 25% decline noted in the 5 years since 2003.

Population Trends

During the complete county census of 2008 the total of 13,459 rook nests was recorded. Thus, in the five years since 2003, the date of the last full census, there has been a 25% decline in nest numbers. This continues to confirm the 5% per annum rate of decline extrapolated from the partial surveys of 2004 when a random sample of 29 of Dumfriesshire's 43 parishes were surveyed and 2005 when 33 parishes were surveyed. During these surveys a rate of decline of 6% on the previous year's total and 5% were

7 'The Rookeries of Dumfriesshire 1993', D Skilling, R T Smith, *TDGNHAS IIIrd Series*, 68, p. 4

8 'The Rookeries of Dumfriesshire 2003', L R Griffin, D Skilling, R T Smith, J G Young, *TDGNHAS IIIrd Series*, 78, p.1

9 *Ibid.*, 'Dumfriesshire Rookeries in 2004 - a partial census', p 9

recorded respectively.¹⁰ The 2008 survey suggests this rapid rate of decline has continued at a constant rate from at least 2003 onwards, and continues the long-term decline in numbers since the maximum recorded in 1993 (Figure 1).



Figure 1. The total number of rook nests (solid line) and colonies (broken line) recorded over 10 (8 full and 2 partial) parish surveys in Dumfriesshire from 1908 to 2008.

Further analysis of the total nest numbers recorded in the period from 1963 onwards, during which a constant methodology has been employed by a relatively constant group of observers, reveals that the peak number of nests may actually have occurred prior to 1993 in the period from about 1987 to 1990, if the curvilinear relationship between the total number of nests and time is accepted (Figure 2).

Thus not only can it be shown from observation that the number of nests have declined steadily during the 15-year period up to 2008, but also from extrapolation of these data it can be inferred that the nest decline could have occurred over a much longer period since about 1988. Of course populations can fluctuate over time and the fitting of a line to any data is a crude tool, but whatever the true length of time over which the nest numbers have declined, it is clear that this decline has been at a constant and rapid rate since 1993, and that the rate of 5% per annum since 2003 has not slowed.

In addition to the concern raised by this rate of decline, it is now apparent that the rook population in 2008 is likely to be at its lowest level in Dumfriesshire for at least the last 100 years (Figure 1). This is especially likely to be the case if it is accepted that the

¹⁰ 'The rapid and continued decline of the Rook in Dumfriesshire – results of the 2005 census'. L.R. Griffin, D. Skilling, R.T. Smith & J.G. Young. *TDGNHAS IIIrd. Series 79*, p.186.

county totals produced by Gladstone for 1908 and 1921 are likely to be underestimates considering it was a correspondence-based survey and he had trouble getting returns from some parishes and where returns stated “some” these could only be treated as two nests in the database. Also the rise in rook numbers after the 1963 census may have been atypical in that the census followed one of the most severe winters of the 20th century. Thus the typical number of nesting rooks in Dumfriesshire for most of the 20th century is likely to have been close to 20,000 pairs, and from an extrapolation of the current trend into the future it can be seen that this number could be halved in the next few years, with the population potentially reaching very low levels by 2015 (Figure 2). The extrapolation of the curve however takes account of all the survey data points, whereas if only those from 1993 onwards are considered this low point is reached by approximately 2025. By the time of the next full survey in 2013, the actual trajectory of the decline should be much clearer, with as few as 10,000 or less nests to be expected.

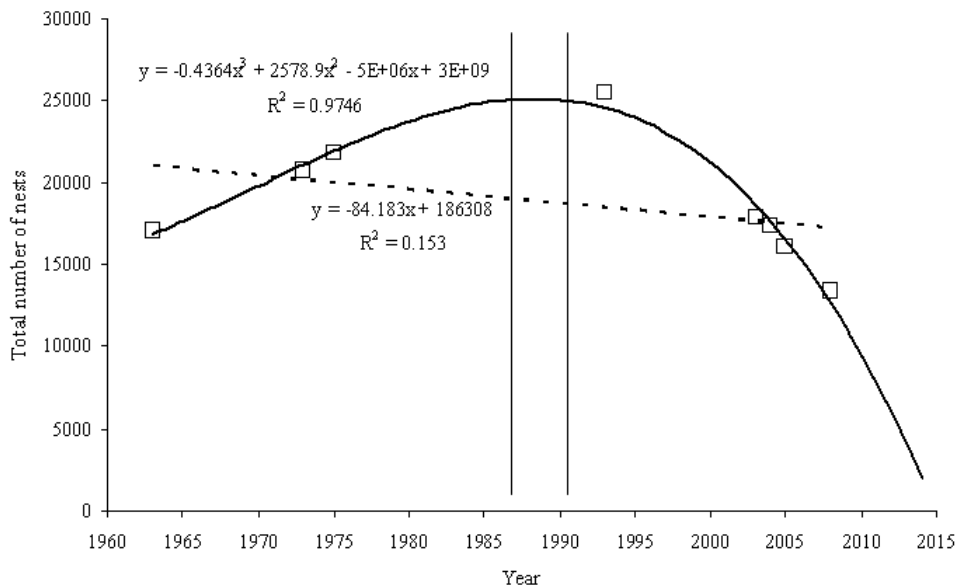


Figure 2. The total number of nests recorded from 1963 to 2008 during a period of constant survey methodology. The rise and decline in nest totals through time (including the extrapolated totals calculated from the partial surveys of 2004 and 2005) is best described by a curvilinear relationship rather than a linear relationship (dotted line) as evidenced by the near unity R^2 value (0.97) for the curvilinear equation compared to the poor fit of the linear equation (0.15) in accounting for the variation in the data points. The vertical lines indicate the period during which, although not surveyed, nest numbers could possibly have been at their peak.

As in the previous full county survey in 2003, the pattern of population decline has not been consistent across all parishes with 7 parishes registering an increase in nest numbers in the 5-year period from 2003 to 2008 (Table 1). This low figure represents a decline in the number of parishes showing a positive trend from the 15 recorded in the 10-year period from 1993 to 2003 with only 2 of those parishes, Penpont and Ruthwell, showing a positive trend during both periods (the number of nests recorded in Dumfries parish during the partial surveys of 2004 and 2005 was 712 and 707, respectively).

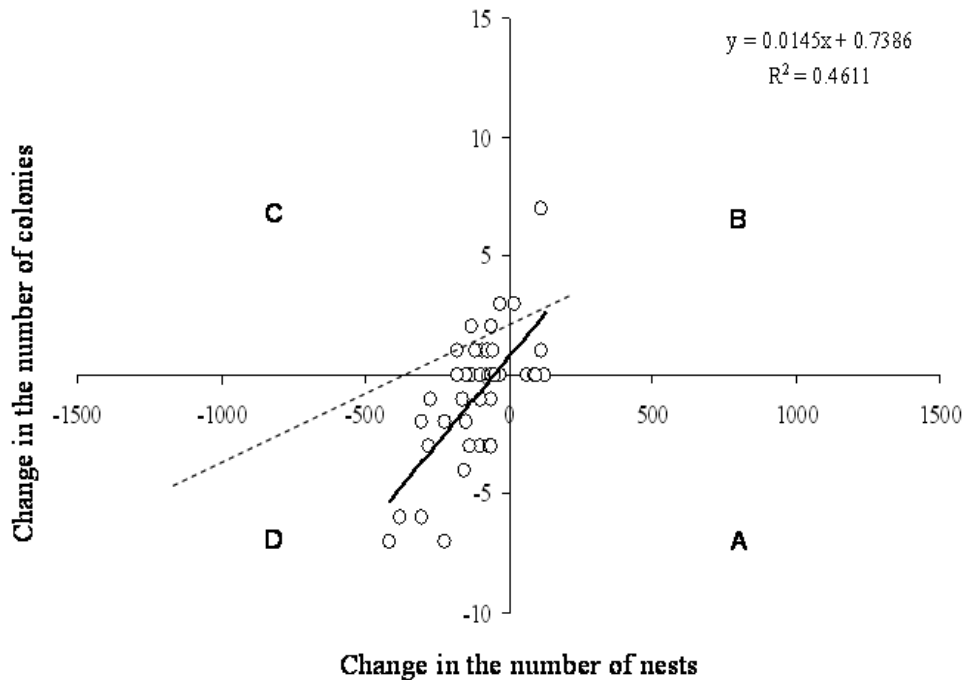


Figure 3. The change in the number of colonies (y-axis) with the change in the number of nests (x-axis) per parish recorded from 2003 to 2008 – The relationship can be split into four quadrants labelled A-D. It is suggested that during a period of population increase, most parishes will fall within sectors A and B, i.e. an increasing number of nests may be housed in a decreasing number of rookeries which grow to coalesce under stable conditions of minimal disturbance (A) or in an increasing number of rookeries as new areas are exploited (B). During a period of population decrease it is suggested that most parishes will fall within sectors C and D, i.e. a decreasing number of nests will lead to larger rookeries initially fragmenting into a greater number of smaller rookeries (C) which then decline in number (D). This could be the reason for the shift in the relationship recorded from 1993 to 2003 (dotted line)* away from sector C and much more into sector D, i.e. we may be entering a new phase of rookery, and thus distributional, decline in Dumfrieshire.

Rookery numbers and size

In 2003, although nest numbers decreased, the total number of rookeries increased, compared to 1993 (Table 1). This may be thought of as contrary to expectation, however in such a social animal it is suggested that this represents the early phase of a population decline i.e. large rookeries in stable sites suffer from decline and/or disturbance and thus fragment and shift their distribution to a number of different smaller colonies. The relationship between nest and rookery numbers changes through time and a hypothetical model for these changes is shown in Figure 3. As can be seen from that graph, an increase in rookery numbers during the period of population decline recorded at the county level in 2003 can still be seen to occur at the finer-scale parish level in 2008 with many parishes still in sector C. However, there has been a shift towards a greater number of parishes showing declines in nest numbers coupled with a decline in the number of rookeries, i.e. the relationship has shifted towards sector D, and of even greater concern it has steepened with colonies now being lost at an increasing rate. Thus in 2008 the underlying trend of decreasing rookery size since 1963 has continued with only 36 nests per rookery on

average and of greater concern at 373 the number of rookeries has started to decrease compared to the situation in 2003 when there were 405, although remaining higher than in 1993 when 356 were noted. The 2008 census showed that 16 rookeries that had been recorded in 1908 were still active. This represents a decline from 2003 when 21 were still active and 1993 when 25 were active.

Parish	1908		1921		1963		1973		1993		2003		2008	
	Nest	Site	Nest	Site	Nest	Site	Nest	Site	Nest	Site	Nest	Site	Nest	Site
Annan	1072	4	409	5	429	5	320	5	697	9	465	10	367	7
Applegarth & Sibbaldbie	1274	4	1560	7	977	8	724	16	800	10	353	8	262	9
Caerlaverock	150	2	280	1	127	3	94	3	183	3	371	10	230	10
Canonbie	15	3	0	0	331	7	296	8	1111	22	705	22	431	19
Closeburn	750	4	554	5	688	7	1089	7	754	7	546	11	417	11
Cummtrees	970	6	450	2	597	2	346	3	1286	8	719	9	669	9
Dalton	1195	3	1600	4	799	3	907	8	1069	12	220	9	89	6
Dornock	330	2	190	1	95	3	147	1	299	5	232	4	102	6
Dryfesdale	232	4	632	5	804	10	1434	22	1225	25	469	20	246	13
Dumfries	245	5	149	3	214	4	52	5	465	8	548	10	567	13
Dunscore	1132	6	720	3	1298	5	894	5	1083	7	459	5	283	6
Durisddeer	0	0	0	0	741	7	652	8	1051	6	751	8	604	8
Eskdalemuir	0	0	200	1	20	2	103	2	56	2	133	6	67	3
Ewes	18	4	0	0	0	0	128	3	105	3	188	4	92	4
Glencairn	282	6	165	2	309	3	763	6	543	7	711	10	408	8
Gretna	72	3	285	3	293	9	358	7	341	6	212	10	325	11
Half Morton	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	302	2	144	2	0	0
Hoddam	840	9	752	6	1014	9	1262	13	1622	18	432	12	546	19
Holywood	727	5	883	4	937	12	923	12	878	14	548	11	490	13
Hutton & Corrie	290	4	635	6	594	3	692	6	1028	13	534	15	315	13
Johnstone	0	0	0	0	222	2	217	4	518	10	463	13	591	13
Keir	130	1	0	0	98	1	141	1	24	1	238	3	82	2
Kirkconnel	0	0	7	1	599	3	1013	3	763	4	656	6	482	6
Kirkmahoe	735	4	525	3	312	2	312	3	251	5	231	7	295	7
Kirkmichael	102	2	346	3	747	8	781	12	810	12	859	20	444	13
Kirkpatrick	1766	8	342	5	328	5	354	6	377	8	425	15	122	9
Fleming														
Kirkpatrick Juxta	0	0	0	0	347	9	360	10	1066	12	470	11	440	11
Langholm	275	4	200	4	87	3	187	4	405	5	199	4	144	4
Lochmaben	452	4	631	5	416	10	777	9	600	9	397	14	340	13
Middlebie	571	8	665	5	228	3	808	9	1168	16	866	19	593	18
Moffat	431	9	758	7	285	10	531	9	469	7	434	7	362	8
Morton	0	0	0	0	21	2	140	3	528	6	405	8	349	8
Mouswald	209	3	303	2	0	0	337	2	307	5	362	7	332	7
Penpont	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	180	3	269	3
Ruthwell	615	5	320	6	149	5	117	3	116	8	164	4	261	4
Sanquhar	525	4	463	5	345	3	274	4	624	8	585	10	556	13
St Mungo	200	1	0	0	205	4	256	6	490	9	561	10	185	4
Tinwald	544	4	520	3	1113	11	1102	14	752	13	296	12	240	9
Torthorwald	2	1	0	0	137	3	381	4	135	2	185	4	135	5
Tundergarth	354	8	869	7	524	13	1087	16	517	14	348	14	197	10
Tynron	0	0	0	0	130	1	107	1	118	2	190	4	74	5
Wamphray	480	4	324	3	440	3	302	5	286	8	459	9	415	9
Westerkirk	84	4	9	1	47	1	31	1	265	4	140	5	41	4
Totals	17069	148	15746	118	17047	204	20799	269	25489	356	17853	405	13459	373
Nests per rookery	115		133		84		77		72		44		36	

Table 1. Summary of the number of nests, rookeries, and nests per rookery, per parish (1975 BTO = 21,869, 280, 78). Numbers in bold type in 2003 and 2008 indicate parishes with nest increases since the previous survey.

As recently as 1993, two rookeries each held more than 500 nests and 22 colonies each held more than 200 nests. In 2008, only one colony with just over 200 nests remains at Panlands, Johnstone, although this rookery has declined since 2004. In 2006 it was predicted that another large rookery of 235 nests in 2005 at Douivale, Dumfries, would likely decline and fragment on closure of the nearby Lochar Moss refuse tip in 2007, as it was felt that the food obtained by the rooks at the tip was subsidising this group of birds and they would have to reposition themselves to be closer to new food sources. In 2008 the Douivale rookery was extinct, although some old nests remained, and 3 new smaller colonies had established within 2 kilometres of this old site at Isle of Man and Nether Dargavel (Dumfries) and Roucan (Torthorwald) accounting for exactly half the original number of nests. Perhaps the other breeding pairs topped up numbers at other established nearby colonies or failed to breed. This redistribution of numbers across parish borders is a possible explanation for the fact that not all parishes have shown a decrease in rook numbers through time (Figure 4). Parishes exhibiting a large increase in nest numbers always share a border with at least one parish showing a severe decrease in numbers as with Ruthwell and Gretna, as do most of those showing a more moderate increase in numbers including Penpont, Kirkmahoe and Hoddam, with Johnstone and Dumfries embedded in a matrix of parishes experiencing more moderate declines.

The future

Having established beyond any reasonable doubt through this long-term study that the rook numbers in Dumfriesshire are in severe decline both in terms of their absolute numbers and more recently their colony distribution, are we any closer to discerning a reason? In short, no! Of course in any study such as this, evidence would be circumstantial and correlatory in nature. There are suggestions as with the Douivale site that a change in the foraging opportunities at a rookery can lead to its fragmentation and demise although whether such a process can act at the larger scale of the whole county is unclear. It is unknown, for example, whether soil invertebrate numbers, their principal food source, have decreased across the agricultural landscape either due to changes in agricultural practice, husbandry or the chemicals used on crops or animals.

There are many causes of disturbance to rooks which mainly act at the nesting sites and which may cause abandonment or fragmentation of rookeries as for example from nearby building work, tree-felling or shooting. During the study period there has been an increase in the number of buzzards, goshawks and ravens in the region and these have been seen to interact with rooks and prey on their young and it is thought that they can affect the distribution of rookeries although it seems unlikely that such raptor and corvid species which co-occur with rooks throughout much of their range in Europe could seriously impact on their population. How any of these possible factors have changed through time is nearly impossible to assess and the time is ripe for a detailed local study to determine at which stage in the life-cycle any limitation to the population is occurring, i.e. is it the number of pairs settling to nest, eggs that are hatching, young that are fledging or is it the continued survival of adults and juveniles that has suffered at least since the 1990's



Figure 4. The change in the number of nests and rookeries in the parishes of Dumfriesshire from 2003 to 2008. Light grey shading indicates parishes where nest numbers have declined by 1-49%, dark grey by 50-100%. Light hatching indicates increases of 0-49%, dark hatching (as in Ruthwell and Gretna) of 50-100%. Totals for parishes showing large increases have probably been subsidised to an extent by birds redistributing from neighbouring parishes where populations have declined. The numbers alongside the parish names indicate the change in the number of rookeries between the two surveys. Scale: approximately 1cm. = c. 5km.

Whichever single life-history traits or combination of factors is currently being affected, one thing is clear; the continued disturbance to nesting rooks and the direct cull attributable to shooting can no longer be sustained by this dwindling population. Thus every effort should be made to halt such activity in a bid to reduce the rate of decline of this charismatic icon and integral part of the agricultural landscape if within the next 10 to 20 years it is not to become as rare as its close ally the Chough is in Galloway.

Acknowledgements

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James Williams, Editor of these *Transactions* constructed the database, which is the heart of this paper and has helped the authors and encouraged the project throughout.

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Location	Grid Ref. ¹	1908	1921	1963	1973	1993	2003	2004 ²	2005 ³	2008
Annan										
Annan West	-	0	0	83	101	0	0	0	0	0
Blacketlees	NY 167 187	0	0	102	98	167	187	166	161	154
Carse Hill	-	0	0	119	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cemetery	-	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0
Chapelcross Pumping Station	NY 192 686	0	0	0	0	5	5	3	4	5
Corsehill Quarry	NY 208 700	0	0	0	0	185	0	0	0	7
Crofthead Cottages	NY 174 664	0	0	0	0	59	35	41	2	0
Fruid Park	-	40	20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Green Bank	-	2	20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hecklegirth School	NY 196 664	0	0	0	0	6	3	3	5	0
Howes	NY 182 673	0	0	0	0	111	54	26	47	68
Limekilns	NY 173 695	0	0	0	0	34	38	38	40	49
Long Meadow	NY 192 660	0	0	0	0	0	14	11	4	0
Milnfield	NY 184 665	0	0	0	0	109	91	89	85	80
Moat. The -	-	30	49	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mount Annan	-	1000	300	110	100	0	0	0	0	0
Outerford	NY 165 693*	0	0	0	0	0	15	6	6	4
Solway Cootage	-	0	20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Violet Bank	NY 192 674	0	0	15	17	21	23	17	3	0
Parish Totals		1072	409	429	320	697	465	400	357	367
Applegarth & Sibbaldie										
Annanhill		0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
Applegarth Manse	NY 104 842	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0
Balgray	-	120	120	372	171	0	0	0	0	0
Balgray Hill	NY 162 866	0	0	0	0	15	27	24	19	0
Blindhillbush	NY 153 897	0	0	0	29	0	18	16	14	14
Broomhills	NY 112 852	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
Dalmakethar	NY 124 920	0	0	0	10	85	54	45	68	73
Dinwoodie Green	-	0	60	119	3	0	0	0	0	0
Dinwoodie Lodge Hotel	NY 108 882	0	0	0	4	4	0	3	5	12
Dinwoodie Lodge Hotel (0.5 Mile East)	-	0	0	0	76	0	0	0	0	0
Dinwoodie Lodge Hotel (Lay-by)	-	0	0	0	52	0	0	0	0	0
Dinwoodie Mains 0.25 mile NE.	-	0	0	0	48	0	0	0	0	0
Fourmerkland	-	0	0	46	76	127	0	0	0	0
Hallhills Glen	NY 147 879	0	190	0	51	39	42	37	31	32
Hewke	-	64	100	77	54	41	0	0	0	0
Jardine Hall (Laundry Cott.)	NY 102 879	1020	900	237	0	0	0	0	7	22
Jardine Hall Mains	NY 102 877	0	0	0	0	199	83	6	6	0
Lammonbie	-	0	120	28	0	0	0	0	0	0
Millhousebridge	NY 104 855	0	0	85	21	63	61	58	51	64
Newbigging	NY 140 899	0	0	0	58	158	58	32	41	16
Perchhall	-	0	0	13	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ravenscleugh	NY 145 906	0	0	0	6	69	10	3	0	0

1 * Indicates that GPS data is available for site

2 NC = No Census carried out.

3 NC = No Census carried out.

Location	Grid Ref. ¹	1908	1921	1963	1973	1993	2003	2004 ²	2005 ³	2008
Sandyholm School	NY 116 872	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	10	23
Sibbaldbie	-	70	70	0	63	0	0	0	0	0
Springfield (Applegarth Town)	NY 110 840	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	0	0
Parish Totals		1274	1560	977	724	800	353	240	256	262

Caerlaverock

Baillieknowe	NY 015 701	0	0	0	0	0	81	106	86	52
Bankend	NY 027 826	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	14	0
Boreland	NX 995 706	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	4	16
Caerlaverock Manse	NY 026 693	0	0	7	39	58	0	1	4	42
Conheath House	NX 995 699	0	0	24	23	19	51	60	55	0
Eastpark, Avenue	NY 058 660	0	0	0	0	0	33	27	4	15
Glencaple Farm	NX 998 685	0	0	0	0	0	17	20	26	26
Hutton Hall	-	50	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lanarkland	NY 018 670	0	0	0	0	0	10	14	10	0
Lands	NY 037 658	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
Langyards Wood, Banks Farm	NX 999 674	0	0	0	0	0	19	17	12	0
Lantonside	NY 012 661	0	0	0	0	0	15	29	41	48
North Park	NY 037 669	0	0	0	0	0	19	36	25	18
Shearington	NY 030 667	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Upper Conheath	NY 004 703	0	0	0	0	0	10	3	8	3
Wardlaw Hill	NY 024 667	100	280	96	32	106	116	0	0	0
Parish Totals		150	280	127	94	183	371	317	289	230

Canonbie

Auchenrivok Bank	-	10	0	0	0	0	0			0
Barnglies	-	0	0	0	0	12	0			0
Barnglieshead	NY 324 786	0	0	0	0	0	19			30
Bowholm	-	0	0	0	18	0	0			0
Broad Meadows	-	0	0	0	16	0	0			0
Byre Burn	-	0	0	120	10	0	0			0
Canonbie	-	0	0	45	0	0	0			0
Canonbie By-pass	NY 390 760	0	0	0	0	31	0			5
Canonbie Village	NY 394 761	0	0	0	0	34	19			25
Cross Keys Hotel	NY 391 763	0	0	0	0	92	72			75
Crow Wood	-	2	0	0	0	0	0			0
Enthorn	-	0	0	0	130	0	0			0
Enthorn	NY 377 787	0	0	0	130	186	148			77
Enthorn (2)	-	0	0	0	0	32	0			0
Enthorn. North of -	-	0	0	0	0	21	0			0
Evertown (1)	NY 360 758	0	0	0	0	34	32			45
Evertown (2)	NY 356 763	0	0	0	0	16	22			10
Evertown (3)	NY 358 762	0	0	0	0	0	13			7
Evertown (4)	NY 355 758	0	0	0	0	0	25			9
Gilnockie	-	0	0	55	0	0	0			0
Glenzier School opposite	NY 353 759	0	0	0	0	0	3			12
Harelaw Mill	NY 444 792	0	0	0	0	0	7			0
Harelawslack	NY 442 786	0	0	0	0	0	20			0
Hughstrigg	NY 370 764	0	0	0	0	2	35			0
Irvine House	-	3	0	0	0	0	0			0

Location	Grid Ref. ¹	1908	1921	1963	1973	1993	2003	2004 ²	2005 ³	2008
Forkhill	-	200	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Glenstuart	NY 130 674*	150	350	537	166	510	142	49	8	5
Hoddam	-	200	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hoddam Castle (Central group)	NY 157 727*	150	0	0	0	277	94	60	62	84
Hoddam Castle (Visitor car park)	NY 162 726*	0	0	0	0	0	44	77	79	111
Hoddam Castle (Wardpark Cottage)	NY 151 727*	0	0	0	0	0	97	81	62	59
Kelhead	NY 148 690*	0	0	0	0	181	163	143	143	159
Maulscastle	NY 127 684*	0	0	0	0	0	75	85	75	85
Murraythwaite	-	220	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sunnybank	-	0	0	0	0	203	0	0	0	0
Uppermoor	-	0	0	0	0	63	0	0	0	0
Waterside House	NY 134 733*	0	0	0	0	9	58	52	44	38
Wintersheugh	-	0	0	0	92	6	0	0	0	0
Parish Totals		970	450	597	346	1286	719	617	572	669

Dalton

Almagill (N)	-	0	0	0	0	93	0	0	0	0
Almagill (S)	-	0	0	0	0	43	0	0	0	0
Braehill	-	0	0	0	0	94	0	0	0	0
Braehill Bank	-	0	35	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Carrutherstown	NY 105 717	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	14
Dalton (Church hall)	NY 117 739	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	0
Dalton Church	NY 114 739	0	0	0	5	6	14	14	14	25
Dalton.	NY 116 741	0	0	0	0	30	7	4	0	0
Denbie (0.5 mile E. of Littlelydyke)	NY 116 728	0	0	0	0	14	8	0	0	0
Denbie House	NY 109 730	95	95	93	87	125	0	73	75	0
Denbie. 0.25 Mile E. of -	-	0	0	0	56	0	0	0	0	0
Dormont	-	250	450	93	75	0	0	0	0	0
Hetland Hall (Drive)	NY 092 721*	0	0	0	0	117	40	36	31	26
Hetland Hall (West)	NY 089 721*	0	0	0	0	16	20	17	19	2
Hetland House	NY 095 721*	0	0	0	18	27	73	48	45	21
Hetlandhill	NY 095 721	0	0	0	0	27	0	0	0	0
Hindgill Above Manse: 0.5 Mile Church	-	0	0	0	18	0	0	0	0	0
Kirklandrig	NY 128 731	0	0	0	0	202	1	4	0	0
Kirkwood	-	850	1020	613	632	302	0	0	0	0
Little Dyke	-	0	0	0	16	0	0	0	0	0
Oakbank Cottage (opposite, on A 75)	NY 119 709*	0	0	0	0	0	50	110	64	1
Parish Totals		1195	1600	799	907	1096	220	306	248	89

Dornock

Crow Wood	NY 233 693	0	0	0	0	66	0	0	0	16
Eastriggs	NY 258 660*	0	0	0	0	9	12	6	0	0
Robgill	-	0	0	0	0	35	0	0	0	0
Robgill area	NY 249 711*	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	14	0
Robgill Tower	-	150	0	32	147	3	0	0	0	0
Stapleton Cross Roads	NY 232 684*	0	0	0	0	0	11	11	10	0
Stapleton Tower	NY 235 691*	180	190	56	0	186	204	158	30	0

Location	Grid Ref. ¹	1908	1921	1963	1973	1993	2003	2004 ²	2005 ³	2008
Tullisfield	NY 258 660	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	4
Woodhall	NY 238 675*	0	0	7	0	0	5		7	28
Parish Totals		330	190	95	147	299	232	NC	194	102
Dryfesdale										
Bishopcleugh	NY 143 842	50	12	67	71	34	2	0	0	0
Broadholm Parks	-	0	0	136	238	0	0	0	0	0
Catlin. E. of -	-	0	0	0	80	0	0	0	0	0
Catlins	NY 169 838	0	0	0	0	33	17	22	16	0
Corrieland	-	0	0	0	0	102	0	0	0	0
Croftheads	NY 144 847	0	300	0	0	15	0	17	23	19
Cudscroft	NY 141 828	0	0	0	0	64	34	21	17	21
Daltonhook	NY 114 767	0	0	0	0	10	24	0	7	3
Dam	-	0	0	49	92	171	0	0	0	0
Dam. W. of -	-	0	0	74	88	0	0	0	0	0
Dryfeholm	NY 113 837	0	0	0	0	0	61	0	0	0
Dryfesdalegate	NY 116 823	0	0	0	0	0	13	11	17	16
Dryfesdalegate, S. of	NY 116 822	0	0	0	10	71	26	30	28	31
Hayrigg	NY 133 800	0	0	0	10	0	1	0	0	0
Kirkton Farm	NY 129 837	0	0	0	0	31	42	35	25	22
Lauderhook	NY 182 923	0	0	0	0	39	2	0	0	0
Linns	-	0	0	0	0	32	0	0	0	0
Linns/Raggiewhate	-	0	0	32	51	0	0	0	0	0
Lockerbie Burgh,	NY 134 815	2	0	26	10	41	24	20	25	22
St Bryde's Terrace										
Lockerbie Golf Course	NY 142 820	0	0	0	0	0	31	26	39	33
Lockerbie House Lodge	NY 139 832	0	0	0	0	25	37	40	32	14
Lockerbie House Stables	NY 139 835	0	0	0	0	26	28	16	23	23
Mainholm	-	0	0	41	0	0	0	0	0	0
Newfield	-	0	0	0	0	80	0	0	0	0
Newfield, East of	NY 147 852	0	0	0	61	0	9	9	13	9
Newfield, South of	NY 146 852	0	0	0	91	0	10	1	0	0
Newfield. N. of -	-	0	0	0	68	0	0	0	0	0
North Corrieland	NY 174 846	0	0	0	0	60	42	52	25	0
Old Walls	-	0	150	269	51	0	0	0	0	0
Peel Houses	-	0	0	69	68	7	0	0	0	0
Peel Houses. E. of -	-	0	0	0	88	0	0	0	0	0
Peelhouses Hill	NY 150 842	0	0	0	0	53	10	7	0	0
Quass (Wood)	-	0	0	41	0	0	0	0	0	0
Raggiewhate	-	0	0	0	0	20	0	0	0	0
Roberthill	-	0	0	0	3	4	0	0	0	0
Rosebank	NY 160 819	0	0	0	41	69	51	77	63	23
Rosebank/Watscale S	-	0	0	0	32	0	0	0	0	0
South Corrieland	-	0	0	0	69	0	0	0	0	0
South Corrieland (1)	-	0	0	0	0	41	0	0	0	0
South Corrieland (2)	-	0	0	0	0	32	0	0	0	0
South Corrieland. E. of -	-	0	0	0	61	0	0	0	0	0
St Michaels	NY 138 845	80	70	0	109	64	5	7	5	10
Underwood	-	100	100	0	42	101	0	0	0	0
Parish Totals		232	632	804	1434	1225	469	391	358	246

Location	Grid Ref. ¹	1908	1921	1963	1973	1993	2003	2004 ²	2005 ³	2008
Dumfries										
Acrehill	-	0	0	112	0	0	0	0	0	0
Castle Street	-	2	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0
Castledykes	-	141	36	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Catherinefield Ind.Estate	NY 001 794	0	0	0	0	0	39	51	35	28
Craigs House	NX 998 743	0	0	0	0	96	65	89	79	83
Crichton Farm (SAC)	NX 979 730	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
Crichton Royal, Carmont Ho.	NX 987 737	0	0	0	19	53	44	48	51	41
Dalscone Bank		40	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Douievale	NY 012 763	0	0	0	0	0	106	244	235	0
Dumfries Burgh (residuals)	-	2	89	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Greensands, Dumfries	NX 969 764	0	0	0	0	8	3	0	6	0
Hannahfield	NX 976 742	0	0	26	0	27	48	33	0	16
Heathhall, Lochthorn	NX 989 793	0	0	61	9	153	159	168	155	133
Isle of Man	NY 008 758	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	89
Kelton House	NX 988 718	0	0	0	0	56	0	0	3	0
Kingholm, Glenholm Place	NX 979 735	0	0	0	0	0	7	5	7	16
Marchfield	-	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
Marchmount	-	0	0	15	6	0	0	0	0	0
Nether Dargavel	NY 019 756	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	13
Netherwood Bank	NX 994 727	0	0	0	0	0	20	28	57	78
Netherwood Ho. & Lodge	NX 987 729	0	0	0	16	66	57	46	53	24
Nunholm House	NX 973 776	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	26	36
Signpost Wood	-	60	24	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
St Michael's School	NX 977 756	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Parish Totals		245	149	214	52	465	548	712	707	567
Dunscore										
Carse Mains / /Sheiling by A 76	NX 916 850	0	0	0	0	36	148	139	11	137
Dalgonar	NX 863 849	175	250	683	308	559	193	153	85	60
Dun Wood	NX 864 846	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	34
Friars Carse	NX 925 845	850	450	351	417	364	80	49	28	26
Greenhead	NX 903 826	35	20	95	63	56	20	35	23	0
Isle Lodge	NX 933 831	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
Laggan	NX 885 848	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
McCheynston	NX 909 844	0	0	51	58	17	0	0	0	0
McMurdoston	NX 906 842	0	0	118	48	0	0	0	0	0
Milliganton	NX 910 837	0	0	0	0	15	18	7	12	0
Newton	NX 873 844	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	19
Sheiling	NX 916 840	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	106	0
Springfield Hill	NX 898 841	0	0	0	0	36	0	0	0	0
Sundaywell	-	30	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Upper Linburn	NX 898 841	40	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Parish Totals		1132	720	1298	894	1083	459	383	265	283
Durisddeer										
Castlehill	-	0	0	129	80	0	0	0	0	0
Chapel	NS 879 055	0	0	0	25	177	49	51	24	40
Coshogle. E. of -	NS 862 052	0	0	110	69	144	73	76	66	76
Coshogle. W. of -	NS 861 050	0	0	7	8	0	39	42	29	28

Location	Grid Ref. ¹	1908	1921	1963	1973	1993	2003	2004 ²	2005 ³	2008
Dalveen Farm	NS 884 069	0	0	0	0	0	56	34	55	65
Durisdeer	-	0	0	0	38	0	0	0	0	0
Durisdeer Kirk	NS 894 037	0	0	0	0	136	130	190	154	117
Gateslack Cottage	-	0	0	185	131	0	0	0	0	0
Gateslack Farm	NS 892 024	0	0	26	0	67	25	25	23	14
Gateslack Round	-	0	0	107	77	0	0	0	0	0
Gateslack Wood	NS 888 028	0	0	0	0	168	86	27	21	78
Woodhouselee	NS 849 052*	0	0	177	224	359	293	227	171	186
Parish Totals		0	0	741	652	1051	751	672	543	604
Eskdalemuir										
Clerkhill	NY 257 979	0	0	0	0	0	56			28
Crurie	-	0	200	0	0	0	0			0
Eskdalemuir Manse	NY 254 976	0	0	9	29	16	8			0
Eskdalemuir Village	NY 254 980	0	0	0	0	0	4			0
Old Johnstone	NY 247 999	0	0	0	0	0	14			0
Raeburnfoot	NY 250 991	0	0	11	74	40	27			27
Samye Ling Centre	NT 245 002	0	0	0	0	0	0			12
Village Hall Wood	NY 254 997	0	0	0	0	0	24			0
Parish Totals		0200		20	103	56	133	NC	NC	67
Ewes										
Bush (of Ewes)	NY 375 923	0	0	0	0	0	28			32
Eweslees	-	0	0	0	14	0	0			0
Manse. The -	-	2	0	0	0	0	0			0
Middlemoss	NY 402 852	0	0	0	0	63	32			14
Moss Peebles	-	2	0	0	18	0	0			0
Sorbie	NY 367 900	12	0	0	0	23	75			30
Unthank	NY 386 948	2	0	0	96	19	53			16
Parish Totals		18	0	0	128	105	188	NC	NC	92
Glencairn										
Auchencheyne	NX 753 875*	0	0	0	0	0	39	40	38	13
Barbuie	-	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Birkshaw	NX 858 857	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
Breconside	NX 847 889*	0	0	0	0	40	32	30	15	0
Caitloch	-	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dalhag	-	0	0	0	94	0	0	0	0	0
Dalwhat House	NX 737 932*	1	0	0	100	0	22	31	23	27
Dalwhat. (Braeface)	NX 741 935*	0	0	0	0	16	8	9	0	0
Dalwhat. (Castlehill)	NX 732 939*	0	0	0	0	72	40	40	0	0
Dardarroch	NX 850 867*	0	0	254	331	227	219	203	161	95
Gilmerston	NX 855 844*	60	40	16	134	52	98	84	82	55
Marwhirn	NX 746 928*	0	0	0	0	0	5	8	5	4
Shancastle	-	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Snade	-	100	125	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Stewarton	NX 834 880*	0	0	39	94	84	147	118	140	157
Tererran	NX 757 928*	0	0	0	0	52	101	94	94	51
Woodhead	-	0	0	0	10	0	0	0	0	0
Parish Totals		282	165	309	763	543	711	657	558	408

Location	Grid Ref. ¹	1908	1921	1963	1973	1993	2003	2004 ²	2005 ³	2008
Gretna										
Aitchisons Bank	NY 323 703*	0	0	98	216	58	47	30	27	67
Alisons Bank	-	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0
Beechwood	NY 315 699	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	20
Beechwood (Blacksyke)	NY 314 698*	0	0	0	0	15	0	34	42	41
Broomhills (ammunition depot)	NY 267 647*	0	0	0	0	0	26	12	0	0
Brownhouses Road	NY 281 651	0	0	14	13	51	3	0	0	0
Douglas Farm. E. of -	-	0	0	0	16	0	0	0	0	0
East Scales	-	50	75	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Erroleston	NY 321 700*	0	0	0	0	0	0	37	27	46
Foulsyke (ammunition depot)	NY 258 660*	0	0	0	0	0	13	0	6	3
Gretna Green	-	0	0	14	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gretna Hall	-	2	200	40	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gretna Market (Raydale)	NY 314 672*	0	0	0	0	169	34	47	63	61
Hills	-	0	0	63	0	0	0	0	0	0
Milligans Bush	NY 314 712*	0	0	0	0	0	34	39	39	38
Moorlands Cottages	-	0	0	0	0	39	0	0	0	0
Mount Pleasant	NY 277 664*	0	0	0	24	9	10	15	14	11
Niven Hill	NY 281 664*	0	0	0	0	0	17	15	11	10
Redkirk	-	0	0	20	2	0	0	0	0	0
Rigg	NY 292 667*	0	0	0	0	0	8	17	18	15
Scales Bank	-	20	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Solway Lodge	-	0	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	0
The Green (West-hill)	NY 270 663*	0	0	30	81	0	20	16	15	13
Woodfield	NY 265 663*	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0
Parish Totals		72	285	293	352	341	212	262	265	325
Half Morton										
Smallholm	NY 299 739	0	0	0	0	216	85			0
Southwoodhead	NY 293 727	0	0	0	0	86	59			0
Parish Totals		0	0	0	0	302	144	NC	NC	0
Hoddam										
Aitchisons Hill	-	30	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Burnfoot	NY 206 745*	0	0	215	0	0	47	65	42	32
Burnswark	NY 192 788*	150	100	181	44	0	3	14	14	0
Burnswark. E. side -	-	0	0	0	0	44	0	0	0	0
Burnswark. SW. side (1) -	-	0	0	0	0	15	0	0	0	0
Burnswark. SW. side (2) -	-	0	0	0	0	40	0	0	0	0
Bush Farm	NY 181 733*	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	14
Craiglands	NY 188 768	0	0	0	0	0	11	0	0	0
Cressfield	-	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ecclefechan Station	NY 178 756*	0	0	0	3	0	0	7	9	0
Ecclefechan. E. of -	-	0	0	180	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ecclefechan. N. of -	-	0	0	100	0	8	0	0	0	0
Ecclefechan. Supplebank Road -	-	0	0	0	55	55	0	0	0	0
Ecclefechan. W. of -	-	0	0	0	54	0	0	0	0	0
Haregills	NY 185 778	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
Hoddam	NY 187 741*	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	11	7
Hoddam Bridge	-	0	0	31	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hoddam Cross	NY 178 736*	0	0	0	186	207	44	48	17	13

Location	Grid Ref. ¹	1908	1921	1963	1973	1993	2003	2004 ²	2005 ³	2008
Hoddam Kirk	NY 179 735*	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	22	64
Hoddam Town	NY 176 743*	0	0	0	0	52	45	25	21	0
Kirkconnel Hall (Hotel)	NY 193 752*	150	150	0	0	0	31	42	48	51
Knockhill	NY 167 740*	250	300	93	326	240	65	82	84	93
Luce	NY 192 713*	0	0	0	0	0	0	17	10	12
Luce Mains	NY 187 723*	0	0	0	0	10	0	30	28	31
Meinfoot (1)	NY 182 728*	0	0	0	0	32	0	11	12	9
Meinfoot (2)	NY 184 728*	0	0	0	0	15	0	5	2	0
Nether Collinhurst	NY 181 754*	0	0	0	0	0	18	12	4	0
Newfield (Hillwood)	-	0	0	0	201	250	0	0	0	0
Newfield (Three cornered wood)	-	0	0	0	61	55	0	0	0	0
Newfield House	-	100	100	74	59	0	0	0	0	0
Newpark	NY 187 710*	0	0	0	0	50	0	59	41	64
Parkgate	NY 194 709*	0	0	0	172	300	0	101	77	49
Relief Farm (1)	NY 193 770*	100	100	0	0	18	79	89	68	34
Relief Farm (2)	NY 191 776*	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	8
Relief Farm (3)	NY 192 776*	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	48	27
Rickerbie School	-	0	0	0	54	0	0	0	0	0
Rickerby	NY 205 747*	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	13	16
Shortrigg	-	50	0	39	0	0	0	0	0	0
Supplebank	NY 189 736*	0	0	0	0	0	8	7	8	0
Supplebank (Opposite)	NY 188 741	0	0	0	0	0	47	0	0	0
Whitehill (1)	NY 151 748*	0	0	101	22	157	34	20	20	7
Whitehill (2)	NY 149 751*	0	0	0	25	74	0	22	21	7
Parish Totals		840	752	1014	1262	1622	432	664	637	546

Hollywood

Broomrigg	NX 968 791	2	0	169	13	77	66		8	9
Cairnvale	NX 865 813	0	0	18	0	46	24		21	19
Cluden Bank. E. of	-	25	83	82	82	0	0		0	0
Cluden Lodge E. of	NX 938 798	0	0	0	0	0	7		3	0
Cludenbank	NX 943 792	0	0	0	0	56	34		15	14
Cowhill Tower	NX 950 826	250	250	51	77	101	62		94	47
Dalawoodie (1)	NX 953 792	0	0	0	0	0	0		3	6
Dalawoodie (2)	NX 950 793	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	17
Fourmerkland Tower	-	0	0	22	42	48	0		0	0
Gribton	NX 923 802	200	200	232	173	128	116		161	151
Hollywood Church	-	0	0	0	7	0	0		0	0
Hollywood Station	NX 954 813	0	0	33	0	101	78		69	4
Killylung	NX 957 814	0	0	0	124	0	0		0	48
Kilness	-	0	0	25	0	0	0		0	0
Lower Stepford	-	0	0	0	38	0	0		0	0
Mid/Morrinton - Newtonairds	-	0	0	0	0	9	0		0	0
Nether Gribton	-	0	0	34	0	43	0		0	0
Poplar Cottage	NX 952 798	0	0	0	0	0	0		5	0
Portrack	NX 937 831	250	350	202	147	159	83		83	77
Slaethorn Croft	-	0	0	0	4	0	0		0	0
Steilston	NX 902 804	0	0	49	44	0	32		42	42
Steilston House	-	0	0	0	0	7	0		0	0
Steilston Old School	-	0	0	0	0	5	0		0	0
Stepford House	NX 864 817	0	0	20	172	0	3		16	29

Location	Grid Ref. ¹	1908	1921	1963	1973	1993	2003	2004 ²	2005 ³	2008
Townfoot	NX 902 823	0	0	0	0	12	43		21	0
Upper Stepford	NX 865 819	0	0	0	0	0	0		21	27
Woodhouse	-	0	0	0	0	86	0		0	0
Parish Totals		727	883	937	923	878	548	NC	562	490

Hutton & Corrie

Balstack	NY 189 829	0	27		0	53	14	13	10	0
Birsca	NY 225 844	0	0	0	0	72	47	26	41	0
Boreland House	NY 173 914*	0	0	0	0	0	12	10	10	8
Boreland village	NY 175 913*	0	0	0	0	10	10	6	5	12
Broomhill	-	0	0	0	104	30	0	0	0	0
Burnfoot Cottage	NY 201 886*	0	0	0	0	0	43	42	27	15
Carterton	NY 200 899*	0	0	0	0	47	39	73	55	55
Corrielea	NY 195 852*	0	0	0	53	256	105	35	29	15
Cowburn	NY 204 888*	40	106	0	67	0	0	0	15	16
Craighouse	NY 185 844	0	0	0	0	80	3	0	0	0
Gillesbie	-	0	0	0	0	17	0	0	0	0
Marygill	NY 158 923*	40	52	348	254	36	17	13	7	3
Paddockhole Garden	NY 230 834*	0	0	0	0	18	14	13	22	37
Parkcleughfoot	-	0	0	95	0	0	0	0	0	0
Shankend	NY 164 925*	0	0	0	0	68	79	83	66	65
Shaw of Dryfe	NY 160 907*	200	350	151	203	238	44	39	31	26
Upper Fenton	NY 179 925*	0	0	0	0	103	53	40	31	7
Upper Hutton	-	10	20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Watscales	NY 187 837	0	0	0	11	0	6	0	0	0
Whiteknowe	NY 217 831	0	80	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
Wynholm	NY 199 881*	0	0	0	0	0	48	43	56	51
Parish Totals		290	635	594	692	1028	534	436	405	315

Johnstone

Annanbank	-	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0
Cleughbrae	NY 100 935	0	0	0	0	0	14	21	16	17
Corsua	NY 075 879	0	0	0	0	38	42	115	112	84
Dykehead	NY 098 933	0	0	200	31	82	66	60	82	55
Ellerslea House	NY 101 939	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	16
Greigsland Cottage	NY 087 921	0	0	0	0	8	21	8	18	24
Greyrigg	NY 084 888	0	0	0	0	14	24	20	28	0
Heathfield farm	NY 080 897	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	26
Johnstone Bridge School	NY 100 917	0	0	0	17	0	36	40	40	35
Kiljoy Cottage	NY 101 971	0	0	0	0	0	0	15	18	11
Kirkbank	NY 098 904	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	6	0
Lochwood Smithy	NY 088 966	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0
Lochwoodmains	NY 099 969	0	0	0	0	12	9	12	12	15
Orchard (Cleuchheads)	NY 104 963	0	0	0	0	56	17	37	34	25
Panlands	NY 092 894	0	0	22	145	118	118	260	223	206
Skemrigg (J.Bridge School)	NY 097 920	0	0	0	24	52	42	45	46	51
Woodend	NY 106 952	0	0	0	0	135	62	66	58	26
Parish Totals		0	0	222	217	518	463	699	696	591

