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EDITORIAL

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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 Barr Holdings Ltd for the report on Excavations at Whitecrook Quarry, Glenluce; from the National Scenic Area (NSA) project and Dumfries and Galloway Council towards the publication costs of the paper paper on the Laird's House at Gutcher's Isle. 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).

OSTRACODS FROM THE WET MOAT AT CAERLAVEROCK CASTLE

By Mervin Kontrovitz[1] and Huw I Griffiths[2]

Modern ostracods from the recently cleaned moat at Caerlaverock Castle present a sequence that appears to reflect re-colonization, with Cypria ophtalmica *(O.F. Muller, 1776) as the pioneering species. It is followed by* Cyclocypris ovum *(Jurine, 1820) and* Notodromas monacha *(O.F. Muller, 1776), then* Candona candida *(O.F. Muller, 1776). They are all hardy, eutrophic taxa common in freshwater to slightly brackish habitats. One species,* Xestoleberis *sp., at the top of the sequence, is interpreted to be a contaminant from the nearby marine environment.*

Introduction

Ostracods are aquatic, bivalved crustaceans with calcium carbonate shells that are mostly microscopic and commonly preserved in ancient sediment. They are found in the oceans, estuaries and in most brackish and freshwater bodies including artificial basins such as castle moats (Kontrovitz and Henry, 2004). Ostracods are useful in reconstructing aspects of the environmental history of their containing sediment because they are sensitive to temperature, turbidity, water depth, salinity and other dissolved materials (Wagner, 1964; Kaesler, 1983). The present study considers modern ostracods from the recently (1960s) cleaned moat at Caerlaverock Castle, near Glencaple, Scotland.

A sediment core and bottom grab-samples were collected to provide a comprehensive view of the ostracods' occurrences and their succession in re-colonizing the moat waters. It was also anticipated **t**hat remnants of medieval sediments and their contained ostracods might be recovered, thereby providing information for a longer time span.

Methods and Material

A short core was taken from the re-excavated moat by driving a polyvinyl chloride (PVC) pipe into the bottom sediment. The pipe had a two inch (5.08cm) inside-diameter and a wall thickness of about 1/8th inch (~3.0mm), as available at hardware stores in the USA. Similar pipe, but with metric dimensions, is available at plumbing supply stores in Europe. (Kontrovitz, *et al.*, 1996). Grab-samples at the water-sediment interface were taken at two sites, using a Standard Ekman Grab sampler. One site, for the core and grab-samples, was about 3.3m from the eastern tower of the gatehouse, on a line with a compass direction of 60°, extending through the bottom-centre of the tower and running to the margin of the moat. Another site, for grab-samples only, was about 3.0m from the outer wall of Murdoch's Tower on a transect with a compass direction of 240°, extending from the bottom-centre of the tower to the outer margin of the moat.

It should be noted that although the moat was 'cleaned out' in the 1960s *(vide* Alec Little [1994]), large submerged stones were encountered that were something of an impediment to securing the core and grab-samples. Probing revealed that some stones were rectangular, perhaps ashlar that had been derived from the curtain walls.

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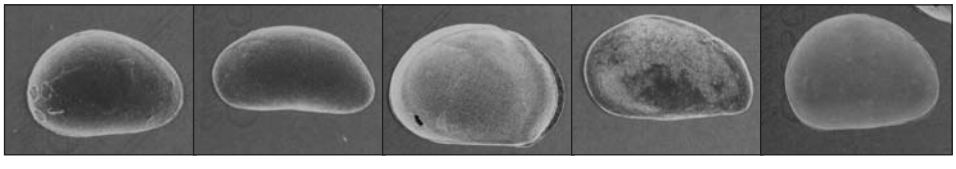
The short core and grab-samples were taken to the laboratories at the University of Louisiana at Monroe (U.S.A.) where the core was frozen to facilitate sampling in 5cm vertical increments. This was accomplished by cutting the frozen core with an electric radial saw, working quickly before it thawed. Freezing may alter sediment microstructures, but those features were not the focus of this project (Kontrovitz, *et al*., 1996).

All thawed core increments and grab-samples were soaked in distilled water for 24 hours, and then air-dried and each was processed through a stack of U.S. Standard Sieves with the following mesh sizes: 20, 40, 60, 80, and 120 (850, 425, 250, 180, and 125 microns, respectively). Each sieve fraction for each subsample was 'picked' by standard micropaleontology methods. That is, each fraction was spread on a sample tray and examined under a stereo-microscope, thus allowing ostracod shells to be seen and removed for further study (see Jones, 1956; pp. 7-16). Recovered ostracods were identified and their modern environmental occurrences were summarized (Meisch, 2000; Horne and Boomer, 2000).

Results



A B C D E

Figure 1. Scanning electron micrographs of ostracods from the core and grab-samples in the wet moat at Caerlaverock Castle. Actual shell length is listed.

A. *Cyclocypris ovum* (Jurine, 1820); shell length = 0.50mm
B. *Candona candida* (O.F. Muller, 1776); shell length = 1.10mm
C *Notodromas monacha* (O.F. Muller, 1776); shell length = 1.10mm
D. *Xestoleberis* sp.; shell length = 0.49mm
E. *Cypria ophtalmica* (Jurine, 1820); shell length = 0.61mm

Five podocopid ostracod species, representing five genera, were recovered from the core and grab-samples (see Table 1). The core was 30cm in length and bottomed out against a hard impenetrable object, probably a large rock or shaped stone. Core depths from 10 to 30cm had only one species; 5 – 10cm depths contained three species; depths of 0 – 5cm and the grab-samples had four species (see Table 1).