Location	Grid Ref. ¹	1908	1921	1963	1973	1993	2003	2004 ²	2005 ³	2008
Keir										
Auchenage	-	0	0	98	141	24	0		0	0
Bardennoch	-	130	0	0	0	0	0		0	0
Bogrough road-end	NX 854 936	0	0	0	0	0	116		47	0
Hillend	NX 904 860	0	0	0	0	0	11		12	10
Scaurbank	NX 861 936	0	0	0	0	0	111		135	72
Parish Totals		130	0	98	141	24	238	NC	194	82
Kirkconnel										
Gateside	NS 763 112*	0	7	194	680	356	237	115	164	146
Kelloside	NS 728 119	0	0	27	160	131	99	42	87	65
Kirkland	NS 724 142*	0	0	0	0	52	139	85	145	98
Manse	NS 725 124	0	0	0	0	0	39	35	38	54
Tower	NS 757 120	0	0	378	173	224	96	76	89	60
Whitehill	NS 772 110*	0	0	0	0	0	46	39	35	59
Parish Totals		0	7	599	1013	763	656	392	558	482
Kirkmahoe										
Carnsalloch	NX 970 802	200	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	6
Castlehill	-	65	65	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cullivait	NX 992 814	170	240	107	103	105	64	64	54	76
Duncow (school)	NX 966 833	300	220	205	125	11	17	22	21	23
Kemyss Hall (Duncow Estate)	NX 973 823	0	0	0	0	0	9	11	7	16
Kirkton (Mausoleum Wood)	NX 975 809	0	0	0	0	62	99	97	97	111
Kirkton (Stores)	NX 974 814	0	0	0	84	41	13	16	12	12
Netherhall	NX 985 849	0	0	0	0	0	10	13	7	51
Parish Totals		735	525	312	312	219	212	223	206	295
Kirkmichael										
Ashbank	NY 020 880	0	0	0	0	21	34			34
Barony. The -	NY 024 872	0	100	0	26	30	5			5
Blackacre	NY 048 906	0	0	0	0	0	82			36
Burrance Bridge	NY 043 901*	0	0	0	0	180	41			0
Burrance of Courance	NY 042 904	0	0	110	120	56	33			0
Burrenrig	NY 052 907	0	0	0	0	98	204			121
Corses, Parkgate	NY 027 887	0	0	35	44	0	38			6
Courance	NY 051 901	2	0	0	57	0	16			11
Dalfibble	NY 038 859	0	0	13	26	85	5			0
Gillrigg	-	0	0	320	286	0	0			0
Jessfield	-	0	0	0	0	2	0			0
Kirkland	NY 031 896	0	0	27	49	0	10			0
Kirkland (2)	NY 033 896	0	0	110	54	0	28			49
Kirkland (3)	-	0	0	0	0	64	0			0
Kirkmichael Estate	-	100	196	0	0	0	0			0
Kirkmichael Glebe	NY 001 888	0	50	0	0	0	47			0
Kirkmichael Manse	NY 003 884	0	0	0	15	104	52			0
Mountstewart	NX 998 886	0	0	0	0	0	4			0
Nethermill	-	0	0	40	51	0	0			0

Location	Grid Ref. ¹	1908	1921	1963	1973	1993	2003	2004 ²	2005 ³	2008
Nethermill School	NY 038 878	0	0	0	0	0	52			45
Over Garrel	NY 057 912	0	0	0	0	0	49			42
Parkgate	NY 017 875	0	0	0	0	32	84			54
Pielmuir	NY 045 880	0	0	0	0	30	64			23
Third north east of Kinneil	NY 071 872	0	0	0	29	108	10			16
Townhead	NY 005 884	0	0	92	24	0	1			2
Parish Totals		102	346	747	781	810	859	NC	NC	444

Kirkpatrick Fleming

Blacksyke	NY 312 701	0	0	0	0	0	51	19	27	0
Broats House	-	50	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cairns/South Lodge	NY 278 695	0	0	0	0	0	0	21	12	11
Calvertsholm	NY 282 691	0	0	0	0	42	8	8	7	0
Cranberry Farm	NY 312 698	0	0	0	0	0	0	19	10	0
Grahamshill	-	90	50	144	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hayfield	NY 282 710	50	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	0
Hillhead	NY 277 692	0	12	0	0	0	16	32	21	0
Irvington	NY 262 703	0	0	0	0	15	15	42	50	8
Kirkpatrick Fleming	NY 280 706	0	0	0	0	76	44	17	16	11
Kirkpatrick House	-	20	60	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kirkpatrick Station	NY 275 704	0	0	0	16	0	17	7	12	11
Kirtlebridge, north of	NY 242 734	0	0	0	0	0	19	14	8	0
Moorend	NY 258 705	0	0	0	0	0	15	29	19	0
Moorend (2) / Blackyett	NY 252 712	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	16	15
Mossknowe/ Grahamshill	NY 288 699	450	20	78	94	26	4	12	10	33
The Mill										
Newhope	-	0	0	0	36	0	0	0	0	0
Raeburnhead	NY 286 712	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0
Raeburnhead	NY 292 712	0	0	0	75	174	130	28	18	20
Redhall	NY 290 695	0	0	0	0	9	17	4	11	0
Redhouse	NY 295 697	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Riggheads	NY 283 685	0	0	0	0	0	34	9	4	0
Riggheads (2)	NY 283 694	0	0	0	0	9	9	0	0	0
Riggheads (3)	NY 283 688	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	0
Robgill	-	0	0	57	0	0	0	0	0	0
Springkell	-	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Williamsfield	NY 297 702	0	0	0	8	26	1	0	0	0
Woodhouse	-	900	200	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Workhope	-	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0
Wyseby	NY 244 724	200	0	43	125	0	45	17	31	10
Wyseby (2) Adj. To main road	NY 243 723	0	0	0	0	0	0	30	24	0
Parish Totals		1766	342	328	354	377	425	320	317	122

Kirkpatrick Juxta

Barnhill	NT 091 030	0	0	0	0	150	75			64
Bearholm	-	0	0	0	0	53	0			0
Beattock Farm	NT 077 027	0	0	0	0	0	29			23
Beattock Manse	-	0	0	16	4	0	0			0
Beattock Station	-	0	0	0	18	159	0			0
Buckrigg	-	0	0	0	0	3	0			0

Location	Grid Ref. ¹	1908	1921	1963	1973	1993	2003	2004 ²	2005 ³	2008
Cogries (approach road)	NY 098 976	0	0	0	0	0	34			38
Craigielands	NT 078 018	0	0	59	53	102	74			63
Dumlees	-	0	0	0	0	75	0			0
Dyke Farm	NT 085 036	0	0	0	0	0	13			9
Harthope	-	0	0	22	21	0	0			0
Holms Farm	-	0	0	0	32	36	0			0
Marchbanks Wood	-	0	0	26	41	7	0			0
Mid Murthat	NY 095 993	0	0	0	0	82	66			52
Palace Knowe /Upper Murthat	NT 089 001	0	0	29	22	0	56			49
Parks Farm	NY 069 973	0	0	0	0	0	6			11
Poldean	-	0	0	10	0	0	0			0
School Wood	NY 067 986	0	0	0	0	0	22			27
Skellywell	-	0	0	57	65	0	0			0
Southerly Ridge	-	0	0	0	0	183	0			0
Tathill	-	0	0	0	0	35	0			0
Torthorwald Wood	NT 081 046	0	0	86	69	181	67			71
Westwood	NY 087 987	0	0	0	0	0	28			33
Woodfoot	-	0	0	42	35	0	0			0
Parish Totals		0	0	347	360	1066	470	NC	NC	440

Langholm

Cleughfoot	-	0	0	0	0	100	0			0
Eastons Walk	NY 368 837	0	0	0	80	72	38			37
Erkin Holm / Castle-holm /										
Kilgreen	NY 364 851	25	50	32	0	200	137			69
Eskdail St	NY 357 849	60	50	40	0	32	13			24
Green Bank	-	100	50	15	11	0	0			0
Green Cleugh	-	0	0	0	30	0	0			0
Townfoot, The Glen, Langholm	NY 371 838	0	0	0	0	0	11			14
Townhead Kirk	-	90	50	0	0	0	0			0
West Water	-	0	0	0	66	1	0			0
Parish Totals		275	200	87	187	405	199	NC	NC	144

Lochmaben

Almagill. 0.25 mile NE -	-	0	0	0	83	0	0	0	0	0
Beebinklees	NY 094 853	0	0	20	0	16	30	20	26	32
Broadchapel	NY 072 818	100	100	0	192	218	56	78	92	74
Broadchapel. 0.25 mile N -	-	0	0	0	33	0	0	0	0	0
Broom Wood	-	200	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bruce's Castle	NY 088 810	150	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	14
Burnside	NY 071 823	0	0	0	0	35	34	14	12	11
Chapelcroft	NY 069 846	0	0	0	0	0	4	3	4	0
Cocket Hill. 0.5 mile N -	-	0	0	31	21	0	0	0	0	0
Corncockle	-	0	200	0	0	10	0	0	0	0
Deils Dyke	NY 072 805	0	0	0	0	209	31	0	0	0
Elsieshields	NY 071 848	0	0	0	0	0	68	78	85	83
Hallheaths	NY 096 819	0	0	16	15	42	28	33	28	24
Hightae Church	NY 091 793	0	0	0	0	0	38	31	43	42
Hunterhouse	NY 058 814	0	0	14	0	0	22	22	16	6
Kinnelbridge	NY 089 851	0	0	3	0	0	3	3	3	0

Location	Grid Ref. ¹	1908	1921	1963	1973	1993	2003	2004 ²	2005 ³	2008
Kinnelside	NY 085 855	0	0	0	0	38	36	35	20	21
Millhousebridge (200m W. of)	NY 104 885	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	4	4
Millriggs	-	0	200	9	0	0	0	0	0	0
Millriggs Wood	-	0	0	140	142	0	0	0	0	0
Old Spedlins	-	0	31	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Priestdykes	NY 101 812	0	0	9	43	0	21	14	12	3
Riggfoot	NY 083 837	0	0	0	0	0	4	2	0	0
Smallrigg	NY 076 816	0	0	148	143	0	0	0	0	5
Thorniewhaite	-	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tochillmuir	NY 084 848	0	0	26	105	18	22	21	10	21
Parish Totals		452	631	416	777	586	397	358	363	340

Middlebie

Blackwood House	-	2	0	0	0	0	0			0
Braesby, Kirtle Water -	-	80	0	0	0	0	0			0
Broadlea	-	0	0	0	7	0	0			0
Burnfoot	-	100	80	20	60	0	0			0
Carruthers	-	0	0	0	0	53	0			0
Cleughbrae (Mill)	NY 205 757	0	0	0	0	30	46			7
Craigs	-	85	0	0	0	0	0			0
Crossbankhead	NY 255 801	0	0	0	0	80	22			19
Crowdieknowe Hill	NY 255 815	0	0	0	0	0	27			11
Cushathill E.	NY 232 755	0	0	0	0	0	39			94
Cushathill E.	NY 225 753	0	0	0	0	49	42			24
Cushathill N.W.	NY 228 756	0	0	0	0	74	92			61
Cushathill W.	NY 223 753	0	0	0	0	85	39			55
Dockenflat	NY 235 779	0	0	0	15	73	18			18
Donkins, Kirtlebridge	NY 232 738	2	105	0	0	0	4			0
Dunnabie	NY 256 810	0	0	0	71	0	27			35
Dunnabie E	-	0	0	0	0	89	0			0
Dunnabie N.	NY 254 814	0	0	0	0	22	17			11
Dunnabie S.W.	NY 257 810	0	0	0	0	33	4			0
Eaglesfield	-	0	30	0	0	0	0			0
East Linbridgeford	-	0	0	0	72	75	0			0
Gilmartin	NY 250 791	150	250	0	0	20	27			17
Kirtledene	NY 228 732	0	0	0	250	103	84			45
Kirtleton (House)	NY 269 805	0	0	143	105	122	33			28
Kirtleton E.	NY 269 805	0	0	0	0	48	55			22
Kirtleton W.	NY 267 804	0	0	0	0	0	22			14
Torbeckhill	NY 235 790	150	200	65	160	0	47			34
Torbeckhill. Reservoir E of	-	0	0	0	68	0	0			0
Waterbeck Village	-	2	0	0	0	0	0			0
Wattaman	NY 316 778	0	0	0	0	212	221			76
Whiteleys	NY 249 791	0	0	0	0	0	0			22
Parish Totals		571	665	228	808	1168	866	NC	NC	593

Moffat

Alton	-	0	78	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Archbank	-	34	38	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ballplay	-	40	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0

Location	Grid Ref. ¹	1908	1921	1963	1973	1993	2003	2004 ²	2005 ³	2008
Beechgrove Tennis Courts	NT 083 056	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	3
Bodesbeck	-	0	0	45	36	0	0	0	0	0
Corehead	NT 072 125	0	0	0	0	0	59	83	97	79
Craigbeck	-	0	0	17	20	16	0	0	0	0
Craigieburn Wood	NT 117 052	200	465	30	20	111	54	42	38	29
Crofthead	-	0	0	37	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dumcrief	-	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Emu Villa	-	26	22	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ericstane	NT 072 108	0	0	86	91	35	23	25	26	22
Golf Hill	-	0	0	0	59	0	0	0	0	0
Granton	NT 076 096	0	0	0	54	70	102	118	83	70
Heathery Haugh	NT 093 059	50	13	37	52	179	138	112	115	97
Larchhill	NT 086 056	0	0	16	18	45	25	24	38	20
Laurencefield	-	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Millmeadows	-	0	127	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Moffat N.(Old Edinr Rd Bridge)	NT 079 058	0	0	0	0	13	33	38	45	42
Parish Kirk	-	75	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Penrose Hill	-	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
Shortwood End	-	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tank Wood	-	0	0	10	0	0	0	0	0	0
Woodhead	-	0	0	0	181	0	0	0	0	0
Parish Totals		431	758	285	531	469	434	442	453	362

Morton

Hayfield	NX 898 968	0	0	0	4	124	123	107	91	63
Hayfield Wood	-	0	0	0	0	110	0	0	0	0
Langmyre	NX 874 966	0	0	0	0	0	22	30	28	24
Nith Bridge	-	0	0	0	0	29	0	0	0	0
Nithbank Wood	NX 873 957	0	0	0	0	0	24	25	31	33
Thornhill Church Wood	NX 833 957	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
Thornhill Station	NX 891 964	0	0	18	110	147	112	110	105	96
Thornhill, Boatbrae Wood	NX 875 953	0	0	0	0	0	30	28	36	42
Thornhill, Cundy Wood	NX 875 957	0	0	0	0	0	4	4	0	0
Thornhill, Gashouse Wood	NX 880 951	0	0	0	0	0	29	32	44	23
Thornhill, Hospital Wood	NX 877 950	0	0	0	0	0	61	70	65	60
Thornhill, Village	-	0	0	3	26	114	0	0	0	0
Waterside Mains	-	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0
Parish Totals		0	0	21	140	528	405	406	400	349

Mouswald

Beyond the Burn	-	75	300	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Boghead (A75)	-	0	0	0	127	43	0	0	0	0
Breconrae	NY 058 749	0	0	0	0	0	72	71	65	65
Brocklehurst	-	110	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Glenburnie Cottage	-	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
Ironhirst	NY 056 724	0	0	0	0	0	82	62	32	22
Manse	NY 061 728	24	3	0	0	0	0	14	30	21
Mount Kedar	NY 073 716	0	0	0	0	0	22	26	35	36
Mouswald Grange	-	0	0	0	0	20	0	0	0	0
Oxgang	NY 041 757	0	0	0	0	0	57	78	75	69

Location	Grid Ref. ¹	1908	1921	1963	1973	1993	2003	2004 ²	2005 ³	2008
Panteth Hill Road	NY 080 727*	0	0	0	0	48	68	61	60	102
Rigghead	NY 039 753	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	3	0
Rockhall	NY 058 758	0	0	0	0	194	58	58	42	17
Rockhall. 0.25 mile S. on A75	-	0	0	0	210	0	0	0	0	0
Parish Totals		209	303	0	337	307	362	370	342	332

Penpont

Glenmanna (Road End)	-	0	0	0	0	2	0			0
Glenmanna Wood	NS 764 021	0	0	0	0	0	28			34
Penpont, Gladstone Park	NX 846 946	0	0	0	0	0	43			107
Virginhall Wood	NX 865 954	0	0	0	0	0	109			128
Parish Totals		0	0	0	0	2	180	NC	NC	269

Ruthwell

Bellriding Farm	-	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Clarencefield	NY 093 690*	0	0	0	0	0	67	67	59	51
Comlongon Castle	-	0	0	23	10	16	0	0	0	0
Comlongon Castle Wood	-	80	13	20	13	0	0	0	0	0
Greenfield farm	NY 109 679	0	0	0	0	0	0	27	44	114
Lover's Plantation	-	0	0	75	0	0	0	0	0	0
Manse	NY 101 682*	100	100	0	0	8	56	66	65	66
Mid Locharwoods	-	0	0	3	94	16	0	0	0	0
Nether Locharwoods (1)	NY 056 672*	80	40	28	0	46	25	26	45	30
Nether Locharwoods (2)	-	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0
Peter's Plantation	-	230	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ruthwell	-	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0
Skew Bridge	NY 075 707*	0	0	0	0	8	16	0	0	0
Stragging Walk	-	0	50	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Summerfield	-	125	108	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Thwaite	-	0	0	0	0	12	0	0	0	0
Parish Totals		615	320	149	117	116	164	186	213	261

Sanquhar

Barr Farm	NS 766 094	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12
Blackaddie	NS 775 099*	0	40	64	10	143	152	108	147	159
Braefoot	NS 812 072	0	0	0	97	30	93	32	31	33
Brandleys	NS 817 106	0	0	112	120	80	53	37	50	38
Clenries	NS 806 126*	0	0	0	0	122	68	83	59	65
Conrick farm	NS 788 116	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	41
Dalpeddar Farm	NS 818 074	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	52	61
Glengenny	-	40	33	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Green Loaning	NS 790 100	0	0	0	0	0	17	3	0	0
Greenhead	NS 791 093	0	0	0	0	0	5	8	3	2
Heuksland	NS 784 110		0	0	0	40	0	12	10	6
Littlemark	-	240	170	169	0	0	0	0	0	0
Manse	-	125	120	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Newark	NS 789 091	0	0	0	0	26	0	5	5	9
Newmark	-	0	0	0	47	0	0	0	0	0

Location	Grid Ref. ¹	1908	1921	1963	1973	1993	2003	2004 ²	2005 ³	2008
Ryehill	NS 795 088	0	0	0	0	0	11	12	10	0
Sanquhar Old Folks Home	NS 785 102	0	0	0	0	77	38	35	43	46
South Mains	NS 784 082*	0	0	0	0	106	125	69	96	81
Townfoot	NS 787 094	0	0	0	0	0	23	3	3	3
Twenty Shilling	-	120	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Parish Totals		525	463	345	274	624	585	407	509	556

St Mungo

Blackford	NY 143 803	0	0	0	31	6	8	4	2	0
Castlemilk	-	200	0	30	39	0	0	0	0	0
Castlemilk Home Farm	NY 148 768	0	0	0	0	121	98	0	0	0
Castlemilk Town	NY 139 782	0	0	0	0	60	30	53	69	0
Croftfoot cottages	NY 147 760	0	0	0	0	0	0	83	104	91
Eskdale Rigg	NY 143 784	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0
Firpark	NY 134 792	0	0	0	74	92	31	38	31	0
Highlaw	NY 141 784	0	0	20	62	124	112	118	56	0
Kirkbank	NY 135 757	0	0	0	0	3	80	72	63	65
Middleshaw	NY 149 755	0	0	0	0	0	84	28	31	6
Murrayfield	-	0	0	130	0	0	0	0	0	0
Norwood	NY 152 793	0	0	25	45	40	85	0	0	0
Queens Hotel	NY 140 803	0	0	0	5	43	27	18	20	23
St Mungo Church (adj parish)	-	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Parish Totals		200	0	205	256	490	561	414	376	185

Tinwald

Amisfield	NY 001 824	2	150	156	25	98	35	27	19	11
Amisfield (2)	NY 003 827	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	22
Amisfield (3)	-	0	0	0	37	0	0	0	0	0
Amisfield Tower	NX 992 842	0	0	203	177	21	6	11	5	6
Bankhead	NY 052 838	0	0	30	113	0	11	0	0	0
Bankhead Glen	-	0	0	0	0	63	0	0	0	0
Barshill	-	0	0	0	160	174	0	0	0	0
Belzies	NY 058 844	0	0	0	0	50	6	0	0	0
Brickfield	-	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
Burnbank [Hunter House '63]	-	0	0	53	84	0	0	0	0	0
Carse Glen	-	400	280	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dalruscan	-	140	90	0	89	0	0	0	0	0
Duncow Road End (A 701)	NY 005 848	0	0	0	0	24	41	64	52	41
East Lanegate	NY 022 847	0	0	0	0	0	44	45	45	29
Fearnyleugh	NY 028 827	0	0	0	0	0	19	8	0	0
Fulton House	-	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0
Glenae	-	2	0	42	33	0	0	0	0	0
Glenclair Hill	NY 014 791	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	13
Hazelrigg	-	0	0	67	147	0	0	0	0	0
Johnfield	NY 005 856	0	0	0	0	0	38	38	36	45
Laighton Kennels	NY 030 835	0	0	0	0	0	32	38	38	35
Lawridding	NX 995 836	0	0	0	0	0	6	3	0	0
Maxwellbank	NY 064 831	0	0	0	0	0	12	17	17	0
Millands	-	0	0	0	0	55	0	0	0	0
Pinnaclewood	-	0	0	47	79	16	0	0	0	0

Location	Grid Ref. ¹	1908	1921	1963	1973	1993	2003	2004 ²	2005 ³	2008
Robertland	-	0	0	22	0	0	0	0	0	0
Shieldhill	-	0	0	0	0	35	0	0	0	0
The Slacks	-	0	0	146	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tinwald House	NY 025 797	0	0	190	122	96	0	21	0	0
Tinwald Kirk	NY 003 816	0	0	0	0	15	46	40	33	38
Tinwald Shaws	-	0	0	157	29	18	0	0	0	0
Townfoot	-	0	0	0	0	87	0	0	0	0
Parish Totals		544	520	1113	1102	752	296	312	245	240

Torthorwald

Barlouth	NY 047 779	0	0	0	0	78	63		120	46
Barlouth (1)	-	0	0	75	94	0	0		0	0
Barlouth (2)	-	0	0	0	65	0	0		0	0
Greenbogue	NY 016 795	0	0	0	0	0	31		61	19
Hemplands (Road end)	NY 025 797	0	0	0	0	0	29		18	23
Linn	NY 044 768	0	0	50	20	57	62		63	31
Manse	-	2	0	0	0	0	0		0	0
Redhills	-	0	0	12	202	0	0		0	0
Roucan	NY 023 777	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	16
Parish Totals		2	0	137	381	135	185	NC	262	135

Tundergarth

Banks	NY 186 822	0	0	0	0	9	0	0	37	0
Bankshill	NY 191 819	0	0	0	0	0	4	2	0	10
Burnhead	NY 199 812	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
Burnhead Cottage.	NY 199 812	0	0	0	46	32	15	9	11	2
Burnhead Cottage. S. of -	-	10	0	33	22	0	0	0	0	0
Burnhead. E.-	-	0	0	0	0	46	0	0	0	0
Capelfoot	NY 238 864*	0	0	0	0	0	102	84	66	62
Castlehill Cottage	-	0	0	0	0	35	0	0	0	0
Chapelfoot	-	0	0	15	0	40	0	0	0	0
Cleughhead	NY 198 822	0	0	0	0	0	17	12	14	0
Craighousesteads	-	0	0	0	98	0	0	0	0	0
Crawthat	NY 251 825	0	0	37	53	22	43	0	0	0
Cudscroft	-	0	250	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dixons	NY 155 797	0	54	0	76	55	21	30	18	25
Gibsons	-	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0
Grange	NY 234 828	50	125	0	0	62	19	22	25	12
Hallmeadow	-	0	0	0	0	32	0	0	0	0
Hazelberry (1)	-	0	0	2	110	0	0	0	0	0
Hazelberry (2)	-	0	0	2	72	0	0	0	0	0
Linnhall	-	0	0	80	120	0	0	0	0	0
Linnhall. S. of -	-	0	0	0	29	0	0	0	0	0
Linnhead	NY 166 807	0	0	0	0	0	8	11	9	11
Milton House	NY 233 842	0	0	0	0	0	0	21	3	0
Northburn	NY 184 818	2	0	20	21	0	28	23	0	26
Paddockhole	NY 228 834	32	90	0	0	18	12	11	16	6
Pearsby Hall	NY 235 846	100	140	100	105	77	16	8	4	0
Raggiewhate	-	0	0	32	0	0	0	0	0	0
Scroggs Mill	NY 164 813	0	0	11	0	0	15	0	0	0

Location	Grid Ref. ¹	1908	1921	1963	1973	1993	2003	2004 ²	2005 ³	2008
Standburn	NY 212 826	0	0	0	0	25	11	8	4	0
Tundergarth Mains	NY 177 806	0	0	90	172	58	37	41	39	34
Tundergarth Manse	-	0	0	0	40	0	0	0	0	0
Westwood	-	60	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Whitstonehill	-	50	130	25	60	0	0	0	0	0
Wyliehole (East Drive)	-	0	0	0	11	0	0	0	0	0
Wyliehole. S.W. of -	-	50	80	77	52	0	0	0	0	0
Parish Totals		354	869	524	1087	517	348	282	246	197

Tynron

Auchenbrack	NX 766 965	0	0	0	0	0	30	0	0	0
Bennan	NX 785 948	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	16
Courthill	NX 815 932	0	0	0	0	0	37	41	43	28
Kirkconnel Farm	NX 764 944	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12
Low Lann	NX 821 911	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
McQueston	NX 772 940	0	0	130	107	4	43	47	49	15
Old Auchenbrack	NX 763 969	0	0	0	0	114	80	0	0	0
Parish Totals		0	0	130	107	118	190	88	103	74

Wamphray

Girthhead	-	150	150	158	19	4	0			0
Kilbrook	NY 117 973	0	0	0	0	20	89			72
Langside	-	0	0	0	0	45	0			0
Laverhay	NY 138 979	0	0	0	0	0	14			17
Milnehouse (Milne)	NY 138 972	300	125	0	0	10	28			33
Poldean	NT 104 003	0	0	0	18	0	45			51
Saughtrees	NY 126 954	0	0	0	0	74	42			31
Shawwood Fingland	-	20	49	0	0	0	0			0
Stenrieshill	NY 110 978	0	0	0	142	94	142			121
Wamphray Church Hall	NY 113 946	0	0	125	48	0	62			59
Wamphray Glen	-	0	0	157	75	0	0			0
Wamphray School	NY 118 958	0	0	0	0	0	3			4
Wamphray Station, Near -	-	10	0	0	0	0	0			0
Wamphraygate	NY 121 962	0	0	0	0	11	34			27
Wamphraymoor Plantation	-	0	0	0	0	28	0			0
Parish Totals		480	324	440	302	286	459	NC	NC	415

Westerkirk

Burnfoot	-	50	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Douglan Bank	-	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Effgill	NY 301 929*	0	0	0	0	65	95	58	31	24
Enzieholm	NY 286 913	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	5
Georgefield	-	0	0	0	0	42	0	0	0	0
Glendinning	NY 298 970*	0	9	0	0	8	9	16	14	0
Hopsrig	NY 332 886	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10
Kemra Bank	-	30	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lyneholm	NY 278 916	0	0	47	0	0	5	0	0	0
Megdale	NY 301 954*	0	0	0	0	150	24	29	24	2

Location	Grid Ref. ¹	1908	1921	1963	1973	1993	2003	2004 ²	2005 ³	2008
Wester Hall	-	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Westerkirk Mains	-	0	0	0	31	0	0	0	0	0
Parish Totals		84	9	47	31	265	140	103	69	41
Grand Totals (county)		17069	15746	17047	20923	25470	17834	11708	12330	13459

EXTRACTS FROM THE NOTEBOOK OF THE LATE JAMES H WILSON:
A GLENCAPLE WILDFOWLER 1872-1947
By John Young¹

Introduction

James (Jamie) Haining Wilson, (1872-1947) moved from Torthorwald to Caerlaverock in Dumfriesshire in June 1885 and was originally employed as a 'herd boy' (shepherd) on one of the local farms. Stock management of both sheep and cattle in the area was highly prized, largely due to the availability of nutritious salt marsh grazing, (areas of marshy ground that are regularly inundated by the tide with salt water) known locally as 'merse.' A 'herd' was essential to ensure that stock were moved safely to higher ground when the wind and tide necessitated and to rescue animals which regularly became trapped in mud filled creeks.

During this era, spring and summer herding were usually combined with estuarine fishing and later, local herdsman turned to seasonal wildfowling, both were deemed necessary to supplement a restricted diet and a meagre wage. Curlew *Numenius arquata* were locally known as 'the poor mans grouse' similarly Lapwing *Vanellus vanellus* as the 'poor mans partridge' (Ernest Blezard, Allan Allison pers.com.) Herding, fishing and fowling were an amalgam of circumstance that invariably led to an almost unique local knowledge of the notorious and dangerous Inner-Solway, tides creeks and mud banks.

The late Sir Peter Scott who had been a collector of live geese since 1932 and up to the end of the Second World War an avid punt-gunner and wildfowler, had visited the Solway on only seven occasions during his shooting career (his private diaries) putting into perspective the exaggerated claims of the wildfowl that he actually killed in the area, on other visits he was attempting to catch geese alive to augment his study collection.

Scott invited Wilson, together with several other local professional fowlers to record a summary of their recollections on the local wildfowling 'scene.' Apparently only Wilson responded, his written comments survived, and as far as we are aware, are the only records available pertaining to this period. They eventually passed to Lady Phillipa Scott, who has now kindly made them available via Hugh Boyd and together with other notes gathered locally, form part of this review.

Wilson also maintained the habit of annotating his records, on the appropriate pages of his reasonably extensive ornithological library, especially used was his copy of Howard Saunders 1927. Which I was able to see by courtesy of his son Robert, alas they were later stored in damp conditions, became illegible and were eventually destroyed (Ken Bruce pers.com.).

The Solway

The Solway Firth, with 2,925 hectares of salt marsh is the largest of such areas in Scotland and the third largest expanse of such habitat in Britain. (10.6% of the UK total), Salt marshes normally develop within estuaries on the sheltered side of sand and shingle spits

¹ 11 Ash Grove, Heathhall, Dumfries DG1 3TG

and a feature is that, they usually have a network of creeks and drainage channels, by which tidal waters enter and leave from the marsh.

Sediments and nutrients are carried in from the sea and down the major rivers, where they become trapped and taken up by plants and animals. They are continually replenished by the repeated ebb and flow of the tides and the discharge from twelve major rivers, which exit from the Scottish shores.

The compound salt (sodium chloride) is a condiment with a pronounced flavour, given access, most animals will often consume more than they need and be attracted to return to the source continually. There develops a tenacity to retain salt as a safeguard against deficiency although excess is swiftly passed in droppings; the need to replenish is governed by a loss of sodium from physical exercise or heat loss. With a dominant wind direction in the Solway, of Southwest to West, offshore winds deposit seawater droplets up to 6 km inland, which are beneficial in this case to the wintering Barnacle Geese *Branta leucopsis*, which are inherently a marine species.

Grazing management has important consequences for the ultimate and dominant type of saltmarsh vegetation. With significant stock grazing there is lower plant structural diversity, resulting in a reduced range of terrestrial invertebrates, this attracts fewer breeding birds but provides a greatly enhanced winter feeding area for large populations of grazing ducks and especially geese. In addition, within the inner Solway, the seaward tidal area beyond the marshes provides a nationally important roost site for gulls, waders and especially wildfowl species.

Wilson

Married by 1892 at the age of 20, Wilson resolved to '*augment his income by trying the gun and wild bird nets*' and he continued to fish, net birds and shoot till 1945. Apparently regarded as a reasonably accurate observer in the field, he maintained records of his shooting and fishing bags and was listed as a correspondent (1922) by the late Sir Hugh S Gladstone of Capenoch, who compiled the then definitive works on the County avifauna in 1908 and 1922, although Sir Hugh, a stickler for accuracy and very much in the mould of '*what's hit is history- what's missed is mystery*' did not accept many of Wilson's records, when they could not be verified by a specimen.

In addition Wilson also sent a variety of shot specimens to the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh and to Capenoch, all of these were recorded and some of which, Sir Hugh arranged to have mounted, including the first 'white' [leucistic] Barnacle '*that was procured locally*'. Shot by his son John in 1927 '*having been seen for two seasons, a few years later 3 were seen in one year and I [Wilson sen.] shot all three, there were so many people attempting to collect them that the barnacle did not get peace to feed*'. Earnest Blezard recorded a white Barnacle shot on Bowhouse Merse, Dumfriesshire on 1st January 1925. (*Birds of Lakeland*, 1945) It is not known whether this refers to the same bird. Throughout, there are several discrepancies in Wilson's notes, whereas Blezard was renowned for his accuracy.

Hunting

During this era under review (1880s-1957), of the two main modes of hunting birds, with Wilson shooting took precedence to netting. There was little doubt, that in the earlier years sporting shooting was not the main objective, primarily his aim was to kill birds, either for the table or for sale, with commercial punt gunning reduced post war to only one or two active fowlers, he was in an excellent position to offer a supply of fowl to the market.

Thus Wilson and the few other professional hunters, active at the time mainly 'stalked' flocks and fired into them and this almost certainly, explains the larger than normal 'bags' that were frequently recorded, especially of gregarious species such as Barnacle geese and Wigeon *Anas penelope*.

The stalk mode was also the reason why these early gunners seldom used dogs, the present day, essential wildfowlers perquisite, the trained Labrador retriever. Not only could dogs not follow a stalk but also they were troublesome in soft creeks and to transport in boats. Wilson augmented his bags by searching diligently for any wounded birds to dispatch the following morning, including those shot and not retrieved by others.

Stress

Since all living organisms are exposed to stressors, presumably it was also evident, that stalking gregarious barnacle geese or wigeon, with a resultant shot fired suddenly into a grazing group from close range, would induce high levels of stress to the survivors. Similarly in netting birds, since the nets were invariably left erected over the tide, these birds were thus drowned and only extracted the following day. It is my view that these early hunting methods caused physiological changes, which might have been monitored with blood counts or examination for pathological lesions.

Examination of faeces or body tissue would indicate a rise in corticosteroids or other metabolites in response to stress, a factor that could yet be examined in areas where the barnacle geese are still-hunted, or subject to other forms of disturbance such as low flying aircraft, predators on the breeding zones or indeed would be ornithologists.

Frequent sources of field evidence, at Caerlaverock, *pers. ob.*, were maintained for many years following the declaration of the National Nature Reserve, (1957) including an increase of concentration of numbers; cessation of feeding; dispersal to less favoured zones; faulty nutrition; remaining nearer to the safety of the sea; flying altitude increased on disturbance from an estimated 8 to 72 meters; increased nervousness; springing 'teal like' to immediate flight; reaction to predators or profiles that simulated predator 'shapes' such as dogs/fox, herons/eagle and slow, low flying aircraft, together with the approach of man.

Shooting

Wilson started his shooting career armed with a double barrelled muzzle loader, which required powder and shot to be rammed into the gun with a rod, a slow and dangerous method. A few years later he changed to a 12 bore break loader, which required a traditional type of pre loaded cartridge, detonated with a spring and hammer, he later 'progressed' to a double barrelled shotgun in 1906. Throughout the remainder of his shooting career, he

advocated the use of nothing larger, than a 12 bore shotgun, firing a size four, lead filled cartridge.

There is no indication that he refilled his own cartridges in spite of gunpowder and lead shot being available locally and throughout remained scathing about gunners who '*wasted expensive shot.*' This caution over expenditure was possibly the main reason dictating his shooting mode, which was to stalk his quarry in preference to the later more general tradition of interception of the quarry in 'flight' but it may also have been a rather parochial comment in that, any form of shooting would cause localised disturbance and a dispersal of fowl and thus made stalking and large bags more difficult to obtain.

He alleged a total disdain for fowlers with large bore fowling pieces, of 4, 8, and 10 bore, (with potentially increased range) considered essential by other noted shore gunners at that time (the late R A H Coombes pers.com). Similarly, towards the end of his active shooting career, he was scathing of the efforts of gunners, who were unable in his view to judge the range, spread and power of their chosen weapon.

In particular, he was apparently dismayed when he eventually learned of the habit of '*lead spreading*' by some fowlers with pump-action guns. Capable of self-loading 5 cartridges at one time, without taking specific aim, these were discharged in a more general direction towards flying geese, later this practice was prohibited in the U.K. (Section 5 (1) as amended by Firearms Act 1988).

Factually, lead pellets propelled by an explosive charge will cause damage to feathers and muscle. Death in flight, leading to immediate recovery of the carcass, is the result of penetration of at least some of the more vital organs. Many older fowlers agree that the ratio of geese killed '*stone dead*' in flight to shots fired was in the region of 1-12. Regularly, by 1967 within the inner Solway, it was judged that an average of 73-80% of geese being fired at, were out of reasonable range and it was not at all unusual to record from the Lochar Estuary a barrage of noise from 80-140 shots fired during the morning flight of Pink-footed Goose *Anser brachyrhynchus* (Allan Allison, *JY pers. Ob*).

Geese were often fired upon when at extreme or totally out of range, which resulted in substantial numbers of '*cripples*', (wounded birds) which were seldom recovered. Wilson regarded these as a main cause of increased disturbance on the foreshore, enhancing the role of predators such as fox, carrion crow and three large gull species during an era when it was considered an acceptable part of the stalk to '*sand-crawl*' (move off the marsh onto the mudflats closer towards the roosting birds) to facilitate an earlier and closer shot.

This apparently continued, as Wilson later declared – '*I can safely say we bagged more in a week as some will in a season and I can reveal I have heard more shots fired in one day lately than we fired in a week at that time.*' ... '*The present day wildfowler thinks no more of firing 50 shots at oystercatchers (*Haematopus ostralegus*) and redshank (*Tringa totanus*) or any kind of bird that flies if he cannot get geese.*'

In similar vein, in October 1973, I was shown by the late Tom Foster, 18 curlews left hanging on a barbed wire fence by licensed fowlers who had been living in his cottages at Castle Corner, shot on Caerlaverock NNR but not subsequently recorded on their permit returns.

Punts

Punt gunners too, became active with even larger bore guns, some of which were proofed to take 40 oz. of lead shot per fire (Capt. J B Blackett, pers. com.). His brother Archie was one of the most notable and responsible local punt gunners and maintained impeccable records with a cumulative bag of 2,559 birds mainly ducks, before he was unfortunately drowned when his punt was overwhelmed in a storm.

Punt guns, mounted on shallow-draft boats, also came in for considerable criticism from Wilson. The term *punt* is from the Anglo Saxon 'a small flat bottomed boat' also used in this case from local parlance to 'shunt' (to cause to turn or move to one side) such was the effect of the recoil from a large mounted gun, that often the small craft was forced backwards some 3-5 meters when the gun was fired. If not exactly sea-going, they certainly were capable of manoeuvre in inshore waters.

Wilson claimed no doubt correctly that they 'caused fowl to disperse' but this apparently is no more than professional parochialism. In particular he was continually at great pains to assert that geese specifically, were not in fact difficult to kill due to feather configuration (a widely believed myth at the time). Wilson at the very least claimed to be one of the earliest fowlers to attempt to induce a local code of conduct into a hitherto uncontrolled regime, even if the principal motive was that of self-interest. His celebrated cause on disturbance and out of range shooting remains pertinent to other current aspects of wildfowling management, if smarting of hypocrisy, declared as it was at the end of his rather bloody shooting career.

While the analogy is difficult for some conservationists to comprehend, quite simply, the more wildfowlers there are present, loosing off shots prematurely and out of range, the fewer birds are ultimately killed outright, while alas more will be crippled or survive continuing to 'carry' (embedded in the body) lead pellets that are not immediately lethal. Many authorities continue, correctly in my view, to maintain that a future change to steel shot will not be advantageous specifically towards reducing wounding.

Without doubt, the early market shore gunners killed more head of fowl, than the hordes that subsequently descended into the area, to be commercially exploited by so called wildfowl guides, and controlled by dubious and expensive permit systems. This was to be amplified later, following the establishment by the Nature Conservancy (Scottish Natural Heritage) in 1957 of a National Nature Reserve at Caerlaverock, within which there was a defined and controlled shooting area. Although bag statistics were provided voluntarily they proved typically unreliable and analysis by T. Huxley 1964 and later by A J Kerr, were largely without merit. *Hayne et. al.*

Netting

Throughout the latter part of the 19th Century, 'flight netting' which probably predated punt gunning re-emerged as an alternative method of obtaining wildfowl and wader species, both for the table and to market, on the north shore of the inner Solway Firth, Scotland. (*Young J.G 2006*)

Wilson was also involved in netting birds, the principals of estuarine flight-netting are elementary; netting is maintained in a vertical position by being suspended on stout poles, the aim being to enmesh birds by intercepting them as they use regular flight routes. Within the Nith Estuary, this was usually accomplished as they flew between roosting and feeding zones, such movements being determined by either tidal cycles or light intensity.

Writing in 1938, Wilson, said that: - '*at one time there would be about ten men had nets on the shore, now I am alone and have very few at present and am seriously thinking of giving it up. One barnacle, one graylag (Anser anser) three wigeon and two golden plover (Pluvialis apricaria) are all the saleable birds I have caught up to date*'"

Similar movements of wildfowl and waders to 'safe' zones, might also occur due to the presence of predators (often peregrine falcons or fox), fishing operations, other forms of wildfowling, i.e. shooting, recreational activities, (sailing, dog walking, bird watching for example), but often it was the practice in both shooting and netting operations, to deliberately cause disturbance in the expectation that birds would disperse towards either nets or gunners.

Wilson gave up netting in 1937 following a legal dispute with a local constable, concerning the shooting of wildfowl on a Sunday, which Wilson was not involved with. He was apparently asked to take down his nets on a Friday and to re-erect them on the Monday to comply but as this obviously proved impracticable, he opted to retire from the netting scene. (*Angus Mactavish, Derek Skilling pers.com.*) All his equipment was subsequently stored by his son Robert, whom I assisted in 1968, to destroy the by then, rotted nets.

Species Notes

Although Wilson was predominately concerned with what could be sent to market, his comments on species availability are of some historical interest. From 1885-1906, the Barnacle Goose was without doubt, dominant in the estuary, other goose species were regarded as rare although Bean geese (*Anser fabalis*) '*became less numerous in recent years*' i.e. pre1908. Greylag '*began to increase after the 1890s*' at which time the Pink-footed goose was '*rare but increasing*' (Carlisle Natural History Society 1912) apparently too, the duck species were largely limited to mallard, (*Anas platyrhynchos*), teal (*Anas crecca*) and wigeon (*Anas penelope*).

During this period, Wilson and others, notably two of the most reliable local naturalists Robert Service and Ernest Blezard were of the view that there were between 8,000 - 10,000 Barnacle geese wintering in the area and widely distributed from the Lochar estuary in Dumfriesshire to Mersehead in Kirkcudbright. Specifically unusual, for a mainly maritime species, on the river Nith they were also to be found inland '*as high up the river as Kelton*' (8 km. north of Caerlaverock).

There is no reason to dispute this population evaluation indeed it must be regarded as a possible minimum. There were no co-ordinated counts on given dates and particularly there were few references to the other major wintering areas at Rockcliffe and Bowness marshes on the southern (England) side of the Firth.

His notes and game dealer returns support the contention that the barnacle goose was the main quarry. Barnacle geese and 'sheldrake' (shelduck, *Tadorna tadorna*) being at times virtually uneatable dependant on what the birds were feeding. When '*totally plucked both species were either sold on as large ducks*' or as usual were totally acceptable to the poorer people.

Wilson produced 11 carefully selected wildfowl '*sale sheets*' to Brown Brothers, in Leeds. These are of limited value numerically and financially, as they do not include birds taken to the dealers in Dumfries or '*include what I may have sold at home privately*'. They do however, demonstrate very well, the changes in availability of different quarry in the same area, over a period of time and the demand for such produce, with birds sold locally and in Dumfries, others being sent to Glasgow, Carlisle, Leeds, Liverpool and London.

Sale Sheets from Wilson sent to Brown Brothers, Leeds.

26. 11. 1904	2 Geese, 5 Mallard, 6 Plover,* 1 Wood Pigeon
3 12. 1904	19 Geese, 5 Mallard, 3 Sheldrake, 1 Teal
10. 12. 1904	8 Mallard, 9 Wood Pigeon, 1 Teal, 2 Curlews, 1 Plover
17. 12 .1904	5 Geese, 4 Mallard, 8 Wood Pigeon, 2 Plover, 2 Shanks*
21. 12. 1904	3 Geese, 2 Plover, 1 Sheldrake, 1 Wood Pigeon
12. 1. 1905	9 Sheldrake, 1 Teal, 2 Curlew, 1 Plover, 1 Wood Pigeon
21. 1. 1905	8 Mallard, 8 Sheldrake, 2 Geese, 1 Wood Pigeon 2 Teal, 1 Curlew, 1 Golden Plover, 1 Shank

*'Plover' would denote Lapwings and 'Shanks' Redshank all the 'geese' were recorded as Barnacle. Wilson was attempting to illustrate that, during this period, Wigeon did not feature in the bag, compared with 7 years later, when he was sending to Sayers in Glasgow.

22.11.1912	3 Mallard, 13 Wigeon, 3 Curlews
26.11.1912	12 Graylag Geese, 4 Mallard, 6 Wigeon, 5 Plover, 4 Small Birds†
9. 12.1912	3 Geese, 6 Wigeon, 1 Mallard, 1 Curlew 1 Plover, 2 Small Birds, 12 Geese, 12 Wigeon, 2 Teal, 1 Curlew, 1 Plover
2.1. 1913	5 Geese, 6 Wigeon, 2 Teal, 1 Curlew, 1 Plover

†Small Birds are likely to have been either Dunlin or Knots but could just as easily been anything like Starlings or Fieldfares which when prepared for the table, with feet removed were passed on as Snipe (*Gallinago gallinago*). Lapwings also had one toe removed and passed on to market as Golden Plover which were highly prized thus more valuable, (Allan Allison, the late Ernest Blezard, pers com.)

Special mention is made of the shooting of his very first Greylag Goose, in ca.1906. '*It made a fine stalk and I do believe everyone including the minister came to see I*' —'*what was even better the next morning I had 3 in the nets.*' Greylag geese apparently continued to increase after this date and in some years there would be 5-6,000 within the estuary.

During the period 1900-1906, Wilson, who was only as mobile as far as he was prepared to cycle, also notes the first significant influx of visiting gunners to the Nith Estuary. *'That strangers came among us'*. Apparently initially from North East England and specifically from the Newcastle area—these gunners visited in a combination of market fowling and the collection of specimens for *'setting up'* (taxidermy). Often they were hunting and selling quite common species, such as cormorants (*Phalacrocorax carbo*) and herons (*Ardea cinerea*) to their local museum or to private collectors. This opened a new source of revenue and overt credibility to the local hunter, the procurement for sale of the more rare specimens.

Wilson for example claimed to shoot a *'Solitary Snipe'* on Bowes merse, the local name at that time for Great Snipe, which would have been the second acceptable record for Dumfriesshire, the first being obtained at Craigdarroch Farm, Sanquhar on 6th. November 1901. *Gladstone 1910 'See Other birds'*

Referring specifically to Wigeon in undated paragraphs, he declared that -

'It was quite common to get into the teens in nights flighting and along with my own share I have sent more than once to Petrie of Liverpool. At one time as we can get in a season now. I must have sent as many as 40-50 at once, I can remember sending him once 45 wigeon and received 1/-3p each for them and the following day sent off 60 and received 9 pence. There were no wigeon if the merse was dry but I have seen the merse 'black' with wigeon after a storm and one day shot 43 it was a grand sight to see 1,000 in a flock mainly old cocks. 'One punt gunner fired 2 shots and bagged 36 then 38'.

Wilson 'His Notable Shots'

'Over a period I would average 14 -15 birds per night; my best shot at barnacle was 28 geese for 6 shots, a bag of 11 and then 10 next night at Lantonside and with a 9, 8, and 7 all with 2 shots. I had 13 greylag plus 2 wounded for 8 shots and another 7 with 2 shots. With another gunner we shot 9 out of 11 Black Brent on Bowes Merse.' (The late Sir Peter Scott, who saw this incident, recorded dark-bellied brent, *Branta hrota* on 27th September 1929 — 9 shot from 10). Boyd 1996.

Other Birds

'I remember over 40 years ago when going for a wounded barnacle down the river when I seen what I took to be a cormorant for which at the time we got 1/- (one shilling) each for. I let fire at it and down he came, went to pick him up, what a fine bird, did not know what he was, took him to the late Mr. Service and he told me it was the Great Northern Diver. At Glencaple Quay secured a rare Pharorite Gull, (Grey Phalarope) which are rare here some years. Mr. Service lectured on it in the Free Library Dumfries'. About this time I shot the Solitary Snipe (Great Snipe) on Bowes Merse. The bird is now in the Natural History Museum and I can say that I never came across another till 2 years ago when I put one up in the same place on the same merse, but did not get a shot at him.'

'Now in the same year 1911, I sent a note to the Courier and Herald about the Ruff nesting in our district, (Kirkconnel Merse JY), which caused a bit of a flutter amongst the gentle men of the wild bird tendencies.[sic] Sure enough they reared 4 birds, one was shot by a Mister Hutch that was staying at Glencaple, now the year before, [1910] I had seen them often and watched them often. I also went to the nest of 4 eggs, but did not collect them. I never seen them again next season but there is no doubt they were there'.

'Also in the year 1912 I shot a Solitary Plover (Green Sandpiper) on Lantonside Merse, also the Little Grebe both of which are rare in our District. After a very stormy time in December 27th 1911, I shot at Glencaple the Little Auk. In the year 1934, when working at nets we saw Black-backed Gulls striking a bird to the ground we discovered it to be a young Arctic Skua. In 1932 I captured a Waxwing in a Glencaple garden and in 1936, 5 were in a hedge near Glencaple'.

'In the year 1931 coming off from the fishing one day, walked right into a small flock of birds and seen they were strangers. Put them down as Two Barred Crossbills, wrote to Mr Gladstone, but the bird is that rare that he could not take it in, so went down and shot one which I suspect he has set up, I think if I remember right there were 11 of them, my sons also seen them first. The common crossbill I have seen often but never this one.'

Wilson went on to refer without significance to Tawny Owl, Jay, Kingfisher, Black Headed Bunting (Reed Bunting) Godwit sp., Greenshank, Whimbrel and 'merganser.' (Red -Breasted Merganser).

In October 1945, his son Robert had *'a fine view of the Iceland Falcon, and had no trouble of identifying it in Howard Saunders book, he was within 15 yards of it.'*

Robert wrote reasonably full notes on this bird at the time and this and other records were discussed at length with him, other illustrations were examined and, I am confident that, he did indeed observe a Gyr Falcon *Falco rusticolus* (white morph; Greenland).

None of these more rare records can now of course be substantiated, although it remains, to examine the catalogues of birds sent by Wilson to the Royal Scottish Museum and to Gladstone of Capenoch.

Acknowledgements

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AN ENCLOSURE AND OTHER FEATURES AT EVAN ROAD, BEATTOCK,
DUMFRIES & GALLOWAY

Lindsay J Dunbar¹

A trapezoidal enclosure, previously known only from aerial photographs, was the focus of archaeological investigations. No dating evidence for the enclosure was retrieved, although it is likely to be later prehistoric on the basis of its form. Slight evidence for Mesolithic and Neolithic activity, as well as post-medieval and later activity was also uncovered.



Figure 1. Aerial photograph of cropmarks (ref: SC1074840 (DF2101)) Crown Copyright: RCAHMS.

Introduction

Aerial photography had identified a cropmark complex on the eastern edge of the village of Beattock in 1977 (RCAHMS AP's 1977 DF2101-02 & DF2104) (figure 1). The cropmark complex took the form of a trapezoidal enclosure with an entrance on the north side (NMRS NT00SE 43). To the north is another crop-mark; a funnel-shaped feature with

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wings, (NMRS NT00SE 36), interpreted as a structure relating to livestock management (Welfare 1980). As a group the cropmarks were initially recorded as a possible Iron Age settlement and associated field system.

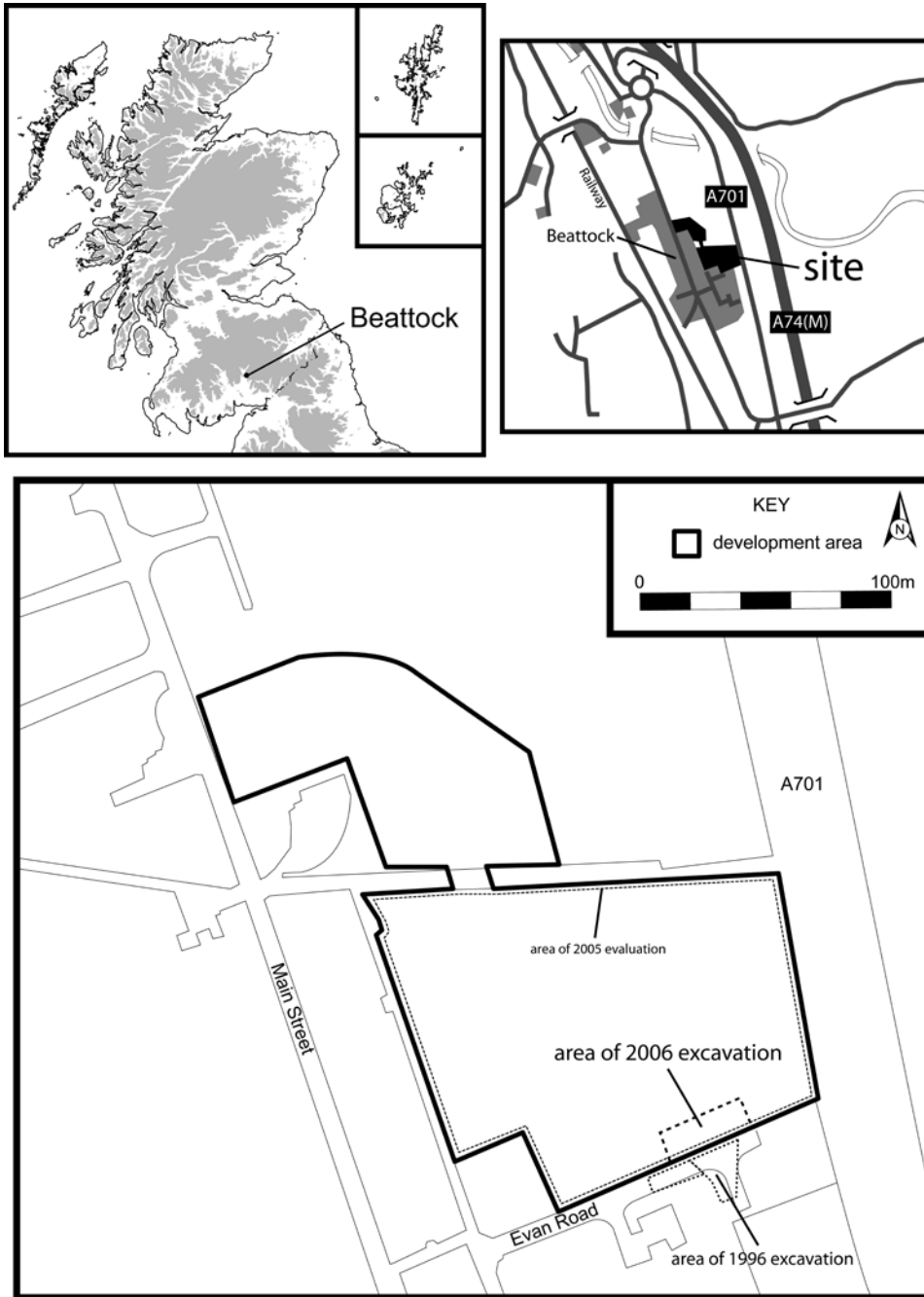


Figure 2. Site location

Archaeological excavation of the south-eastern corner of the enclosure was undertaken in 1996 in advance of housing expansion (Duffy & Crone 1996). Further expansion of the housing development in the field on the northern side of Evan Road was planned and consequently an evaluation of the entire field was undertaken (Cook 2005; figure 2). Despite extensive trenching the funnel-shaped cropmark was not found. As the northern half of the enclosure would be affected by the development AOC Archaeology Group was commissioned by Ashleigh (Scotland) Ltd on behalf of Loreburn Housing Association, to undertake archaeological works in this area in 2006 (Duffy & Scott 2006). In all an area approximately 2460 m² (including 300 m² from 1996) and centred on NGR: NT 0810 0225 has been investigated (figure 2). This report presents the results of both the 1996 and 2006 fieldwork seasons.

Description

The trapezoidal enclosure

The enclosure measures 28 m along its northern perimeter, 23 m along the south, 28 m along the west and 25 m along the east, with an 8 m wide entrance off centre in the northern side (figure 3). The ditch encloses an area of c.700 m² of which more than 400 m² has now been investigated by excavation, the remaining portion having been developed prior to NPPG legislation. The 1996 investigations exposed a 2 m section along the western side and a 21 m length along the eastern side including the south-east corner (Duffy & Crone 1996). During the 2006 excavation the northern perimeter, including the north-west corner, was fully investigated (figure 3). The ditch varied between 1.30 m to 0.50 m in width, with a consistently steep-sided, V-shaped profile, between 0.30 m to 0.40 m deep, cut into fluvio-glacial gravels (figure 4a). In most cases two fills were noted, the lowest fill containing concentrations of coal fragments and small quantities of minute fragments of slag, hammerscale and glass. The upper fill contained fragments of glass and both post-medieval and 19th century pottery sherds. Fragments of alder, ash, heather and hazel charcoal were retrieved from both fills.

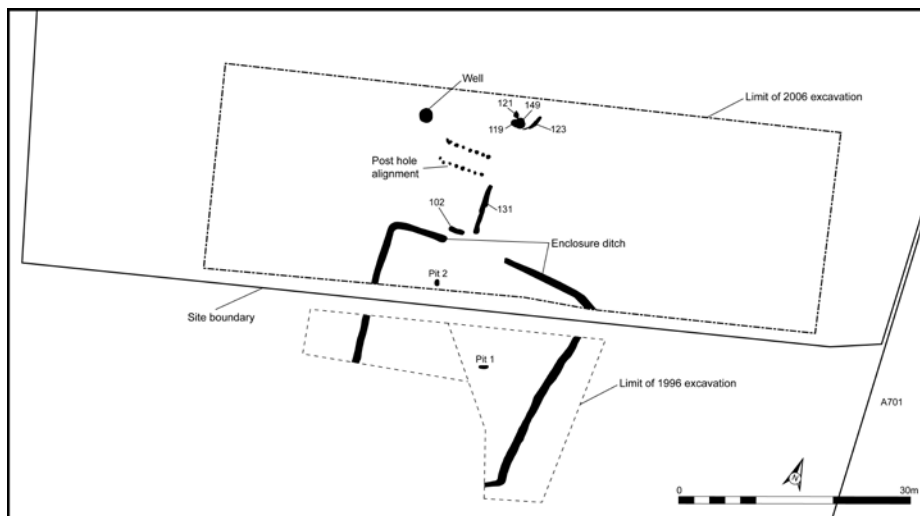


Figure 3 Plan showing all excavated features

Five pits were uncovered within the enclosure, three of which were dismissed as modern rubbish pits (figure 3). Pit 1 was a shallow, sub-rectangular feature, 1.24 m x 0.46 m across and 0.22 m deep, with a single fill. Pit 2 measured 0.81 m x 0.62 m across and was 0.20 m deep, with two fills (figure 4b). The upper fill contained fragments of oak charcoal while the basal fill contained a mix of oak and *Pomoideae* charcoal together with a lot of firecracked stones.

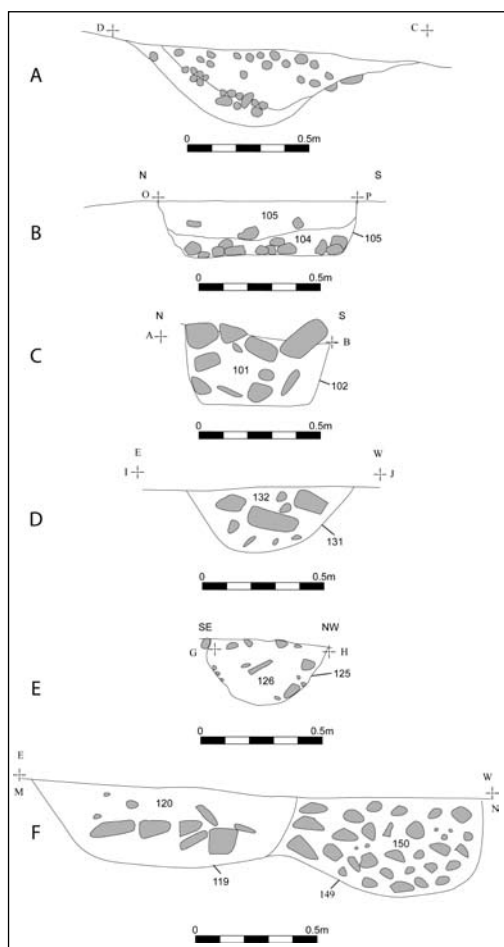


Figure 4 a) section through enclosure ditch; b) section through Mesolithic feature, Pit 2; c) west-facing section through linear feature [102]; d) north-facing section through linear feature [131]; e) section through post-hole [125] from post-hole alignment; f) north-facing section through intercutting pits [119] and [149]

External features

Immediately north of the entrance lay two linear features, the alignment of which suggests that they may have formed part of the entrance structure. [102] is a short linear feature lying just beyond the western terminal of the entrance, parallel with the enclosure ditch and some 0.35 m from it. It measured 2.01 m by 0.57 m and was 0.30 m deep (figure 4c). A chip of glass and piece of hammerscale were recovered from its single fill. [131] was a longer linear feature, 6.8 m long and 0.78 m wide, which lay directly in front of the entrance, at right angles to [102] and to the enclosure ditch. The feature was up to 0.34 m deep, and U-shaped in section with a single fill (figure 4d), from which two fragments of post-medieval pottery, a glass chip and piece of slag were recovered.

Post-hole alignments

Lying parallel to the northern side of the enclosure, some 8.5 m to the north, were two parallel lines of eight postholes (figure 3). The two lines of postholes extended for 6.4 m and were positioned 2.5 m apart. The sub-circular post holes varied in diameter from 0.35 m to 0.60 m, with depths varying between 0.10 m to 0.27 m and were generally steep sided with rounded bases (figure 4e). A sherd of modern china was recovered

from one posthole while glass chips and slag pieces including two with hammerscale flecks, were retrieved from the other postholes.

Other features

Near to the northern limit of the 2006 excavations a cluster of features was found consisting of a small section of curvilinear ditch, [123] and a group of three intercutting pits, [119], [121] and [149]. The curvilinear feature [123] measured 3.20 m x 0.60 m and was 0.10 m deep. A single tiny fragment of glass was recovered from its fill. The intercutting pits were approximately circular, and varied between 1.00 m and 0.81 m in diameter with depths up to 0.33 m (figure 4f). The single fills all contained glass, hammerscale and slag fragments. One pit contained a small amount of heather charcoal.

A post-medieval well was also found near the northern limit of the 2006 excavation (figure 3). The cut of the well was 2.05 m in diameter. Unbonded stonework lined the inner face of the well (which had an internal diameter 1.05 m), of which five courses were exposed during the excavation. Fragments of post-medieval pottery, clay pipe and glass were recovered from the fill of the well.

Radiocarbon dating

The only feature which yielded any quantity of charcoal was Pit 2. The upper fill contained a small amount of oak (*Quercus* sp.) while the basal fill contained a mix of oak with larger amounts of Pomoideae (a family which contains hawthorn, apple, pear & quince). Fragments of hazel (*Corylus avellana*), alder (*Alnus glutinosa*), ash (*Fraxinus excelsior*) and heather (*Calluna vulgaris*) were recovered from the fill of the enclosure ditch and a small amount of heather was recovered from one of the intercutting pits.

The lack of charcoal greatly inhibited the scope of the dating programme. The most secure context was the deposit of burnt material from the basal fill of Pit 2 which contained identifiable, unabraded roundwood. Two samples from this feature provided Mesolithic dates of 7065 ± 35 BP (SUERC-12858) and 6995 ± 40 BP (SUERC-12859) which give calibrated dates of 6020-580 cal BC and 5990-5770 cal BC respectively. The two samples from the ditch fill yielded very different dates, 5185 ± 40 BP (SUERC-12860) and a 130 ± 35 BP (SUERC-12861); this latter date was reprocessed and produced a similar date of 90 ± 35 BP (SUERC-13302). These three dates were calibrated to 4060-3930 cal BC (91.4%), 1790-1950 cal AD (56.2%) and 1800-1940 cal AD (68.5%) respectively. These dates must represent contamination of the enclosure ditch fills by residual charcoal and inclusion of later material through bioturbation.

Discussion

The excavations at Beattock have investigated the nature of the enclosure, previously known from aerial photographs, and revealed an interesting complex of features around the entrance to the enclosure. Dating evidence was clearly essential but, apart from the post-medieval pottery from the well and modern refuse from the rubbish pits, no artefacts were retrieved during the excavation so all soil samples were sieved and sorted to ensure the recovery of any artefactual material and to retrieve charred organics for dating. However,

this process demonstrated that almost all the excavated deposits were contaminated with minute fragments of glass and industrial waste. The existence of the well and the modern rubbish pits testify to recent activity across the site and the topsoil contained numerous pieces of glass, modern pottery, clay pipe and other post-medieval detritus. The site had obviously been subject to improvement and ploughing over the past centuries and the features had all suffered a considerable degree of truncation. Consequently, the fills were highly bioturbated as reflected in the often stony, homogenous nature of the fills and the presence of glass and industrial waste.

In the absence of artefacts it was hoped that the judicious use of radiocarbon dating would provide a chronological framework for the site. However, as described above very few contexts were not contaminated and very little charcoal was recovered. The two widely differing dates obtained for the enclosure ditch simply reflect the degree of contamination and should be dismissed. The charcoal from Pit 2 was taphonomically secure in that the basal fill was sealed by another context and the fact that the two single entity samples submitted produced Mesolithic dates which are not statistically distinguishable from each other suggests that these dates are reliable. However, as this dates only the pit, the enclosure and the other features remain scientifically undated.

The enclosure

There is a body of comparative evidence which suggests that enclosures such as that at Evan Road are usually later prehistoric in date. There is a broad tendency for sub-rectangular enclosures to be Middle Iron Age (MIA) in date while square enclosures are more prevalent in the Late Iron Age (LIA) (pers. Comm. Fraser Hunter). The period between 500 BC and 500 AD is thus the most likely date range for the enclosure.

There are examples of enclosed settlement in the immediate landscape around the Evan Road site, such as the 'robustly enclosed settlement' on Beattock Hill (Harding, 2004, 62) and the cropmark enclosure at Beattock Farm (NMRS NT00SE 56) only a few hundred metres to the north-west. This latter site is of very similar proportions, measuring 32 m by 26 m with a probable single entrance on its eastern side. Neither of these sites has ever been investigated.

Further afield there are excavated examples which provide a few direct comparisons. The closest is *circa* 10 miles west at Carronbridge where excavations revealed a complex site including Bronze Age and Roman activity alongside a Late Iron Age enclosure (Johnston 1994). The sub-square enclosure consisted of two ditches, the outer *circa* 85 m by 75 m and the inner *circa* 55 m by 55 m, with a single entrance to the east. Inside the enclosure were the remnants of six intersecting circular buildings. At Knowes, East Lothian, excavation of an enclosure, 50 m by 40 m, revealed a settlement of stone paved houses. Radiocarbon dating and artefactual evidence date the use of the site to the Late Iron Age (Carne *et al* 2004). Further south at Hillhead, Lilliesleaf, Borders a square enclosure, 70 m by 70 m, with two possible roundhouses produced several sherds of Roman pottery, including decorated Samian, a denarius of Domitian (AD 81-96) and a trumpet brooch indicating a similar Late Iron Age presence (Dent 1994). At Brixwold, Midlothian an enclosure, 42 m by 40 m with a single entrance, was dated to the 1st-2nd century AD

and, despite the paucity of finds and internal structures, was interpreted as a probable settlement (Crone & O'Sullivan 1997). With the exception of Brixwold, the excavated enclosures described above all contained house structures and finds assemblages indicative of a domestic settlement. However, another Borders enclosure, at Longnewton, near Ancrum with a similar 1st-2nd century AD date produced no such evidence for internal buildings or finds associated with domestic activities. In this case the complexity of the multiple sub-square enclosures led to the suggestion that the enclosure complex was associated with animal husbandry (Dunbar forthcoming).

While truncation may account for the absence of internal features and the total lack of artefacts, even durable artefacts such as querns or other stone tools, at Evan Road the proximity of another set of cropmarks just to the north of the entrance does raise the possibility that, as has been postulated at Longnewton, the enclosure was associated with animal husbandry (Welfare 1980). These cropmarks (NMRS NT00SE 36) (figure 1) consist of two ditches forming an open ended funnel shape with two wings curving towards the enclosure; the open end of the funnel appears to be aligned on the entrance to the enclosure. It is unfortunate that this structure does not appear to have survived as a cropmark; no evidence of its presence was found during the evaluation. The funnel-shaped structure, together with the alignment of the two rows of post-holes in parallel with the enclosure ditch and the clear alignment of the two linear features, [131] and [102], with the entrance, give the impression of a group of structures all designed to control movement in and out of the enclosure. A large herd of cattle or sheep, herded into the open ended funnel structure would be reduced to a manageable stream as they entered the enclosure, the post-hole structure possibly functioning as a small holding pen for animals selected out for slaughter or breeding as the herd moved into the enclosure.

The Mesolithic pit

Pit [105] is interpreted as a cooking hearth due to the presence of fire-cracked stones and the discrete deposit of burnt material within the base of the pit. The absence of lithics in the pit and from the entire excavation area does suggest that the manufacture and modification of lithics was not undertaken on this particular Mesolithic site.

The Mesolithic pit was only identified and dated because it lay within a larger feature, the later prehistoric enclosure which was the focus of the archaeological intervention. Multi-period sites are increasingly common in commercial archaeological interventions, which require the investigation of a designated area rather than just a single feature. Scatters of pits are regularly found during such interventions yet these are rarely dated unless they can be clearly related to other significant structures on the site or are significant in themselves because of what they contain. Traditionally Mesolithic sites are little more than lithic scatters or middens containing burnt hazel nut shell and microliths. The experience at Beattock suggests that isolated Mesolithic 'hearths' or cooking pits, the only substantive remains of Mesolithic settlement, could easily remain unrecognised within scatters of later activity unless a more extensive dating programme is undertaken.

Sites which encompass both Mesolithic and later activity are still rare. One other such example is Ailsa View, Ayrshire where pits of Mesolithic and Neolithic date were found within a Bronze Age enclosure with roundhouse (Goeder forthcoming).

Conclusions

The archaeological interventions at Evan Road have resulted in the investigation of the residual remains of a later prehistoric enclosure which may represent the remains of stock husbandry activities rather than those of an enclosed settlement, in and around which there has been found the slightest of evidence for activity of Mesolithic and Neolithic date, as well as post-medieval and later activity. This palimpsest of activity over millennia is to be expected in an area of fertile, free-draining land, which would always have been sought after for settlement and cultivation. The evidence from Beattock emphasises the importance of as extensive a radiocarbon dating programme as possible in order to establish the real chronological range of activity on the site, though one always has to be conscious of the taphonomy of the charred material that is being dated.

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BRITTONIC PLACE-NAMES from SOUTH-WEST SCOTLAND

Part 8: Sark

by Andrew Breeze¹

The name of the river Sark has been obscure, but evidence from Welsh and Breton suggests it is a Cumbric form meaning 'lover'.

Like the Rhine, St Lawrence, and Bidasoa, the Sark is a frontier river. It rises in Dumfries and Galloway, meets the border with Cumbria, and enters the estuary of the Esk near Greta, after winding eleven miles through moorland and rough pasture. The rather desolate area around it (which war often made a no man's land) has been made more desolate by battles, particularly that of Solway Moss (NY 3469) on 24 November 1542. It was there, on marshy ground, that an army of James V suffered ignominious and overwhelming defeat, three weeks before the king's own death on 14 December.

This note looks at older history. The name of the Sark, attested in 1214 as *Serke* and 1552 as *Sarke Water*, is clearly pre-English. Its meaning has been called 'unknown', though it once had a namesake in the *Sarke* of Gloucestershire, a hydronym (now obsolete) recorded in about 1340 (Watts 2004, 528). Yet there may be a solution in Welsh *serch* 'love', related to the river Serchan 'little love' (SO 2502) of South Wales, flowing past unloved slagheaps and a closed mine near Pontypool. A standard book on Welsh river-names says the following on it. The *Serch*- of *Serchan* probably derives from Welsh *serch* 'love'. If so, the form will resemble those of the rivers Tegan 'little pretty one' of Ceredigion, Ceri 'beloved' of Ceredigion and Powys, Câr 'friend, dear one' of Brecknock, and so on, which all apparently show loving affection. *Serchan* figures in Old Breton as a personal name; the Irish cognate *Serc* occurs as a woman's name (including that of a St Serc). However, Middle Breton *serch* means 'concubine' (Thomas 1938, 86). So the forms were not always innocent.

Despite being on a frontier, the Sark by the Esk thus refers to making love, not war. Other hydronyms show affection, as with the Sylltyn 'little treasure' of Ceredigion, and Carrant Brook 'beloved stream' at Tewkesbury, Gloucestershire (Coates and Breeze 2000, 348, 360). A still older instance would be *Adiunus* 'one much desired, one much sought after' (as with Frenchwomen called *Désirée*), the British-Latin name of a stream by Portchester, across the harbour from Portsmouth in southern England. The Romans called this fort *Portus Adiuni* 'port of the Adiunus', which became the corrupt and meaningless 'Portus Adurni' (Breeze 2004, 180-3). We may add that the Sark, in extensive marshes, would have no link with the Middle Irish noun *serg* 'wasting, contracting'. The problem of the Sark was not too little water, but too much.

Welsh *serch* suggests the Britons were fond of streams and rivers. They considered many of them to be divine, as with the Dee of Galloway, from British *Deva* 'goddess' (Sims-Williams 2006, 71). The sixth-century writer Gildas, born (it seems) not in Strathclyde but at Arclid in what is now Cheshire, denounced the heathen Britons for blindly heaping 'divine honour' on mountains, wells, hills, and rivers (Watson 1926, 44, 425). With another river Dee or 'goddess' at nearby Chester, Gildas would know what he was talking about.

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The Anglo-Scottish Sark and *Sarke* of Gloucestershire may thus not have been as pure as we think. Old and Middle Irish *serc* means love in all its senses, including the love of God, with *serc do dia* glossing *caritas Dei*. Yet Middle Breton *serch* means ‘concubine’, as does *serc’h* in modern Breton dialect. The twelfth-century *Four Branches of the Mabinogi*, whose (female) author knew much of love, tells how an Otherworld king returns to his wife after long absence, gets into bed with her, converses, indulges in ‘affectionate play’ (*digriwwch serchawl*), and makes love to her. A later story tells how Blodeuedd, with her husband away, invites a noble huntsman Gronw to her court, looks on him and is filled with love for him (and he for her). They cannot hide their love, all their talk is of the attraction and love (*y serch a’r caryat*) they feel for each other, and they sleep together that very night (*Geiriadur* 1950-2002, 3227, 3229; Davies 2007, 7, 59). The editor of this journal points out to the writer that these stories have their own links with the Dumfries region (Radford 1952-3, 35-8; Birley 1952-3, 39-42; MacQueen 1952-3, 43-57).

In the light of this, Welsh *serch* ‘love’ and its Irish and Breton cognates have been related to Middle High German *sērtan* ‘debauch, defile, deflower’ and the like, with a French scholar proposing that the original sense in both Celtic and Germanic was *avoir un commerce charnel* (Vendryes 1974, S 91-2). *Sark* might thus perhaps be better taken as ‘lover; concubine’ rather than ‘love’. *Why* a river should be called ‘lover’ is less easy to say. But water is perceived by some as attractive and yielding, and so feminine in its nature. The Sark may therefore have been called ‘lover; concubine’ (with a hint of the divine, as with the Dee of Galloway?) from her winding course, suggesting inconstancy and fickleness; especially if she was known to change her course from time to time.

Finally, there can be no link between the Anglo-Scottish Sark and the Isle of Sark, which consistently appears in early records as *Sargia*, of obscure etymology (Coates 1991, 73-6).

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A POSSIBLE DISCOID GRAVEMARKER AT KIRKCONNEL LEA

George Thomson¹

Introduction

The old ruined church and graveyard at Kirkconnel Lea on the Springkell Estate near Eaglesfield (NGR: NY 250753) is best known for its association with 'Fair Helen' Irving or Bell and her betrothed Adam Fleming de Kirkpatrick. This connection dominates the documentary material about the site and, as a consequence, relatively little is recorded about the history of the church or the medieval village in which it was situated. Even the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments' Dumfries inventory, when mentioning the church, suggests that 'there are no special features of interest' (RCAHMS, 1920). What is known about the church's past is detailed by Slade (1997). The building is thought to have been constructed in the late 17th century, possibly about 1683, but it could have been as late as 1724. There is no conclusive evidence of the earlier medieval building. Scott et al. (1915-65) suggests that a church at Kirkconnel was first recorded in 1191. Clough and Laing (1969) report a platform to the east of the existing ruin that could indicate the presence of an earlier building. Gifford (1996) claims that some of the walling is reused medieval material but recent fieldwork by Dr Andrew Burke of Historic Scotland, (pers. comm.) suggests that this is unlikely.



Figure 1 The remains of Kirkconnel Church

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The medieval village was deserted by the end of the 17th century (Laing and Talbot, 1976). The only other structure on the site is the sparse ruin of Kirkconnel or Bell's Tower. The Kirkconnel Cross, probably medieval in date, lying a short distance from the graveyard, is believed to have been brought from elsewhere. The two slabs attributed to the memory of Irving and Fleming are medieval in form, but the virtually illegible inscriptions are probably early 17th century. Other than these, the oldest gravestone in the burial ground is a badly worn slab to 'IT' dated 1600 in raised archaic roman lettering (Gilchrist, 1966).

The church is presumed to have been built as the burial aisle for the Maxwells. The four walls, windows, ground floor entrance and exterior stairway to a laird's loft or pew survive virtually intact. The upper part of the east gable is missing. The west gable is entire and is surmounted by a small rectangular stone on which is mounted a ringed or 'wheeled' Greek cross finial (figures 1-3). The building is constructed of uncoursed random rubble with ashlar quoins or corners. The wall heads and architraves of doors and windows are well-dressed. The stone is local New Red sandstone of various tints. However, the small, rectangular stone at the apex of the west gable is cut from a much darker and redder stone than any used in the walls. The ringed cross is carved from a light grey sedimentary stone, possibly calciferous sandstone. This suggests that the rectangular stone and ringed cross could have been added to the structure at a later date. Furthermore, both these artefacts could have started life with an entirely different function.



Figure 2. The ringed cross finial and rectangular stone from the west.



Figure 3. The ringed cross finial and rectangular stone from the east.

It was impossible to photograph the objects from the west at close range and without incurring perspective distortion. The east side can be accessed more closely via the south stairway, although at an angle. High-resolution digital photographs were taken that were later corrected for perspective and distortion. These provided material for close study and facilitated digital enhancement of the images. Measurements were made by triangulation but dimensions must be considered approximate.

The ringed cross measures 42 cms. in diameter and is 21 cms. thick. The rim and the arms of the Greek cross are 6 cms. wide. The areas between the spokes of the cross are pierced through. The lower part of the ring is squared off internally (figure 4). The west face of the artefact is well preserved. However, the east side is badly eroded.

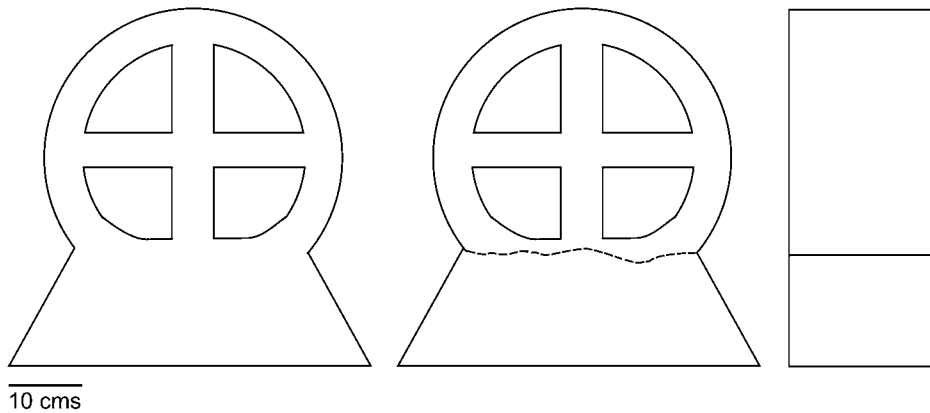


Figure 4. Reconstructed drawings of the ringed cross: recto, verso and side views.

The sandstone block on which the cross is placed and fixed crudely with mortar is 53 cms. wide, 18 cms. high and 13.5 cms. thick. On the external west face there is a 3 cms. wide raised margin and a raised panel, about a centimetre high, measuring 41 cms. by 6.5 cms. Computer enhancement and detailed examination of the photographs revealed a date of 1652 in raised archaic roman lettering on the right side of the panel (figures 5a and 5b). Although there is a hint of a portion of a letter on the left side, no other part of the inscription could be deciphered. The form of the numerals 6 and 2 are consistent with mid-seventeenth century lettering (Thomson, 2001). The letters are rather poorly formed but this may be due, in part, to erosion of the stone.



Figures 5a and 5b — The remains of the raised archaic roman inscription (1652)

Discoïd makers and the Kirkconnel cross finial

The author has recently made an extensive study of discoïd markers in Britain, Ireland and the rest of Western Europe (Thomson, 2007a). These artefacts are usually Christian funerary memorials and have been known throughout history from at least the early Classical Period. They vary greatly in both morphological detail and in their use of inscription, symbolism and decoration but all have a similar basic form comprising a circular disc head and short, rectangular or shaped shaft (figure 6). They are quite different from Celtic and other ‘high’ crosses in both morphology and cultural evolution (Thomson, 2007b). In addition to the sporadic occurrence of single examples throughout Europe (Ucla, 1990), many hundred such markers are found in the Basque Region of Spain and France (Etcheverry et al, 2004), Portugal (Frankowski, 1920; Cardoso, 2000) and the Languedoc (Bousquet, 1980). Several hundred are known from the counties of Cavan, Fermanagh, Monaghan and Tyrone in Ireland. Less than a hundred have been found in mainland Britain and only six in Scotland. By far the greatest concentration of the mainland British discoïd markers is in Kent where 66 are known, although many of them are fragmentary (Stocker, 1986). Discoïd markers from the French Languedoc, Portugal, and some from the Basque Region and Britain are medieval, dating from the 11th to 14th century, although there is considerable speculation and disagreement on the exact dating (Peralta Labrador, 1996). Post-medieval markers from the late 16th to the early 19th century have been found in the Basque Region, Ireland, Scotland and England, as well as a few in other parts of mainland Europe (Nijssen, 1990). The Scottish discoïd markers from Lennel, Berwickshire, Dolphinton, Lanark and Walston, Lanarkshire are mid-17th century. The discoïd from Peterhead, Aberdeenshire is early-19th century.



Figure 6. Some discoïd forms: left to right Bakewell, Derbyshire; Magheraculmoney, Co. Fermanagh; Darley Dale, Derbyshire and Espelette, Pyrénées Atlantique.

Discoïd markers in the form of a pierced ringed or ‘wheeled’ cross have been found at several sites, most notably at Odda-Røhldal in Norway (Nijssen, 1984) and at Saint-Jean de Verges and the French Ariège (Colas, 1924). Both Greek cross and designs approaching cross pattee are utilised (figure 7). The basic form of the Kirkconnel finial is similar to these discoïd markers.

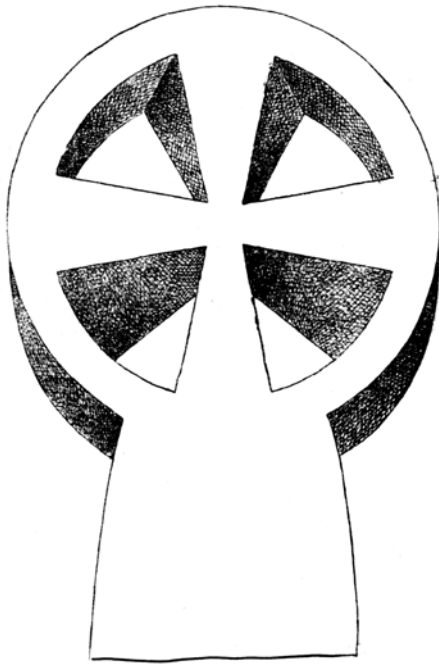


Figure 7. Discoïd cross from Saint-Jean de Verges, Ariège (from Colas 1924).

An examination of the Kirkconnel artefacts indicated that the discoïd cross could have come from elsewhere to be used as the finial. The materials from which it and the rectangular stone have been cut do not match any of the other stonework from which the church has been constructed. Although church finials are often carved from a different and more accommodating sculptural material than the main building structure, the Kirkconnel artefacts do not sit comfortably either on each other or on the top of the gable. On the east side of the cross, the shaft has been very roughly cut at the base to fit the block and has also been shortened. The crude modification of the cross contrasts markedly with the quality of its carving and it is unlikely that this was performed contemporaneously or by the same mason.

It is highly unlikely that the inscribed block was part of the original plan of the building. In early post-medieval Scotland it was a fairly common practice to carve a short dedication and date on a lintel

above the entrance to the church. It would be extremely unusual to locate a dedication at the top of a gable where it would be almost impossible to read from ground level. Also, as Slade suggests, the date of construction of the church was probably later than 1652. It is more likely that the stone came from elsewhere and has no real connection with the original church of Kirkconnel. If the inscribed stone was added at a later date, then the ringed cross that surmounts it must also have been added at the same time or some time after. The greatest degree of erosion is on the east side of the cross, away from the prevailing wind. This suggests that the orientation of the stone was once different. The use of discoïd gravemarkers as gable or finial crosses is not unknown. Three medieval discoïd gravemarkers have been utilised as gable or finial crosses in Kent, including one at All Saints church, Petham.

What then was the original function of the ringed cross and from where did it come? The remarkable similarity between the Kirkconnel finial and the ringed crosses from Saint-Jean de Verges, Odda and elsewhere in Europe, suggests that it was a discoïd grave-marker, although none of this form has been found in Scotland or England. Its dimensions are very similar to Scottish discoïd markers. There is clearly some difficulty in reconstructing the original form of an incomplete artefact of this sort. When the shaft is rectangular with parallel sides, it is impossible to determine what length the shaft was before being shortened. However, the Kirkconnel ringed cross has an inverted triangular shaft that cor-

responded with the shafts of similar medieval discoid markers and almost certainly would have been very short, with a pointed extension below ground for support.

Without further evidence we can only speculate on its provenance. Unlike the church building itself, it is not made from local red sandstone. This suggests the possibility that the artefact came from another site, although the stone could have been brought from a distance and carved locally. Several early 18th century headstones in the graveyard are made from similar sandstone that also could have been procured elsewhere in the region. Dating the cross is even more difficult. It is unlikely to be medieval. Medieval discoid gravemarkers are very much smaller, the disc heads averaging about 20 cms in diameter. The fact that it located above the incised stone does not necessarily prove that it postdates it, especially if it is a reused marker.

Conclusions

Determination of the function and provenance of the rectangular incised stone and ringed cross on the west gable of the ruined church of Kirkconnel Lea is to some extent based on speculation. However, there is sufficient evidence to suggest that these artefacts had a different use from that to which they were later put as a church finial. The incised stone dated 1652 is rather small to be a lintel. Slade reports and illustrates an irregularly-shaped 'intel' built into a wall of an outbuilding at the back of Kirkpatrick House, with the date 1674 in archaic roman lettering and measuring only 0.56 cms. by 0.13 cms. It appears to have been crudely reduced in size and, as it stands, must have been from a very small window. The Kirkconnel stone does not appear to have been cut down from a larger artefact and could not have been part of a graveslab. It may well have been a memorial tile from another building.

We can be confident that the ringed cross once had a longer shaft than it has now and has been reshaped to fit on the lower block. Its appearance is entirely out of keeping with the rest of the structure. There is less certainty about the original use of the carved discoid cross. It could have been part of a Christian or secular building. It is unlikely to be medieval and may date to the 16th or 17th century. While it could have had a more mundane use as a decorative feature on a domestic property, perhaps even on Kirkconnel Tower that was demolished in 1734, it is suggested that it is an example of a post-medieval discoid gravemarker, an extremely rare type of artefact in Scotland, and could have been sited in an earlier burial ground associated with the deserted village.

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DECAN[ATUS DE ANANDIE]

Ecclesia de Anand vicarius soluit:

Primo anno	i m ^a	
Secundo anno	i m ^a	
Tercio anno	i m ^a	Summa
Quarto anno	i m ^a	iiii li. xiii s. iiii d.
Quinto anno	i m ^a	
Sexto anno	ii m ^a	

So here the church of Annan was only a vicarage, *i.e.* it had been impropriated to an ecclesiastical foundation, a bishopric, abbey or priory, in this case to Guisborough Priory, the family foundation of the Bruces. The Vicar paid (*soluit*) his tithe, a tenth of his own income, a merk (13s 4d or two thirds of a pound) annually for five years and two merks in the last year; the total of the six years is thus seven merks or £4. 13s. 4d. Clerical additions are not always as perfect as this for Annan.

The archdeaconry of Teviotdale included all the southern part of the bishopric of Glasgow, across from the confluence of the Teviot with the Tweed as far west as the Dee, which divides the two parts of the present Kirkcudbright-shire. The record in Vol VI is prefaced by the statement of Master Baiamundus de Vicia making his return in 1287 to Lord Barardus, Chamberlain of the Pope, *In Nomine Domini amen. Hec est racio quam Magister Baiamundus de Vicia Canonicus Astensis collector decime Terre Sancte in Regno Scocie* It then plunges straight into the Archdeaconry of Lothian, in St Andrews diocese, works its way right around Scotland and finishes with Whithorn and Moray. It lists each church on one line, but for the diocese of Glasgow there is just a note of the grand total. In the diocese of Whithorn the amount collected over the first two years is shown.

In *SHS* Vol V there are eleven parishes missing from Annandale. These can be supplied from an article² by Ian B Cowan, who explains and supplies these eleven missing Annandale parishes from a transcript in the British Library made in the nineteenth century, when the roll was in better condition.

Having initially looked at Galloway, when I came to examine Dumfriesshire, I worked eastwards, only to discover that Bagimond had travelled westwards. Nithsdale was easy to understand, Annandale was difficult even with the help of Ian Cowan. The small deanery of Eskdale was surprisingly complex, mainly because of the many later changes made in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. I also could not understand why, if Bagimond entered Eskdale from the east – the previous deanery was Teviotdale – he did not visit Ewes Duris, or Over-Ewes, but went straight to Ewes St Cuthbert's, the present church. After some struggling with this I moved on to Teviotdale, not because I needed to deal with it, but to see whether the pattern of small circular progresses was also evident here.

2 'Two Early Taxations Rolls', Ian B Cowan, *Innes Review* xii (1971). I had bought a second-hand copy of *SHS* Misc V, which I found had been annotated in pencil here and there, but mainly for Annandale, where my predecessor in title had written, 'Insert 11 churches (detailed in *IR* xii [1971], 9-10).' For this careful and complete note may he be blessed, and so please will all readers follow his example for the benefit of any successor. The *Innes Review* is a journal dealing with Catholic historical and ecclesiastical matters. Cowan's article is both scholarly and well-written, a combination not often found; it is worth reading in full. The other roll noted in the title relates to Orkney.

TEVIOTDALE DEANERY

It became apparent that a large section of Teviotdale is missing, in particular the parishes south and east of Roxburgh, *i.e.* Crailing, Jedburgh, Eckford, Oxnam, Sprouston, Linton, Hownam, Morebottle and Yethol. However it was confirmed that Bagimond seems to have made a series of circular tours from Kelso, where he doubtless stayed as a guest of the Abbot, the first starting with Roxburgh and Maxwell (now Maxwellheugh and part of Kelso) but followed by a lacuna probably containing Kelso and the parishes near it. The second started with Hobkirk, followed by Cavers, then a lacuna, perhaps containing Teviothead and Robertson both missing, and then Rankelburn (now part of Ettrick), Hawick and perhaps Minto and Bedrule, which last might also have been visited before Hobkirk. The next tour runs through Ancram, Lilliesleaf, Ashkirk, perhaps Kirkhope and Yarrow, certainly through Long Newton (now part of Ancram), Maxton, Makerstoun, followed by another lacuna.

This deanery finishes with *Vicarius de Rokesburgh* and finally *Soutone*, Southdean, which is on the Liddell Water between Castleton and Jedburgh. Roxburgh occurs twice, at the start and finish of the deanery, but with different amounts levied. There were two churches in this parish, one for the people and one in the Royal castle. Both were vicarages, so both impropriated. This is confirmed as both the Church of Old Roxburgh and the Chapel in Roxburgh Castle were granted³ to Glasgow Cathedral in 1153x56 by King Malcolm IV.

ESKDALE DEANERY

So, if our tax-gatherer finished his tour of Teviotdale on the Liddell, perhaps he did not enter Eskdale by the Edinburgh road, but rather from Southdean. Indeed a mutilation of the roll at the start of Eskdale now made complete sense, for this represented Castleton, otherwise missing from the deanery. Initially I had assumed that Castleton had not then been in the Eskdale deanery, but this combination of evidence suggests that not only was it in Eskdale, but that Bagimond took it in on his way to the centre of Eskdale, which seems to have been Staplegorton. He appears to have returned to Staplegorton a number of times in his survey of Eskdale and this might be easily explained by the superior amenities there, also witnessed by the grant of the forest rights of Annandale⁴ to Robert Bruce made there in 1147x53.

The details of Eskdale deanery, as transcribed by Annie Dunlop follow. I have omitted the word *soluit* but shown the annual amount of the tax⁵ in the second column, and the notional annual value of the parish, by my calculation⁶ in the third column, and finally my

3 Glasgow Register no 12

4 *Early Scottish Charters*, Sir Archibald Lawrie (1905), charter No CXCIx, p 162.

5 Where amounts vary from year to year, I have shown an average figure, noted 'ave'.

6 For normal parishes the annual value is ten times the tithe; for vicarages, where the great tithes went to the rector, which was usually a cathedral or abbey, I have assumed a 1:3 split, ie the vicar received one quarter of the whole of all the tithes. This arbitrary estimate seems to fit the evidence where there is both a rectory and a vicarage noted by Bagimond. The tax levied by Bagimond was one tenth of the actual income of the church, or priest, itself a tenth of that of the parish.

identification. The sum noted beneath each deanery is the total for all six years; It does not always reconcile to the detail and is included as a part of the record, but also as an indication of that deanery's contribution to the crusade.

[DECANA]TUS DE ESKE

1	.....	Nihil		Castleton
2	Ecclesia Sancti Cutberti	£1/6/8d	£133	Ewesdale, dedicated to St Cuthbert
3	Ecclesia de Westerkyrke	£2/13/4d	£267	Westerkirk
4	.....			Wauchope, now SW part of Langholm
5	Eweddors	16s	£80	Ewes Duris, <i>i.e.</i> Ovir-Ewes or Upper Ewes
6	Staplegorton vicarius	13/4d	£267	Staplegorton, now NE part of Langholm
7	.....			Morton
8	Lydel Canonicorum	£3/13/4d	£367	Cannonbie
9	Vicarius de Kyrkanders	12s	£240	Kirkandrews, now in England

[Summa total]lis [Decenatus de Eske] xlviii li. xiiii s. x d.

Total sum £48. 14s. 10d.

I have discussed above the reason for considering Castleton the first church visited. St Cuthbert is identified by Annie Dunlop as Ewes, which surely must be right. Westerkirk then included Eskdalemuir (separated as late as 1702) and is perhaps more likely followed by Wauchope than by Morton, being the two other unnamed churches, as it might have been possible to visit Westerkirk, only a mile or so upstream of Staplegorton, Ewes Duris, whose precise location is unidentified, and Wauchope, a mile south of the modern Langholm, in one day, while to have visited Morton would have required more time.

Morton was a parish half of which was re-established in 1843, after being in 1702 dissolved and attached mainly to Langholm, with part incorporated into Canonbie. The parish of Half Morton is geographically in Annandale, but it was in the deanery of Eskdale and is now in the presbytery of Langholm. This is an indication that Eskdale was originally part of the Lordship of Annandale, as is the fact that the forest rights were granted at Staplegorton.

If this identification is right, Morton must have been a large and important parish; it can have been no matter that it ran across the Sark, which is a relatively small stream, only given significance by being the later boundary between England and Scotland. Morton is also significant as being the probable caput of the earldom of Morton created for the Douglases of Dalkeith. They held all the previous possessions of the Grahams of Dalkeith, including Eskdale, and Hutton in Annandale, as well as Kilbucho and Newlands, as of course Dalkeith itself.

Morton was an important base, and enjoying rich farming potential, probably held in demesne. The Bruces lost it later along with all of Eskdale, probably after deserting

their (Scottish) King in 1174. Furthermore, Staplegorton must have been granted to the de Conisburghs after Dumfries Castle was taken into royal hands in about 1185, as it owed castle-guard⁷ to Dumfries, which Annandale parishes did not. This explains why Annandale in *ca* 1275 did not follow the Sark as its natural boundary. So it seems likely that there were two expeditions from the comfort of Staplegorton, and one from Morton, to cover Canonbie and Kirkandrews, before moving on to Annandale.

ANNANDALE DEANERY

From Eskdale we move west, following the progress of Bagimond. Again the details are taken from Annie Dunlop, with additions incorporated here from Cowan.

DECAN[ATUS DE ANANDIE]

1	Ecclesia de Anand vicarius	1 ma	£267	Annan
2	Cumbertres vicarius	10s	£200	Cummertrees
3	.....⁸	£1	£100	Brydekirk NW part of Annan
4	Ryuel	£1 2s	£110	Ruthwell
5	Daltona	£1.4s.5d	£122	Dalton Magna
6	Lochma[ben] vicarius	26/8d	£533	Lochmaben
7	Mussolde Rector	13/4d	£67	Mouswald
8	kyrkepatric Juxta gretenov Vicarius	10/4d	£207	Kirkpatrick Fleming
9	Kyrketone (Kirkcone ?) Welle	8 s	£40	Kirkconnel N part of Kirkpatrick Fleming
10	Jonestunne Rectoria	53/4d	£267	Johnstone
11	Moffeti Rectoria	£8	£800	Moffat
12	Wayvesferch	50s ave	£250	Wamphray
13	Gardyne	£2 11s 6d	£257	Applegarth, <i>i.e.</i> apple orchard; Jardin means garden
14	Dryvesdale Vicaria	12/6d ave	£250	Dryfesdale
15	Tornagayih Rectoria	£1 2s	£143 together	Tundergarth
16	Vicaria de Tornegayih	6/8d		
17	Corry Rector	£1 2s	£110	Corrie
18	Sybaldeby Vicaria	8s	£160	Sibbaldbie N part of Applegarth
19	Castelmilke Rectoria	£1 0s 8d	£103	Castlemilk or St Mungo
20	kyrkepatric Juxta Moffeth	26/8d	£133	Kirkpatrick juxta, or Beattock

7 'The Feudalisation of Lower Nithsdale', R C Reid., *TDGNHAS* III, xxxiv, p 104, also Kirkmichael and Tinwald.

8 Ian B Cowan, 'Two early Scottish taxation Rolls', *Innes Review* xxii (1971), p7, points out that the 'M' shown by Cameron 'is in fact derived from the subsequent entry relating to the sum paid.'

21	Parua daltona	1 ma	£67	Dalton Parva (Holmains)
22	Gretenhov Vicarius	8/8d	£173	Gretna
23	Hodolme Rector	£1	£100	Hoddom
24	Drunnoc Rector	£1.10s ave	£150	Dornock
25	Raynpatric Vicarius	7s ave	£140	Rainpatrick (Redkirk) W part of Gretna
26	Carrothres Rector	26/8d	£133	Carruthers E part of Middlebie
27	Los	2/8d	£13	Luce SE part (leg) of Hoddom
28	Trauercrolle (Travertrolle ?)	13/4d	£67	Trailtrow N part of Cummertrees, incl Hoddom Castle
29	Pennersax	26/8d	£133	Pennersax SW leg of Middlebie
30	Magna Hotoun	£1. 16.4d	£182	Hutton
31	medelby Rector	7/8d ave	£38	Middlebie
32	Eglefeham	2 ma	£133	Ecclefechan N part of Hoddom

Summa totalis Decenatus anandie ii^c xxiii li. xvi s. viii d.

The sum of the totals is £223. 16. 8d.

On leaving Eskdale Bagimond must have then surveyed Annandale, for this follows both in the roll and geographically. However it will be easier to understand what happened when Annandale was formed by first looking at Nithsdale. Nithsdale in the early twelfth century⁹ was an established unity with its king or *regulus*, who acted as a buffer between Scotland and Galloway, then at the very least semi-independent. It will be remembered that the bounds of Annandale were given in the charter¹⁰ from David I as in the west the lands of Dunegal and in the south the lands of Ranulph Meschin (*a divisa Dunegal de Stranit usque ad divisam Randulphi Meschin*). So Annandale was a block of land which was already bounded by established lordships on the south and west. The lord of Nithsdale was Dunegal, who was succeeded by his sons, Donald in Upper Nithsdale and Radulf in Lower Nithsdale. Radulf disappears from records after 1165 when he witnessed a Royal grant¹¹ to Glasgow by the 23 year old King Malcolm. It would seem that about this period the land of Desnes Cro (Desnes Ioan), that is the part of the Stewartry west of the River Urr, was given to Uchtred of Galloway and thus the bones of the later Stewartry of Kirkcudbright were put together. However, we see from Bagimond's survey that Desnes Cro stayed within the diocese of Glasgow¹² and had not been transferred to Whithorn, which was co-terminous with the older lordship of Galloway.

9 *The Lordship of Galloway*, Richard Oram (2000), passim, esp pp 195-6

10 *Early Scottish Charters*, charter No LIV

11 *Regesta Regum Scottorum I*, ed G W S Barrow (1960), 265

12 Richard Oram in his *Lordship of Galloway* (2000) always refers to Desnes Ioan, for a full discussion of the transfer of Desnes Cro, see his Chapter 3.

The boundary of Annandale therefore must have respected the pre-existing bounds of Nithsdale. It is here that we see a substantial deviation from what might have been expected. The natural geographical boundary runs north from the hills between Torthorwald and Lochmaben, across the flat land in Amisfield and then up the River Ae into the forest above Closeburn and Kirkpatrick. What seems to have happened is that at an early stage Nithsdale expanded across the flat land of Amisfield and took over the parishes of Trailflat, Garwald, Drumgray and Kirkmichael. We know of the donation of Trailflat and Drumgray to Kelso¹³ by the Charteris family from two charters in that cartulary; Kirkmichael owed castle-guard to Dumfries Castle, which came into Royal hands perhaps between 1165 and 1185 and it can therefore not have been a part of Annandale, which did not owe castle-guard, as having been established before the castle came into Royal hands. All four of these parishes are in the deanery of Nithsdale, and not in that of Annandale.

In terms of the later parishes, Drumgray was partitioned between Kirkpatrick and Johnstone, both Annandale parishes, which makes geographical sense. Garwald was incorporated into Kirkmichael and Trailflat into Tinwald, which contains the major estates of Amisfield and Tinwald. These parishes remained in Nithsdale deanery.

The survey of Annandale is quite complex. It is useful firstly to note the ancient parishes which have disappeared. Dalton Parva and Dalton Magna are now one, Trailtrow is now the northern part of Cummertrees; Brydekirk the north eastern part of Annan; Luce the south eastern and Ecclefechan the north eastern parts of Hoddom; Rainpatrick the western part of Gretna; Kirkconnel (Springkell) the northern part of Kirkpatrick Fleming; Pennersax the south western and Carruthers the eastern parts of Middlebie; Sibbaldbie the northern part of Applegarth and Hutton and Corrie have been amalgamated under their joint names, Corrie being that part from the valley of Corrie Water southwards.

Bagimond seems to have divided Annandale into a number of circuits, the first from Annan to Mouswald; the second just Kirkpatrick Fleming and Kirkconnel (Springkell); the third Johnstone, Moffat and Wamphray; the fourth the central parishes Applegarth, Dryfesdale, Tundergarth, Corrie and Sibbaldbie; then two isolated parishes, Castlemilk and Kirkpatrick juxta Moffat (Beattock); the seventh perhaps Gretna, Rainpatrick and Dornock; the eighth perhaps Hoddom, Trailtrow, Luce and Pennersax; with Carruthers and Hutton being isolated visits; finally two parishes together Middlebie and Ecclefechan. While almost all the other deaneries show a recognisable pattern in the progresses, here we find a lack of system. Why this should be is difficult to tell, except that Annandale was the largest and most complex of the deaneries, although it was all one lordship, which was not the case in most other deaneries. It may also be that Bagimond had to return to one or more priests, to collect the tithe agreed.

It should be noted here that the parishes in Annandale seem in many cases to be the lands of the different lords, or chief tenants who held from the Bruces. Thus Kirkpatrick juxta Moffat gave its name to the family, as did Johnstone, Hutton and Corrie. Applegarth was the lands of the Jardines, while Sibbaldbie those of the Dunwiddies. Hoddom was owned by the de Hoddoms, whose lands passed probably by inheritance¹⁴ eventually to the

¹³ *Liber de Ste Marie de Calchou*, Nos 344 & 345.

¹⁴ See 'Hoddom a Mediaeval Estate in Annandale', Alex Maxwell Findlater, *Transactions*, this volume; see also *A 700th Anniversary: Sir Christopher Seton*, Alex Maxwell Findlater, Double Tressure, 2006.

Herries, who at this stage had only Evandale and Moffatdale, both in Moffat parish, whose boundary with Beattock reflects this ownership.

NITHSDALE DEANERY

From Annandale Bagimond went to Dumfries, the centre of the sheriffdom and the largest and probably most prosperous town in the region.

DECANATUS DE NYCH

1	Donefres Vicarius	24s yrs 1&2	£480	Dumfries
2	Ecclesia de Dunscore est abbatis de Sacro Nemore et soluit cum aliis bonis monasterii			Dunscore
3	Glenecarne	43/4d	£217	Glencairn
4	EcclesiadeTymeronneestabbatis et conventus de Sacro Nemore et soluit cum monasterio			Tynron
5	Ecclesia de Penpunt fuit Collectoris de Aberdene			Penpont
6	Ecclesia de Kyrkoneuel est abbatis et conventus de sacro nemore et soluit cum monasterio			Kirkconnel
7	Senchar Rector	2½ ma	£167	Sanquhar
8	Kyrkebride	3¾ d	£167	Kirkbride, now NW part of Durisdeer
9	Dorsdere	£4.9s.4d ave	£247	Durisdeer
10	Dalgarnoc Vicarius	10 s	£200	Dalgarnock, now NW part of Closeburn
11	Kylhosbern	10/8d	£53	Closeburn
12	Kyrkemichel	2 ma	£133	Kirkmichael
13	Garuiald	40 s	£200	Garwald (Garrel)
14	Brimgray	½ ma	£33	Drumgray called Irongray by Dunlop
15	Trauerflatte Vicarius	26/8	£533	Trailflat, now part of Tinwald
16	Tynwalde	£1.11s.9d ave	£159	Tinwald
17	Torthoralde	40s	£200	Torthorwald
18	Kyrkeblane Vicarius	10/8d	£213	Kirkblane in Caerlaverock
19	Mortoun Vicarius	17/4d	£347	Morton
20	Kyrmaho	£4	£400	Kirkmahoe (Dalswinton and Carnsalloch)

Summa totalis Deaconatus de Nych cxlix li. xv s. vi d. quarta

The sum of the totals is £149. 15s. 6¼d.

Except at the top of the valley, the parishes do not cross the River Nith and so this deanery easily shows the classic circuit pattern. Bagimond seems to have progressed up the west side of the Nith, missing Holywood, which was owned by the monastery of that name (*Conventus de Sacro Nemore*). He also missed Keir, which according to the *Fasti Ecclesiae Scotticanae*, was ‘formerly a vicarage belonging to Caerlaverock; and afterwards disjoined from the parish of Holywood.’ It was certainly not seen as a parish in *ca* 1275. So Bagimond went upstream through the parishes on the right bank and from Penpont straight to Kirkconel, returning through Sanquhar and the ancient parish of Kirkbride, whose church is high above the Nith just inside the modern Durisdeer. He missed Morton, visited Dalgarnock, another ancient parish, since 1606 united with Closeburn, after which he went into the bulge towards Annandale mentioned earlier, to Kirkmichael, then to the three ancient parishes on the edge of the deanery, Drumgray, Garwald and Trailflat, before Tinwald, Torthorwald and Caerlaverock, where the name Kirkblane is still represented by a farm. Doubtless this circuit would have taken a number of days, so one would assume that he rested on the way. Last listed are Morton and Kirkmahoe.

DESNES CRO DEANERY

After the deanery of Nith the roll continues with that of Desnes; this is often called Desnes Cro, whereas the deanery of Desnes in the diocese of Whithorn is often called Desnes Mor. Cro means sheep and is probably also present in the word Criffel, or ‘hill of the sheep’, the name of the principal mountain in Desnes Cro, above New Abbey. The churches are listed as follows:

DEACONATUS DE DESSENES

1	Creuequer Vicarius	16 s	£280 together	Troqueer
2	Creuequer Rector	40 s		
3	Lochyndeloc	£1/6/8d	£133	Lochkindeloch, now New Abbey
4	Kyrkebene Vicarius	16 s ave	£320	Kirkbean
5	Suthayc	£1/2/3 ave	£111	Southwick, now part of Colvend
6	Culwenne Vicarius	10/- ave	£200	Colvend
7	Urre Vicarius	6/8d	£133	Urr
8	Kyrkepatric durantt	24 s	£120	Kirkpatrick Durham
9	Blaket Vicarius	3/4d	£67	Blackett, now part of Urr
10	Lochreuctone Vicarius	3/4d	£67	Lochrutton
11	Trauregles	Nil		Terregles
12	Kirkpatric Cro	37/1d ave	£186	Kirkpatrick Irongray

Summa decanatus de Dossenes lv li. xi s. i d.

Summa totalis omnium summarum suprascriptarum ix^c lvii li. vii s. xi d.

Omnia monasteria Episcopatus Glasuegensis continentur in rotulo confecto de Archedeaconatu Glasguensi Unde non est requirendum in isto rotulo.

Notarial sign like a cross moline crowned with a coronet of three pearls, a fourth pearl pendant from the cross

Sum of the Deanery of Desnes £55. 9s. 1d.

Sum of the totals of all sums above (*i.e.* the whole of the Archdeaconry of Teviotdale) £957. 7s 9d.

All the monasteries of the diocese of Glasgow are contained in the roll made by the archdeacon of Glasgow. Therefore it is not required in this roll.

What we see again is that the prelate has performed his task by a circular progress through the deanery, first along the coast westward and then back again through the more northerly parishes. The church of Blacket is identified with the Mains of Blaiket, in the parish of Urr, but not far from Kirkgunzeon, which was perhaps originally part of a greater Urr. This suggestion is based on the association of the chapel of St Ninian in Kirkgunzeon with the church of Edingham, as identified¹⁵ by Daphne Brooke. The only other doubtful identification by Annie Dunlop is Kirkpatrick Cro, which she takes to be Kirkgunzeon, but which I would think was more persuasively identified with Kirkpatrick Irongray. This is partly because of the circular nature of the survey, partly because of the identity of the name Irongray may be for 'ErnCro', *i.e.* 'the Kirkpatrick which is part of the deanery of Cro', and partly because Kirkgunzeon has been shown by Daphne Brooke to have been associated with Edingham, in early times Edingham itself being within the parish of Urr.

DIOCESE of WHITHORN DESNEs MOR DEANERY

Let us proceed west, with our Italian tax-gatherer. We now enter the diocese of Whithorn, which is only recorded in *SHS* Vol VI. The diocese of Whithorn is divided into four deaneries, Desnes Mor, Glenken, Farnes and Rhinns. These four deaneries, together with Desnes Cro, in the diocese of Glasgow, make up Galloway. Desnes in the Whithorn Diocese is sometimes called Desnes Mor, meaning greater. The similarity of the name will perhaps not surprise us, knowing that Desnes Cro is the territory which we believe was once attached to Dumfries and then later became part of Galloway; The three deaneries of Desnes Cro, Desnes Mor and Glenkens now make up the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright.

The parishes are listed as follows:

Solutio decime Terre Sancte in diocesi Ecclesie CANDIDE CASE pro duobus primis annis.

In decanatu de Deesnes pro duobus annis.

1	Ecclesia de Bothel	6 ma	£467 together	Buittle
2	Vicarius eiusdem	1 ma		Vicar of Buittle
3	Ecclesia de Goueliston	20/-	£100	Gelston now part of Kelton
4	Ecclesia de Crosmighel	9 ma	£600	Crossmichael
5	Vicarius de Kelton	½ ma	£133	Kelton

15 'The Deanery of Desnes Cro and the Church of Edingham', Daphne Brooke, *TDGNHAS* III, lxii, p 48

6	Vicarius de Kirkcubricht	1 ma	£267	Kirkcudbright
7	Vicarius de Borg	10/-	£200	Borgue
8	Vicarius de Tuinham	½ ma	£133	Twynham
9	Ecclesia de Sanneck	3½ ma	£220	Sennick now united with Borgue
10	Ecclesia de Kirkandrum Purcen	£3. 4 s	£320	Kirkandrews now united with Borgue
11	Vicarius de Anewich	1 ma	£267	Anwoth
12	Ecclesia de Kirkedal	2 ma	£133	Kirkdale now united with Kirkmabreck
13	Abbas Sancte Crucis de Edenburg	£15.15s.4d	£158	Galtway; the whole parish was granted to Holyrood by Fergus of Galloway <i>ca</i> 1160
14	De bonis pertinentibus ad insulam de Thrahil	£12.7s.3d	£124	Priory of St Mary, founded <i>ca</i> 1129 by Fergus, on Traill or St Mary's Isle
15	De Monasterio de Tingeland	£8.11s	£855	Tongland and Minnigaff which were held by Tongland Abbey
16	Archidiaconus Candide Case	4 ma	£267	Girthon, held by Whithorn

(No summaries are shown in this roll; the amount for each church is shown as one figure for the two years. For consistency with the earlier deaneries, half that amount is listed above.)

Here again, we find that the parishes are followed in a broadly circular manner, except that those which are held by monasteries or other church bodies are listed at the end.

GLENKENS DEANERY

Proceeding next to the deanery of Glenkens, we find

In Decanatu de Glenken pro duobus annis ut supra

1	Ecclesia de Dalry	£2. 15s	£275	Dalry
2	Ecclesia de Treuercarcou	£2	£200	Balmaclellan
3	Ecclesia de Kelles	3¾ ma	£250	Kells
4	Ecclesia de Parcon	3 ma	£200	Parton
5	Vicarius de Kirkanders Balimeth	10/-	£200	Balmaghie, where the dedication is to St Andrew

In Glenkens Carsphairn and Balmaclellan are unaccounted for. Carsphairn was at this time part of a greater parish of Dalry, for it is even now a very remote and sparsely populated parish (compare the late arrival in 1647 of the parish of New Luce, originally part of the greater parish of Luce). Annie Dunlop identifies Treuercarcou with Troqueer, but that is in a different diocese. In fact there is no reason to doubt the name Treuercarcou in Glenken, and '-carcou' is not consistent with the variant early forms of the '-queer' part of Troqueer. Treuercarcou must surely represent Balmaclellan, a C14 Irish Gaelic name. Again we find a circular survey. For further argument on Treuercarcou see Appendix I.

FARNES DEANERY

The next deanery listed is Farnes, where we find:

In Decanatu de Farnes pro duobus annis

1	Ecclesia de Penningham	5 ma	£333	Penninghame, now Newton Stewart
2	Ecclesia de Carnemal	10 ma	£667	Carnesmole, in Kirkinner
3	Ecclesia de Lengast	16 s	£80	'Longcastle', at the very south of Kirkinner
4	Ecclesia de Crugelton	2 ma	£173	Crugilton, in the modern parish of Sorbie
5	Vicarius ejusdem	8 s. 7d		
6	Vicarius de Awengalceway	1 ma	£367	Awengaltway, or modern Glasserton
7	De bonis pertinentibus ad prioratum Candide Case	£12.4s.9d	£1,224	Whithorn and possibly other pendicles

Here we find more difficulty, for some parish names have changed; but despite this we can locate Penningham, Carnesmole, Lengast (I prefer the original name as 'Longcastle' is an incorrect derivation, suggesting an Anglian origin) and Crugilton. These four follow a logical order on the ground, but leave us with Awengalceway unidentified and with the areas of Mochrum and Glasserton not covered. It is very possible that Lengast (Longcastle), which is virtually on the point where Mochrum, Kirkinner and Glasserton now join, would have served an area perhaps covering Mochrum and that the modern parish boundaries in this area follow later estate bounds. Clearly there has been some adjustment here, possibly affected by the common ownership of Lengast and Craichlaw by John Keith, Seneschal of Galloway, in the fifteenth century.

Awengalceway can surely not be Galtway, as identified by Annie Dunlop, for Galtway is in a different deanery and at this time was in the hands of Holyrood Abbey. Awengalceway can however be identified with Athelgatthwyn, with a variant spelling Athelgalthethwyn, as recorded in a law suit¹⁶ of 1262. It may be that at least the 'Galt' element of the name may continue in the modern name Glasserton. If this is the case, then we see that the continuation of the survey made geographical sense. The remaining issue is the modern parish of Kirkcowan, which might represent part of a greater Penninghame. The two parishes of Luce, still one at this period, for New Luce was formed in 1647, were attached to the Monastery of Luce, so formed no part of the parish circuit, being accounted for with the monasteries. See Appendix II for a discussion of the Galtways.

16 Bedford Assizes 19th May 1262: Calendar of Documents pertaining to Scotland (CDS) Vol I, No 2302

RHINNS DEANERY

The final deanery is Remes (Rhinns), where the churches are:

In Decanatu de Remes pro duobus annis ut supra

1	Ecclesia de Insula	6 ma	£400	Inch
2	Ecclesia de Kirkemethen	2½ ma	£167	Kirkmaiden which was dedicated to St Medan
3	Ecclesia de Tuskercon	16 s	£80	Toskerton or Kirkmadrine united with Stoneykirk
4	Ecclesia de Leswalt	1½ ma	£100	Leswalt
5	Ecclesia de Kyrsum	4 ma	£267	Kirkcolm
6	Ecclesia de Stanacra	10 s	£50	Stoneykirk
7	Ecclesia de Clotfend	1½ ma	£100	identified by Dunlop as Colvend, but see below
8	De bonis spectantibus ad Monasterium de Sede Animarum	£2. 8 s	£240	Soulseat in the modern parish of Inch

Summa omnium Decanatum et particularum prescriptorum per duos annos cc lib. ix lib. xij s. j d.
Sum of all the deaneries and peculiars above for two years £209. 12s. 1d.

Here the progress is not in a very logical order, although some of the churches are adjacent. It seems that our tax-gatherer started at Inch, then went straight down south to Kirkmaiden, then to nearby Toskerton, then skipped to Leswalt and Kirkcolm north of it, then back to Stoneykirk and Soulseat. This leaves Clotfend, which cannot be Colvend as Annie Dunlop suggests, which is in another diocese and accounted for there, as we have seen. In fact there is a much easier answer, for in Portpatrick there is a small settlement, Colfin, just south west of Lochans, which probably represents Clotfend. Portpatrick was known as the Black Quarter of Inch until it was separated in 1628, but Colfin was clearly not attached to Inch in this early period. Although the progress is not circular, because of the narrowness of the Rhinns, there was in practice little necessity or possibility of a circuit and so a practical logic can be allowed to the order.

SUMMARY

The above survey is given more as evidence, than to form the basis of firm conclusions. However, it shows that the parish structure, especially in the most accessible parts of the area, was fully developed by the date of Bagimond's visit. In Annandale, also in Nithsdale, it is easy to see the parishes as probably co-terminous with the lordships. We can also see the circular clockwise nature of the survey and its completeness in what is the modern Stewartry and Dumfriesshire, giving us confidence that in Wigtonshire it was also complete, even if less easily explicable.

It is clear from the parishes in Annandale matching the lordships, that the parish structure was established after the granting of Annandale in about 1124, but that the basis for

the parishes was very much what is found in England, where parishes were established in an earlier period. It is evident from the tussles between the Bruces and the Bishops of Glasgow over those churches which had previously been granted to Glasgow, that this parcelling up of Annandale overrode the earlier situation in Annandale, where there were two major religious centres, at Moffat and Hoddum. These might be seen as analogous to the Minster churches, serving an area much larger than a parish, which were common in England in the Anglo-Saxon period.

The amount of the tithe contributed by each parish does not seem in every case to be what we might expect. On the other hand they would seem to be an accurate record, so we might think that the priests of certain parishes were let off more lightly than they deserved. There is no reason to believe that influence might not have been exerted or that various priests were less than honest in declaring their incomes in these far-off days. Having said that, the figures calculated as the value of the parish must be seen as only an indication of that value, subject to the caveats noted.

APPENDIX I TREVERCARCOU

Looking at the map, and on the basis that Carsphairn was not a parish until the 17th century, it can be seen that the survey of the Glenkens Deanery was a circular progress. Because of the circular nature of the survey, together with the absence of Balmaclellan from the list, the only modern parish missing is thus Balmaclellan; and Trevercarcou is in the right position. This was identified¹⁷ as such by Daphne Brooke.

However Andrew Breeze¹⁸ has treated of Trevercarcou, identifying it with Earlston, on the basis of a comment of Professor Geoffrey Barrow. In fact this comment is referred to in a note to Daphne Brooke's article¹⁹ 'The Glenkens'. Earlston is north of Dalry village and thus in the greater Dalry parish in *ca* 1275. Furthermore if it is shown as a parish name by Bagimond, we have to posit firstly that there is an otherwise unknown parish just north of Dalry, secondly that Balmaclellan was not a parish and thirdly that the progress through the Glenkens was not circular, which seems to have been the general pattern. On that basis I would argue that it is more likely that Trevercarcou was indeed the old name for Balmaclellan, which is unknown as a name before the 15th century.

I would also propose a tentative identification for the name, knowing of the McLellan connection and that there was a considerable number of knights of that name in Galloway at an early time. Sir Dovenald FitzCane (1285 Balliol College witness) was of this kindred and this leads me to wonder whether the name Trevercarcou might not be parsed as *trever-car-con*, *trever* meaning a settlement, *car* a castle or fort and *con* being a variant on the name Can or Cane (the two minims of v and n are often confused and there were probably a number of copyings of this document). Thus we have a name with much the same general meaning as the later Balmaclellan (dwelling of McLellan). This might also be the same name in essentials as *le Contrefe*²⁰.

17 'The Glenkens 1275-1456', Daphne Brooke, *TDGNHAS* III, lix (1984) p 41

18 'Brittonic Place-names from SW Scotland', Andrew Breeze, *TDGNHAS* III lxxix (2005), p 91

19 The Glenkens, p 54

20 The Glenkens, p 54, name recorded 1408: SRO RH6 ii 219.

It has been argued that the compound name in *Tre-* place-names only refer to geographical features rather than to the names of persons, but this may not be the case, for there are some fairly early Welsh forms with personal names, such as Tref-Asser near St Davids, Trefaldwyn 'homestead of Baldwin' or Montgomery, Trewalchmai in Anglesey, and more modern ones like Treherbert or Treforys in Glamorgan. So personal names seem possible, although they are not the norm²¹.

As *ad hominem* evidence, Daphne Brooke suggests a resettling of a depopulated land in the later fourteenth century, which is supported by the late name Balmaclellan, of Gaelic origin, first found in 1408. Might we not conjecture that the McLellans of Galloway maintained contact with their kindred in the Gaelteachd and requested settlers, who brought with them their language. It is clear from the charters under the Great Seal²², that the McLellans were still using patronyms, *i.e.* *Johannes M'Lelane filio Dungalli Johnstone* (1466) and *Dungall Maklellane alias Dungalsoun* (1494), and the 1466 charter was witnessed by *Don. McLellane dom. de Gelstoune*.

These charters concern in 1466 the *terras de Balmaclanelane, viz, 12 marcatas antiqui extensus vulgariter nuncupatas Armaskewne, trechanis, Blaranny, et Blakcrag* repeated in 1494 as *40 solidas terrarum antiqui extensus de Trochane, unam mercatam ant ext de Bervorenvye, et unam merc. ant ext de Crag*. These lands of Balmaclellan were sold under the 1466 charter by Vedast Grierson of Lag to John McLellan and under the 1494 charter by Dungal McLellan to George Gordon, brother of John Gordon of Lochinvar. In 1494 they amount to only five merks of land, so presumably seven merks were retained by Dungall Dungalsoun. However, what is relevant to us is that the name Trechanis/Trochane which Daphne Brooke takes to be the same as Trevercarcon. There is still a Troquhain in the parish.

APPENDIX II

GALTWAY and AWENGALTWAY

The identities and the number of land-holdings called Galtway has previously been discussed in 1991 in these Proceedings²³ by Daphne Brooke. She demonstrates that there were two or even three Galtways. The first was that given by Fergus of Galloway to the Monks of Holyrood, the second that given by him to the Hospital of St John. The first was the ancient parish which was joined to Dunrod and is now part of the greater parish of Kirkcudbright.

The second is more complex, for it was in Balmaclellan and Galtway is always associated with Knockynwane and Lowis, probably three farms fairly close together. Brooke identified Knockynwyne as Knocknaw in 1984²⁴, but as Knocknan in 1991. Knocknaw is at NX6878 and Knocknan at NX7180, and Lowis is Lowes at NX7079. Knocknan, now Blackcraig Farm and Hill, seems more likely as it is in the same vicinity, being about three miles north east of Lowes. It is likely that Galtway is a lost name from this area. However, Brooke also mentions that Knockover Galtway is recorded in the rental of the

21 Letter by e-mail from Andrew Breeze, 17 May 2006

22 *RMS*, Vol II, nos 907 & 2236

23 'Fergus of Galloway: Appendix B The Lands of Galtway', Daphne Brooke, *TDGNHAS* III lxvi (1991) p 57

24 'The Glenkens 1275-1456', Daphne Brooke, see list in Appendix, *TDGNHAS* III lix (1984), p 55

Hospitallers and equates this to the Galtway on the Craig of Knockgray in Carsphairn. Galtway-Knockgray is mentioned in the mid-nineteenth century parish book of the Ordnance Survey. She suggests that this might have been upland pasture associated with the Balmaclellan Galtway.

Now there would appear to have been a further Galtway, Awen-Galceway or Awengaltway. Daphne Brooke²⁵ argues that, although Annie Dunlop identifies it as Galtway, it may more likely be identified as Kirkcowan in Wigtonshire, as it is in the deanery of Farnes whereas Galtway is in the deanery of Desnes. She suggests that perhaps Awengaltway is later represented by the great barony of Craighlaw and Longcastle, Craighlaw being the southern part of Kirkcowan and Longcastle being in *ca* 1275 recorded as Lengast, whose principle dwelling was the crannog on Dowalton Loch. This whole estate was held in the fifteenth century by the Keith family, the Seneschals of Galloway, and was divided between three heiresses. However, before that in the 1296 Inquisitio post mortem on Elena de la Zouche, grand-daughter of Alan of Galloway, she is seized of one third of the manor of Mauhincon, which was the principal manor of the Craighlaw estate. This means that it had been inherited from Alan of Galloway and so is unlikely to have been the subject of a court case between other parties in 1262.

Awengaltway has also been identified as Minnigaff by the *Atlas of Scottish History to 1707* (p 357), which takes Minnigaff to be in Farnes Deanery. However Professor Cowan²⁶ takes Minnigaff to be in Desnes Mor Deanery, in which case Minnigaff could not be Awengaltway. However, the Court case of 1262, mentioned above, is about an estate called 'Athelgatthwyn', which can be identified with Awengaltway.

My suggestion is that Awengaltway is the south western part of the present parish of Glasserton. Glasserton is a name unknown until 1456, after the fall of the Douglas lords of Galloway. It would not be unreasonable to suggest that Physgill might well represent Athelgatthwyn, owned by Euphemia, identified only as the wife of William Comyn of Kilbride and the grand-daughter of Euphemia. It has all the characteristics of a wealthy estate. I would suggest that 'Awen', which usually means 'river', is a distinguishing prefix, used in a similar way to Juxta, or as East and West are used at a later date, so clearly distinguishing the Galtway near Kirkcudbright from the Galtway in Farnes Deanery.

The alternative possibility is that 'Athel' is the more correct form; this would suggest that it might have been held by the kingly family, encouraging the belief that Eufemia was descended from that family. The usage might have been similar to the distinction between villages by an attribute, as Canonbie was in 1275 *Lydel Canonieorum*, and as we today distinguish between, *eg* Earls Colne and White Colne in Essex.

Finally a note on the meaning of Galtway: in the original Ordnance Survey²⁷ there is a note '*Galtway from the British Galt Wy which signifies the bank or ascent on the water*' in different handwriting, added to the written-up notes of the sapper (or civilian assistant).

25 'Kirk- compound place-names in Galloway and Carrick', Daphne Brooke, *TDGNHAS* III Iviii (1983), p 60

26 The Parishes of Medieval Scotland, I B Cowan, *Scottish Record Society* vol. 93, 1967, p 148

27 Kirkcudbright parish book 151, page 65, in the OS Name Object Books

Daphne Brooke²⁸ suggests an origin something like '*the small hills of the goats*' from the British. That would fit better with the terrain in all cases, although Glasserton is much lower and less hilly than the Galtway near Kirkcudbright.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

My thanks are due to many people who have discussed these matter with me, especially to Prof Geoffrey Barrow, Dr Andrew Barrell, Dr Richard Oram, Dr Simon Taylor, Paedar Morgan, Graham Roberts, Andrew Breeze and Simon Brooke. I am also grateful to Dr David Devereux and the staff of the Stewartry Museum for their help and forbearance.

28 Daphne Brooke, cardex catalogue of place-names, Stewartry Museum, Kirkcudbright

HODDOM: A MEDIAEVAL ESTATE IN ANNANDALE

By Alex Maxwell Findlater¹

The de Hoddom family, often spelled *de Hodelme*, are recorded as witnesses² to Annandale charters until the time of William de Brus (died 1211). The early history of the family is narrated in the Scots Peerage³ under the title Lord Carlyle, and it is shown that they also were called *de Karliolo* (Carlisle), as being descended from the Sheriff of Carlisle, Hildred. From him can be traced the descent of the lands of Gamalsby and Glassonby in Cumberland, which he had by grant *ca.*1130. It is the descent of these lands which establishes the early descent of Hoddom, which, along with most holdings in Annandale, is not evidenced. However we do have a record of a grant by Odard to the Abbey of Melrose, from a confirmation⁴ by Robert de Brus IV (1211-1230),

Insuper concessi prefatis monachis et presenti scripto confirmavi donacionem Edardi de Hodholme quam fecit eis de i marca argenti annuatim eis reddenda de illa carrucata terre que est inter Tonnergayth et Perisby.

Moreover I have granted to the aforesaid monks and by the present document have confirmed the gift of Odard of Hodholme which he made to them of one merk of silver money to be paid to them annually from that ploughland which is between Tornergayth (Tundergarth) and Perisby (Perceby).

Odard II had two daughters, Christian married to Sir William de Ireby and Eva married to Robert Avenal and, as we learn from the Levinton court case⁵, also to Alan de Chartres (Charteris). It seems likely that Eva had no issue, at least no record remains; Christian had a daughter Christian who married three times, to Thomas de Lasceles, Adam de Jesmond and Robert de Brus V, the Competitor (died 1295) as his second wife, and a second daughter Eva mentioned only once, who then disappears from the Court records. The Cumberland holdings of Gamalsby and Glassonby had been transferred to Alan de Chartres and he gave to Eustace de Balliol a lease, under which the heirs claimed to hold the two vills; Christiana and Robert de Brus disputed this. As they disputed this in right of Christina alone, it seems that at that time she was the sole heir to these lands.

Christiana de Ireby survived until 1305 when her grandson Sir Christopher de Seton, son of John de Seton and Ermina de Lasceles, her only issue, took sasine of lands which she had held jointly with Robert de Brus. The Scots Peerage article mentioned above misses the link to the later de Seton family, although it is noted in the Cartulary of Holmcultram⁶. Lasceles is shown with *Gules a saltire and chief Argent* in contemporary

1 Pittullie, Barcloy Mill, Rockcliffe, Dalbeattie DG5 4QL

2 Witnesses to Bruce charters are referenced to the list in *The Brus Family in England and Scotland 1100-1306* by Ruth Blakely (2005). I am grateful to Mrs Blakely for her help with this. The de Hoddoms witnessed the following charters (Blakely numbering).

Hoddom	Odard I de	123, 127
Hoddom	Robert de	126, 127, 128, 131, 140, 142
Hoddom	Odard II de	133, ?134, 136, 138, 142, 144

3 *Scots Peerage (SP)*, ed Sir James Balfour Paul (1904), Vol II, pp 369 ff.

4 *Liber Sancte Marie de Melrose*, ed Cosmo Innes (1837), Appendix No 7 (p 670-1), listed as No 148 by Blakely.

5 'Some Extinct Cumberland families, James Wilson, II the Levingtons', *The Ancestor*, Vol 3 (1902), p 80ff.

6 *Cartulary of Holm Cultram*, ed Francis Grainger & W.G. Collingwood (1929), p 35

rolls⁷ for Alan de Lasceles⁸ showing a clear Bruce of Annandale allegiance. Similarly the Seton family shows a Bruce allegiance by their arms, *Or a saltire and on a chief Gules three garbs Or*, although they would appear to have originally been tenants of the Yorkshire Bruces⁹. Christopher de Seton was summarily executed in 1306 by the English, as complicit in the murder of John Comyn in the Dumfries Greyfriars. He seems to have been the last of this line.

So far we have traced the family for eight generations through their Cumberland holdings, confirmed by their early witness to Bruce charters. It is at this point that records of Hoddome itself emerge. We have the evidence of a confirmation¹⁰ of 'Hodolme, Tonnergaitht, Westwod and Rocleff in the lordship of Annandale' obtained in 1411 by Simon I de Carruthers of Mouswald from Archibald 4th Earl of Douglas and given in open court at Lochmaben. Carruthers was presumably prudent enough to request a confirmation of those lands which he held from the new lord of Annandale (rather than from the Crown, as he held Mouswald), at the first Court held after Douglas acquired the lordship of Annandale. Hoddome and certainly part of Tundergarth (see charter quoted above) were held by the Hoddoms and then presumably by their heirs the Setons until the death of Sir Christopher Seton in 1306. In the Register of the Great Seal there is no charter, as there is for Mouswald, of these lands to a Carruthers, which one might have expected if they were granted by King Robert. It therefore seems more likely that they came to the family by heredity, most probably by a marriage to a sister of Sir Christopher Seton.

Symon II de Carruthers, son of Simon I, was Commissioner of the West March in 1429 and his grandnephew Sir Simon III was Warden of the West March when killed at the Battle of Kirtle in 1484. It is evident that the family held the lands of Carruthers, confirmed¹¹ in 1512, from which they took their name, from earliest times.

In the pedigree in Records of the Carruthers Family¹² Symon II de Carruthers, Commissioner of the West March, is shown as the second son, but to be a Commissioner he surely must have been the eldest son. Later we find Hoddome in the hands of the Herries family (see below) and it seems likely that it went by normal feudal descent with a daughter of this Symon II. Two generations later another Sir Simon (III) is Warden, and is shown with only daughters. Surely he also, to have been Warden, must have been the eldest son and the reason that Carruthers and Mouswald descended within the Carruthers family was that there was a tailzie to heirs male in relation to those properties. The effect of these two partitions of the lands must have robbed the heir male of much of his status, although good marriages were made in every generation.

7 St George's Roll ca 1285, E508 and Charles Roll ca 1285, F280

8 Alan de Lasceles was involved in the murder in the field of Cambeck of Richard Bullock from Erthington (Irthington, near Brampton) and in 1278/9 he brought to the Assizes a pardon for this from King Henry III (1216–1272). Others involved were John Armstrang (presumably from Liddesdale), Gilbert de Conisburgh (of the family which held Staplegorton, now Langholm), John son of John de St Michel (an Annandale tenant) and Hugh Giffard. If Alan de Lasceles obtained a pardon from Henry III, despite being a landowner in Scotland, he must have had a significant English presence as well, presumably suggesting a connection to the Cumberland and perhaps Yorkshire Lascelles family, who held of the Yorkshire Bruces.

9 Blakely, pp 137-139

10 'Some Early Dumfriesshire Charters', R C Reid, *TDGNHAS*, 3rd Series, XXII (1939), No 2 (p 86).

11 *Ibid*, No 14 (p 92).

12 *Records of the Carruthers Family*, A S Carruthers and R C Reid (1934), pedigree on p 13.

It seems likely therefore that Symon II de Carruthers, Warden of the West March, had no sons, and the inheritance of the unentailed lands of Hoddom went to his daughter, probably sole daughter, who would have married Sir Herbert Herries, for we later hear of Hoddom as a possession of the Lords Herries. In a confirmation¹³ in 1486 to Andrew Herries, heir of Herbert 1st Lord Herries, *inter alia* the following Annandale properties are listed: Moffatdale, Avendale, Lockerbie, Tundergarth and Hoddom. Tundergarth was only a £20 land (known from the confirmation of 1550)¹⁴, so this may not have been the whole parish.

Hoddom descended in the Herries family for a number of generations, until William 3rd Lord Herries produced only daughters. The lands were split between Agnes, Catherine and Jean Herries, whose marriages were in the hands of the Hamilton family. Sir John Maxwell, the second son of Lord Maxwell, in 1548 married Agnes Herries, then aged 14¹⁵ as part of a political deal whereby he gained her lands for changing sides. Unfortunately some Maxwells held by the English in Carlisle were hanged as a result. It was for this that he is reputed to have built Repentance Tower. Sir John did not inherit the Herries peerage¹⁶ at this stage, but he was able to buy the other two thirds of the estate from the Hamiltons in a final concordat of 1566 and was from December 1566 acknowledged by the Crown as Lord Herries, first taking his place in Parliament in April 1567.

From geographical evidence, it would appear that the estate of Hoddom extended well beyond the boundaries of the present parish of Hoddom, which is itself an amalgamation of Hoddom and Ecclefechan made in the early 17th century. Hoddom Castle is in the ancient parish of Trailtrow, now part of Cummertrees parish. Following the Annan downstream from Hoddom Castle, we enter Brydekirk and then Luce. In 1329 William Carlyle of Kinmount was called laird of Luce in a licence¹⁷ from Thomas Randolph, Lord of Annandale to 'make a park and enclosure at his place of Luce, near Hoddom'. The Carlyles of Kinmount held Luce until 1581, when they sold¹⁸ most of their lands to John Maxwell 1st (Maxwell) Earl of Morton. It seems very likely that Luce was a part of the estate granted away to Adam de Carlyle, a younger brother of Odard II de Hoddom and founder of the Carlyle family. Although there is no record of the de Hoddoms owning Ecclefechan, as it lies between Hoddom and Tundergarth, which they did hold, it seems very likely that even if they did not have all the parish, they would have had some of it.

Thus we see the whole estate might well have extended from Trailtrow in the south west across to Luce in the south east, thus running with the parish of Annan, up to Tundergarth, or at least the £20 land later held by the Carlyles and across to march with the parish of Castlemilk, itself¹⁹ a £40 land. In the Herries charter of confirmation of 1550, noted

13 *Register of the Great Seal* (RMS) ii, 1654: resignation by Herbert 1st Lord Herries to his son Andrew.

14 *RMS* iv, 405 and 1393.

15 *SP*, Vol IV, p 410

16 *SP*, Vol IV, pp 409 ff

17 *15th Report of the Historical MSS Commission*, Appendix VII, No 77

18 *RMS* v, 136

19 'Castlemilk' by R C Reid, TDGNHAS 3rd series, XIX (1933-35), p 174. The 'twa pairtis' or 40 merkland of Castlemilk were feued in 1578 by Archibald Stewart of Castlemilk to John Lord Maxwell, later Earl of Morton, referenced to Andrew Stuart pp 365 & 367, ie Andrew Stuart of Torrance's *History of the Stewarts*. If the twa pairtis were a 40 merkland, the whole was a £40 land.

above, the Annandale lands are recorded as Moffatdale and Avendale (the original Herries holding in Annandale, comprising the northern part of the parish of Moffat), the £20 lands of Lockerbie, Hutton, Tundergarth and Hoddom and the £5 lands of Ecclefechan, Nether Warmanbie and Schelis. Hutton certainly was not part of the Hoddom estate, being held by the de Levingtons and then by their heirs the Grahams of Dalkeith. Lockerbie seems to have been held in demesne by the Bruce Lords of Annandale, for the Carlyles had exchanged²⁰ Kinmount for a holding in Lockerbie in *ca* 1198; this £20 land of Lockerbie might perhaps also have been part of the lands of the de Hoddoms. Thus both Tundergarth and Hoddom were £20 lands, which was the amount of land normally matching a knight's fee in the early mediaeval period. So at the very least the Hoddom estate was a double fee and it was some of the best farming land in Annandale. A rich inheritance indeed!

20 *Annandale Book*, Sir William Fraser (1894), i, No 2, from Drumlanrig archives. Blakely No 142.

THE STATISTICAL ACCOUNTS

By A. E. MacRobert¹

This article explores the distinctive features of the Accounts for the shires of Dumfries, Kirkcudbright and Wigtown and the changes revealed in the lives of people and their environments between the First and Second and between the Second and Third Accounts.

The three Statistical Accounts of Scotland contain descriptions of each county. The first was published in the 1790s and is now called the *Old Statistical Account (OSA)*. The second was published between 1834 and 1845 and is referred to as the *New Statistical Account (NSA)*. The next is called the *Third Statistical Account (TSA)*. Work on it was carried out mainly in the 1950s. Despite the titles most of the contributions contain very few statistics and are very readable. Sir John Sinclair, who was responsible for the *OSA*, explained that by statistical is meant an enquiry into the state of a country for the purpose of ascertaining the quantum of happiness enjoyed by its inhabitants and the means of its future improvement.

The Accounts for Dumfries, Kirkcudbright and Wigtown are those of predominantly rural areas and therefore have a common basis and show similar trends. The grouping of information in the Accounts follows a similar pattern, and this has facilitated comparisons. In each Account the contributions were based on parishes, and most were compiled by the incumbent parish ministers. The letters D, K and W in brackets behind the names of parishes show the county in which it is situated. The content, length and quality of the descriptions vary, and they also reflect the personal interests and knowledge of the contributors. Another caveat is that some of the very early history mentioned is faulty or uncorroborated or controversial. (In chapter 4 of Scott's *The Antiquary* (1816) there is a fictional allusion to a controversy over ancient remains mentioned in a Statistical Account). They nevertheless provide very valuable, though often neglected, descriptions of the parishes at those particular times, and they contribute significantly towards the portrayal of the national scene. It is also instructive to read what seemed important to record, to spot what did not seem significant and was omitted, and to appreciate the hardships in the lives of earlier generations. The key task is to explore what were the living conditions of men and women in those times. It should also be kept in mind that many of the thoughts and hopes and fears of people in the past were the same as those of present people.

The Old Statistical Account

This Account can be compared with its successor, the *NSA*, but there are few preceding yardsticks. An unofficial census was carried out in 1755 by parish ministers across Scotland, and this provides a useful guide to changes in the population. Andrew Symson, who was the Episcopal minister in Kirkinner (W), wrote a *Description of Galloway* between 1684 and 1694. This was first published as an Appendix to W MacKenzie's *History of Galloway* (1841). The information provided by Symson is interesting but not

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as detailed and useful as that in the *OSA*. There is no adequate basis for assessing the life of people in these three counties prior to the *OSA*.

The most obvious feature of the *OSA* is the frequency of the references to the improvements in agriculture during the recent decades. As the ministers had glebes, many of them showed keen interest in agriculture e.g. about half the account of Dalry (K) is an essay on this subject. In Anwoth (K) there were formerly few enclosures, and the ground had remained in its natural state. When tilled it gave small returns to the farmer. Now the land had been enclosed and improved and better yields obtained. In Hoddum (D) 'about 22 years ago not a fence or a dyke of any kind was to be seen in the whole parish. Now almost every farm is surrounded with a good fence, either of stone or hedge.' In Kirkpatrick-Fleming (D) 'the wretched mode of cultivation, which formerly prevailed all over this country, begins now gradually to disappear — the intelligent farmer is now fully convinced, that a well-chosen rotation of crops and regular cessation from tillage by laying his fields under grass are of the utmost importance to husbandry.' In Wigtown (W) 'till of late, this parish, as indeed all the rest of the country formed one continued open — every farm is now enclosed.' In Tongland (K) 'ancient prejudices are removed, and the face of this parish is almost totally changed of late, with respect to the mode of the management and cultivation of the soil. The lands are now enclosed with stone fences, and the several farms sub-divided by stone-fences, ditches or hedges, suited to the nature of the different soils. The farmers are now convinced of the great benefit of different kinds of manure.'

Another marked feature of the *OSA* is the improvement in the quality of living. In Sorbie (W) 'the manners, dress, and style of living of the people are all much changed within the last 50 years. Before that period they knew little of the happy effects of industry, and therefore lived upon meal, milk and vegetables. Their dress and houses were very mean — Now everything bears a new aspect, and the people share the luxuries of their station with their more southern neighbours.' In Twynholm (K) 'since the year 1763 (that was the end of the Seven Years War with France) there is a vast difference in the houses, dress and manner of living. There were then only two houses covered with slate; now there are about thirty.' In Johnstone (D) the inhabitants' 'dress, diet and lodging are much amended within these twenty or even ten years.' In Kirkpatrick-Juxta (D) 'fifty years ago silk and cotton were very rarely to be seen; now a servant maid cannot be in dress without both. There were then no watches but the minister's; now there is scarcely a man servant who is without one.' In Mouswald (D) 'dress and the mode of living are much improved within these 40 years; and a change to the better seems to have taken place in the minds of the inhabitants, who can now laugh at the superstition and credulity of their ancestors.' These dramatic changes were also taking place over much of Scotland. The turning-point seems to have been about 1750 following the final defeat of the Jacobites and the resulting greater political and constitutional stability encouraging the economy.

The second half of the 18th century also saw a dramatic increase in Scotland's population from 1,265,380 in 1755 to 1,608,420 in 1801. The increases were most marked in the bigger towns such as Glasgow, Edinburgh, Paisley, Dundee and Aberdeen. In Galloway and Dumfriesshire there was a mixed pattern. The population of Dumfries grew from 4,517 to 5,600. There was also substantial growth in towns such as Stranraer (W), Creetown (K), Langholm (D) and Lockerbie (D) and in the recently developed Castle

Douglas (K), Dalbeattie (K) and Kirkpatrick-Durham (K). Outside towns and villages the population increased in most parishes but declined or had little increase in others. The minister for Old Luce (W) was typical in blaming rural depopulation on the union of two or more farms in recent decades. These unions decreased the number of farmers and farm-workers. Enclosures also rendered herds unnecessary. The decrease in Ewes (D) was attributed in some measure to the difficulty the poor found in procuring fuel.

Increases in population were partly attributed to inoculation against smallpox. (Inoculation with a small amount of smallpox pus had been introduced into the United Kingdom in 1721. The safer vaccination with cowpox was not devised until 1796 after the Accounts had been written). In Morton (D) 'inoculation has for a considerable number of years been practised with the greatest success. It is now pretty general.' The contribution for Sanquhar (D) referred to the success attending the inoculation of children. In Kirkcudbright 'inoculation is universally practised, and with great success.' There were, however, still some people who were prejudiced against it. In Mochrum (W) 'the prejudices entertained by vulgar minds against this salutary expedient, though not totally extirpated, are gradually yielding to the advice and example of the better informed.' In Applegarth (D) most still entertained strong prejudices, and in Kirkpatrick-Juxta (D) the common people were strongly prejudiced against it. Another reason for the survival of children was the construction of houses with better materials, as mentioned in the account for Urr (K).

Despite all these improvements there was considerable poverty and hardship for rural labourers. The minister for Kirkiner (W) referred to their 'hard drudgery'. According to the contribution for Dornock and Graitney (D) the annual expenses including house-rent and fuel for a labourer with a wife and 4 children were about £15 to £18 pa, whereas his own earnings were less. The difference was made up by what his wife could earn from harvest-work or spinning. There was little, if any, margin. One of the main problems in life was obtaining sufficient fuel. The minister for Crossmichael (K) referred to 'the scarcity and dearness of fuel.' There were three sources of fuel: peats, coal and sticks. In Glencairn (D) 'peats had to be brought 6 or 7 miles.' In Johnstone (D) 'peats were got at a great expense' and 'the nearest coal was at Sanquhar (D), at least 30 miles off, and the road very bad.' In Kells (K) the peat-moss was 'inaccessible to carts by reason of the badness of the roads' and had to be carried in sacks on horses, but the poorer people without horses had to use 'broom, furze and other brush-wood.' In Westerkirk (D) peat was the only fuel previously in use, but it could now be found in any considerable quantity only on the tops of the hills, and consequently coals had become part of the fuel used in almost every family. The plight of the poor was stated by the minister for Kirkiner (W): 'A human being pinched with cold, when confined within doors, is always an inactive being. The day-light during the winter is spent by many of the women and children in gathering sticks, furze or broom for fuel, and the evening in warming their shivering limbs before the scanty fire which this produces.' The problem militated against cottage industries. Another problem from shortage of fuel was stated in Urr (K): 'nine-tenths of the diseases, which afflict the poorer part of the people, are those of debility, and chiefly arise from cold.' There was nevertheless little rural destitution. Those requiring help were assisted mainly from church collections and in some parishes also from legacies and donations.

Although the Accounts gave details about the parish schools such as the subjects taught and the number of pupils, the information was limited. There was very little about the quality of the teaching and the extent of attendance. Teachers were poorly paid compared with ministers, and the low salaries may not have attracted well-qualified persons. In some of the larger parishes there were additional schools, or private teachers were hired. It is nevertheless not clear how many children had some schooling. Another problem, which was mentioned in Leswalt (W) was that towards the summer season pupils were 'generally called off to assist their parents in country matters.' In Keir (D) 'the number of scholars in the winter is between 30 and 40, during the rest of the year they are not so numerous, many of them being employed in herding or any other occupations suited to their years and strength.'

Another omission in the Accounts is the lack of information on how rural people bought and sold goods and obtained money. There were local craftsmen such as smiths, joiners, tailors, masons and shoe-makers, but the Accounts do not state what the few shops offered. Towns, however, were becoming more sophisticated. Dumfries 'has become remarkable as a provincial town for elegance, information and varied amusement.' In Stranraer (W) 'new houses, finished in a style that would not disgrace even some of our richer and more populous towns, are rising every year.' The houses in Whithorn were 'generally covered with slates and made very commodious.' Banking facilities were also becoming available. After the 1745 Rebellion new banks and bank branches began to spread across Scotland instead of being confined to Edinburgh. The account for Dumfries mentioned branches of three different banks. In Gatehouse of Fleet (K) a branch of the Paisley Union Bank had recently been established and 'transacts business to a considerable extent,' and Castle Douglas (K) had also obtained a branch bank.

Most parishioners were applauded by their ministers for their morals and conduct. Some ministers, such as those in Langholm (D) and Stranraer (W), were alarmed over the consequences from the increase in drinking of whisky. Ministers also denounced the adverse effects of smuggling. The Solway Firth was notorious in the 18th century for smuggling. In Crossmichael (K) 'smuggling, for which our local situation is but too favourable, (probably as a route northwards), tends to relax every moral obligation.' The decline in Kirkcudbright's trade was blamed on the illegal commerce which had deranged all ideas of fair and upright dealing. The account for Ruthwell (D) asserted that 'previously all the people living in the Solway Firth were more or less concerned in it.' Although the trade was declining, it had not been entirely suppressed. Yet references to it in the *OSA* are surprisingly few. Possibly some of the authors were coy or discreet about admitting its prevalence in their parishes.

The contributions in the *OSA* are full of information on many other topics including the numbers and breeds of livestock and the suitability of the local soil for certain crops. There are, however, important omissions such as information on the construction of the rural dwellings and the range of household possessions. There is little information on diet. Potatoes were a basic food for many. In Minnigaff (K) a great part of the sustenance came from them. The parish minister for Kirkpatrick-Irongray (K) stated that great quantities of potatoes were planted in the country all round Dumfries, and they afforded at least one meal in the day for three quarters of the year to most families. He also asserted that if 'no

more potatoes were raised than what were 40 years ago, there would be a scarcity of provision in most years from the increase of population.' In Stranraer (W) they formed a very great and important article of food especially for the poor, and in Sanquhar (D) they also formed a very considerable part of the subsistence of the poor. The contributions also do not reflect the sufferings of those with serious illnesses. There was little, if any, medical help, though in fairness to the authors it must be remembered that the people of the 1790s had no conception of the major medical and surgical advances which lay ahead.

The New Statistical Account

The contributions for Dumfriesshire and Wigtownshire were written in the 1830s, and both Accounts were published in 1841. Those for Kirkcudbrightshire were written or revised in the early 1840s, and the Account was published in 1845. These Accounts were compiled just before the onset of the Railway Age in the three counties, and also just before or just after the Disruption of 1843 in the Church of Scotland – the single most significant event in Scotland that century. As in the *OSA* there are some very detailed contributions on Natural History and Geology.

One of the significant changes from the time of the *OSA* was another marked improvement in the quality of life. This was noted in several parishes. In Kirkcolm (W) 'when the former Statistical Account was drawn up, there was only one slated farm-house; now, on all the considerable farms, in number about 40, the farm-houses are slated, and in general are handsomely furnished.' In the town of Kirkcudbright 'the people are now better fed, better clothed, and better lodged.' In the remote Kells parish (K) 'upon the whole the social condition of the people is on the advance, and though some may talk of the good old times, as if want and misery had then been almost unknown, were their fathers, who kept a few potatoes as a treat for Halloween, bled their cattle in spring to make blood puddings, sent their children to school with "a cauld kail blade" in their pockets for a piece, and luxuriated on black oats and braxy (the salted flesh of a sheep that died from disease), to revisit the parish, they would be astonished to behold comforts and refinements in the dwellings of the farmers, and even in many of the peasantry, which in their day were unknown even in the houses of men of moderate landed property.' In Kirkpatrick-Juxta (D) 'the improvements made since 1800 have been very remarkable, chiefly in the church, the schools, the farm-buildings, the roads, fences and lands. It is not less remarkable on the dress of the people; and has also been considerable in their mode of living.' In Durisdeer (D) 'the improved mode of agriculture, the new farm-steadings, the enclosures, and the increased facilities of internal communication by roads and bridges, are the most striking differences betwixt the present state of the parish and that which existed at the time of the former Statistical Account.'

There were only a few direct allusions to poverty, but these reveal the real life of many people. In Borgue (K) 'cases of much hardship and privation often come under our notice.' In Kirkpatrick-Durham (K) there were 'many cases suffering from the dire effects of extreme poverty.' In Hutton and Corrie (D) 'the general condition of cottagers is far from comfortable. The old clay or stone and turf houses are disappearing; and substantial cottages, built with stone and lime and slated, are rising in their stead. But these

last do not rise in sufficient numbers, and the accommodation of great numbers of poor families is very wretched. It is not uncommon to see two families, each pretty numerous, living in one of these old cottages.' The contribution for Portpatrick (W) asserted that 'the agricultural population are generally much poorer, and do not live as well as in the better cultivated and more populous districts of Scotland.'

As in the times of the *OSA* there was still a problem over obtaining fuel. The upland parishes tended to rely on peat. In Carsphairn (K) 'peats are more or less used by all the families.' In some parishes such as Stonykirk (W), Old Luce (W), Parton (K), Balmaghie (K) and Balmaclellan (K) peat was available in abundance, but in others including Kirkpatrick-Durham (K), Kirkgunzeon (K), Troqueer (K) and Wamphray (D) the mosses were nearly exhausted. Another problem was mentioned in Eskdalemuir (D) where the usual fuel was peat. 'In dry years a sufficient store can be laid up; but in wet seasons our situation is uncomfortable.' There was also the problem of carting peat. The contribution for Kirkpatrick-Fleming (D) stated that 27 cart-loads of peat were considered sufficient for a cottager's family, which has only one constant fire. Some parishes, such as Minnigaff (K) and Kirkmabreck (K) relied on a mixture of peat, coal and wood. Coal, however, was expensive away from parishes which could obtain it from Ayrshire, Sanquhar (D), Kirkconnel (D), Canonbie (D) or Cumberland. In St. Mungo (D) the peat-mosses were exhausted, and the price of coal was high. Coal from Cumberland was the common fuel in Kirkcudbright, Twynholm (K) and Kirkbean (K).

The diet of the less wealthy was very limited. It was probably monotonous but at least fairly wholesome. Food may have become more plentiful with improved farming, but the basic diet was similar to that in previous decades. In St Mungo (D) 'their ordinary food is oatmeal, potatoes, and the produce of a small garden, with bacon, and occasionally a piece of beef salted for the winter.' In Tinwald (D) 'oatmeal pottage, with milk, is the general breakfast of the peasantry. Potatoes among the working-classes commonly occupy a principal place both at dinner and supper.' In Kirkinner (W) the ordinary food was porridge and milk to breakfast, broth with bacon and potatoes or oat-cake to dinner, and porridge or beat potatoes to supper. In Inch (W) 'the ordinary food of the peasantry consists chiefly of oatmeal porridge, and bread, milk, cheese, potatoes, pork and herring.' In Balmaghie (K) most of the cottagers kept a pig or two and in this way they were supplied with an important article of food.

This Account, like the *OSA*, contained little about the level of attendance in schools and the quality of the teaching. As stated, however, in Kirkcolm (W) 'the people are generally much alive to the benefits of education', and in Tinwald (D) 'the people are fully alive to the advantages of instruction, and would much rather deprive themselves of many of the comforts of life than withhold from their children the benefits of a liberal education.' In Cummertrees (D) 'education, within these 30 years, has produced a very favourable change in the manners and habits of the people. It has enlarged their ideas, polished their address, and freed them from much prejudice and superstition. No ghosts, fairies, or brownies are to be heard of now.' In some parishes, however, there were difficulties. In New Luce (W) 'more than one-half of the farmers' children receive no benefit from the parochial school. (the only school in the parish) on account of their distance, and they are generally taught by young lads, who are hired to live in their families through the winter season.' There was

a similar problem in Wamphray (D) where the children of shepherds, especially in winter, were either taught at home by their parents or a young lad was engaged. In Minnigaff (K) there was also the problem that many parts of the parish were so distant from any school, (being from six to ten miles distant over moors and bogs), as to prove a serious obstacle to attendance. The families were mostly those of poor shepherds. Several of the families united to hire a young lad as a teacher, but as they could not afford to give much beyond food it was sometimes difficult to obtain a teacher.

Farming continued to improve. In Buittle (K) 'zeal for agricultural improvements has greatly increased, new implements of husbandry have been introduced, and better kinds of grain cultivated. In Kirkgunzeon (K) 'upon the whole, the system of agriculture has been greatly changed to the better, and the produce of the land doubled within these 20 years.' In Glencairn (D) the arable land had been more than quadrupled in the last 50 years. Many other parishes including Sorbie (W) and Tinwald (D) reported similar improvements. In Crossmichael (K), however, it was considered that much more could be done in draining wet lands, and it was regretted in Tundergarth (D) that the parish was so bare of wood, as it would be much benefited by additional shelter. The report on Kirkpatrick-Durham (K) made the very important point that a great proportion of the farmers were engaged in the cattle trade but it was insecure depending on a rise or fall in prices. The introduction of steam-ships sailing from harbours on the Solway to Liverpool, however, was a boon to farmers as it gave them an alternative to droving in sending livestock to English markets.

The overall trend in population was upward from the times of the *OSA*. Between 1801 and 1831 the population of Dumfriesshire had risen from 54,597 to 73,770 and that of Wigtonshire from 22,918 to 36,258. In Kirkcudbrightshire it had increased from 29,211 in 1801 to 41,119 in 1841. The pattern, however, was again mixed. There were substantial increases in towns such as Stranraer (W), Kirkcudbright, Dumfries, Castle Douglas (K) and Annan (D). In several parishes in Wigtonshire (including Stranraer, Whithorn, and Penninghame) there were references to the immigration of poor people from Ireland. This influx seems to have become more significant within the previous 40 to 50 years. The Accounts, on the other hand, contained indications of rural depopulation. In Kirkinner (W) there were remains of many old steadings, and in Kirkgunzeon (K) 'in some places where five or six families formerly resided, there is not a stone left to mark where the cottages stood.' One reason for a fall in rural population was the practice on some estates, as experienced in Tynron (D) and Penpont (D), of enlarging the size of farms for letting. As a result some families moved into towns and villages. In St Mungo (D) 'one tenant at present rents a single farm, which not many years since gave employment to six tenants and their families.' Another reason was emigration to North America as mentioned in Kirkpatrick-Fleming (D) and Hutton and Corrie (D). From Kirkinner (W) a great number of the young men went to England, and many of the young women to Glasgow, Paisley and Edinburgh as servants.

It is not surprising that the parish ministers commented on the morals and character of their parishioners. They were gratified that a change from the times of the *OSA* was the end of smuggling. This change was mentioned especially along the Solway coast in parishes such as Kirkmaiden (W), Sorbie (W), Colvend and Southwick (K), Caerlaverock (D), Ruthwell (D) and Dornock (D). In Girthon (K) smuggling 'prevailed here (as it did

along the whole Galloway coast) to a very great extent about fifty years ago; but such a character as a smuggler does not now exist.' Poaching, however, was rife in many parishes. In Cummertrees (D) it was regretted that 'the demoralising habit of poaching in game has increased much of late years.' Poaching in game was carried on to a great extent in Penninghame (W) and was described as 'decidedly a most demoralising practice.' In Kirkgunzeon (K) 'the quantity of game caught at night is incredible.' There was also concern about the numbers of ale-houses. In Dumfries 'upon a moderate average, no fewer than 168 individuals annually have licences granted them to sell ale and spirits, and the effect upon the morals of the population is truly deplorable.' In Torthorwald (D) 'there are no fewer than five ale, or rather whisky houses in this parish, while there is really no use for one in a place so near Dumfries; and nothing is more pernicious to the industry and morals of the people.' In Tundergarth (D) one house had been licensed some years previously, but 'so many complaints were made against it, that measures were taken by those concerned to prevent a renewal of the licence.'

In retrospect there are disappointing omissions. There is very little on public health, though an outbreak of cholera in Dumfries in 1832 and the measures to deal with it were described in detail. There is also hardly any information about shops and their contents, domestic furnishings and utensils, and methods of lighting, cooking and heating. Little attention is given to the construction of houses but progress was being made. In Annan (D) 'the modern mansion-houses of the resident gentry, as well as the farm-houses, are now built in a more elegant and commodious form.' In Dunscore (D) the old thatched houses had in a great measure disappeared, and all the new houses were either slated or covered with thin flags or slabs of the red freestone peculiar to the county. In Girthon (K) 'almost every farm-house has been rebuilt; and instead of rude hovels of one storey, the new tenements are of two storeys, and distinguished as much for comfort and convenience, if not elegance, as the old ones were for meanness and want of the most obvious accommodations. Houses of all kinds were, with few exceptions, thatched with straw; now they are almost all covered with slate.'

In the 50 years since the *OSA* there had been substantial progress in these three counties but without the dramatic technological changes which would occur before the Third Statistical Account. For most people conditions were still frugal, and life was harsh for those with infirmities.

The Third Statistical Account

The parish contributions were written mainly in the early 1950s but some were not completed until the early 1960s. The Dumfriesshire volume was published in 1962, and the combined volume for Kirkcudbrightshire and Wigtownshire in 1965. The structure of the contributions is broadly similar to those in the *NSA*, but there is much less information on wild life and flowers – a sign of changing interests. In Kirkmahoe (D) little interest was taken by the young people in birds and beasts and flowers, but they knew about the radio and some could drive their father's tractor before they could read or write!

As over a century had passed since the *NSA*, living styles and conditions had altered very considerably, especially with the introduction of electricity, improved hospitals,

schools, water supplies and sewage disposal, and the use of motor vehicles. It is therefore difficult to cover all the many changes. One of the most fundamental was that the stability of the Victorian era had been shattered by the two World Wars. This Account did not reflect the heavy casualties in the First World War nor the subsequent high unemployment, and the contributions were written some years after the end of the Second World War. The account for Girthon and Gatehouse (K) nevertheless stated that undoubtedly the greatest upheavals to parochial life and economy had been caused by the wars. In Kirkpatrick-Durham (K) the wars had 'profound effects.' Stranraer (W) 'underwent a transformation after 1939. Greater changes have been witnessed in the past decade than in the preceding sixty years.' In Girthon and Gatehouse (K) it was pointed out that 'the cost of living has increased enormously since the Second World War with its disastrous effect on Britain's vested wealth and general economy.' In the contribution for Kirkcudbright it was commented that 'youth is restless and undecided, which is surely not to be wondered at, when one remembers the heritage from two World Wars.'

Changes in rural life since the *NSA* included several trends which became even more obvious in the second half of the 20th century such as the union or closure of churches and the closure of small rural schools. The trend was encapsulated in the Penpont (D) account: 'since 1850 the history of the parish simply reflects the history of the country in general and the word that is writ large across the record of the last 100 years – centralisation.' Another significant change was the drop in the population of nearly all the rural areas. This was attributed to the grouping of small farms into larger ones, increasing mechanisation, smaller families, preference among young people for urban life, and less domestic employment for girls. In Terregles (K) the young people went to Dumfries for their secondary education, and this tended to make them urban-minded. Lairds in Glencairn (D) used to employ many hands but were now sorely reduced by heavy taxation. In Westerkirk (D) it was asserted that 'the system of centralising education is by no means popular, and is put down as one of the fundamental causes of rural depopulation.' In Cummertrees (D) 'the people have been steadily leaving the land. Even to-day with guaranteed minimum farm wages, agricultural work does not attract the younger generation with its irregular hours and constant responsibility.' In New Luce (W) there was no work for the young people apart from agriculture, and they therefore left for the towns at the first opportunity. 'Many cottages in the parish are unoccupied and have become dilapidated and ruinous.' In Girthon (K) the old wayside cottages are often found 'unoccupied and falling into ruin'. On the positive side many farm houses had been modernised and there was much less rural poverty. Several contributions such as those for Applegarth (D), New Luce (W), and Kirkpatrick-Juxta (D) stressed this.

In addition to mechanisation farming had been transformed in several ways. Drovers had stopped taking sheep and cattle to market. Instead they were transported in vehicles. Many farms no longer had horses. In Stranraer parish (W) 'every year the number of horses shows a decrease — the last of the railway horses disappeared ten years ago.' In Kirkmaiden (W) 'once noted for the breeding of Clydesdale horses the sight of a foal is a rarity.' Blacksmiths were also disappearing. The smithy at Laurieston (K) had closed down and was not likely to be reopened. There were no blacksmiths left in Glasserton (W) and Portpatrick (W). In Ruthwell (D) the remaining blacksmiths undertook a wider range

of work. In Lochmaben (D) 'the blacksmith has become a motor mechanic and repairer of farm implements.' Another change due to the decline in the number of horses (and the consumption of breakfast cereals rather than porridge) was the reduction in the sowing of oats, as mentioned by the minister of Troqueer (K).

Cheesemakers were also vanishing from the farms as a result of milk-tankers collecting milk for creameries. In the parish of Inch (W) 'thirty years ago many farmers specialised in cheese, but it is now a rare thing to find a farmer who makes any at all.' In Kirkcolm (W) only one farmer continued the old practice. In Middlebie (D) 'little butter or cheese is now made on the farms; almost all the milk is sent out of the parish.' In former times in Kirkconnel (D) 'Dunlop cheese was made on the farms on a great scale, but this ceased in 1933.' The account for Hutton and Corrie (D) made the further points that the local cheese 'did not fetch a lucrative price in view of the abundance of imported supplies, and this, combined with the drudgery involved in the making of the cheese, gradually led many of the farmers to change over to the selling of milk.'

Foot-and-mouth disease affected much of the south-west of Scotland in 1952, but surprisingly there were very few references to it. Lochrutton (K) escaped, although there were serious outbreaks to the north-east of the parish. 'Much anxiety was caused among the farming community on account of closed markets, general restrictions of sale and movement of livestock, and veterinary inspection. Some of the older folk recalled the stories heard from their parents of the days when cattle were allowed to take freely of the disease and get better by nature's means instead of the elimination of whole flocks and herds in pursuance of the policy of slaughtering.' The minister of Stranraer (W) referred to the cancellation of its Cattle Show in 1952 due to the outbreak of the disease in the Machars. That for Dumfries Burgh stated that 'in large areas surrounding Dumfries cattle were slaughtered in such numbers that none survived for miles. The effect on Dumfries of the closing of the markets and the absence from the town of the farming community on market days was grievous, and the interdependence of the rural and urban communities was brought home to everyone.'

On a positive note the contribution for New Abbey (K) pointed out that electrical power was also used in a dairy for refrigeration, water-cooling, milking by machinery, and sterilisation of utensils. Another development during the 20th century was the cultivation of early potatoes for marketing in sheltered areas in the west of Wigtownshire. The farmers objected to these being called 'Ayrshires'! It was claimed that supplies from the Rhins were 'invariably first on the city market – sometimes in the closing days of May, but mostly in the opening days of June.' In Leswalt (W) 'early potatoes are grown fairly extensively on the ground close to the shores of Loch Ryan, where the mildness of the climate proves excellent for the crop.'

A marked change in the countryside was the growth of afforestation, especially by the Forestry Commission which had been set up in 1919. Reaction varied. The additional employment was welcomed. The minister for Balmaghie (K) stressed that 'afforestation will go a long way in the arrest and reversal of rural depopulation.' That for Closeburn (D) stated that the newly-planted Forest of Ae had provided work for over 100 men for some years, and that timber production would provide jobs for hundreds. On the other hand, in

Colvend and Southwick (K) there was local criticism that the coniferous trees gave shelter to pests such as foxes, rabbits and carrion crows. In Carsphairn (K) and Kells (K) there were reservations about the loss of land for sheep. The account for Dalton (D) mentioned another aspect of forestry: there had been no planting of hardwoods in the last 100 years or so in the parish.

The *TSA* was compiled before some of the most drastic cuts in the railway lines, but the passenger services between Newton Stewart (W) and Whithorn (W) and from Stranraer (W) to Portpatrick (W) had been withdrawn in 1950. Other early closures included the passenger services between Dumfries and Moniaive (D) in 1943 and from Dumfries to Lockerbie (D) in 1952. These closures were caused by and partly balanced by the convenience of bus services. In Kells (K) buses were now 'used by passengers much more than the railway, and road haulage is increasingly replacing the railway for goods traffic.' The introduction of motor vehicles also led to other changes. Rural areas now had the advantage of travelling shops. In Rerrick (K) 'supplies of groceries, bread and butcher-meat are delivered through the parish by means of vans from neighbouring towns.' In Kirkinner (W) 'the villages are served by travelling vans – the grocer, butcher, baker, fishmonger, milkman and ironmonger all call regularly.' In Inch (W) 'grocers' and bakers' vans call once and in some cases twice a week at even the most isolated houses.' The necessities of life were brought to the homes in Half Morton (D) 'by motor vans that call regularly with groceries, butcher meat, fruit and vegetables, bread and cakes and other commodities.' Motor vehicles allowed men in Hoddum (D) to travel long distances to work in Annan (D), Carlisle and Lockerbie (D). The account for Johnstone (D), however, confessed that 'the people seem to have lost the art of walking any distance.'

Some parishes mentioned the development of facilities for tourists. In Colvend and Southwick (K) 'there are numerous huts, annexes and houses to let by week or month during the holiday season, and the population increases greatly between June and the third week of September.' Borgue (K) referred to the popularity of its shores with summer visitors, and stated that Brighthouse Bay was thronged with caravans in the summer months. The account for Portpatrick (K) mentioned that it had 'developed as a summer resort about 60 years ago' and that 'many houses now display a 'Bed and Breakfast' notice.' Dumfries reported that many long-distance bus tours provided for a stay overnight there, and that 'during the tourist season it is not unusual to see 50 buses from different parts of Scotland and England parked on the Whitesands.' During the time of the Blackpool illuminations police in Lockerbie (D) had 'to time-table the hundreds of buses that pour through in a non-stop procession.' In Moffat (D) due to bus and car traffic in summer 'an average of 100 to 600 trippers stopped there every day for at least one meal.' A rival type of holiday, however, had appeared by 1960 as 'many people now spend their summer holidays abroad – such travel is frequently by air.'

Many of the changes since the *NSA* had brought great benefits. There was, however, regret and nostalgia about some changes. One of the most frequently mentioned was the decline in church attendance, especially among young men. In Kirkbean (K) 'church attendance was not what it used to be; the decline set in after the First World War. Sunday is not observed as in the past'. In Kirkcudbright 'Sunday is becoming increasingly a day for pleasure and indolence, for motoring to visit friends or some nearby shore.' The

account for Cummertrees (D) stated that ‘pressure of public opinion no longer enforces membership, nor does respectability demand conforming adherence.’ Another change was mentioned in Kirkpatrick-Juxta (D): ‘Many of the old sayings and customs of the countryside have now died out and members of the present generation seldom quote the proverbs or use the expressions of their grandfather’s time.’ It is surprising that there was hardly any mention of the loss of the old Scots words. At least Kirkinner (W) observed that ‘some of the most delightful words – yestreen, clachan, yaul, bien – are being lost.’ (Last night, small village, yell, and comfortable respectively!). The account for Ruthwell (D) stated that ‘old customs and superstitions have passed away. Only guisers at Halloween remains and in a diminished form.’ On a brighter note in Kirkconnel (D) ‘almost every house in the new housing area has a Christmas tree, brightly illuminated with coloured lights and adorned with gifts.’

Although the Statistical Accounts contain a wealth of information, modern readers with the advantage of hindsight would have welcomed much more information, especially in the first two Accounts, on public health, the problems of infirmities, educational standards and school attendance. There is also a lack of information in all of the Accounts on rural depopulation – a subject of major importance for rural counties. Were there, for example, any deliberate clearances or significant rural migrations after enclosures began in the 18th century? In the Accounts there are only a few brief, vague indications of abandoned dwellings and villages. It seems that there has been little, if any, research on this topic and all its ramifications in these counties. This is a subject which merits research.

What further use can be made of the Accounts? They are mines of valuable information for many branches of history including ecclesiastical, economic, educational and social. Antiquarians and archaeologists may be able to trace artefacts and examine sites which are mentioned in the Old and New Accounts but have not yet been investigated. Natural historians could study the lists of animals, birds, fish, trees and wild flowers to check what have declined or disappeared or increased. It is also time for a Fourth Statistical Account. Many changes have taken place since the Third Statistical Account, and these need to be recorded. The pace of change is accelerating. New descriptions are needed to provide a record for posterity. Who will have the thews to organise it?

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CALLY DESIGNED LANDSCAPE

by Nic Coombey¹

Introduction

This report has arisen from the production of a management plan for Cally designed landscape for the Gatehouse Development Initiative in 2007. That plan is a practical tool to inform management and maintenance of the landscape and interpretation and enjoyment of the asset. A copy is held in the Local Studies section of the Ewart Library, Dumfries. Cally has been designated as a nationally important designed landscape and also falls within the area designated as the Fleet Valley National Scenic Area (NSA) due to the high quality landscape. Funding for the plan came from a number of sources, including the NSA management project run by Dumfries and Galloway Council. One aim of this project is to make information about NSAs widely available. This paper describes the development of the designed landscape within its historical and landscape context.

Designed landscapes are defined as grounds that have been laid out for artistic effect and usually contain architectural features, gardens, woodland and parkland. They are historic environments which are special resources, overlying the more functional demands and needs of an estate and providing evidence about how people lived in Scotland in the past. They continue to have relevance to us today because our current use of them gains enormously from an understanding of their designed purpose as well as contributing to the distinct character of the landscape.

In many ways the grounds of Cally provide a good example of how an 18th century designed landscape has evolved to meet current needs and yet has survived the stresses it has been placed under without being hopelessly compromised. The grounds have been fragmented into several ownerships, and uses including; woodland managed by Forestry Commission Scotland, Cally Palace Hotel and golf course, Cally Gardens plant nursery, Cally Mains farmland, recreation grounds and a number of private dwellings. Although the designed landscape at Cally is now largely hidden by forestry planting and despite the unfortunate loss of some of the parks much of the structure and many features are still recognisable. The veteran trees in a parkland setting contribute to the air of respectable antiquity that is valuable to Cally Palace Hotel and Cally Gardens and the woodland structure continues to make an important contribution to the landscape quality of Fleet Valley National Scenic Area.

Setting

Cally house and the surrounding designed landscape is located immediately to the south of Gatehouse of Fleet in the most southerly part of Scotland on the northern coast of the Irish Sea. The study area consists of the designated site north of the A75, identified in An Inventory of Gardens and Designed Landscapes in Scotland Volume 2: Dumfries and Galloway and Strathclyde, compiled by The Countryside Commission for Scotland

¹ Solway Heritage, Campbell House, The Crichton, Bankend Road, Dumfries, DG1 4ZB

and The Scottish Development Department Historic Buildings Directorate in 1987, (now Historic Scotland and Scottish Natural Heritage), and the non designated area south of the A75 which extends south to include the Deer Park. The extent of the parks and pleasure grounds associated with Cally House has historically included the parks enclosed by; Avenue Woods, Lake Wood, Barhill, Crowhill, White Hill, Whillan Woods and Laundry Wood. Although the Cally Estate extended over Girthon, Borgue, Tynholm and Anworth Parishes the designed landscape was focused on the immediate surroundings of Cally house.

The parks and pleasure grounds around Cally house are close to sea level and have an insular climate that is damp with relatively mild winters and cool summers. In common with other western areas of Scotland, the heaviest rainfall occurs in the winter with spring being the driest time of year. A long growing season and low incidence of frost allows many plants to thrive. The coast is moderately exposed to the prevailing south-westerly winds.

The basic rock formations below the parks and pleasure grounds around Cally are sedimentary deposits of greywackes and shales lain down on an ocean bed 440 million years ago. When two continents collided the ocean floor was folded and stacked together to form mountains. Igneous intrusions are located to the north where a coarse grained granite formed when the molten rock slowly cooled. The mountains have been eroded and the landscape reshaped over millions of years leaving parallel ridges of bed rock on Bar Hill and Deer park. When the ice retreated from the last ice age the gently undulating ground was left with a layer of boulder clays including the granite boulders used on top of many of the dry stone dykes that circle Cally. The Water of Fleet has deposited river alluvium creating the flood plain and mud flats found in the estuary.

Cally designed landscape is located on the eastern slopes of the Fleet Valley where the river joins Wigtown Bay on the Irish Sea and is situated within the Fleet Valley National Scenic Area. The National Scenic Area designation highlights the national importance of the landscape character and scenic qualities of the landscape with the intention that special care should be taken to conserve and enhance it. The diverse elements of the landscape types combine to provide a landscape of high scenic value. Views are gained from the slightly elevated grounds of Cally to the south across the Fleet Estuary and north and west to the hills, but most of the views from within the designed landscape are often obscured by the trees of the coastal shelter belts and forestry planting. The distant and near views of the designed landscape from the surrounding countryside are of extensive broadleaf woodland which together with the estate walls provide a significant contribution to the National Scenic Area. The construction of the Gatehouse of Fleet bypass made a cutting through the designed landscape and altered the views from vehicles using the A75 trunk road. The woodland belts are first seen from the middle distance but the corridor through Cally has also become a landscape feature.

The town owes its origins to the vision of James Murray who, in the 18th century, set out to establish a settlement supported by industries that harnessed the power of water. There has always been a close relationship between the Murrays of Broughton and Cally and the community in Gatehouse of Fleet that continues today through the work of the

Murray Usher Foundation. An early public road between Gatehouse of Fleet and the parish church at Girthon ran through the middle of the Cally grounds and although this was disputed in 1856 a right of way still remains. A visitor in 1876 noted that ‘Mr. Murray Stewart, with a liberty which is commendable in the highest degree, and worthy of imitation by others, permits strangers to have access to the grounds of Cally, on their applying to his factor, who gives cards of admission, which are available from 10 till 2 o’clock on Tuesdays and Thursdays’,².

The grounds at Cally include a variety of woodland which is predominantly broadleaf and wetland that provide valuable wildlife habitats as well as contributing to the recreational resource. Most of the woodland is mixed plantation and some has been classified as Ancient woodland of semi-natural origin or plantation origin. The Local Biodiversity Action Plan (LBAP) identifies objectives for many of the habitats and species found at Cally. The main priority of the Action Plan is ensuring that there is no net loss in area or reduction in quality or diversity of wildlife. LBAP species recorded at Cally include; Bluebell, Variable Damselfly, Slow-Worm, Adder, Kingfisher, Otter and Red Squirrel. In addition to LBAP species there are several species of note, particularly associated with Cally Lake. A small heronry with about 5 nests is present beside the lake. The lake is also used by 100-200 wintering Wigeon and Teal and 15-20 Little Grebes have been recorded in winter. Water Rails are often seen and Otter have been noted with young on the lake.

Development of the Designed Landscape

The earliest evidence of people living at Cally is provided by a physical feature found within the designed landscape. Cally Motte is a well preserved 12th – 13th century earthwork that marks the location of a wooden castle on the summit of a five metre high mound which would have had a commanding defensive position overlooking the Fleet Estuary.

The first mention of Cally estate in written archives is from the 14th century when the lands were held by John Craigie of Dalmeny. By this time the house is likely to have been a tower house, the remains of which are located on the western side of Cally Lake. Later in the same century the estate passed by marriage to the Stewart family who sold the lands in 1418. The estate was associated again with the Stewart family when Donald Lennox married the widowed Elizabeth Stewart in 1430. The lands of Cally then remained in the Lennox family until 1658 when the male heirs failed to claim their inheritance and was taken up by the daughter, Anna Lennox, who was married to Richard Murray of Broughton. In 1664 Richard Murray inherited the family estate of Broughton, Wigtownshire and in the 1670s he inherited the Irish estate of Killibegs in Donegal, an estate the Murray family had obtained through a plantation grant by 1610. Their eldest son John Murray III inherited the estate in 1690 but died in 1704 when his younger brother Alexander Murray II took over the estates of Broughton, Cally and Killibegs.

Timothy Pont’s manuscript map surveyed in this area in 1594 is no longer available but was used as the basis for Blaeu’s *Atlas Novus* published sixty years later. See Figure 1 colour plate. Blaeu used symbols to represent features in the landscape and the map of

² Harper, MM’L (1876) *Rambles in Galloway*. Dalbeattie, Fraser

‘The Middle part of Galloway, which lyeth betweene the rivers Dee and Cree’ shows the area orientated with west at the top of the map. A bridge is shown over the Water of Fleet and a tower house, ‘Kelly’, is shown surrounded by trees and a stockade which was the convention for enclosed parkland. This representation is supported by the Sibbald appendixes to Andrew Symson’s *Large Description of Galloway* where the ‘Description of the Stewartrie of Kirkcudbright’ notes: ‘Kelly’ is one of the ‘considerable houses’ and that ‘the houses many of them are deckt well with planting’³.

Development in the Early 18th Century

Alexander Murray II inherited the estates at a time when the farming landscape was changing in Galloway. The landscape would have consisted of many fermtouns that relied on a system of arable rigs surrounded by lands used for rough grazing crossed by ill defined routes. This was communal living and subsistence farming in a largely uncultivated and unenclosed countryside where rents to the landlords were paid in kind. However the Galloway landscape and climate was ideally suited to a strongly pastoral agricultural system for breeding and fattening the hardy black cattle for the drove roads to England. The demands of the English markets meant livestock production was becoming commercialised and large cattle parks were being developed in the southern lowlands. As early as the 1680s David Dunbar of Baldoon had made large parks and was soon copied by neighbouring landowners.

Macky commented in 1722 that the Kirkcudbright district ‘provided the finest pasture for sheep and small black cattle’ and that ‘there is neither hedge nor ditch by the road’s side as in England; but wherever you see a body of trees, there is certainly a Laird’s House’. He noted that there was ‘a handsome seat call’d the Caily, belonging to Alexander Murray of Broughton, with a large park, which feeds one thousand bullocks, that he sends every year to the markets of England’⁴. Although there is no mention of gardens associated with Cally the Girthon Parish Records show that a John Davidson was a gardener at Cally at this time.

Alexander Murray II was the Member of Parliament for the Stewartry between 1715 – 1727 and will have been part of the gradual Anglicisation of Scottish gentry following the Act of the Union in 1707. The additional costs of a London establishment and the necessary conspicuous consumption meant increasing the income from their estates. A number of property deals and building projects seem to have been undertaken in the first half of the 18th century including a pair of pavilions at Cally, a modest mansion house in Gatehouse and in 1740 he obtained a town house in Kirkcudbright which was thereafter named Broughton House.

In 1726 he married Euphemia Stewart, daughter of James the 5th Earl of Galloway an influential neighbouring landowner in Wigtownshire. It was Euphemia’s brother, Alexander Lord Garlies, who was responsible for the building of Galloway House and

3 Symson, A (1823) *A large description of Galloway* by Andrew Symson, Minister of Kirkiner 1684. With an appendix containing original papers from the Sibbald and Macfarlane MSS. Edinburgh, Tait.

4 Macky, J (1722) *A journey through England and a journey through Scotland*. London, Hooke.

early development of its gardens in the 1740s. Alexander Lord Garlies relied on guidance from his uncle Sir John Clerk who had sat in the Scottish Parliament as a member for Whithorn, a position which was probably achieved through the influence of his first wife's brother, James the 5th Earl of Galloway. Sir John Clerk was an arbiter of taste and his practical views on landscape design is known because he wrote his advice on house and landscape in a poem 'The Country Seat'. Sir John Clerk was a patron of William Adam and he no doubt will have influenced the submission of a design for Galloway House, however, although Alexander Lord Garlies felt 'Mr Adams plan with some amendments would do mighty well'⁵ it was a design by John Douglas that he eventually commissioned.

Alexander Murray clearly had ambitions to develop a new mansion and gardens at Cally. William Adam wrote to the Hon Alexander Murray of Broughton in 1742 concerning a request 'to attend you at your house and there to concert a plan of what you propose to be built betwixt the two Pavilions you have already done with the laying out of some grounds'. The extent of the grounds to be designed was 'to be no more than the Gardens about the House & Avenue'⁶. William Adam would normally have set about the improvement of the estate by enclosing, ditching and draining, laying out approach roads and tree planting, partly for amenity but also as a source of future income. His career was based on his architectural commissions and it is unclear if any detailed garden designs were produced or implemented to accompany his proposals for a 'Great House' at Cally.

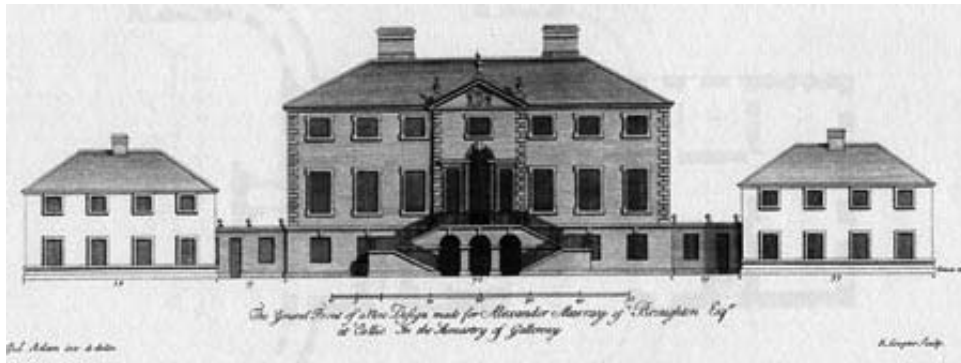


Figure 2 William Adam's proposal published in *Vitruvius Scoticus* in 1750.

Certainly the grounds were being developed by Alexander Murray at this time and he obtained lists and prices in 1742 from two of the principle nursery men near Edinburgh, Bain and Boutcher. The plant lists supplied 'included oak, elm, chestnut, plane and walnut trees as well as a selection of flowering shrubs and rootstocks for apples and pears'⁷.

At this time improvements were based on practical layouts of parks as Scottish landowners were often more concerned with estate management than pleasure grounds. New

5 Tait, A A (1980) *The Landscape Garden in Scotland 1735-1835*. Edinburgh University Press.

6 Letter from William Adam to Hon Alexander Murray of Broughton 1742 NAS GD 10/1421/vol.IVf212.

7 Nursery lists 1742 NAS GD 10/1421/Vol.IV ff.205 A and B.

gardens tended not to favour the old formal styles with avenues of deciduous trees and fruit orchards and were instead informal and serpentine.

The elements that made up the pleasure grounds at Cally at this time are uncertain and proposed improvements may not have been implemented because Alexander Murray was nearing the end of his life. He died in 1751 leaving the Cally estate to his son James Murray.

Roy's map 1747-55 provides supporting evidence showing the enclosure of large parks with lines of trees on some field boundaries. See Figure 3 colour plate. The building surrounded by an enclosure at Gatehouse of Fleet is likely to be Alexander Murray's modest mansion. A route leads south from this mansion to what may be a pair of pavilions in front of a garden area. An enclosure around three buildings and trees located immediately to the east of the pavilions may be an early walled garden or home farm.

A single line of trees running north-south from Gatehouse appears to be on the line of the future 'Cally Avenue'. The old military road is clearly marked on its east-west route and joining it from the south is a road from Kirkcudbright, however other less well defined routes are not shown.

Development in the Late 18th Century

James Murray inherited the estates in 1751 and the following year married his cousin Lady Catherine Stewart so strengthening the ties between the Murray and Stewart family. They had a daughter who died at a young age and he also had an illegitimate daughter, Ann Murray, who was brought up at Cally.

James Murray was keen to make changes to the estate and instructed Isaac Ware to produce a grand Palladian design for a Cally mansion. The development was not undertaken; however, the design was published in 1756, the same year that James Murray sold his town house, Broughton House, in Kirkcudbright.

The Stewart family provided inspiration and guidance for the new developments at Cally. In 1759 a draft design was sent from Rome by Robert Mylne to John Lord Garlies who was James Murray's brother in law and cousin at Galloway House. Mylne wrote 'I have sent you as you desired me, a sketch for Mr Murray's house' and included a detailed description of the house including advice on its location. 'The situation is supposed to be on a small rising ground, upon the easy declivity of a hill, fronting SSE. An extended plain before, for prospect: and the hill rising behind to preserve it from cold winds'⁸. The original sketch shows a large four storey house without pavilions. The mansion, eventually completed in 1765, was scaled down from the original design and may have incorporated the two flanking pavilions.

8 Letter from Mylne to Lord Garlies 1759 NAS GD 10/1421/287, 288A

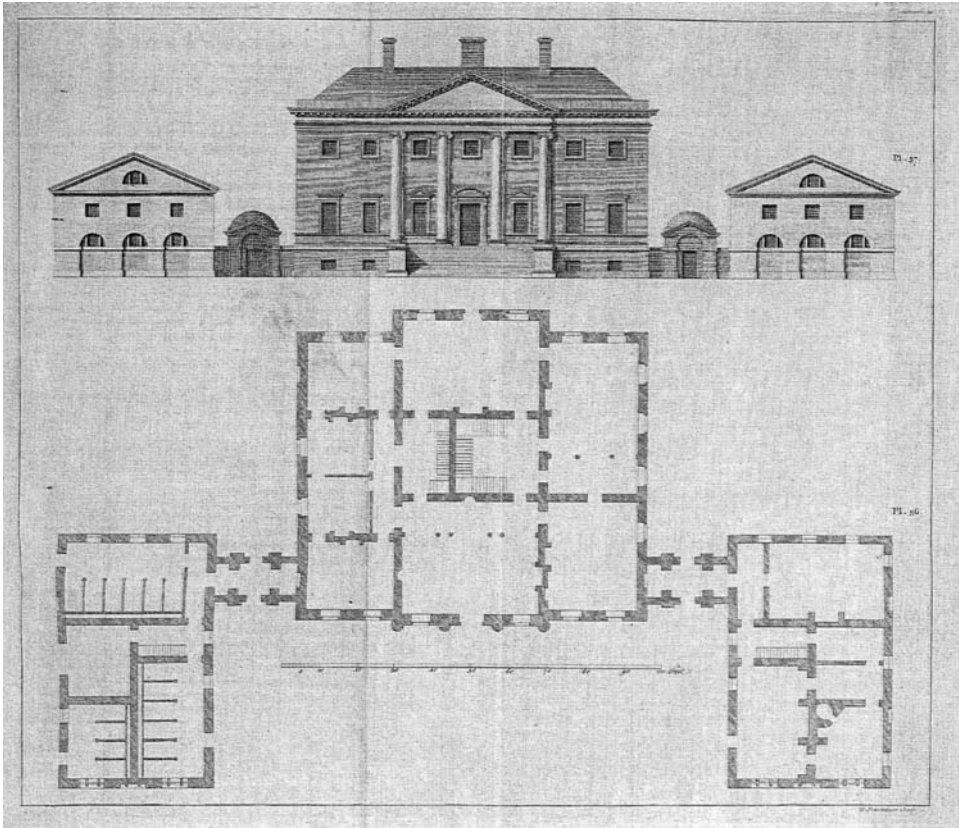


Figure 4 Isaac Ware published *The complete body of Architecture* 1756 Plates 56/57
 'Plan and elevation of a house designed for James Murray esq of Broughton at Kellie'

G Taylor and A Skinner's *Survey and maps of the roads of North Britain of Scotland*, 1776 shows the road from Port Patrick to Dumfries and although the building depicted is likely to be a symbol it does show Cally as a house with pavilions on each side.

In the late 1760s Gatehouse planned town development had started and in 1768 James Murray's house in Gatehouse of Fleet was demolished and the stone used to build a new inn (Murray Arms). Within 10 years the village was reported as being in a 'very thriving condition' in the *Dumfries Weekly Journal*.

Work on the policy including the walled garden seems to have occurred at the same time as the house. In 1768 James Murray entered into a partnership with a tannery and reserved the right 'to have and take upon the premises from time to time...such part of the spent bark belonging to the Tannery as they shall have occasion for and incline in their Hot houses and gardens at the Cally'⁹.

9 Donnachie, I and Macleod, I (1974) *Old Galloway*. Newton Abbot, David and Charles.

Again the Stewart family is likely to have influenced the landscape for the new house. The heir and active manager of Galloway House was Catherine's brother, John Lord Garlies, who was a noted improver and planter who admired the work of 'Capability' Brown. Staying at Fisherwick in Staffordshire, where there was 'one of the finest parks I ever saw, and with the great Sums of Money he (Lord Donegal) is laying out & with the assistance of Mr Brown, it will in a few years be a Compleat Thing'¹⁰. Brown didn't undertake any work in Scotland, instead it fell to James Ramsay to provide designs to alter and extend the parkland. James Ramsay was a landscape gardener of repute providing plans and perspective drawings of buildings and parks. His style was similar to Capability Brown's using 'waters and new plantations near the house; but he was less attached to the belt, his clumps were not always regular and he endeavoured to introduce a proportion of third distance into all his views'¹¹.

Ramsay is credited for adding new elements including a Gothic temple, built in 1779, although Mylne was still providing drawings for James Murray in the mid 1770's and may have been involved. Located immediately to the east of the road linking Girthon and Gatehouse the temple was 'to give effect to a view from the mansion house'¹². The tower was initially used as lodgings for William Todd who was in charge of James Murray's drove cattle.

In 1785 James Murray eloped with his daughter's governess, Grace Johnston, sister of Peter Johnson who had been the Member of Parliament for the area. They went to live in England and had four children together; Grace (1785), Euphemia (1787), Alexander (1794) and James (1796).

William Cuninghame visited Cally around 1786 and noted that the 'house is very large and elegant...built all round with granet stone peculiar to that country and is entirely wrought with picks'. A description of the house includes 'the kitchens, etc., are on the west end of the house with a covered way, mostly covered with young planting, the stables, cow-houses, etc., are very large, partly in the form of a large court cross upon the High road'. He noted 'the walls inclosed two acres of ground, having two cross brick walls running across it, one having a hott house for stone fruit and another for grapes; walls around 13 or 14 feet high and well covered'. He locates the walled garden 'about 500 yards from the house and on the opposite side of the high or military road'. This was just after James Murray had eloped with his mistress and Cuninghame noted the absence of the owners 'none of the family living there at present the gardener draws no wages, and besides upholds the same for its produce, from which it is reported that he drew last year about £70 Stg. His stone fruit he sells at 3 and 4/- per doz'¹³

Lady Catherine continued to live at Cally and James Murray appointed 'commissionaires to run his estates.' The planting had matured and the grounds were evidently well managed and maintained by the time Robert Heron visited Cally in 1792 because he sung its praises. He declared 'The circumjacent grounds are laid out and decorated with great

10 Tait, A A (1980) *The Landscape Garden in Scotland 1735-1835*. Edinburgh University Press.

11 Loudon, J C (1822) *Encyclopaedia of Gardening*

12 *Biography of William Todd*. Jean and Sam McColm.

13 Crockett, S R (1904) *Raiderland, all about grey Galloway*. London, Hodder and Stoughton

taste. Immediately around the house, the lawn is left open. The office-houses, forming a large square, are removed to a convenient distance. The gardens are divided from the house and the office-houses, by the road running between the village of Gatehouse and the parish-church. They are inclosed with high walls. The extent is considerable. No expense has been spared to accommodate them to the stately elegance of the house, and to the dignity and fortune of the proprietor. They contain green-houses and hot-houses, with all that variety of foreign herbs and fruits which, in our climate, these are necessary to cherish; the abundance of all the riches of the orchard, all the beauties of the parterre, and all the useful plenty of the kitchen garden. They are dressed at a great expence...Where the road running between the village and the church passes though these pleasure grounds, it is lined with trees. Every deformity within these grounds is concealed, or converted into beauty by wood. Every where, except at proper points of view, these environs are divided by belts of planting from the highways and the adjacent country. Many fine swells diversify the scene. These are crowned with fine clumps of trees. Within the extent of the pleasure-grounds is a house occupied by a farm-servant, which has been built in the fashion of a Gothic Temple, and to accidental observation has all the effect that might be produced by a genuine antique, South from the house of Cally, is a deer-park inclosed within high and well-built wall, and plentifully flocked with fallow-deer'¹⁴.

The Old Statistical Account of Scotland repeats similar praise and adds 'The place is laid out on an extensive scale. About 1000 acres are in planting, gardens, orchards and pleasure grounds. The gardens were made at great expense, and have equalled the proprietor's expectations. Besides the common fruits, they yield apricots, figs, grapes and nectarines, equal to any hot-houses of this country'¹⁵.

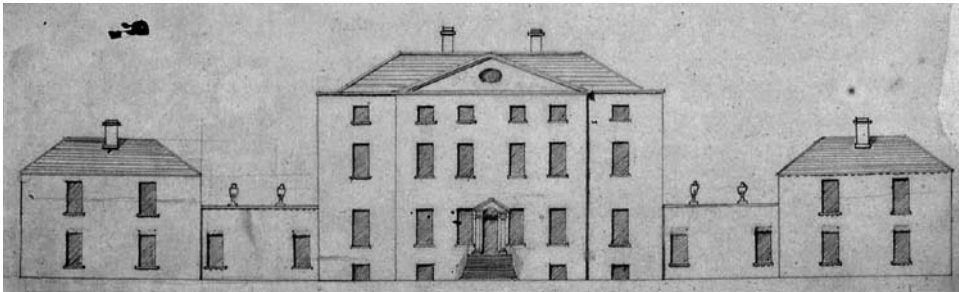


Figure 5 Elevation of Cally showing alterations by Thomas Boyd 1794

In 1794 Thomas Boyd, an architect from Dumfries, was responsible for the design to raise an additional floor on the pavilions including a family suite of rooms over the west wing. The same year James Murray arrived with the family from Yorkshire to reside temporarily at Cally.

14 Heron, R (1799) *Observations made in a journey thr' the western counties of Scotland in the autumn of 1792*. Perth and Edinburgh, 2nd ed.

15 Sinclair, J (ed) (1791-1799) *The statistical account of Scotland, 1791-1799*. Edinburgh, Wm Creech.

The 1797 Will and Entail was drawn up to establish a lineage for the estate beginning with his son Alexander and, failing him, to pass to his father's mother's family, the Stewarts. It sets out the extent of the pleasure grounds and deer park, the description identifies the area as being bound to the south by the southern base of Bar Hill, to the west by the river, to the north by a wall to the south of the town and to the east by the road running between Girthon and Gatehouse. It seems likely that this description relates to the extent of the earlier pleasure ground and deer park because by this time both the walled garden and temple are located to the east of the road to Girthon.

James Murray ordered a school to be built and dedicated the 'Academy lands' to the south of Ann Street in 1796. A year later a strip of land immediately south of the town was feued to James Credie, gardener at Cally, to be used as orchard, kitchen or nursery garden.

James Murray died in 1799 and Alexander Murray III his illegitimate five year old son inherited Cally. Lady Catherine died later the same year but Grace Johnson remained at Cally for many years, leaving for London before her son came of age.

The J Ainslie map of 1797 uses symbolic representations to identify the features of Cally and clearly identifies the extent of the policy and the planting and buildings within it. See Figure 6 colour plate. A belt of woodland defines the eastern boundary running northeast alongside Kirk Burn from Barhill to the turnpike road from Kirkcudbright and north towards the military road and the southern edge of the town. Lines of trees mark the boundary parallel with the River Fleet to Barhill. A tree lined road, linking Girthon Parish Church to Gatehouse, divides the policy into two.

The mansion is on the western side of the road while the orchard and the temple on the eastern side. The mansion also overlooks a small lake which is fed by a burn from the east (Townhead Burn) and discharges into the river Fleet. At the northern end of Cally Avenue two lodges are shown and the new Academy is shown adjacent to the town.

The designed landscape by Ramsay appears to follow the 'landscape' style; the entire policy is enclosed either within a belt of woodland or lines of tree adjacent to the river, smooth contours providing open rolling parkland with scattered groves and clumps, flat body of water, unsightly features masked or planted over with trees.

Development in the early 19th Century

As was customary the Trustees acting on behalf of Alexander Murray III were keen to develop the estate shortly after the accession. Napoleon's trade-war created a time of prosperity for landowners and stimulated improvements. An early development was the diversion of the public road between Girthon and Gatehouse which was re routed to the east in 1806 so that the public no longer had to pass through the pleasure grounds between the house and the walled garden.

Smith's Agricultural Survey in 1813 noted that considerable additions were being made every year to the woods and plantations and predicted that when his age of minority ended

in the following year the estates of Mr Murray of Broughton would 'soon receive many of those useful and ornamental improvements for which they are peculiarly adapted'¹⁶.

In 1814 Richard Ayton was on his tour around the coast of Great Britain and visited Cally 'said to be the largest and most splendid mansion in Galloway. It stands in a beautiful park which occupies nearly the whole length of the estuary descending from a considerable height with an easy slope to water spread with bright verdure and decorated with wood, single trees and all animated combinations. The house is of a light yellow colour and standing on a high bank with an open lawn before it forms a conspicuous object which forces itself at once and in all its dignity upon the eye'¹⁷.

In 1816 Alexander Murray III married Lady Anne Bingham, daughter of Richard 2nd Earl of Lucan. By 1819 the road was relocated further east to incorporate the turnpike road from Kirkcudbright and four years later the 'cut' was built providing a new entrance into the town via the eastern end of Front Street. The estate improvements continued with a new wall erected around the grounds including a wooden gate at the Bar Hill entrance to Cally Park in 1818 and in 1823 erecting a large gate and a Porter's Lodge (Cox's Lodge) at the top of Anne Street. It is believed that Irish labourers from the Killibegs Estate were used to carry out many of the extensive improvements during this period including cutting Ass House Strand and enlarging Cally Lake. Work to build a canalised section of the Water of Fleet is documented in the New Statistical Account of Scotland. About this time Lady Anne started a girl's charity school which was built at the northern end of Cally Lake.

J. Thompson's Atlas of 1820, although showing less detail than the Ainslie map, shows the contemporary developments on the estate particularly the changes to the public road layout including the partly built road from Girthon. See Figure 7 colour plate. A newly constructed burn (Ass House Strand) is also shown but there is no indication of Cally Lake which was shown on the earlier Ainslie map. Thomson states that the map is the work of 'William Johnson from surveys, assisted with the plans of various proprietors'¹⁸.

Substantial alterations to the house were designed by John Buonarotti Papworth, an architect probably introduced through his connections with Richard 2nd Earl of Lucan. He produced a design for a chapel for the house as early as 1824 but most of his proposals for improvements at Cally were drawn up in the early 1830s.

J C Loudon published general results of a gardening tour in 1831 in his *Gardener's Magazine*, February 1833 referring to Cally as 'Cally House is a plain granite building, in a park of recent formation, of great extent, of considerable variety of surface, and abundantly clothed with wood. The situation of the house, near an estuary formed by the mouth of the river Fleet, is very fine; but, unfortunately, the entrance front is on the wrong side, and none of the windows of the principle rooms looked towards the river. All the works executed about Cally and the village of Gatehouse appear to be of the most substantial kind; but they are not all in that high and finished taste that we expect to find them. The

16 Smith S (1813) *General View of the Agriculture of Galloway; comprehending the counties, viz. the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright and Wigtonshire*. London, Sherwood, Neely and Jones.

17 Macleod, I (1998) *Sailing on horseback; William Daniell and Richard Ayton in Cumbria and Dumfries and Galloway*, Dumfries, T C Farries.

18 National Library of Scotland

masses of trees in the park are in many places too formal and unconnected; and there are single trees which neither group with them nor with one another. Much might be done in this park by the introduction, near the masses, of a few small groups of trees of different sizes, with thorns and other shrubs; by opening the outline masses; and, above all, by thinning them. The scenery about the house, and the views from its entrance front of the richly wooded country beyond the river, with the mountains and their rocky summits on the one hand, and the sea on the other, are unequalled by anything of the kind in this part of the country'¹⁹. Loudon's disappointment in the inward focus of the estate seems to be more a reflection of the changing tastes for designed landscape style rather than a criticism of the Cally grounds.

During the early 1830's John Buonarotti Papworth drew up proposals for the policy including lodges, entrance ways and a bridge. While the lodge located at the gated entrance into the gardens, Belvedere Lodge, is likely to be a Papworth design the other improvements to the grounds do not appear to have been implemented. Further research may establish the extent of improvements proposed for the pleasure grounds.

Papworth's proposals for the house were undertaken between 1833-7 and included the large granite portico and lobby, re-cladding the wings and Lady Anne's Terrace, a pillared stone veranda on the south side of the west wing.

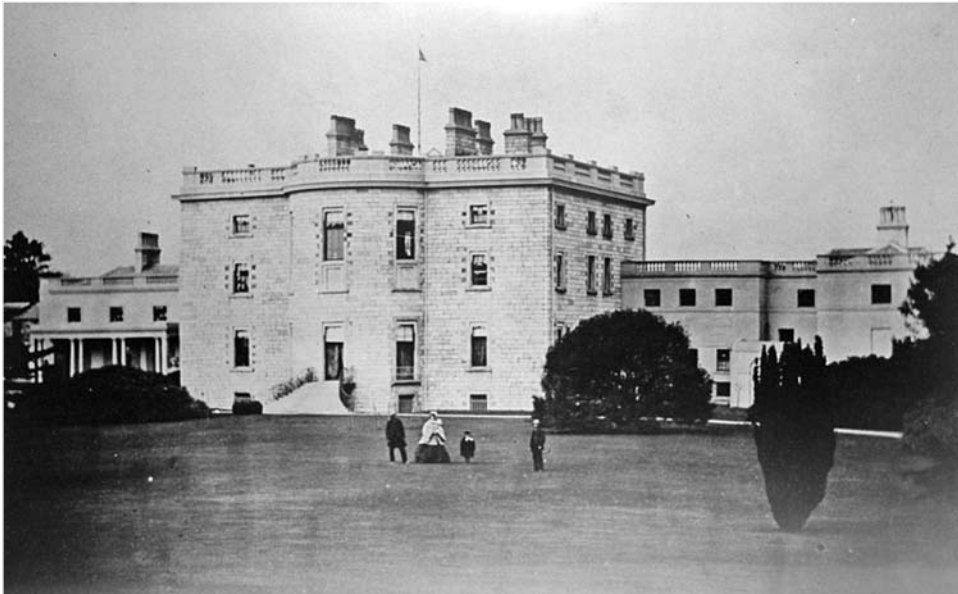


Figure 8 Early photograph of garden at the rear of the house showing Papworth improvements including Lady Anne's Terrace.

19 Loudon, J C (February 1833) *Gardener's Magazine*

Improvements were encouraged by the agricultural prosperity at this time and a private Act of Parliament allowed Alexander Murray III to borrow money against the security of his entailed estates, (although this would lead to financial difficulties for the future heir). Investment in the estate continued with a new farm house at Cally Mains built in 1838.

When Lord Cockburn visited in 1839 he wrote ‘The place with its wood, its well-kept home ground, its varied surface, its distant, boundary hills and its obvious extensive idea of a great and beautiful domain is one of the finest in Scotland’²⁰.

The New Statistical Account of Scotland of Girthon Parish written in 1844 states that ‘The ruins of the ancient mansion are still pretty entire about half a mile distant to the north from the present building. The garden occupies about three acres within the walls. The pleasure grounds extend to twenty acres; but the family have a private road extending for several miles within the adjoining parks. The orchard grounds, particularly at the old mansion-house, are extensive. There is a deer park, nearly a mile square, within less than a mile of Cally, on the south side. In addition to herds of deer, it contains a few of the ancient Caledonian breed of cattle, procured from the stock of the Duke of Hamilton’²¹.

Alexander Murray III was a Member of Parliament for the Stewartry from 1838 until his death in 1845 when, on a visit to Killibegs, he unexpectedly died. He had left no children so the terms of the entail came into force with the estate passing to the Stewart family. Lady Anne moved away from the area after the death of her husband. The management of the walled garden suffered a temporary setback at this time. The estate was found to be in severe financial difficulties and all the moveables on the estate were sold at an auction in 1846 including lots of garden tools, pineapples and ‘ten hundred and ten plants in pots consisting of Bulbous, Herbacious, shrubby, and Greenhouse Plants including two rare and valuable palms’²². The head gardener, William Pearson, was reappointed, and later provided a statement for a letter from the Hon. Montgomerie Stewart that compared the previous staffing levels under Alexander Murray with a much reduced level in 1849. The staffing levels later increased and the gardens continued to be well maintained at least until the early 20th century.

The First Edition Ordnance Survey map scale of 6 inches to 1 mile of 1854 (surveyed 1849/50) provides the first accurate picture of the designed landscape although it is unfortunate that no larger scale exists for this date. The extent of the grounds circled by a belt of trees can be easily discerned and the pleasure gardens are well defined by walls and fences. The map depicts the new network of roads and drives, in woodland belts or lined with trees, as well as the Temple and lodges at the Swing Bridge, Anne Street, Cally Avenue entrance, Belvedere and Enrick. The Credie plant nursery is shown adjacent to the village and the Academy lands are identified between the nursery and Cally Avenue. Cally Avenue is shown with an avenue of trees. There are open lawns to the front of the house while immediately to the south the lawn has numerous single trees and shrubs. Further south from the house a Deer Park is still shown and a carriage drive with a tree avenue is shown passing Cally Mains and the second Deer Park to the shore and a Bathing House at Sandgreen.

20 Dick, C H (1916) *Highways and byways in Galloway and Carrick*. London, MacMillan.

21 Gordon, J (ed) (1845) *The New Statistical Account of Scotland*. Edinburgh, William Blackwood and sons.

22 List of lots for Cally sale, 1846 - NAS 02023 GD10/925/00100

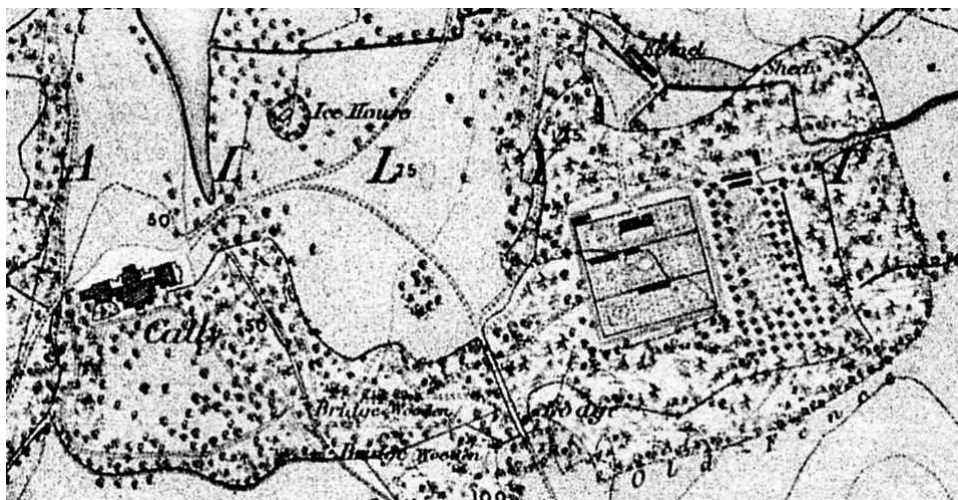


Figure 9 First Edition Ordnance Survey, 1854, showing pleasure ground

Development in the Late 19th Century

As required by the entail Horatio Granville Stewart changed his name to Horatio Granville Murray Stewart. His mother, Sophia, his sister, Catherine and the Hon. Montgomerie G P Stewart moved into Cally, which was furnished from their Cumloden House at Newton Stewart. At the age of 14 Horatio Granville Murray Stewart was already involved in managing the estate with his tutors.

In 1858 Horatio Granville Stewart married Anne Elizabeth Wingfield Digby, daughter of Rev J D Wingfield Digby, vicar of Coleshill, Warwickshire. Anne took a keen interest in village life and continued to support the girl's charity school which moved to a building on Anne Street, (now the Cally estate office), and in 1870 when the boys and girls schools were combined. The old school building continued to be used as lodgings for estate staff.

In 1863 a pair of baronial style lodges were built at the main entrance at the northern end of Cally Avenue. Harper states of his visit 'instead of following the carriage road, we were conducted by Mr Moule, factor on the estate, along a footpath, screened by fine trees and shrubbery, that winds round the edge of a large artificial lake, which has all the features of being natural. The finely wooded Bar-hill closes in the background, and the walks through the spacious lawns and woods, where the deer are seen reclining under the milk-white thorns, afford many pretty snatches of scenery, and 'shy sequestered nooks'. The fallow deer, we were informed, have been for some years kept, not in the deer park proper, which is close to the south of the house, but in another deer park a mile off. There are however a few roe deer in the woods, including the Lake Wood, but these deer are not much seen'. He notes that 'among other features of this beautiful place we must not exclude to notice a picturesque old ivy clad ruin, part of the old House of Cally'²³. Henry

23 Harper, MM'L (1876) *Rambles in Galloway*. Dalbeattie, Fraser.

Joseph Moule was a keen painter and his water colour sketches illustrate the broadleaf character of the woodland and grazed parks of Cally with a backdrop of hills or estuary. His sketches provide a useful resource by providing a detailed glimpse of Cally grounds but, with the exception of Bush Burn footbridge and the boat house on Cally Lake do not include any of the built features. See Figure 10 colour plate.

The walled gardens continued to produce fruit and in 1885 Mr Charles Fergusson submitted 60 varieties of pear and apple to the Apple and Pear Congress. The congress report observed that it was 'a good collection of fruit, containing fine specimens'²⁴.

Horatio died in 1904 and had made provision for his wife so she could move to Rusko when the estate was inherited by his cousin.

The Second Edition Ordnance Survey (surveyed 1895/1908) is less detailed than the first edition OS, however the larger scale of 6" to 1 mile and 25" to 1 mile clearly shows that there have been few changes to the woodland structure, parks or gardens within the grounds. A new lodge is shown at the Bar Hill entrance as well the pair of lodges at the main Cally Avenue entrance while the Lake Cottage is no longer shown. The deer park immediately south of the house has been developed into a golf course although this was to be short lived.

Development in the 20th Century

The terms of the entail once again came into force and the estate passed to Murray Stewart's cousin Colonel James William Baillie of Illston Grange Leicestershire. Colonel Baillie adopted the name of Murray becoming Colonel Murray Baillie but was unwilling to move to Cally House. Instead he took over Cushat Wood and let out the big house to Crawford (1904) and then Johnston (1905-10) who was responsible for building the cricket ground in 1907.

Colonel Murray Baillie died in 1908 and some parts of the estate were sold to tenants who could afford to buy. Cally passed to Major Fredrick David Murray Baillie, later to become the second Colonel Murray Baillie, who continued to let Cally to; Nelson (1912), Cross (1913-19) and to Lord Elphinston (1920-21). Miss Elizabeth Evelyn Murray Baillie, later to become Mrs Murray Usher, inherited Cally in 1924 and she moved into Cushat Wood with her mother Mrs Murray Baillie. Cally continued to be let to Mrs Cross (1924-29) and finally to the Maharaja of Jind (1930-32).

By the early 1930's the last bobbin mill had closed and Gatehouse was suffering from falling employment. Mrs Murray Usher was aware of the need to provide employment and in 1933 she sold Cally house parks and pleasure grounds to the Forestry Commission.

24 *Apple and Pear Congress. 1885*



Figure 11 Postcard view of Cally across Cally Lake

The conditions of sale to the Forestry Commission included taking over Cally House, felling all the standing timber and setting up a tree nursery.

Not only would the Forestry Commission provide employment but also ‘the woodlands would never be depleted and the surroundings and policies of Cally House would remain beautiful’²⁵. The mature trees were clear felled almost immediately and the majority of the re-stocking and new planting was carried out between 1936 and 1939. See Figure 12 colour plate. In 1938 the Forestry Commission allowed the bowling green to be developed on the land behind Anne Street.

The house was sold to Mr Stewart who owned the Palace Hotel at Fort William and the Cally Hotel welcomed its first guests in 1934. During World War II the hotel was used as a residential secondary school for senior wartime evacuee children from Glasgow. Photographs and film from that time show the children using the walled garden to grow vegetables. Until recently there was still an active former pupil’s club that has regular get-togethers. After the War the house was sold and reopened as a hotel.

The walled garden was sold to the Taylors and they developed the walled garden as a market garden and plant nursery by the early 1960s.

The Murray Usher Foundation (MUF) was established by Mrs Murray Usher in 1984 with the broad aim of maintaining and conserving Gatehouse and Cally estate for public

25 Murray Usher, Mrs E (1968) Paper presented to local school children.

benefit. Today MUF continues to influence the development of the area by supporting a variety of projects.

Over the next forty years the hotel went under a number of different ownerships and continued to be extended. In 1981 it was purchased by Mr McMillan who continued the development and implemented restoration work to the hotel. Additional land was purchased from the Forestry Commission and in 1992 planning consent was granted for an 18 hole golf course designed by Mr Tom Macaulay. The design required significant works including the partial dredging of Cally Lake, and removal of some mature trees. The works have partly re-instated the parkland character of this once magnificent designed landscape.

Acknowledgements

Thanks to Trustees of the National Library of Scotland, The British Library, University of Strathclyde, RIBA drawings collection V & A, Dorset County Museum, The Stewartry Museum, The Garden History Society of Scotland and all those other individuals who have kindly provided images and information.



Figure 6 J Ainslie map of 1797



Figure 7 J Thomson's Atlas 1820



Figure 10 Bush Bridge by H J Moule. Dorset County Museum



Figure 12 Felling timber, Cally by A R Sturrock. Gatehouse Town Council Collection, Stewartry Museum

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL: CHAIRMAN OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON THE
ANCIENT AND HISTORICAL MONUMENTS OF SCOTLAND 1908-1934

Jane Murray¹

Introduction

The Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland was established by Royal Warrant in February 1908, entrusted with the task of making an inventory of the ancient and historical monuments and constructions connected with or illustrative of the life of people in Scotland from the earliest times to the year 1707, and of specifying those most worthy of preservation. Commissioners immediately met in an office at 29 St Andrews Square, Edinburgh, on which a lease had been taken for three years. A later Secretary of the Commission, John Dunbar [1992], has suggested that this period may have been regarded as sufficient to allow the work to be completed. Three years later, however, the lease was renewed, and in 2008 the RCAHMS celebrates its centenary from its base in John Sinclair House, named after the Secretary of State for Scotland who authorised its original establishment. The Commission is still engaged in surveying, mapping, and recording the archaeological sites and buildings of Scotland, now including every type of cultural feature in the landscape, and indeed also in the marine environment, without chronological limit, and in interpreting this material to the public. Survey techniques now include aerial photography and satellite based Geographical Positioning Systems. In 1966 the National Buildings Survey was incorporated into the RCAHMS to create the National Monument Record for Scotland (NMRS), now one of the major National Collections of Scotland. The database, constantly being updated, runs to thousands of entries, all accessible on line from anywhere in the world through the RCAHMS website www.canmore.gov.uk.

A long campaign for a system for recording the historic environment of Scotland preceded the establishment of the RCAHMS [Murray 1899]. Sir John Sinclair was finally convinced of the need for such a record through a work, *The Care of Ancient Monuments* by Gerald Baldwin Brown [1905], Professor of Fine Art at Edinburgh University [Macdonald 1935]. That the Commission survived to become a core ingredient in the cultural life of Scotland is a tribute to those who nurtured it through its early years, establishing the form of the Inventories, which continued to be published as increasingly weighty and impressive volumes until the 1970s. The first Secretary of the RCAHMS, A O Curle, was no form filling official, but an enthusiast, who, in his five years as Secretary, made his way by train, by bicycle, and on foot across the counties of Berwickshire, Caithness, Sutherland, Wigtownshire, Kirkcudbrightshire and Dumfriesshire, keeping a detailed record of the monuments he encountered [Graham 1956; Stell 1983]. The Commissioners who oversaw the work included Professor G Baldwin Brown, W T Oldrieve of the Office of Works, Thomas Ross, architect, and Professor Thomas Bryce of the School of Anatomy in Glasgow, whose excavations at chambered cairns in Arran and Bute had established the classic definition of the Clyde Cairns of Scotland, besides a respected Court of Session judge and antiquarian, Lord Guthrie.

1 4 Moray Place, Edinburgh EH3 6DS

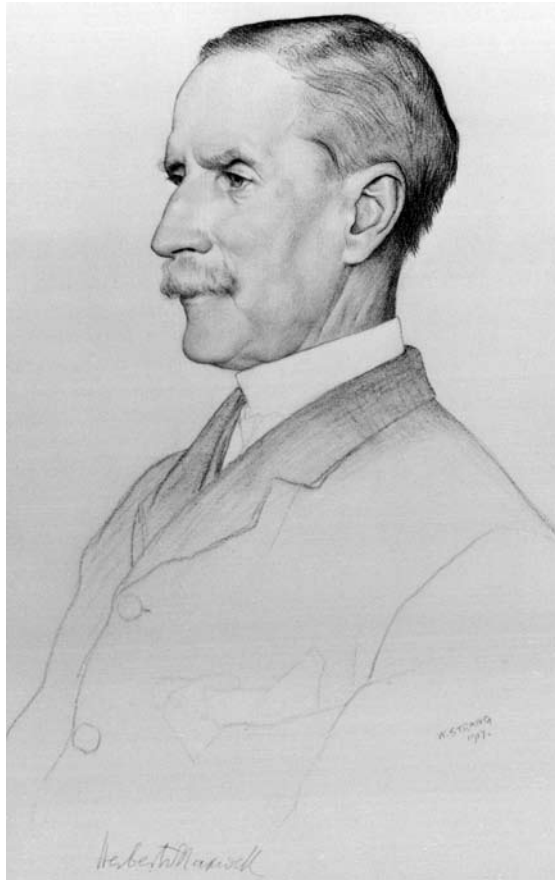


Figure 1. Sketch of Sir Herbert Maxwell by W Strang.

Reproduced courtesy of the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland.

For the first quarter century of the Commission's life the Chairman was Sir Herbert Maxwell, 7th Baronet of Monreith in Wigtownshire, described by John Dunbar [1992], as 'a Galloway landowner and man of letters with considerable political experience'. Maxwell, 63 at the time of his appointment, was, however, no mere dilettante. He was a man of many talents, who could be described as a naturalist and conservationist, sportsman and fisherman, plantsman and arboriculturalist, painter and critic, journalist, editor, essayist, novelist, historian, biographer, student of heraldry, of place names, and of historical documents, an antiquarian and an archaeologist, public speaker, politician, social commentator, and businessman. At the time of his appointment he was President of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, having earlier served as President of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society. His experiences in all these fields, and in chairing a wide range of organisations and committees, his contacts in the social, political, and academic worlds, his role as a communicator, and his readiness to take on leadership, all equipped him to guide the new Commission through its early

years, and to weather the difficulties and constraints of the post war period. It was, perhaps, as Chairman of the RCAHMS from 1908 to 1934, overseeing publication of eleven Inventories, that Maxwell rendered his greatest public service. His career is worth exploring further in the context of this role.

Early Life

The Monreith Maxwells were a minor branch of an old Galloway family whose fortunes rose during the 17th century. In 1681 William Maxwell was created a Baronet of Nova Scotia, his barony of Monreith covering extensive lands in the Machars of Wigtownshire. His successors enclosed and improved much of the land, benefiting from the opportunities presented by the cattle trade at this time. Towards the end of the eighteenth century the 4th Baronet, another Sir William Maxwell, built the harbour and founded the village of Port William, and erected the handsome classical mansion, Monreith House, near Myrton Castle, where the family had lived for the last century. Completion of the new house was celebrated by bringing to the front lawn the tall, disc headed cross that had stood on the Mote Hill beside the Old Place of Monreith, the original home of the Monreith Maxwells. A curse was said to have been laid on any such move after an earlier attempt had ended in the cross breaking across the shaft. The repaired sculpture now holds pride of place in the Priory Museum at Whithorn, in the care of Historic Scotland. Sir Herbert's father, the 6th Baronet, again Sir William Maxwell (1805-1877), consolidated the tenancies on the estate, undertaking agricultural improvements, and building substantial farmhouses for his tenants. His interest in antiquities and in family history was well known [M'Kerlie 1878, II, 86], and he is said to have set as a tenancy condition the preservation of a setting of standing stones on one of his farms [Murray 1981]. In a conservationist spirit, he forbade the shooting of wildfowl on the White Loch of Myrton, in front of Monreith House, keeping it as a sanctuary, to the annoyance of his teenage son, Herbert, later as keen a nature conservationist as his father.

Three babies, two of them christened William, had died before Herbert Eustace was born in January 1845 in Edinburgh, where his parents chose to live in order to worship in the 'Irvingite' or 'Catholic Apostolic Church' to which they had been converted. This sect held unconventional beliefs, including a conviction of the imminence of the Second Coming and the validity of 'speaking in tongues'. It was, however, acceptant of forms of worship in other churches, and its own services were brightened with music and ornament, making them much more attractive to the young Herbert than the long Church of Scotland services in Mochrum parish church which he attended after the family returned to Monreith when he was seven. At the age of ten the boy was sent to preparatory school in England, then to Eton, followed by Christ Church, Oxford. He was later to lament not having taken better advantage of his educational opportunities, and indeed left Oxford after a year, having failed his exams. Among friends made at Eton was Harry Percy, later Duke of Northumberland, member of another Irvingite family. When Harry was visiting Monreith during the school holidays, Sir William undertook an improvement scheme by draining Dowalton Loch on his estate. Herbert's interest in archaeology was first aroused at this time when the lowering of the waters revealed a series of habitations, or crannogs.

Harry's father, Lord Lovaine, was struck by the resemblance of these dwellings to the Lake Villages of Switzerland which he had been visiting, and he organised excavation of the remains, bringing in John Stuart, Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, to complete the excavation [Stuart 1866]. A wealth of finds was recovered, and Dowalton served as a stimulus to further work on crannogs in south west Scotland [Munro 1882 (b)].

Herbert had four sisters, two of whom married local landowners, and a younger brother, Edward, who died after a short illness at the age of seventeen soon after Herbert had come down from Oxford. His mother became very protective of her only surviving son, dissuading him from following his dream of an army career. Herbert therefore spent his young manhood at home, helping to run the estate, taking responsibilities in the parish, and enjoying sporting pursuits and local society. He was gazetted Second Lieutenant in the Ayrshire Militia, and enjoyed summer camps with the troop, making many friendships there. He was also painting and reading Ruskin, developing his romantic and aesthetic sensibilities. Herbert Maxwell fell easily in love, and after losing his heart once or twice, married, at the age of twenty four, Mary Fletcher Campbell of Boquhan in Stirlingshire, whose brother John had inherited the Wigtownshire estate of Castlewigg. An offer of a post as Secretary to Sir James Fergusson, Commandant of the Ayrshire Militia, on diplomatic service in Australia, was reluctantly turned down, again in accordance with the wishes of his parents, and the young couple lived at Airlour, the dower house on the edge of the Monreith policies. Five children were born in the next eight years. The family's means were limited, obliging Maxwell to refuse an offer to stand for Parliament. An aunt's gift of £50 did, however, enable him to take his first trip abroad at the age of thirty in the company of David Hunter Blair, a younger friend from the Ayrshire Militia, later Abbot of Fort Augustus. The pair visited France and Italy, sketching and botanising, opening new vistas to Maxwell.

The death of his father in 1877 transformed Maxwell's circumstances and lifestyle. As a new baronet, he immediately undertook extensions to Monreith House, employing a local architect, Richard Park, who was engaged in restoring the nearby tower house, the Old Place of Mochrum, for the Marquis of Bute. Despite Maxwell's romantic outlook, his respect for family history led him to choose a classical style for the extension, merging with the existing house, although 'pre-Raphaelitish' wall coverings were introduced [Gifford 1996, 448]. He also installed the first telephone line in Wigtownshire, linking the house with the stables, half a mile distant. Had he been aware of the financial difficulties ahead, Maxwell might not have spent £7000 on these works, nor added £2000 to contributions already made to the Wigtownshire railway company towards an extension of the line to Whithorn. In 1878 the sensational failure of the City of Glasgow Bank created a collapse of confidence, while an influx of cheap foreign imports at a time of bad harvests depressed agricultural prices, forcing a 25% reduction in rents. Maxwell's dependence on an agricultural income meant that throughout his life he was to be burdened by financial constraints.

Maxwell and Archaeology

Maxwell's interest in archaeology was stimulated by a friendship with Robert Cochran-Patrick of Woodside (1842-97), a fellow member of the Ayrshire militia. This Ayrshire landowner was a numismatist, whose *Records of the Coinage of Scotland* [1876] has been described as one 'of two outstanding works of detailed scholarship that still provide the basic material for the subject a century later' [Stewart 1981, 228]. He had excavated at the long cairn at Cuff Hill [Cochran-Patrick 1872] and the motte at Court Hill, Dalry [Cochran-Patrick 1874], where he recorded the post hole traces of a large timber hall [Scott 1989]. Cochran-Patrick wanted to encourage systematic recording of the archaeology, history and architecture, and publication of historical documents relating to south west Scotland. He had a passion for accuracy in description and record, and saw real scientific value in making available information on prehistoric artefact finds [Cochran-Patrick 1880]. He was also eager to explore the potential of crannog excavation, a project that aroused Maxwell's boyhood memories of Dowalton Loch. In 1877 the Ayrshire and Wigtonshire Archaeological Association was formed under the Presidency of the Earl of Stair, a neighbour of Maxwell's, with eleven titled Vice-Presidents, including Maxwell and five fellow Wigtonshire landowners. It would seem that Maxwell's networking skills were already well developed. Cochran-Patrick acted as Secretary for the Ayrshire interests of the Association, and for Wigtonshire the Reverend George Wilson, Free Church minister of Glenluce, the neighbouring parish to Mochrum, was appointed. Wilson was a noted antiquarian and collector of artefacts, who had recently published surveys of the crannogs of Wigtonshire [Wilson 1872; 1875].

There were over 300 subscribers to the Association, from a variety of backgrounds. Each received the first of a set of handsome volumes, or *Collections*, incorporating articles on archaeological, architectural, and historical matters, and transcriptions of historical documents. Maxwell himself contributed a series of coloured plates depicting the armorial bearings of local families with notes on the heraldic symbols. The Association commissioned Dr Robert Munro to undertake excavation of Ayrshire crannogs – Lochlee, Lochspouts, and Buiston – publishing reports in the *Collections* [Munro 1880; 1882 (a); 1884]. Other articles consist of site or artefact descriptions. Maxwell [1885 (a)] contributed an account, with catalogue, of prehistoric artefacts from Wigtonshire based both on his own collection and on information assembled from friends around the county. Having been elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1884, and appointed to the Committee of the Society in 1886, Maxwell donated five Early Christian carved stones from sites in the Wigtonshire Machars to the National Museum of Antiquities [*PSAS* 21 1886-7, 133], and also his collection of artefacts [Maxwell 1889]. Cochran-Patrick strongly advocated placing prehistoric material in museums, rather than risking leaving it in private hands, and despite some argument that local collections should be displayed locally (eg Ferguson [1896]), he and others (e.g. Munro [1885 (b)]) supported the centralising policy of Joseph Anderson, Director of the National Museum [Clarke 2002], and the strengthening of the position of the Museum.

In 1880 excavation was undertaken at Barhapple Loch, near Glenluce, where drainage had enabled George Wilson to observe timber piles and possible structures. The Earl of Stair provided a workforce, and the gentry of Wigtonshire turned out to watch the

event [Wilson 1882]. Maxwell took measurements of the loch and its visible features. Artefactual finds were disappointingly few, but structural timbers, showing signs of burning, were discovered. Maxwell [1932 (a), 261] later recalled receiving £5 for his first journalistic effort, an article to *The Times* on lake dwellings, almost certainly an unattributed article in that journal reporting on the Barhapple excavation, suggesting that the crannog had been burnt down by attacking Roman forces. However well he understood the need for systematic recording of archaeological facts, Maxwell, product of a classical education, never ceased to gain a romantic thrill from a Roman association. But it was also entirely typical of his approach that he wished to make information interesting to a wider public. Maxwell went on to explore other potential crannog sites on his estate [Munro 1885 (a)], but none produced anything approaching the wealth of artefactual finds that had come from Dowalton Loch, very probably, as Fraser Hunter has pointed out [1994], because it was the loch itself, rather than the settlements, that had attracted the deposition of high status objects at Dowalton. More fruitful results derived from excavation at St Ninian's Cave [Maxwell 1885 (b); 1887 (b)], a story returned to below.

In 1880 Maxwell and Cochran-Patrick both entered the House of Commons as Conservative members representing respectively Wigtownshire and Ayrshire. Here they shortly became involved in debates over the first British Act for the Protection of Ancient Monuments. Sir John Lubbock had introduced a Bill in 1873, proposing a National Monuments Commission to identify and protect a selected list of outstanding, mostly prehistoric sites, together with a few Early Christian sculptured stones. Prehistoric monuments, Lubbock reasoned, would be cheaper to maintain than historic buildings, and, besides, these remains were of unique importance as providing the only avenue to knowledge of societies, which were otherwise unrecorded. The suggested interference with landowners' property rights was not, however welcomed, and the Bill was defeated annually until Lubbock lost his seat in the Liberal landslide of 1880. Re-elected for London University in 1881, Lubbock, recognising that even his Liberal colleagues in Gladstone's government had no sympathy with his Bill, liaised with the Office of Works, who already had stewardship of various historic buildings owned by the state, to produce amended proposals. Cochran-Patrick and Maxwell supported a new Bill, passed in 1882 as An Act for the Better Protection of Ancient Monuments. The scope of the Act was quite limited, but it allowed for the appointment of one or more Inspectors of Ancient Monuments empowered to recommend sites to the Office of Works as deserving of guardianship status and to advise on measures of care [Chippendale 1983]. Agreement of the landowner was an essential prerequisite for action. A list of eighty, mostly prehistoric, sites considered to be in need of protection, was drawn up. This brief schedule did not begin to resemble the Catalogue of Monuments already achieved in France, which Lubbock had hoped to emulate, but the appointment of General Augustus Lane Fox, who changed his name to Pitt Rivers on inheriting an estate in Dorset, as Inspector of Ancient Monuments in Britain, gave life to the Act. The remarkable history of Pitt Rivers is well documented [eg Thompson 1977]. His appointment, and his energy in pursuing the aims of the Act, contributed greatly to raising public awareness of the need for protection of ancient monuments.

There was little initial enthusiasm among landowners for committing sites to guardianship care, Pitt-Rivers noting [1888, 829] that even Sir John Lubbock decided that as the

Act was purely permissive, and ‘not believing, as he told me at the time, that anyone would voluntarily make use of it, naturally being unwilling to put his own property at a disadvantage, by being the only one to come under it, he at first hesitated to sign the deed for their inclusion in the Act’. The new Inspector undertook a series of tours to visit the listed sites, to discuss their future with their owners, and to look at other remains that might suitably be considered under the terms of the Act. Between 1883 and 1889 these excursions took in Scotland, where twenty sites had been listed. At first Pitt Rivers travelled up the east coast visiting listed sites such as the Cathertun forts, Pictish stones, and Clava cairns, but in 1886 and 1887 he went to Galloway, staying at Monreith House. Pitt Rivers commented that a permissive Act implies that someone desires to make use of it, but that only one owner came forward. Maxwell, presumably the individual concerned, offered five sites on his land for guardianship, and encouraged his neighbours to do likewise. None of these sites was on the original schedule, and Pitt Rivers was evidently not greatly impressed by their quality. Regarding it as impolitic to refuse such offers, however, he recommended the erection of notice boards at three of the sites, a motte, a coastal fort, and a standing stone row, and provision of more substantial protection for cup-and-ring marked outcrops at Drumtroddan. The ‘Wren’s Egg’, a large glacial erratic that Maxwell’s father had rather optimistically envisaged as being a Druid altar formerly surrounded by a double concentric stone circle [Masters 1977], was at first dismissed as being ‘too trivial to deserve guardianship’ but here, too, a notice board was erected. Maxwell also took Pitt Rivers to the cave traditionally associated with St Ninian, on the shores of Luce Bay, owned by his brother-in-law, Robert Johnston Stewart.



Figure 2. St Ninian’s Cave from the interior after excavation. Drawing by Sir Herbert Maxwell, reproduced from *Archaeological and Historical Collections relating to Ayrshire and Galloway*, V 1886, opposite p.4.

In 1871 a cross had been discovered incised on the rock face, giving support to the attribution, and more carvings and a cross slab were subsequently uncovered in casual diggings, the latter sent to the National Museum in Edinburgh. Maxwell, with the help of Cochran-Patrick, set about more thorough excavation in 1884 and again in 1886, clearing out quantities of debris [Maxwell 1885 (b); 1887 (b)]. More carvings were recorded, and cross slabs were found and set up in the cave, a railing being placed across the cave mouth for protection, with the key available nearby. Despite these precautions, vandals, possibly suspecting the relics to be redolent of popery, succeeded in breaking one of the slabs by throwing stones through the grill, and there was no doubt that improved measures would be beneficial. On Pitt Rivers' recommendation the Office of Works agreed to strengthen protection at the Cave. Also of interest were the Early Christian stones of Galloway, particularly the two stones in Kirkmadrine churchyard in the Rhins, inscribed with *chi-rho* markings and Latin dedications. Here a display case was built attached to the church which Sir Mark Stewart of Ardwell was reconstructing as a family burial chapel, and similar steps were taken for the fine Anglian Cross at Ruthwell, near Annan. This preservation of moveable stones in their place of origin represents a direct response to local interest in Early Christian remains. The medieval ruined chapel at the Isle of Whithorn, recently repaired by the Marquis of Bute, was also taken into care, despite the restriction of the Ancient Monuments Act to prehistoric and Early Christian monuments.

By 1888 thirty-six sites had been taken into care, nearly half of them in Scotland, and Pitt Rivers [1888] concluded that there was little point in adding to this total. He argued that proper feelings of local responsibility for the care of monuments were being undermined by the perception that such activity was the function of the Ancient Monuments Inspector, and that it was individuals and antiquarian societies in the neighbourhood who could more effectively oversee protection. After 1890 Pitt Rivers ceased to draw a salary as Inspector, though continuing to exercise his role as required, and when he died in 1900 only eight more monuments had been taken into care. In that year, however, a second Ancient Monuments Act was passed, extending the remit of the legislation to include historic sites, thus merging the obligations of the Office of Works in relation to ancient monuments with its responsibility for historic buildings in state ownership, which extended even to repairing cathedrals in current use [MacIvor and Fawcett 1983]. David Breeze [2002, 49] has drawn attention to Baldwin Brown's comment that public opinion will of itself be too unorganised to undertake conservation measures spontaneously, creating a need for some permanent agency 'representing the public mind at its best' [Brown 1905, 32].

The Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society is an exceptional example for Scotland of the type of local antiquarian society that flourished in England during the nineteenth century. David Clarke [1981] has pointed out that in Scotland low population density generally restricted opportunities for the formation of such bodies. The suggestion by David Murray [1899, 52] that local authorities should act as guardians on ancient monuments was surely over optimistic. The emphasis in Scotland remained on state care as a means of giving stability to individual initiative. The cathedral site at Whithorn, for example, excavated and partially reconstructed in the late 1880s at the instigation of the third Marquis of Bute, was taken into care, and in 1908, with the help of the fourth Marquis, a Museum was established in Whithorn for display of locally found

Early Christian stones. Later the portable stones from St Ninian's Cave were brought into this Museum. The impetus towards creating an inventory of ancient monuments, on the other hand, was taken forward by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, a process with which Sir Herbert Maxwell was again intimately involved, as is described below.

Political Career

In 1886, on the defeat of Gladstone's government, Maxwell was appointed a Junior Lord of Treasury with responsibility for pensions, a post which he held throughout Salisbury's premiership until 1892, also acting as Scottish Whip. Cochran-Patrick served as Permanent Under-Secretary in the recently created Scottish Office. Maxwell was thus deeply involved in the political struggles of the time, of which he gives an account in his biography of W H Smith, Leader of the House of Commons in 1887 [Maxwell 1903 (a), vol II]. He also chaired various Select Committees and Royal Commissions. His income, however, was insufficient for the upkeep of two establishments, and he had to let Monreith House and its shootings. In 1890 he became a Director on the Boards of the London and Provincial Bank and of the Glasgow and South Western Railway, bringing in welcome extra income. With an election defeat for the Conservatives in 1892, Maxwell lost his post at the Treasury, and, despite his hopes, when a Conservative administration returned in 1895 he was not appointed to office. He became a Privy Councillor in 1897, and remained as a Member of Parliament until 1906, involved in campaigns opposing Free Trade, regarded as a chief cause of the agricultural depression. He recognised, however, that he was not destined to have a political career, and henceforth focused on his growing literary, historical and biographical output, and on his garden at Monreith.

Literary work

Besides articles on archaeological subjects, and a weekly letter in his constituency newspaper, Maxwell published in 1887 a major piece of scholarship, *Studies in the Topography of Galloway*. This volume, listing the place names of the region, together with earlier versions of each name and suggested interpretations, led to Maxwell being invited to deliver the prestigious Rhind Lectures to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1893, published as *Scottish Land Names* [1894]. Maxwell emphasised the need to establish early forms before attempting interpretation, but saw possibilities of using extracting information of an archaeological nature, often indicative of land use or ownership, from the names.

As Scottish Whip Maxwell was much confined in London, and began to pass the time writing articles for *Blackwood's Magazine* and the *Pall Mall Gazette*, grateful for the extra income so earned. He also published several novels, although with little financial return. In the 1890s, however, having lost political occupation, and urgently needing to augment his income, Maxwell embarked on a wider range of writing. Besides articles and reviews, there were volumes of essays [1892; 1895 (a)], including an extended series, *Memories of the Months*, largely on natural history topics, appearing over the years 1897 to 1922. In response to a request from a publisher, Maxwell wrote a *History of Dumfries*

and Galloway [1896], and *A History of the House of Douglas* [1902]. An edition of *The Creevy Papers* [1903 (b)] was an enormous success. He produced a varied selection of biographies (Queen Victoria, Robert the Bruce, the Duke of Wellington, the fourth Earl of Clarendon, George Romney), besides works on fishing, gardens, and topographical subjects. Maxwell came to be recognised as a major figure in the intellectual life of the period, being elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1898.



Figure 3 Monreith House 1904, reproduced courtesy of the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland.

Family Life

The 1890s were also a turning point in Maxwell's personal life. In 1893 he had decided, with some regret, to break his connection with the church of his childhood, the Catholic Apostolic Church, in whose dogmas he could no longer believe, although his wife continued in the faith. The obligation to pay tithes to this church had been an important element in Maxwell's financial difficulties. His eldest son, William, was lost in South Africa in 1897, after which his wife went into a decline, becoming senile in 1904, and dying in 1911. His three daughters all married, the eldest delighting Maxwell by uniting his family with a distant relative, friend and colleague in the House of Commons, Sir John Stirling Maxwell, of Pollok House, near Glasgow. Stirling Maxwell shared many of Sir Herbert's interests, in forestry, garden plants, watercolour painting, and, above all, antiquity and conservation. He later served as a Commissioner on the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, becoming Chairman in 1940. Maxwell's only remaining son, Aymer, was sent with his regiment to South Africa in 1899, contracted fever, and was invalided home in 1900. After a spell rubber planting in Malaya,

Aymer returned to Monreith, to enjoy his position as heir to the estate, and to indulge in his favourite activity of field sports. Aymer's youngest son, Gavin Maxwell, was later to comment that his father's library seemed to consist of nothing but books on hunting, shooting and fishing [G Maxwell 1965], and while Sir Herbert was certainly also a sportsman, it would seem that Aymer did not share his literary or historical interests. In 1907 Aymer married Lady Mary Percy, a daughter of his father's old school friend Harry Percy, now Duke of Northumberland. His wife, however, refused to live either at Monreith House or at nearby Airlour, but used her own money to build the House of Elrig on land bought from the Marquis of Bute, Sir Herbert refusing to aid such extravagance. In this new house, on an exposed hillside four miles from Monreith House, Maxwell's four grandchildren were born and brought up, the youngest, Gavin, being born in July 1914, shortly before the death of his father at the age of 37, struck by a shell in October, in the first weeks of the War.

There was no closeness between Maxwell and his grandchildren. The old man filled his time at Monreith tending his garden and producing a daily water colour before breakfast featuring one of the magnificent rhododendrons from his shrubberies. In his book of childhood recollections, *The House of Elrig* [G Maxwell 1965], Gavin remembers 'the fusty Victorian aura' of Monreith, where his grandfather moved between his gardens and an 'incredibly untidy' study, stacked with books, 'interminably writing', books, letters, and papers for learned journals. Financial constraints deepened, and after the War much of the estate had to be sold. Only an unexpected legacy saved Maxwell from having to leave Monreith House. Many neighbouring landowners were selling their estates and mansions, adding to the atmosphere of gloom. At the age of fifty Maxwell had written in his flowery prose that he was now past the noontide of his life: 'The night cometh. It may be a long way off still, and the hours that lie before it may be the sweetest in the day' [1895 (a), viii]. This comment was to be a prelude to a saga of difficulties and sadnesses, but Maxwell's remaining forty two years had their compensations. He was now a central personality in Scottish cultural life, and his position as President of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and as Chairman of the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland in particular, must have fulfilled some of his hopes of sweetness.

Maxwell and the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland

From 1890 to 1893 Maxwell served as one of three Vice Presidents of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and from 1900 to 1913 he officiated as President of the Society. This body had been growing in importance and influence since the appointment in 1869 of Joseph Anderson as Keeper of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, and, in 1877, as Assistant Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland and editor of its *Proceedings* [Stevenson 1981]. Anderson not only undertook the reorganisation of the Museum, and its removal to purpose built premises in Queen Street, Edinburgh, in 1891, but he was a leading excavator of chambered cairns in Caithness, and in his Rhind lectures of 1879-82 he provided an overview of the prehistory and early history of Scotland [Anderson 1881; 1883; 1886]. David Clarke [1981] has discussed how, under

Anderson, the Fellowship of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland trebled in size, giving its *Proceedings* a wide distribution. The Society thus emerged as the premier channel for archaeological studies in Scotland, and as the main body of research and publication, while the National Museum of Antiquities served as the repository for finds from the whole country. This centralisation undoubtedly had some advantage for scholarship, but perhaps added to the diffidence of local societies, and their reluctance to engage in the conservation measures that Pitt Rivers regarded as the more desirable and effective.

The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland had helped Lubbock to draw up his first list of monuments in need of protection, but Anderson regarded the powers of the Ancient Monuments Act as passed in 1882 as so inadequate that he refused to assist Pitt Rivers in his work. Rather, the Society itself undertook systematic cataloguing and survey of the archaeology of Scotland, work, which peaked under Maxwell's Presidency. A donation from Dr Gunning enabled museum collections across Scotland and abroad to be visited and recorded [e.g. Anderson and Black 1887], and helped J Romilly Allen to record the Early Christian stones of Scotland [Allen and Anderson 1903]. Surveys of forts and other earthworks were undertaken by Dr Christison, Assistant Secretary to the Society, setting standards for the survey of monuments that were to feed into the later work of the RCAHMS [Christison 1898]. Another Assistant Secretary, F Coles, surveyed a range of monument types, especially stone circles, publishing reports in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries* between 1891 and 1911. Thomas Bryce, Professor of Anatomy in Glasgow, was commissioned to undertake and report on excavation of Clyde Cairns [Bryce 1902], and other local surveys were published in the Society's *Proceedings*. An important contribution was thus made towards compilation of a record of the prehistoric archaeology of Scotland.

Standards of archaeological excavation in Scotland are agreed to have been lagging behind those of England [Ritchie 2002, 19]. Nonetheless the Scottish Antiquaries' funding of Bryce's Arran excavations, and their initiation of a series of excavations of Roman sites with a view to establishing archaeological evidence for the progress of Roman activity in Scotland, are indicative of a properly research orientated approach. This latter programme was close to Maxwell's heart, recalling his excitement at the discovery of first century Roman skilllets in Dowalton Loch in 1862. Maxwell regarded the main purpose and function of archaeology as being 'to produce evidence in support of history' [1913, 52]. Much of his work on crannogs had been carried out in the hope of substantiating a Roman presence in Galloway, perhaps with a bearing on the local tradition of St Ninian's mission to the Picts, supposedly derived from Rome. Maxwell's novel, *A Duke in Britain* [1895 (b)], centred on St Ninian's mission to Galloway, and drew on his excavation experiences to describe a local, crannog-dwelling, chieftain society, converted to Christianity by Ninian, under the protection of a Roman cohort based at Rispain Camp, near Whithorn. This sub-rectangular bank-and-ditch enclosure was classed by Christison [1898, 61-2] as a possible small Roman 'redoubt'.

In the 1890s the Society undertook excavation of the Roman fort at Birrens, Dumfriesshire, and the adjacent native fort on Birrenswark Hill [Christison *et al* 1896; Christison 1899], Fellows being encouraged to donate towards the project. Under Maxwell's Presidency excavation at Roman sites continued, including Ardoch and

Inchtuthil in Perthshire, Lyne in Peebleshire, Camelon, near Falkirk, and various other sites on the Antonine Wall. Maxwell also donated £50 towards excavation at Rispsain Camp, which he was convinced must have been a Roman work. James Barbour, architect, who had conducted the excavations at Birrens, was employed for this foray, but to Maxwell's disappointment nothing of a Roman nature was discovered [Barbour 1902]. As more recent excavations have shown [Haggarty and Haggarty 1983], the enclosure contained massive native Iron Age round houses, but Barbour failed to observe the post hole evidence, which lay outside his experience. The most extensive undertaking by the Society of Antiquaries within the period of Maxwell's Presidency, was at Newstead, near Melrose, where James Curle directed work from 1905 to 1910, producing impressive structural and artefactual results, and a magnificent volume [Curle 1911] which displays standards of excavation and recording exemplary for the time [Ritchie 2002]. Curle was able to draw together evidence from the Antiquaries' suite of excavations to conclude that the Roman army withdrew from Scotland in the early third century. Maxwell nonetheless argued [1912, 37-8] that it was 'not improbable' that Ninian's mission to the Picts of Galloway at around AD 400 represented 'an endeavour...to reclaim the northern province to civilisation by means other than force of arms', and speculated [1917] that the Romanised names on the Early Christian Kirkmadrine stones could refer to members of the Ninianic enterprise. Rightly refusing to believe that absence of evidence demonstrated evidence of absence, Maxwell always regarded the rectangular enclosure at Rispsain as likely to be Roman, a protection for the nearby church at Whithorn [Maxwell 1927].

Maxwell and the RCAHMS

In 1908, the Secretary of State for Scotland, Sir John Sinclair (later Lord Pentland) having been persuaded of the need for a body of record of Scotland's historic remains, the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland received its Royal Warrant. The Commission was entrusted with the task of recording monuments erected before 1707 and listing those most worthy of protection. A basic record could thus be created, fulfilling the hopes of Sir John Lubbock when he first proposed a National Commission to make a schedule of Ancient Monuments nearly forty years earlier. This must have been an enormous satisfaction to Maxwell who had been so closely involved in the struggles to get adequate legislation passed by Parliament, and it was wholly appropriate that he was appointed as Chairman of the RCAHMS in Scotland, the first of the three Commissions, for Scotland, Wales and England, set up in the same year.

It has been suggested [Hutchison 1994] that as the British aristocracy lost financial and political supremacy, they found compensation in occupying positions of influence on public bodies. In Maxwell's case, his life experiences equipped him so uniquely for taking a lead in the establishment of the new body of record of the buildings and prehistoric monuments of Scotland, that the appointment can hardly be faulted. He had worked with many of the foremost names in the archaeological and academic sphere, and was intimate with people who mattered both in society and in political circles. Not only had Maxwell been closely involved in the passing of the original Ancient Monuments Act in 1882, but he had supported General Pitt Rivers in implementation of the Act. By committing sites on

his own land to Guardianship, and encouraging friends and neighbours to do likewise, he had been an important influence in fostering acceptability of the concept of state care. It was Maxwell's interest in sites and monuments associated with St Ninian that had caused the terms of the Act to be stretched to cover medieval structures, leading to the introduction of a second Act in 1900. As President of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Maxwell is not only credited with obtaining improvements in the financial situation of the National Museum from the Government [Stevenson 1981, 183], but had been involved in efforts to establish a basic record and understanding of the archaeology of Scotland. He had made a major study of place name evidence, and as a historian and biographer had worked with documentary sources, establishing a reputation as a scholar. Indeed in 1911 Maxwell was to deliver a second series of Rhind lectures on *The Early Chronicles relating to Scotland* [1912], the published version dedicated to Joseph Anderson, 'to whose erudition and patience with the unlearned the author owes more than he can ever repay'. He had absorbed from Anderson [1881, 21] the need for accurate observation, precision and fullness of detail in recording. Most importantly, Maxwell understood the power of the spirit of place that could be derived from a study of the past, and he had produced a wealth of readable works that helped to popularise Scottish history. At the RCAHMS he could combine his attachment to locality with his belief in the importance of scholarship and the centralisation of knowledge.

The team established to form the new body comprised men whom Maxwell knew well. Commissioners Professors Baldwin Brown and Bryce, Lord Guthrie, and Thomas Ross had all sat on the Council of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Ross serving as Vice President to Maxwell's Presidency, and they had contributed their expertise to the various excavations undertaken by the Society. The Secretary of the Commission, Alexander Curle, brother of the excavator of Newstead, James Curle, was a solicitor who had served as Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries and contributed to the *Proceedings*. He was a man of great energy and enthusiasm, as his work for the Commission was to show.

Maxwell was punctilious in his attendance at Commissioners' meetings, being absent only once during his 26 years as Chairman. The Minute Books of the RCAHMS [NMRS MS/36/33] provide a record of his years at the Commission. As the first of the three Royal Commissions on Ancient Monuments to be created, the Scottish body had to take the lead in formulating a programme of work. Their approach in part followed that advocated by David Murray, who, in his address to the Glasgow Archaeological Society in 1895, argued for a survey to 'be made as formally and precisely as if it were the survey of a boundary line or of a railway line, and on a uniform method' [Murray 1899, 14-15]. On meeting in February 1908 the Commissioners immediately ordered three sets of Ordnance Survey maps of Scotland, although, doubtless deterred by the expense, an amendment to the Minutes signed by the Chairman, reduced this to one set until it was known which maps were needed. Lists of monuments were to be drawn up from maps and other sources, and Inventories were to be compiled by county, consisting of descriptions of the monuments, located by reference to the relevant OS map. In the early years the Ordnance Survey checked place names for the Commission, although their offer to translate Gaelic names was deemed unnecessary. In return, the Commission advised on the style to be used for depicting antiquities on the maps, a form of cooperation that continues to the present day.

Comment on the condition of each monument was to be recorded to aid Commissioners in the task of listing those monuments most worthy of preservation.

Curle served as Secretary of the RCAHMS for five years, resigning in 1913 to succeed Anderson as Director of the National Museum of Scotland and Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries. During his time at the Commission he surveyed and saw through publication of the counties of Berwickshire [1909], Sutherland [1911 (a)], Caithness [1911 (b)], Wigtownshire [1912], and Kirkcudbright [1914], also completing much of the work for a Dumfriesshire volume. As Curle proceeded, the scale of the challenge became more apparent, and, indeed, the Berwickshire Inventory, completed in the first year of the Commission's work, was revisited and republished in 1915. Assistant draughtsmen were employed, architectural drawings being particularly necessary for the tower houses and abbeys of Galloway, and in 1913 J G Callander was appointed as archaeologist. Curle covered huge distances, often on foot, writing site descriptions, and filling in field notebooks, as Murray [1899] had advocated. He undertook some excavation in the course of his duties, establishing the principle that the RCAHMS should seek to understand and explain the archaeological record, as well as to record it, although his excavation standards left something to be desired. Finance was tight, but Commissioners engaged in negotiating the budget with the Secretary of State for Scotland, this involving the Chairman in at least one visit to the Scottish Office in London. Commissioners took a direct interest in the production of the Inventories and in survey work. Professor Bryce, for example, visited chambered cairns in Wigtownshire with Curle to advise on their relationship with Arran monuments. Curle found the prehistoric monuments of Galloway disappointing after the more massive constructions of Caithness and Sutherland, a reaction which may have ruffled Maxwell's local patriotism.

The Commission took to heart General Pitt Rivers' advice on the desirability of local involvement. At early meetings Commissioners decided that letters should be sent to Convenors of County Councils and to the Town Clerks of all the Royal Burghs asking for suggestions for listings. The majority of these bodies replied, many supplying the requested information. Edinburgh City Council was requested to provide details of old buildings in the city, and Stirling Archaeological Society was asked for information on monuments in anticipation of an Inventory being prepared on the county. During survey Curle contacted local antiquarians, Maxwell recommending contacts in Galloway. Concerned individuals, antiquarian societies, and bodies such as The Scottish Patriotic Association and the Scottish Ecclesiological Society, with which Baldwin Brown was associated, wrote to the Commission reporting problems. Commissioners took cases up, instructing the Secretary to visit sites thought to be endangered, or making visits themselves. In August 1910 Commissioners travelled to Moray, touring sites, and subsequently sent reports on the monuments visited to proprietors, the Convenor of the County Council, the Office of Works, and the Scottish Office. In other cases Commissioners wrote to proprietors advising on the need for protection, while the Office of Works was sent recommendations on sites that they considered should be taken into care.

Promotion of conservation was not, however, a core responsibility for the RCAHMS, whose charter merely imposed the duty to list those monuments most deserving of protection. The Office of Works, which from 1908 maintained an office in Edinburgh for

dealing with Scottish monuments, absorbed the current climate of enthusiasm for conservation, and the number of sites taken into care was increasing, doubtless encouraged by W T Oldrieve's role as a Commissioner as well as an official at the department. In 1910 a successor to Pitt Rivers as Inspector of Ancient Monuments was appointed, and in 1913 J S Richardson became the first Inspector for Scotland under the terms of a new Ancient Monuments Act. This Act made explicit the distinctiveness of the Scottish heritage, creating separate Ancient Monument Boards for Scotland, England, and Wales, and giving the Office of Works a remit to schedule buildings of 'national importance'. The Ancient Monuments Boards were to act as advisory bodies to the Office of Works, a possible overlap with the role of the Commissions. Maxwell, however, sat on the Ancient Monument Board for Scotland for five years representing the RCAHMS, and representatives of the Commission continued to sit on the Board throughout its life. Effectively, where Inventory lists had been produced, these served as the basis for the Board's recommendations for protection.

It was becoming increasingly apparent that the task of making an Inventory of all Scotland's Ancient Monuments would not be completed within the lifetimes of the current Commissioners, a realisation reinforced by the onset of the 1914-18 War. The operations of the RCAHMS were suspended in 1915, not resuming until 1919, when it soon became clear that the expansive atmosphere of pre-War times no longer prevailed. This was a time of general retrenchment, and indeed, the constraints of the post-war period, with growing unemployment and looming depression, fostered a distaste for antiquarianism and Victorian scholarship. The future lay with modernism in fields of art and architecture. Attempts to reinstate staff as before the War proved impossible under the reduced grant allowed to the Commission. Appeals for an increase met stern refusal from the Treasury in 1921, making it necessary to dismiss the Clerk of Works, although at the end of 1923, after the Chairman had led a deputation to the Secretary of State for Scotland, there was some improvement. Even necessary travel expenses were now often beyond the budget, and activities had to be curtailed.

The response of Maxwell and his fellow Commissioners, now of advanced years, to these constraints, was to confine activity to survey and publication. In 1920 the Commission had still felt it part of its role to write to the County Surveyor in Banffshire expressing disapproval of the destruction of a cairn, but by 1927 Commissioners noted that they could not involve themselves in questions of repair to parish churches. The structures of state care were now vested in official bodies, the Office of Works, the Inspector of Ancient Monuments, and the Ancient Monuments Board, making the intervention of the RCAHMS redundant. When the Council for the Protection of Rural Scotland was founded in 1926, instigated by Maxwell's son-in-law, Sir John Stirling Maxwell, Commissioners agreed that it lay beyond their remit even to express support.

The Dumfriesshire volume [RCAHMS 1920], which had been prepared before the War, was published in 1920 in a new, large quarto size. Next, at a necessarily slow pace, the volume on East Lothian was produced, reduced in size to meet with financial constraints [1924]. Survey work was curtailed to facilitate the production of volumes on the Outer Hebrides, Skye and the Small Isles [1928], on Mid and West Lothian [1929], and on Fife, Clackmannan and Kinross [1933]. Work began on Orkney and Shetland, not published

until 1946. The reputation of the RCAHMS thus remained steady throughout these difficult inter-war years, its publications being regarded as authoritative and scholarly. Commissioners continued to sit on the Ancient Monument Board, and were assured that in selecting sites for scheduling the Inspector of Ancient Monuments regularly examined the Inventory lists of monuments deserving of special care. By the time that Maxwell finally intimated his resignation as Chairman in 1934, in his ninetieth year, to be succeeded by an old colleague, Sir George Macdonald, all of the original Commissioners had died. Other changes were soon to take place, Angus Graham being appointed Secretary in 1935, and Kenneth Steer taking over as Archaeologist in 1938. The scene was set for the advances in the scope of the RCAHMS that were achieved after the War.

Latter Years

Complementary to the work of the RCAHMS were Maxwell's later writings, such as his historical study of Edinburgh [1916], peopling the city with colourful incidents and characters from the past. He wrote the *Official Guide to the Abbey Church, Palace, and Environment of Holyroodhouse* [1921] in which the longest section was devoted to a history of the abbey and palace, detailing events recorded as having occurred in and around the buildings. At the age of 87 Maxwell [1932 (b)] published locally a booklet on Whithorn, tracing the records of royal pilgrimages to the shrine, in which he compared the losses to local trade and industry that followed the prohibition of pilgrimage in 1581 to such as 'would befall St Andrews in our own day if Parliament were to prohibit golf'! Maxwell was clearly of the view that buildings were more than architectural objects, but were places in which history had been enacted. In a volume of historical essays, he wrote [1924, 105], that when being 'whisked by the Flying Scotsman at sixty miles an hour through the mouldering walls of Berwick...memories of old time crowd thick and fast upon you'. Maxwell hoped through his writings to convey some of this excitement to a wider audience. He also continued to publish essays, articles and books on fishing, field sports, and gardens, using his watercolours, which are still conserved at Monreith House, as illustrations for a book on garden flowers [1923]. He completely rewrote his first work on the *Topography of Galloway* under the title *The Place-Names of Galloway* [1930], upbraiding his younger self for the 'blunders' of the earlier publication. Among the most attractive of Maxwell's writings were his memoirs, *Evening Memories* [1932 (a)], a candid account of his life, with comment on his friendships and interests, a work which has provided much of the detail incorporated into the present article. The pleasure with which Maxwell's writings were received can be gauged by the many reprintings of his essays, *Memories of the Months*, the last appearing in 1937, the year of his death.

Besides his work for the RCAHMS, Maxwell served as Chairman of the National Library of Scotland from 1925 to 1932. Given his interest in voluntary conservation, he will have supported Sir John Stirling Maxwell's role in establishing the National Trust for Scotland, set up in 1931 to save both natural and historic landscapes. In an echo of Maxwell's romantic approach to the past, early acquisitions by the Trust included small vernacular buildings associated with well known Scottish figures, Robert Burns, James Barrie, Thomas Carlyle, and Hugh Miller, conserving a heritage grounded in the people

who lived in the buildings rather than an aesthetically selected collection of fine buildings. In 1933 Maxwell was made a Knight of the Thistle, an honour in the gift of the sovereign, seldom bestowed on one who was not a leading member of the Scottish aristocracy. Maxwell's achievements, in particular his constant efforts to arouse local and national consciousness to the presence of the past in the landscapes of the present, had singled him out.

Maxwell was always aware of being a Gallovidian, and his roots at Monreith were strong. On his death in 1937 he was buried beside his wife in St Medan's chapel on Luce Bay. Here he had reconstructed the chancel as a burial aisle in the style of the local Romanesque church at Cruggleton, its arched doorway ornamented with the Maxwell coat of arms.

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AN OBSERVATION OF KIRKCUDBRIGHT'S TOWN WALL

David F. Devereux¹

In April 2005 a watching brief was maintained by the Stewartry Museum, on the re-development of a late 18th century building at 62, High Street, Kirkcudbright, adjacent to the mid-17th century Tolbooth steeple, and at the centre of the medieval burgh. The site occupies a narrow burgage strip, approximately 10m wide and 60m long, bounded by the High Street to the north and the presumed line of the former medieval burgh wall and ditch to the south, which is indicated on the 1st Ordnance Survey map of the town as 'Fortifications'.

A 0.90m wide trench for a new waste pipe was cut from near the front of the property southwards through the backland and beyond to link with the main sewer [fig.1]. The trench was cut to a depth of approximately 1.50m. At the north end of the trench, a densely packed layer of medium/large, rounded cobble was encountered. This was an exposure of the natural 'gravel ridge' on which Kirkcudbright's High Street is built. This is so firmly compacted that buildings are constructed on top of this surface with little discernible evidence of a foundation trench, as was observed again in the course of the re-development of the existing building.

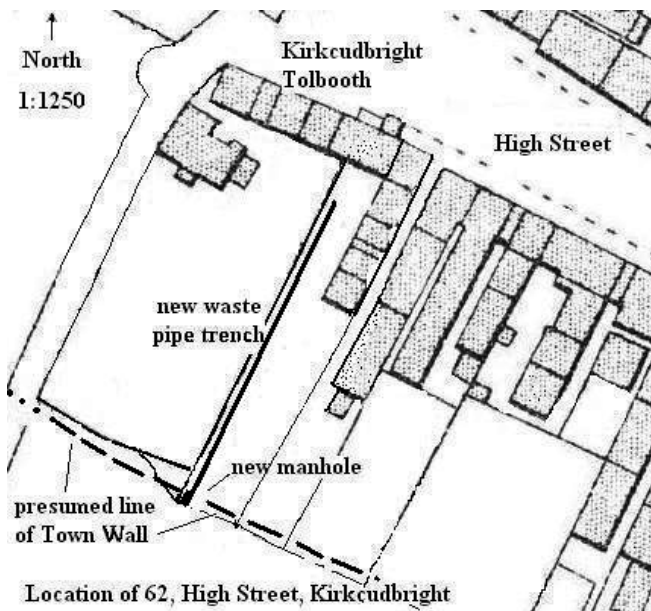


Figure 1

This natural surface was observed in the pipe trench extending some 25m south from the property frontage at a depth of 1.50m from the modern ground surface. Thereafter it ceased and the trench section continuing south revealed a deep, well-worked mixed loam over a clayey sub-soil, as has been previously observed in an earlier excavation in the backland on the south side of the burgh.² No features were noted, except near the south end, where the trench was widened to 1.50m to accommodate the installation of a manhole. Here the trench cut through a 0.70m wide wall foundation of loosely clay-bonded angular stone, resting on the clay

sub-soil and laid in a construction trench 0.80m in depth [fig 2]. The surviving top level of the wall foundation was 0.60m below the modern ground surface. The south, outer edge of the foundation was approximately 1.20m north of the present property boundary wall. The foundation was cut obliquely by a later pipe trench within the manhole pit. However sufficient evidence of the wall survived to show an east-west alignment parallel to the present property boundary [fig.3]. There were no finds recovered from the wall or its foundation trench.

1 The Stewartry Museum, St. Mary St., Kirkcudbright, DG6 4AQ.

2 'Trial Excavation at Buchanan Street and Castle Street, Kirkcudbright'. Report by *Scottish Urban Archaeological Trust*, 1991.

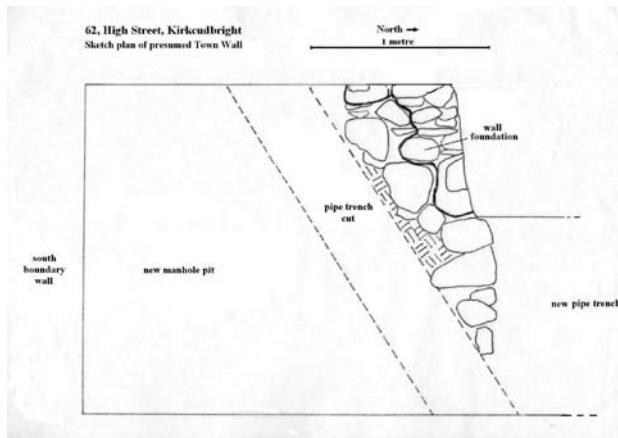


Figure 2

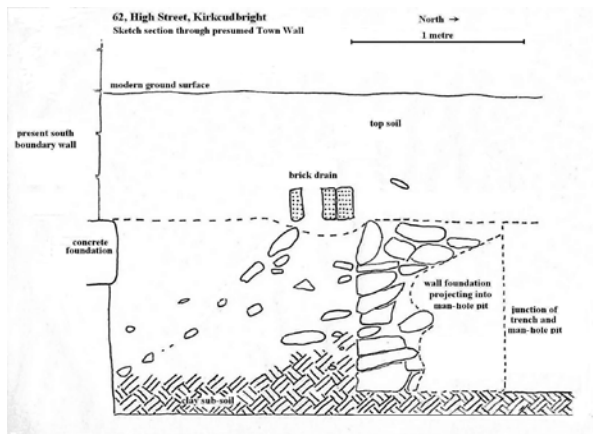


Figure 3

The western trench section between the two walls gave a slight indication of the beginning of slope into a ditch feature to the south. The pipe trench continued to the south beyond the present property's south boundary wall, but on this side the ground level is approximately 1.00m lower, probably the result of recent building activity. No clear indication of ditch could be seen in either section of the trench south of the boundary wall.

The wall foundation encountered is almost certainly for an earlier rear property boundary and as such may actually be the Town Wall or Back Dyke of the medieval burgh. Excavation by the Scottish Urban Archaeological Trust in 1993 in backlands at the Corby Slap site some 180m to the east revealed a similar feature on the south side of the burgh.³ A similar wall foundation aligned north-south was located on the same site, and would appear to confirm the location of the south-east corner of the defences here. Another section

of wall foundation on the presumed line of the Town Wall was excavated by S.U.A.T. on the east side of the burgh. The wall discovery at 62, High Street may therefore be the fourth exposure of the Town Wall, but as no dating evidence has been found in any of the four sections, it has not been possible to confirm a medieval date for them. However, Kirkcudbright was created a Royal Burgh in 1455, and the acquisition of a degree of self-government may have prompted the Town Council to order the construction of a Town Wall soon after this date. Certainly there are references to the Town Wall in the 16th century burgh records and the town defended itself against an English attack in 1547 when the townsfolk 'barred their gates and manned their dykes'.⁴ An encircling feature, which might be interpreted as either a ditch or a wall, is also depicted on a sketch map of the town, drawn by an English officer in 1562-1566 as part of a military survey of the Western Marches.⁵

3 'Trial Excavation at Corby Slap, Kirkcudbright'. Report by *Scottish Urban Archaeological Trust*, 1993.

4 *Memories of Old Kirkcudbright*, J. Robison, 1915

5 Copy in the Stewartry Museum, Kirkcudbright Museum Collection, accession number 1797. The original is held in the Cotton Collection in the British Library.

A CONCEALED SOCK FROM KIRKMAIDEN, WIGTOWNSHIRE

John Pickin¹

During renovation work in 1994 at Mull Cottage, Kirkmaiden (NX 137 319) a woollen sock was discovered hidden in a recess close to the chimney flue. The sock was stuffed with thistle heads and stalks. It has been donated by the finder, Mrs J Redden, to Stranraer Museum (accession number 2002.29).

The sock measures 150mm ankle to heel and 235mm ankle to toe. It has been roughly darned with wool at the heel and toe and when found was folded in half at the centre of the foot. Long exposure to chimney smoke has blackened the sock but may also have helped to preserve it. The thistle stuffing is confined to the ankle and heel and has been desiccated and preserved by smoke in a similar manner.



Figure 1 Sock from Kirkmaiden

The sock cannot be closely dated but could be 18th or 19th century. A group of buildings at or close to the site is shown on Roy's Military Survey of 1747-55 and the cottage is definitely depicted – as a single structure – on the O.S. six-inch 1st edition surveyed in 1848. The sock may well be contemporary with the construction of the cottage, perhaps in the second half of the 18th century.

This sock belongs to a tradition common throughout Britain in the post-medieval period of concealing domestic objects, generally items of clothing, in houses and other buildings (Merrifield 1987). Shoes are very common and were often placed under floorboards and in wall voids. An example of this practice from elsewhere in Kirkmaiden parish is a group of Victorian children's shoes found hidden in the attic of a house at Drummore (Stranraer Museum accession number 1993.70).

1 Stranraer Museum, 55 George Street, Stranraer DG9 7JP

Throughout Western Europe the shoe is associated with good luck and concealed shoes acted as charms to protect houses and their occupants. The Kirkmaiden sock belongs to this general tradition but is unique in its use of thistle stuffing. It has been suggested (Brian Hoggard pers. com.) that shoes and footwear acted as spirit traps and so the thistles in the Mull Cottage sock would have been an effective deterrent to any malevolent entity attempting to enter the building. Alternatively, thistle stuffing might have inverted the normal tradition and turned the sock into something which brought bad luck and suffering to the inhabitants of the cottage. Whatever explanation we choose, the sock is a unique example of Galloway folk magic.

Acknowledgements

With thanks to Brian Hoggard who maintains a database of concealed objects:
www.apotropaios.co.uk

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A BOG BODY FROM LESWALT, WIGTOWNSHIRE

John Pickin¹

A recent article in these *Transactions* summarised the evidence for bog bodies in Dumfries and Galloway and concluded by suggesting 'it is more than likely that further chance discoveries will be made by researchers delving in the dark recesses of family and parish histories' (Pickin 2004, 35). This suggestion has been confirmed by the discovery of another bog body unearthed through the work of members of the Dumfries and Galloway Family History Society and published as part of their account of the memorial inscriptions of Leswalt Old Kirkyard (Anon 2003, 6).

The discovery was reported in the *Dumfries and Galloway Standard* for May 12, 1852 as follows:

'Skeleton found. On Friday week, a man who was employed in digging peats in the moss beside Glenhead, parish of Leswalt, came on the skeleton of a human being situated about three feet below the surface, and embedded in the substance of the peat. The bones, which were crushed together into a small compass, are those of a female, evidently not advanced in years, as is shown by the appearance of the hair, which is in perfect preservation, and is of dark auburn colour. It is difficult to say how long these remains have lain in this situation, the extent of the preservative influence of the peat on animal substances not having been very exactly ascertained: but it is possible that many years have elapsed since they were placed in that retired spot to conceal the evidence of the dark deed, which there is every reason to believe preceded the lonely interment.'

There are extensive peat deposits immediately north east of Glenhead on the Kirkland and Garchrie mosses and abandoned peat diggings can still be seen at NW 995646. It is possible that the body was found in these diggings although smaller peat workings, now afforested, may once have existed closer to Glenhead.

From the description, the Leswalt body appears to have been unclothed. Many of the late prehistoric bog bodies from north-west Europe were also unclothed. But without further information it is impossible to say whether the Leswalt body is an ancient burial or a 'lonely interment' from more recent times.

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1 Stranraer Museum, 55 George Street, Stranraer DG9 7JP

A GROOVED STONE TOOL FROM WANLOCKHEAD
- LOOM WEIGHT OR PREHISTORIC MINING HAMMER?
John Pickin¹

The Dumfries Museum collection contains an unusual grooved stone object from Wanlockhead (DM 1936.82.3). It was presented to this Society in 1929 by William Mitchell, the mine manager, and was thought to be a loom weight (Anon 1929, 181).² The find spot is not recorded but in the late 1920s Glencrieff was the only working mine in the village.

The tool is a wedge-shaped volcanic cobble (length 220mm; width 127mm; maximum height 114mm; 4.27kg) with a trapezoidal section. A number of conjoined grooves have been pecked into the tool's surface: an irregular V-shaped groove, 25mm wide and up to 8mm deep, runs around the circumference close to the tool's centre of gravity; on the angled butt are two parallel U-shaped grooves which continue onto one of the faces but terminate before the central groove; a single sinuous groove runs from the butt down the axis of one face, appears to cut or post-date the central groove, and then bifurcates to form two shallow grooves which terminate before the narrow end. There is a possible groove at the narrow end but this may be a wear or batter mark.

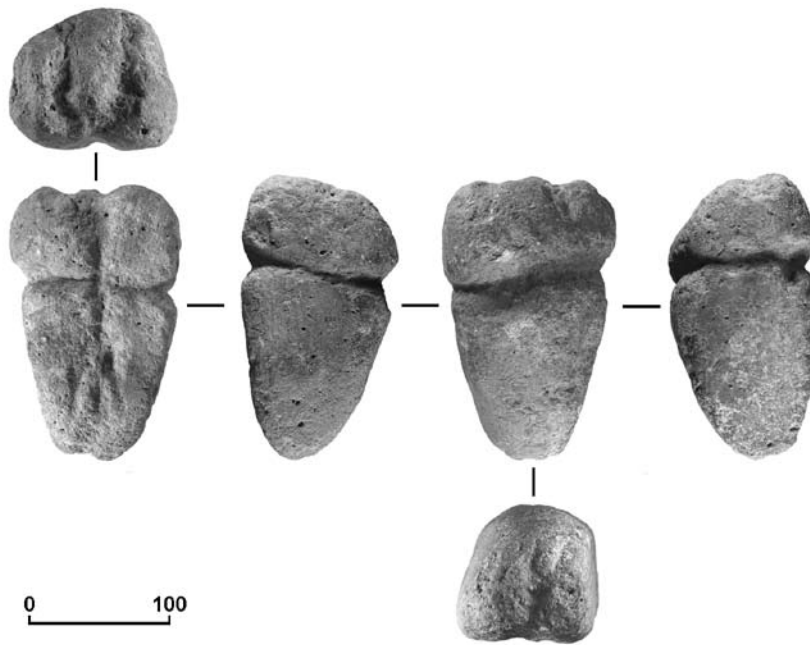


Figure 1. Stone Tool from Wanlockhead

¹ Stranraer Museum, 55 George Street, Stranraer DG9 7JP

² Mr Williams also presented a circular 'smoothing stone' from Wanlockhead (DM 1934.40). It is an oval granite cobble (length 120 mm; width 95 mm; height 65 mm) with a polished or ground face and straight sides. The opposing face is angled and has two pecked hollows. It appears to be a combined mortar and grinding stone and may have been used in ore-crushing.

Brown (1891, 38) refers to stone loom weights in the local area: 'Stone weights were formerly hung on weavers' beams to keep the web on the stretch. There are many to be seen in and around Sanquhar and are not to be confounded with the round stones with iron rings attached, formerly and still used as weights at farmhouses.' Unfortunately Brown does not describe the Sanquhar weights and no stone loom weights from the town are known to survive.

The Wanlockhead implement is similar to a group of massive, centrally-grooved granite cobbles from Galloway which all functioned as weights. A grooved cobble from Kirkcowan (SM 1957.17) was used as a thatch weight, another from Little Sypland, Kirkcudbright (TSM 2859) held down a hay rick and a third from Barhullion, Glasserton (NMS AK 158) was used to secure an animal in a stable. Were these grooved stones designed as weights or are they examples of the reuse of earlier, possibly prehistoric, stone tools? Sir Herbert Maxwell in his discussion of the Barhullion stone considered and then rejected its possible use as a mining tool: 'I imagined at first that it was one of the implements described by Mr Evans³ as being principally, though not absolutely, confined to the ancient mining districts throughout the habitable globe; and intended for use as a maul, by means of a with twisted round the groove, much as a blacksmith's chisel is used at the present day. But I am inclined to think now that it is merely a mediaeval weight, such as several of various sizes which have since come to hand. If it be a pundler weight, it bears a singular resemblance to two undoubted mauls which come from the ancient copper mines of Arizona, U.S.; which shows that analogy, though an indispensable guide, must not be followed blindly.' (Maxwell 1888, 213)

However a recent review of the evidence for early mining and metallurgy in Scotland has again raised the possibility that the Barhullion tool, plus another grooved stone from Kirklauchline, Stoneykirk (NMS AK 133), may have been used for mining and ore-crushing (Hunter, Cowie and Heald, 2006, 50). Could the Wanlockhead tool also have been used in mining?

The Wanlockhead tool is unusual – and possibly unique in Scotland - in having multiple grooves and it may be significant that its closest parallel lies with a group of grooved hammerstones from the Alderley Edge copper mines in Cheshire. Well over a hundred grooved stone tools have been found at this site and recent research (Timberlake and Prag 2005) has demonstrated that they were multi-functional crushing and pounding implements used during one or more phases of Bronze Age mining. The majority are single-grooved hammerstones similar to the Galloway examples mentioned above. But some are multi-grooved and are comparable to the Wanlockhead tool in combining a central groove with one or more butt grooves (although none have the axial face groove seen on the Wanlockhead implement). These multi-grooved hammerstones have only been found at the Brynlow section of Alderley Edge and might be functionally or chronologically distinct from the other Alderley hammerstones. Fully grooved hammerstones have not been found at any other known prehistoric metal mine in England and Wales.

The earliest record of mining in the Wanlockhead-Leadhills orefield is in 1239 when a lead mine was working close to the Glengonnar Water. Earlier mining is certainly a possibility and there is a tantalising 19th century account of the discovery of stone and metal tools: 'There was once found in old surface workings in both places (Wanlockhead and Leadhills) the tools used in excavating the lead ore, some of the picks being of stone and others of bronze, showing that these mines had been worked at a very early period of our history, probably in pre-Roman days.' (Hunter 1884, 376).

Unfortunately none of these stone and bronze tools has survived.

3 Maxwell is referring to Sir John Evan's *The Ancient Stone Implements, weapons and Ornaments of Great Britain* published in 1872.

There is no absolute evidence that the grooved stone tool from Wanlockhead was used in mining. Nor can its use as a loom weight be proven. But its similarity to the multi-grooved hammerstones from the Alderley Edge mines, combined with the antiquarian discovery of stone tools in mine workings at Wanlockhead-Leadhills, suggests a mining-related function is a strong possibility.

Acknowledgements

Thanks to Joanne Turner (Dumfries Museum) and David Devereux (The Stewartry Museum) for information on grooved stones in their collections and to Alan McFarlane for photography.

Museum abbreviations: DM – Dumfries Museum; SM – Stranraer Museum; TSM – The Stewartry Museum; NMS – National Museum of Scotland.

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ST NINIAN AND THE EARLIEST CHRISTIANITY IN SCOTLAND

Lecture Day held in Whithorn by the Friends of the Whithorn Trust
with sponsorship from Historic Scotland in September 2007

On September 15th 2007, in place of the established annual Whithorn lecture, the Friends of the Whithorn Trust celebrated the 21st anniversary of the founding of the Trust by holding a full day of lectures examining the background to the first appearance of Christianity in south west Scotland. The Friends are grateful to Historic Scotland who sponsored the event, and to Peter Yeoman, Historic Scotland's Head of Archaeology, who, on the following day, led delegates on an excursion, starting with a tour of the recently created display of Early Christian stones in the Priory Museum. Participants also visited St Ninian's Cave, unfortunately on a day of driving wind and rain, where John Borland of the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland pointed out the recently surveyed crosses incised on the rock face. The RCAHMS drawings of the cave are reproduced in a leaflet obtainable from The Whithorn Story Visitor Centre.

The Lecture Day set to one side recent controversies over the historical authenticity of Ninian to consider the context within which Christian communities became established in Wigtownshire in the fifth century AD. The presence of such communities is evidenced most unambiguously by the fifth century Latinus stone, found in the 19th century on the site of the later Whithorn cathedral. This carved slab, erected by the 35 year old Latinus and his four year old daughter, commemorates their forebear, Barravados. Speakers explored a range of different perspectives on the existence of this early Church.

First Jonathan Wooding, of Lampeter University, examined the *dossier* of St Ninian, the accumulation of evidence for a founding figure having been based at Whithorn. He traced the history of the site at Whithorn, showing how tradition of the sanctity of the place persisted, in much the same way as with sites associated with St David in west Wales. It was his contention that the unbroken history attached to Whithorn, provided a secure foundation for later legends concerning the saint.

Next Katherine Forsyth, of Glasgow University, considered the Latinus stone itself, setting it within a context of similar memorial slabs around the Irish Sea, in Wales, Cornwall, eastern Ireland, the Isle of Man, Cumbria, and the Borders. She suggested that the crude Latin inscriptions on these stones could be indicative, not of a learned caste, but rather of a spoken language, being rendered phonetically, and thus of a Latin speaking community, rooted in Roman tradition.

Supporting evidence for the existence of an early Christian community in south west Scotland was found by Dave Cowley of the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland in the long cist cemeteries of the area, such as that at Terally, in the southern Rhins, excavated in 1955 by Livens [1957]. Cowley showed a series of aerial photographs, in which groups of comma, or tadpole-shaped cropmarks, aligned east-west, several of them associated with enclosures of various kinds, were suggestive of further cemeteries of long cists, or dug graves.

After lunch Mike McCarthy, of Bradford University, examined archaeological evidence for Christianity in late Roman northern Britain, which he found to be largely unconvincing. No indisputably Christian structure could be certainly identified. This, however, raised questions over whether a church would be recognisable in the archaeological record, and, indeed, whether Early Christian communities would have felt the need to construct such a building.

Ian Wood, Professor of Early Medieval History at Leeds University, provided a detailed examination of literary and historical sources in an exercise which balanced the probabilities of St Ninian having worked in the fifth as against the sixth century, the later period having been preferred by some recent commentators. A surprising amount of evidence for contact between Britain and

continental Europe in both periods was adduced, leaving Professor Wood to conclude that the fifth century could be as probable a setting for a mission from Europe as the sixth. Is there a possibility here that Ninian was sent to Britain to confront Pelagian heresies?

Finally Catherine Swift, from the National University of Ireland, Limerick, examined the Confession of St Patrick, showing how the concept of 'conversion' was not necessarily as clear cut as portrayed by later church historians. Quoting Patrick's account of his having to refuse gifts being offered by his female converts, she drew attention to continuity from pagan times of practices such as the deposition of offerings at shrines, wells, and holy places.

The excellent presentations brought Peter Hill, who chaired discussion at the end of the conference, to comment on the absence of evidence for fifth century settlement in Southern Scotland, a discontinuity that could perhaps itself have some bearing on the appearance of Christianity at this time. The papers had raised many questions, but cumulatively offered support for the thesis that Christianity, in some, perhaps tentative, form, was certainly established in Galloway, and around the Irish Sea, in the fifth century.

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Jane Murray.

Place and Memory: Excavations at the Pict's Knowe, Holywood and Holm Farm, Dumfries and Galloway, 1994-8, edited by Julian Thomas. 2007. ISBN 978-1-84217-247-6. Oxbow Books, Oxford.

From Cairn to Cemetery: An archaeological investigation of the chambered cairns and early Bronze Age mortuary deposits at Cairnderry and Bargrennan White Cairn, south-west Scotland, by Vicki Cummings and Chris Fowler. 2007. ISBN 978 1 4073 0039 9. BAR British Series 434, Oxford.

The year 2007 saw publication of two important volumes on excavations of prehistoric sites in Dumfries and Galloway. *Place and Memory* is the title given to a substantial compendium, edited by Julian Thomas, one of the foremost exponents of the British Neolithic, whose ground-breaking *Rethinking the Neolithic* [1991] challenged established perceptions of the Neolithic as a time of 'First Farmers', contending that the Neolithic was a 'way of life' rather than an economic system. Between 1994 and 1998 Thomas undertook excavation of a henge known as Pict's Knowe to the south of Dumfries, two ditched cursus enclosures at Holywood, to the north of the town, and a series of pit alignments and other cropmarks on Holm Farm, just east of Holywood. Vicki Cummings and Chris Fowler are younger figures on the neolithic scene, whose monograph *From Cairn to Cemetery* is an account of excavations, which they carried out between 2002 and 2005 at two of the Bargrennan Group of chambered cairns, Cairnderry and Bargrennan White Cairn.

Both volumes carry full accounts of the excavations, allowing the reader to judge the strength of the evidence, besides discussion of the context and significance of the monuments. Thomas' volume incorporates chapters by a variety of experts, while appendices provide specialist evidence relating to the Bargrennan cairns. Early Bronze Age cremation deposits were found to have been placed in pits and hollows directly against the kerbs of the two cairns, and Alison Sheridan of the National Museum of Scotland discusses the pottery and other grave goods deposited, which included

two battle-axes and a burnt bone belt hook. This latter is set into context with a Catalogue listing comparable pieces from across Britain.

These publications are, however, much more than excavation reports, the authors setting out to explore some underlying themes. The title *Place and Memory* encapsulates Thomas' claim (p 2) that the sites 'have proved especially helpful in addressing questions of how particular places maintained their importance over long periods of time'. The distinction between place and monument is a critical one, and not always easy to disentangle. Excavation certainly showed that creation of the cursus enclosures had been a long drawn out process, and that the act of construction was perhaps as significant in welding communities together as ceremonial performed at a 'finished' monument. The Holywood North cursus, in particular, encompassed a succession of phases. The northern end of this 400m long ditched enclosure, with rounded ends, could be seen on aerial photographs to be lined internally by pits which proved to have held timbers defining a post-built cursus, later enclosed by the ditch. A chapter in the book on the cursus and cursus related monuments in Dumfries and Galloway by Kenny Brophy describes the pitted or post-defined cursus enclosures now known to exist in some numbers in eastern Scotland, and increasingly being identified as cropmarks in south west Scotland. Some of the posts at Holywood had seen replacement, and some had been burnt. Charcoal from one posthole was dated to 3890-3650 cal BC, appropriate for the accompanying sherds of Early Neolithic carinated pottery. A large pit within the northern apex of the cursus had held several successive posts, and burnt remains from two of these gave slightly later dates. A reconstruction plan (p 238, fig 27.3), based on the layout of the post holes visible on aerial photographs south of the excavation trenches, suggests that the timber defined cursus could have been constructed in phased segments, proceeding from south to north. No primary dates were obtained from the ditch, but, by analogy from elsewhere, it is likely to have been dug in the latter half of the fourth millennium BC, its function, perhaps, one of 'closure' of the earlier timber cursus. The ditch appeared to have been refilled almost immediately, probably by throwing bank material back into the ditch, but secondary recuts show that it was still visible in the late third millennium BC. The dating strengthens speculation that pitted enclosures predate the ditched examples, the former being related to smaller 'mortuary enclosures' and large timber 'hall-houses', both with Early Neolithic dates [Brophy 2007]. Recent excavation has uncovered such a 'house' at Lockerbie Academy, an amazing 27m in length by 8m [Kirby 2006]. Together with timber features at the long cairns at Lochhill and Slewcairn [Masters 1981], and the pitted cursus enclosures and other cropmarks discussed by Brophy, the Solway can now be seen to have been sharing fully in the timber monument construction patterns of eastern Scotland.

No timber phase was encountered at the slightly smaller, rectangular, southern cursus. Here too, however, carinated pottery was recovered from pits which lay in the area subsequently covered by the bank, demonstrating an Early Neolithic presence. The Twelve Apostles stone circle, the largest ring of standing stones in Scotland, which lies in a hollow across a shallow valley to the south west of Holywood South, is clearly part of the same 'ritual landscape' as the enclosures, but is undated, and could be either contemporary with the cursus enclosures, or successive. A ring ditch lay just inside an entrance in both enclosures, but complete excavation of that in the southern cursus revealed no trace of funerary or other deposition. If the ring ditches held Bronze Age burials, these respected surviving, perhaps recut, ditches. Indeed, aerial photographs show a rectangular enclosure to be linked to the northern cursus ditch by a narrow ditch line, perhaps indicating that the ditches were still visible, and used to demarcate land divisions, in the 1st millennium BC.

On Holm farm, on a terrace beside the river Nith, aerial photography reveals a complex of pit rows and ring-ditches, which excavation showed derived from a long period of activity, despite there being no ditches here to orchestrate later construction. Three parallel pitted rows were found to consist of post holes, two of them defining another timber cursus, with a third post row to the west. The posts were dated to early in the fourth millennium BC, although use of old timbers could place construction rather later. Again there was evidence for post replacement and burning, which,

together with irregularities in the alignments of posts, suggests construction to have been episodic. A narrower pair of parallel pit rows, on a different alignment, proved to be very different, the pits never having held posts, and giving late second millennium dates. Their function remains obscure. The outer post row of the cursus terminated in a complex of two overlapping ring ditches and a post ring, but stratigraphic relationships were unclear. One ring ditch was dated to the late second millennium BC, possibly contemporary with the pit avenue, the other to the end of the first millennium BC. There is so little continuity of form here, after so long a hiatus, that it must be doubted whether the later features enshrined any memory of the former monument. The well preserved cropmark evidence on the riverside terrace, may be recording a palimpsest of unrelated features rather than any respect for the past. Only the first stages of activity, involving the cursus posts, represent an extended period of continuous, if episodic, activity.

The greater part of *Place and Memory* concerns excavation of the henge at Pict's Knowe, but here there was a sorry story of loss of evidence, restricting interpretation. The sandy ridge on the valley bottom had seen Early Neolithic occupation, carinated bowl pottery being found below the bank of the henge and in an adjacent pit. The interior of the henge, however, was so riddled by rabbit burrows as to have totally destroyed structural traces, and only crumbs of pottery, and some possible cordoned urn sherds, were recovered. It was argued that construction of the bank must have been responsible for cessation of the growth of the underlying peat at a date between 2280 and 1960 cal BC, but the bank itself gave only Iron Age dates. As Patrick Ashmore comments [p 259] in a chapter analysing the radiocarbon dates, further examination of the peat layer might be helpful in confirming the relationship. Debris in the ditch derived from the manufacture of wooden artefacts dated to the early centuries AD, and was seemingly not domestic in character. The few artefacts, which included a number of wooden pegs, an unused, and probably non-functional, wooden ard, or plough, a piece of a quernstone, and a Roman left shoe sole, suggested ritual deposition. Thomas accepts that there cannot have been continuity of practice over the 2000 years since henge construction, yet argues that the place itself could have maintained 'importance'. While adventitious use of the site might seem more probable, scepticism must be tempered by recognition that rag offerings were being made at the nearby St Queran's Well in the later 20th century, very possibly a survival from pre-Christian rituals.

A chapter by Tipping, Haggart and Milburn illustrates the value of well focused environmental research, examining the interaction of site and landscape around Pict's Knowe. The authors discuss the impact that the increasingly wetland nature of the landscape of the Early Bronze Age would have had on human activity, perhaps stimulating henge construction. For the Iron Age, evidence is adduced that the valley floor consisted of poor, heathy grassland, while the ditch was waterlogged at the time of deposition. Was it perhaps dug deliberately to create a watery place for ritual deposition, comparable to that around the crannogs of the south west, discussed by Hunter [1994]? There are similarities here to Overrig, in Eskdale, an apparently ceremonial site of the early first millennium AD, where two small wooden dirks were found among woodworking chips in a waterlogged ditch [RCAHMS 1997, 84-6], a direct comparison with the ditch fill and non-functional ard at Pict's Knowe.

Cummings and Fowler's volume, *From Cairn to Cemetery*, addresses questions of the long term use of surviving monuments rather than the continuing sanctity of particular places. Bargrennan Cairns have been classified as passage graves [Henshall 1972], but differ from such tombs in northern Scotland which have rounded chambers and distinct passages. Rectangular Bargrennan chambers merge into gradually narrowing passages, in the 'undifferentiated' manner of some of the small passage graves which precede the great passage tomb at Knowth [Eogan 1986]. Bargrennan Cairns could, like the Irish examples, have been built early in the Neolithic, but are generally regarded as being likely to post-date the Early Neolithic long cairns of south west Scotland [Murray 1992]. Excavation recovered no dateable material associated with construction, but did establish that

these round cairns were very different from the small, irregularly sub-oval cairns incorporated into the Early Neolithic chambered cairns at Mid Gleniron [Corcoran 1969]. Large kerb stones, which at Cairnderry were topped by slab walling, gave dramatic definition to the cairns, which would have resembled the vertically faced Early Neolithic passage graves in the north of Scotland [Henshall 2004, 81]. Round cairns with prominent kerbs are, however, also characteristic of the Early Bronze Age, and Cummings and Fowler, after consideration a range of chronological options, preferred an origin between c.2500 and 2100 BC. The Bargrennan project was unfortunately not able to extend to palynological investigation, but the authors noted environmental evidence for a sharp reduction in tree cover in the Galloway uplands in the late third millennium BC, giving added support to their chronological estimate. The insertion of a cist and a cremation dated to c.2100-1900 BC into the body of the cairn, and placement of cremation urns dated to c.1900-1700 BC directly against the kerbs, thus represent a near continuous history of funerary practice. The excavators thought it possible that stone from Bargrennan cairn had been deliberately spread over the deposits, effectively enlarging the cairn. It is not uncommon for cremation urns to be inserted into earlier cairns, or to be appended to a cairn which is then enlarged, sometimes with the addition of an outer kerb. Such monuments served as cemeteries in continuing use, demonstrating respect for the ancient places of the past.

Cummings has recently been exploring the physical experience of encountering the chambered cairns of Dumfries and Galloway in the landscape, and attempting to characterise the favoured situations of different categories of cairn [Cummings 2002; 2003]. A short section in the present volume on 'Landscape setting' summarises her conclusions, continuing to contrast the settings of Bargrennan and 'Clyde Cairns'. The differences must, however, derive largely from the restriction of the Bargrennan series to the particular topography of the uplands of Galloway and south Ayrshire. The social significance of this confined distribution, coupled with the consistency of form of the cairns and chambers, is barely explored, although it contrasts starkly with the scattered distribution and structural variability of the Early Neolithic chambered cairns of the south west. Comparison could be made with Clava Cairns, occupying a similarly limited territory around the Moray Firth, although set in a very different landscape, and very different structurally from the Bargrennan sites, but equally consistent in their idiosyncrasy of form. Bradley [2000] has demonstrated an Early Bronze Age origin for the Clava series, starting in the late second millennium with Ring Cairns, such as Newton of Petty. It seems entirely possible that a similar process of social evolution, involving closer cultural and social unity, may have been taking place simultaneously in both areas.

It is clear that excavation has not only failed to answer all the questions that it set out to ask, but that it has raised a whole new set of problems. Nonetheless, these two volumes have undoubtedly added enormously to an understanding of the prehistory of south west Scotland and, indeed, of Britain. Interesting aspects include the almost universality of recovery of traces of the Early Neolithic, emphasising the impact that the new ways had on communities on the Solway as elsewhere. The wide spread of evidence gives support to the thesis that pre-existing communities were being integrated into a Neolithic lifestyle.

Excavation of both ditched and pitted cursus enclosures, and, in particular the combination of both types of cursus at Holywood North, has demonstrated the relationship between the two forms, and the likely priority of the latter. It has shown how construction involved successive phases of activity, as timbers were obtained, brought to the site, and erected, some later being burnt and re-erected before the digging of ditches brought closure to the project. The undertaking may have imbued the area with a ritual importance, given more permanent form by the Twelve Apostles stone circle. Whether such 'importance' attached to Pict's Knowe remains an open question. It has, however, been shown that here, in the heartland of crannog building cultures, Iron Age communities practised ritual deposition in some very various locations, and it seems that this activity may have persisted into modern times.

The structure of Bargrennan Cairns has been explored, and it seems likely that here, in the Galloway uplands, as also around the Moray Firth, the Early Bronze Age saw an 'antiquarian' construction of chambered cairns which fulfilled a continuing function in current mortuary practice. The importance of Early Bronze Age communities on the eastern side of the Cree valley has been reconfirmed, adding to the quantity of burial evidence from the area, and to knowledge of the richness of the material culture of the builders.

Excavation continues to reveal the extraordinary achievements of prehistoric societies in Galloway, where we can now look forward to publication of Julian Thomas' excavations at the timber complex at Dunragit, on Luce Bay, enriching still further our knowledge of the complexities of early prehistory in the area.

Jane Murray

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We Will Remember Them: Kirkcudbright's Sons (1939-1945), by Ian Devlin. Published jointly by The Stewartry Museum, Kirkcudbright (Dumfries and Galloway Council – Cultural Services) and Kirkcudbright History Society. ISBN 10 0-9551638-4-6, ISBN 13 978-0-9551638-4-5; 48 pages, paperback - £3.95. Available from The Stewartry Museum – postal orders welcome – please phone 01557-331643 to order and for postal costs.

We Will Remember Them 1939 –1945 is the second book by Ian Devlin on the Kirkcudbright War Memorial, the first dealing with the period 1914-1918. The format of the book is similar to the first in that each name on the memorial is brought to life by a short biography, often with accompanying photograph, a description of the historical background and circumstances of their death.

The Second World War was, in many ways, very different from the First. The most obvious difference is in the considerably fewer names on the memorial - twenty eight in the Second in comparison to over a hundred in the First. Although the First War was fought globally, the great majority were casualties on the Western Front, in France and Belgium.

When we examine Ian's research, we find the global conflict you expect in the Second World War with men serving in the Far East, Eritrea, Crete and even Nigeria. The North African campaign, including the battles of Tobruk, Tunisia and El Alamein is associated with the most names on the memorial. In the Northern Europe campaign, the losses are comparable, but not in the overwhelming numbers of the First World War - Dunkirk, Caen and Holland being represented.

A very high percentage served with the RAF, the majority of whom served with Bomber Command over Northern Europe. Bomber Command's losses in the war were particularly severe, approximately 50,000, and this is shown clearly in the book with at least four lost in raids over Germany.

The Royal Navy is well represented, one individual going down with the 'Mighty Hood' in the action with the Bismark and one officer, having survived the sinking of the Ark Royal, was killed on the convoy returning him to Britain. Other naval losses on the memorial tell of the less dramatic, but no less deadly war with the U-boat and E-boat

In many ways the most tragic are those who died in captivity as POWs - one captive with the Italians, but four with the Japanese.

The social history of the individuals noted on the memorial is also covered with information of their earlier years before the war. This turns up some curious information as one man during his childhood, an orphan from Glasgow, was taken round Dalbeattie in what was called an 'Orphan Car' and offered to anyone who would give him a home.

As with his previous book, this has been thoroughly researched and, not only a fine memorial to these men but also an excellent source for those interested in military, local, family and social history.

Alastair Gair.

Kirkcudbright Shipping 1300-2005, by David R Collin. Kirkcudbright History Society and the Stewartry Museum Service, 2007. ISBN 13: 978-0-9551638-5-2. Softback, 394pp, illustrated throughout. £9.95. Available from The Stewartry Museum, – postal orders welcome – please phone 01557-331643 to order and for postal costs.

The author, David R Collin, a native of Kirkcudbright, is a retired architect who is currently chairman of Kirkcudbright Historical Society. This is his second published work, the first being 'Kirkcudbright, an Alphabetical Guide to its History', published in 2003. In his latest work, he

has set out to provide brief details of the great variety of vessels, which have used the port of Kirkcudbright over the last seven hundred years or more and, wherever possible, who owned them, who were the people who manned them, what was their business, where did they come from, where did they go to, and what was their ultimate fate.

The author has identified that these vessels were engaged in a very wide variety of maritime activities, including naval duties, coastal and foreign trade, voluntary emigration, penal transportation, illegal smuggling, fishing, passenger transport, and leisure activities. This wide variety immediately throws up the problem of existing records, and access to them, and the author has obviously been very diligent in searching out a wide range of both primary and secondary sources. But clearly, some maritime activities have gone unrecorded. For example, only those smuggling activities which came up against the law have found their way into official records: the successful ones tend only to be celebrated in folklore.

In order to categorise and clarify the material, the author has made arbitrary decisions. For example, only vessels have been included where there was direct evidence of them using the port as against a probability. Undoubtedly this will have excluded many vessels, particularly in the days of sail, which may only have anchored in Kirkcudbright Bay, waiting for a favourable wind and tide. Again, the author's definition of Kirkcudbright as a port, includes the whole of the tidal Dee Estuary from Tongland to the Ross Island, and brings in the additional sub ports and landing places of Ross Bay, Balmangan, Manx Man's Lake, Mutehill, the Slate Harbour, the Fish House, Fishercroft, Tongland, and Tarff. We need to take these considerations into account when evaluating the author's material. We also need to recognise that the records of some categories of shipping are far more comprehensive than others, largely depending on whether there was an official requirement to maintain such records.

In the Boatbuilding Section, I would have liked to have seen more reference to the famous 'Solway' sailing dinghies, designed by Morgan Giles, the leading UK yacht designer of the 1920s, and built by Sayers at the Stell, from 1921 onwards. These beautiful fourteen-footers became the first one-design racing class of the Solway Yacht Club at Kippford in 1922, and were all named after Galloway Hills e.g. 'Merrick', 'Screele', 'Ben Yellary' etc. They survived until the 1950s.

In summary, although purists might argue that this publication is not so much a history but a series of files of information, it is a very valuable piece of work. By collating all this data and some fascinating illustrations all within one book, David Collin has provided future researchers into the maritime history of Kirkcudbright with an excellent starting point and saved them much time and effort.

James Copland.

Duncan Adamson, MA 1936 – 2007

Duncan Adamson was born in Dumfries to a well known family. After education at Dumfries Academy and the University of Edinburgh, where he was a near contemporary of the writer, he entered the teaching profession in Hamilton, before moving to Bo'ness Academy and then Linlithgow Academy, where he was Principal Teacher of History from 1965 to 1973. In 1973 he returned to home territory as Principal Teacher of History at Dumfries Academy where he was notably successful in presenting large numbers of pupils for the Certificate of Sixth Year Studies. While at Dumfries Academy he served for a number of years as Secretary of the Dumfriesshire History Teachers' Group.

After taking early retirement from teaching in 1986 he embarked on another career in historical and family research.

Duncan had many interests including cricket, football and bridge. He was a member of Loreburn Bridge Club, of which he was a very active President, and he was very well known in Scottish Bridge circles as an outstanding player. At Dumfries Academy he founded a bridge club, which has produced fine players, some of whom are now playing for Scotland. A faithful member of the Church, Duncan served as an elder at Maxwelltown West Church for many years.

Duncan joined D.G.N.H.A.S. in 1972, served as Assistant Secretary to his wife Eva from 1974 to 1979, as Minute Secretary from 1982 to 1983 and as President from 12th October 1983 to 10th October 1986. This bare record of offices held does not do justice to his remarkable range of work for the Society, arising especially out of his abiding passion for historical research. While in Linlithgow he investigated the hearth tax records in West Lothian, later published by the Scottish Records Society, and this was followed by three admirable articles in our own *Transactions* on the Hearth Tax in Dumfriesshire and parts of Galloway, which were prepared while he still lived in Linlithgow. These articles revealed much about the local population in the 1690s, especially after his expert analysis of the information provided. Another article on the dismissal in 1697 of John Fraser, Rector of Dumfries Grammar School, suggested that he was the victim of sectarian machinations after the Presbyterian Church was established under William and Mary. Other articles included a review of Magnus Magnusson's booklet on King Hakon of Norway, the history of 'Hastie and Brodie's', the Hill family of Cummertrees and some local teind lists from 1619 and 1620.

Duncan spoke to Society meetings on such subjects as Dumfries during the reign of William of Orange and the Parish of Kirkpatrick Fleming, while his Presidential Address in October 1996 was on 'A Loreburn.'

A major part of Duncan's work arose from the generous Ann Hill bequest to our Society for research into the History and archaeology of Kirkpatrick Fleming Parish. He was appointed the historian for the project. He immediately began to interview many local people so that their memories could be recorded, and also collected many photographs which were duly copied and returned. His researches took him to many archives both local such as Springkell and Raehills, and national including the Register of Sasines, wills and testaments as well as court and church records. This work produced a vast archive, and also various articles in the *Transactions* with the accompanying off-print booklets, on Ann Hill, the Kirkpatrick Fleming Poorhouse, relevant abstracts from the records of Middlebie Presbytery, the Mossknow Game Register and the diary of a Graham of Mossknow. His work for the Ann Hill bequest led to his appointment as Honorary Archivist to the Earl of Annandale at Raehills.

Although illness prevented the production of a popular local history of Kirkpatrick Fleming by Duncan, his daughter Sheila is writing what promises to be an excellent popular history making full use of her father's research work. His large archive of parish history will be a source of great value for historians and researchers in the future.

Duncan also contributed significantly on the hearth tax and the poll tax in *Scottish Population History* edited by Michael Flinn and published by Cambridge University Press in 1977.

Duncan will be remembered as an extrovert enthusiast with an enduring passion for local and national history. His continuing good humour, courage and cheerfulness during his last illness provided an example to us all, and he was even working on indexing his researches the day before he died.

He is survived by his wife Eva, two sons and one daughter.

John H D Gair.

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Francis John Stewart, LLB WS.

Francis John Stewart, LLB WS, known to everyone as Frank, was a man who had roots and interests in two different communities. He was born in Edinburgh on 11 May 1917. His father, Charles Edward Stewart, was the 4th son of Capt. William Stewart of Shambellie and was a Writer to the Signet in Edinburgh. His mother was Anne Laurie Ivory, 3rd daughter of Holmes Ivory, WS, Edinburgh. He was brought up, schooled and then worked in Edinburgh. However, Frank wrote that '*New Abbey has always been my real home. I went there first at the age of 3 to meet my grandmother at Shambellie, where my father had been born and brought up.*' That connection with Shambellie, New Abbey and the Stewarty was to remain real and vital throughout his life.

Frank was schooled at Loretta, Musselburgh, then studied English Law at Trinity College, Oxford. On leaving Oxford he joined the Territorial Army. He was sent to France with the 51st Highland Division and was captured at St Valery in June 1940. He spent the War in a prisoner-of-war camp and used the time to study for his Scottish Law exams. After release he completed his final law

paper, qualified LLB and became a Writer to the Signet with Murray, Beith & Murray, from where he retired as senior Partner in 1982.

In 1946 he married Olga Margaret Mounsey,¹ daughter of James L Mounsey, WS. They brought up their four children in Edinburgh.

While in Edinburgh he had other interests as well. He also kept up his interests in Loretta School where he served in various positions for over 35 years, including Chairman of the Governors and he was also a Council member of the Fet-Lov Youth Centre at Crewe Toll for over 45 years. He was a Member of the Royal Company of Archers, the ceremonial Bodyguard of the Queen in Scotland. He also had the unusual position of acting as Consul for the Principality of Monaco for over 20 years – meeting Prince Rainier and Princess Grace on their visits to Scotland. He was a member, elder and Session Clerk of the historic Greyfriars Kirk under Rev Stuart Loudon, who had been in the same prisoner-of-war camp with him.

Having spent holidays in the New Abbey area over many years he and Olga then built their own house at West Maryfield in 1960 – which became the focal point for their family holidays and allowed them to be contributors to New Abbey Flower Show as well as donors. It was also a base from which both of them could pursue their interests in local matters, Frank in historical research and Olga on her botanical interests – especially in the Stewartry

In his ‘fun’ Frank has been of great service to others interested in local history through both this Society and the Dumfries and Galloway Family History Society. He catalogued the Shambellie Estate Papers which are deposited in the Archive Centre and has written books and articles on the Stewart Family, Sweetheart Abbey and New Abbey Curling Club. He has many other notes – as yet unpublished. All of these are contributions which posterity will benefit from. He had a keen interest in what was happening in the Village and community. He was a Trustee of New Abbey Village Hall. For many years he was the ‘contact’ for the New Abbey Trust. The Church and many other groups have benefited from his help in receiving donations from it. He was a good listener, who could never satisfy his hunger for information about New Abbey’s history, its people and its environment. He appreciated everything around him, especially the countryside round New Abbey and he enjoyed the company of people.

Frank and Olga’s contributions to the *Transactions*, either alone or with others, give some measure of their output:

Stewart, F J - Sweetheart Abbey and its Owners over the Centuries (III 64, 58);
The New Abbey Curling Club: a History (III 66, 79)
A Galloway Lord Mayor of London (III 71, 133)

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Stewart, O - Professor Hutton Balfour’s Botanical Visits to Kirkcudbrightshire, 1843 and 1868 (III 62, 1)
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Stewart, O - & Cormack, W F- The Present Botany of a Former Mediaeval Site at Barhobble, Mochrum – A Check-list of Plants (III 70, 1).

Stewart, O - & Muir, J - Obituary: Mrs Mary Martin (III 71, 169).

¹ For an obituary see *Transactions*, III, 73, 238 — Eds.

For all his accomplishments, I think most people would have considered him a quiet and modest man. This is summed up in his final note on his CV, *'My life has been a long, happy and contented one. Blessed with 4 delightful children and 7 grandchildren and, above all a long suffering wife of over 50 years, I have often thanked God for his goodness to me.'* We certainly give thanks to God for the life and work of Frank Stewart – for all that he means to us and for all we have been privileged to share of his life.

William Holland.

5 October 2007

Dr David Devereux, The Stewartry Museum.

Presidential Address: Favourites from The Stewartry Museum

In an illustrated lecture, the retiring President, David Devereux, Museums Curator for the Stewartry in Dumfries and Galloway Museums Service, presented a wide variety of archaeological and local historical artefacts, fine and decorative art, photographs, archives and ephemera from the Stewartry Museum collection in Kirkcudbright. Some items were acquired during the earliest years of the museum's existence in the 1880s, and some more recent acquisitions. All the items shown were of particular significance for regional or national history, and were thus identified as 'favourites' from the Stewartry collection. The Kirkcudbright 'Siller Gun' – the earliest surviving sporting trophy is one of the most significant items in the collection, and it was reported that it would shortly be lent to the 'Silver ; Made in Scotland' exhibition in the National Museum of Scotland, together with the Dumfries 'Siller Gun'.

19 October 2007

**Paul Kirkland, Director, Butterfly Conservation Scotland
Scottish and Bulgarian Butterflies**

Mr Kirkland made a comment at the start of his talk that it might seem to be an odd title for his talk to link the butterflies of Scotland with those of Bulgaria. There were two main reasons for the choice. Firstly the contrast between the two countries was very pronounced. The total number of butterflies to be found in Scotland is about 34 (in Britain about 60), while Bulgaria can boast of 216 types. Secondly Scottish specialists are working in Bulgaria to provide data.

Mabie, locally, and the Mull of Kintyre are important places for the hopeful butterfly spotter to visit. South-West Scotland can provide sightings of uncommon British species, such as The Northern Brown Argus, the Scotch Argus and even the rare Pearl-bordered Fritillary. The current succession of milder winters is causing species, hitherto unknown in Scotland, to move northwards. An Essex Skipper colony was recorded near Dalton.

During the talk the audience was treated to a contrastingly colourful display of the huge range of exquisite specimens that are to be seen in Bulgaria.

Butterfly Conservation Scotland, a wildlife charity, is based in Stirling and has a staff of four. There are 600 members of the organisation in Scotland. Copies of *Butterflies of South West Scotland*, costing £12.99, are available in bookshops or direct from Argyll Publishing, Glendaruel, Argyll PA22 3AE (www.argyllpublishing.com).

2 November 2007

**Dr Derek Patrick, History Department, University of Dundee
Union of the Parliaments 1707–2007**

Since the 1960s the historiography of the Union has been dominated by those historians who believe it was achieved by means of corruption, English threats and the venality of Scots MPs, and on the other hand, those who have concentrated on Scotland's deteriorating economy and the apparent benefits of free trade with England and her colonies.

Incorporating union has been seen as either marking the end of Scotland's independence and inconsistent with the 'honour, fundamentall Laws and Constitution of [the] Kingdom', or a calculated measure borne out of economic necessity.

Taking a more inclusive, long-term approach to the subject, this lecture suggested that the Revolution of 1688-89 had a far greater impact on the politics of union than previously anticipated, with the religious and political freedoms it guaranteed, shaping the beliefs of a large number of Scots MPs who sat in Parliament 1706-07. By establishing their ideological roots it is possible to show that in addition to any economic motivation that led Scots MPs to endorse an incorporating union, or baser incentives that may have swayed individual politicians, a genuine commitment to the Revolution settlement and a large measure of principled support helped shape support for union in Scotland.

16 November 2007

**Barry Unwin, retired Curator Logan Botanic Gardens
Plants of Australia and New Zealand**

Mr Unwin took advantage of an organised group visit to the Antipodes to go plant-hunting in the South Island of New Zealand and Tasmania in 1996, since when he has made return visits to the latter. It was mid-summer with temperatures of 30 degrees C when he arrived in Christchurch. The next destination was the southern Alps, which rise to 12 thousand feet above sea level. In the course of 'botanising', unusual forms of plants like hebes, grasses, olearias, phormiums, celmisias and epiphyllums, which are carefully nurtured in gardens or as houseplants in the U.K., were growing like weeds. The tree ferns of New Zealand, being more tender than those of Australia, are less likely to be grown in the U.K.

Plants there generally have white flowers, the reason for which is not understood, and are pollinated by moths. The real gems were the intriguing vegetable sheep. Looking like a flock of sheep spread over the hillsides, *Raoulia* plants can be 100 years old.

Maoris ingeniously use new Zealand flax, of which there are only 3 species but about 50 types within the species, for making clothes, shoes and items for tourists.

Hobart proved to be a small friendly city. Trips to Mount Wellington, standing at four thousand feet high and to Cradle Mountain, a World Heritage site, afforded opportunities to view varieties of eucalyptus; tree ferns in abundance, which despite conservation policies were seen cut up to make steps; the remarkable trigger plant, a success story in propagation; and eucryphias.

The son of a Gatehouse man secured approval to gather seed in the National Park to take home. That of a tiny olearia grew to 10 feet high in the favourable conditions at Logan.

Mr Unwin was complimented for the breadth of his knowledge and his skill as a photographer.

7 December 2007 — The Cormack Lecture

**Dr Alison Sheridan, Head of Early Prehistory, National Museums of Scotland
New Insights into the Neolithic of West and South West Scotland**

This talk covered the new information that has emerged about the early farming communities (4000-2500 BC) in this part of Scotland over the past 25 years. It emphasised the importance of Bill Cormack's work in laying the foundations for what we know today: among his many achievements was the discovery of the earliest evidence for textile in Britain, preserved as an imprint on a piece of pottery over 5000 years old (from Flint Knowe, New Luce).

The new information has come from various sources. Chance finds include axeheads imported from Cumbria and Northern Ireland. There has been much developer-funded archaeology, especially that associated with roads and pipelines in the 1990s; one of these excavations, at Beckton, was very close to a site that Bill Cormack had excavated in 1962. The most spectacular find has been a large timber hall, around 6000 years old, found at Lockerbie Academy. Remarkably this was only a few hundred metres away from another huge hall, this time dating from the mid-first millennium AD. There have also been research-based excavations: Professor Julian Thomas excavated various cursus monuments near Dumfries and a large timber enclosure, dating to around 2900- 2600 BC, at Dunragit; and Vicki Cummings and Chris Fowler excavated two chambered tombs at Bargrennan and Cairnderry. Other research work has included aerial photography (which has revealed that there is a remarkable concentration of cursus monuments around Dumfries), radiocarbon dating, and the stable isotope analysis of human bone, revealing details of people's diet. There is also currently an international project on jadeite axeheads, which has demonstrated that the burnt fragment of one such axehead found at Cairnholy chambered tomb in Kirkcudbrightshire had come around 1500 km from its source in the Italian Alps.

Overall, this part of Scotland is rich in the remains of our earliest farming ancestors. They seem to have been immigrants, from two parts of France: one set came from southern Brittany sometime between 4300 and 4000 BC, sailing up the Atlantic side of Britain, and the others came from northern France, around or shortly after 4000 BC. They would have sailed in skin boats resembling currachs,

bringing their domestic cattle, sheep and pigs and their cereals with them. Once established, they thrived in the good agricultural areas and enjoyed contacts with Cumbria, Ireland, and other parts of Scotland and even southern England.

18 January 2008

Andrew Nicholson

Viking in Dumfries and Galloway

The Vikings have a bad name in history as harbingers of wanton destruction piling off longships to raid villages and sack monasteries. Recent movies such as *Pathfinder* and *Beowulf* reinforce the stereotype of early mediaeval warriors engaging in drinking bouts between lurid acts of premeditated violence. The archaeological evidence bears different testimony to the Scandinavians who lived in the region around the end of the first millennium.

Against the four kinds of weapons within the region stand a plethora of iron tools, comb-making debris, metalworking deposits, gaming pieces and buildings which testify to a thriving commercial community living at Whithorn — the first 'Viking' town excavated in mainland Scotland. Evidence of townplanning, streets and drainage schemes show a community settling down for the long-term. Place-name analysis indicates Norse farms on good arable land, not at the margins of society, and church dedications and standing crosses indicate a significant Norse influence in the emergent parochial structure of the tenth century.

Historical and archaeological evidence firmly places Galloway in the Norse community which encompassed Ireland, Mann and the Hebrides, with trade links to the Northern Isles and beyond to the North European mainland. Intermarrying with the locals, their influence continued through to the twelfth century and the house of Fergus.

1 February 2008

David Gulland, Glass Engraver

Sundials and their History

From earliest times mankind has used the movement of shadows produced by the apparent movement of the sun to reckon time and to determine the importance of daily and seasonal activities. Any device, which uses the direction of the shadow by the sun, or the length of the shadow to divide the day into periods of time, is known as a sundial.

Historically sundials became sophisticated scientific instruments in The Middle East and developed by the Egyptian and early Greek civilisations. Until the invention of accurate mechanical clocks, they were essential to calculate local solar time but with the advent of speedy modern transport in the railways of the 19th century and the need to have national standard or mean time, the sundials were suddenly redundant and became objects of curiosity.

In modern times there has been a revival of interest in sundials led in the UK by the formation of the British Sundial Society in 1990. Its objectives are to record the existence and preservation of all significant historic dials and to encourage the making of new ones, which have the classic features of Accuracy, Beauty and Longevity.

15 February 2008

Trevor Cowie, Curator of Bronze Age Collections, National Museums of Scotland

Clues to the Past: The Eddleston Parish Project

This presentation described the content and interim results of a field project being undertaken by the Peeblesshire Archaeological Society, of which the speaker is currently Chairman.

Since its formation in 1994, the society has undertaken an active programme of archaeological fieldwork, initially under the leadership of Tam Ward of the Biggar Museum Trust. The society's first project involved a survey of the Manor Valley, to the west of Peebles, which culminated in the publication of a popular booklet describing the archaeology.

The Society's field research group then turned its attention to Eddleston parish, which straddles the A703 to the north of Peebles. To the east and west respectively, the survey area is bounded by the Moorfoots and the Cloich Hills. The economic base is still principally sheep and cattle farming, and, in terms of current land-use, most of the area is given over to pasture ranging in quality depending on altitude and land management. Considerable areas have been afforested while extensive sand and gravel quarrying has also been carried out in the past and continues on a much reduced scale. All these have had a significant bearing on the survival of archaeological remains and their potential for detection.

Approaches to field survey have altered significantly since the publication of the RCAHMS Peeblesshire Inventory in 1967, with much greater emphasis now being placed on the recording of the landscape as a whole, rather than focussing on unitary monuments. Changing patterns of land-use and their effects on the survival of the archaeology have now to be brought more fully into the overall reckoning. In addition, classes of monument that either did not merit survey or were not then recognised have also to be taken into account.

The group has undertaken a comprehensive walkover survey of the study area (co-ordinated by the Society's Secretary, Bob Knox). While the lower flanks of the valley have been heavily improved, a range of previously unrecorded archaeological features survive on the higher ground. Detailed surveys are also being undertaken where required. At times when fieldwork is restricted (e.g. during the lambing season), there has been scope for the recording of standing buildings, the parish church and its graveyard and so on. Whenever opportunities arise, fieldwalking is being undertaken as a means of examining the areas of improved ground. For example, inspection of rough pasture at Shiplaw, at the very start of the project, revealed a diffuse lithic scatter including Mesolithic material. Subsequent test-pitting suggested the presence of a short-stay hunter/gatherer campsite.

Archival and museum-based research is also under way, and this too is yielding useful results, while the fieldwork is also being complemented by specialist research on the historical documentary sources. This latter aspect is being undertaken by landscape-historian John Harrison and is proving extremely rewarding. Finally, a sites and monuments record is being created for the survey area, and on completion of the project, copies will be lodged with Scottish Borders Council, NMRS and Tweeddale Museum. The principal products of the survey will include popular publications, exhibitions and public presentations as well as the formal survey report.

The field project has been undertaken with generous support from the Hunter Archaeological Trust, the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and the Russell Trust, while grant-aid from Awards for All enabled the society to mount a temporary exhibition in conjunction with Tweeddale Museum; entitled *Clues to the Past*, the exhibition explained the background to the project and its initial results, attracting around 3000 visitors over the summer of 2003.

29 February 2008 — **Members Night**

Jane Brann: Update on Dumfries and Galloway Council Archaeology Service.

Since last speaking to the Society, major technical advances in the Sites and Monuments Record database and the use of a Geographic Information System have been made, facilitating electronic communication with the area planning offices and others. Key areas of work continue to be dealing with the archaeological effects of development, with many wind farm applications in recent years having to take account of their impact on the setting of archaeological sites. Direct impacts can usually be avoided. A large scale excavation at the Lockerbie Academy site produced multi period remains, with many smaller excavations taking place on sites such as the Roman camp at Newbie and 18th/19th century farmsteads in Wigtownshire.

Overall, the amount of new ground forestry planting has reduced in the last 10 years, but there have been a few large scale schemes recently. Sites of interest have been considered early in the landscape design to good effect, as at Barclye and Westwater.

Liaison with metal detecting groups is encouraging responsible detecting and reporting of finds to the museum service.

The Sulwath Connections Heritage Lottery Project that is now running includes conservation and interpretation schemes at Annan motte, a number of ruined medieval churches, and Kirroughtree lade system.

Kirkpatrick H Dobie: Church of Scotland Silver 1600-1950

The illustrated talk was a journey from about 1600 to the late 20th century, showing how communion vessels developed in the Church of Scotland. The earlier cups date from 1617 when the Scottish Parliament passed an act that communion should be dispensed in vessels made of precious metals (silver). The form of cups depended on the individual church, the heritors, and gifts from wealthy members. The cups varied from wide shallow bowls of a standing mazer type, to smaller cups having v-shaped bowls. They were plain at first with little or no decoration. As time passed, styles were dictated by contemporary fashion or (as in the beaker cups of the north east of Scotland) by connection through trade with the continent of Europe. With the emergence of the Free Church in 1843 the use of individual glasses passed along the pews on trays was introduced. Alternative methods were known, as for example the spoons used by some congregations.

14 March 2008

**Nick Combey, Landscape Architect, Solway Heritage
The History of Cally Designed Landscape**

A presentation which revealed how the Murray family developed their parks and pleasure grounds at Cally, Gatehouse of Fleet. Although the designed landscape is now largely hidden by forestry planting many historical features are still recognisable and help tell the story of the development of the house and policy during the 18th and 19th centuries.

29 March 2008—Lecture in Kirkcudbright Town Hall

Dr Tony D Stephens

The Birtwhistles of Galloway & North Yorkshire: Drovers, Industrialists, Poets & Spies

The speaker showed how records from some dozen English and Scottish archives had enabled a picture to be built of the lives of three generations of the Birtwhistle family, possibly the greatest drovers and graziers of the 18th century, who controlled some 20% of animals coming into England from Scotland. Initially John Birtwhistle of Skipton had purchased black cattle from the Hebrides, which he sold on Malham's Great Close, but his sons moved to Galloway in the 1780s to take advantage of an influx of Irish cattle, and of the opportunity to build a textile mill at Gatehouse. The finding that John Birtwhistle's son-in-law, Dr John Vardill, was one of the British Government's most senior intelligence agents, with the ear of the king, begs the question of why he should be living in Galloway with the Birtwhistles. Since his superior was the Secretary of State for Ireland, at a time when there were fears in London that the Irish might sue for independence, we cannot discount the possibility of a political dimension behind the settlement of the Birtwhistles and Vardills in Galloway.

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
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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.
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* Indicates out of print, but see Editorial.

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

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