Species	**Occurrences in moat grab-samples and depth in core**		**Usual environment**
Xestoleberis sp.	present	0 - 5cm	marine - brackish
Candona candida (O.F. Muller, 1776)	present	0 - 5cm	fresh - low brackish
Cyclocypris ovum (Jurine, 1820)	present	0 - 10cm	fresh - low brackish
Notodromas monacha (O.F. Muller, 1776)	absent	5 - 10cm	fresh - low brackish
Cypria ophtalmica (Jurine, 1820)	present	0 - 30cm	fresh - low brackish

Table 1. Ostracod species from Caerlaverock Castle moat and occurrences in samples, including depths in the core.

Conclusions and Discussion

The non-marine species, *Candona candida, Cyclocypris ovum* and *Cypria ophtalmica* are common to soft-bottomed, eutrophic, productive environments, like that in the moat at Caerlaverock Castle. These species are all well-known for being hardy, that is, tolerant of a wide range of environmental variables that include different water depths and flow regimes, a wide range of temperatures and pH values, and modest increases in salinity. *Notodromas monacha,* a summer form, is reported to be 'warmstenothermal,' and clings to the underside of the 'surface membrane of the water' (Meisch, 2000, p. 264). It prefers still or at least wind-sheltered meso-eutrophic waters.

The presence of marine-brackish form (*Xestoleberis* sp.) is enigmatic, but because the moat is near the Solway Firth it may have been introduced by mud on the legs of seabirds that passed into the area, a common explanation for such seemingly anomalous occurrences. Presumably, there was no connection to the modern wet ditch and nearby seawater during and since the 1960s.

No medieval sediments were recovered, that is, the material appears all to be of modern origin. Many of the ostracod specimens, even those from the core bottom, still had soft-parts such as their antennae. *Cypria ophtalmica* can burrow to some extent and is known from interstitial habitats, but its occurrence in the oldest sediment at a depth of 30cm in the core, and appearance up to and including the surface material indicates it was the pioneering ostracod taxon after the moat was cleaned in the 1960s. The other species show a progressive augmentation, that is, an increase in diversity. It appears the samples illustrate a recent succession and suggests that ostracods can be used to look at very recent changes in faunal assemblages.

The Caerlaverock succession most likely reflects re-colonization of the site following the dredging and clearing of the castle's moat in the 1960s. It is notable that the initial re-colonization of the site is by hardy, eutrophic forms, predominantly sexually reproducing species (among them, only *C. candida* can occur as parthenogenetic populations). The rank order of abundance of these species in general, as shown from Fryer's (1993) work on almost 1000 sites in Yorkshire, is: *C. ophtalmica* (350) sites, *C. ovum* ((260) sites, *C. candida* (113) sites, *N. monacha* (82 sites). Thus, these four species are comparatively common, and no novel or 'vagrant' forms occur in the samples.

Very little is known about patterns of colonization in freshwater microcrustacea, but the use of ostracod valves from short cores, particularly when calibrated by historical and documentary evidence shows how ostracod records can be used to document recent community responses following environmental stresses, whether acute (e.g., pollution events) or chronic (e.g., climate warming, increased UV).

Acknowledgments

Ms Doreen Grove, then Inspector of Ancient Monuments for *Historic Scotland*, approved the research proposal and Mr Alec Little and Ms Valerie Bennett, then custodians of the Castle, provided important support for the field work. Ms Eileen R. Kontrovitz digitized the images from scanning electron micrographs of the ostracod shells.

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THE REVEREND WILIAM LITTLE (1797? –1867), A PRELIMINARY ACCOUNT OF HIS ENTOMOLOGICAL ACTIVITIES.

E.Geoffrey Hancock[1], Ronald M. Dobson[2] and James Williams[3]

Introduction

The biographical details of Reverend William Little given by Martin (1996) are expanded to cover specific elements of his entomological activities. Born at Jedburgh in about 1797 but with no academic background (his father was a tanner), he went to study at Edinburgh University. Records show William Little of Jedburgh matriculated there from 1817 to 1821 (pers. comm., David Hutchins, 27 Nov 2008). Towards the end of the 1830s, he became a tutor to the Hope-Johnstone family at Raehills, an extensive estate in the Johnstone district of Dumfriesshire. At this time, the minister at the nearby village, Kirkpatrick Juxta, was Rev. Dr Singer, an accomplished field botanist. The right of presentation for the living at Kirkpatrick Juxta lay in the control of Sir William Jardine of Applegarth, famous for his natural history enterprises and subject of an extensive modern biography (Jackson & Davis, 2001). He ensured that the living at Applegarth went to his son-in-law, David Landale (1862-1900) who also had entomological leanings, and Little was appointed assistant to Dr Singer. On the latter's death in 1840, Little succeeded him and was ordained on 29 April 1841.

The Reverend naturalist

Once settled in the manse, he had constant contact with Jardine on natural history as well, presumably, as parish matters. They discussed things such as emergence dates of local butterflies and supply of the right kind of pins for preserving specimens (Jardine Papers, National Museum of Scotland). He appears to have developed a close and easy relationship with Sir William Jardine, as this letter (Kirkpatrick, 19 June 1844) shows:

> 'Dear Sir William,
> It will give me much pleasure to come to Jardine Hall on Monday evening. I am anxious to get a few specimens of Typhon as I gave all mine away, & shall be glad if we can fall in with them. I am sorry that I have lost sight of the Carrot fly. Tho I shall be glad if I see nothing here to remind me of it. I have not found this to be at all a good year for collecting. I have repeatedly tried the skep without effect. The weather has been too dry; & I have the same complaint from a correspondent in Dorsetshire – I have got a few good insects from beeches &c. among them 4 species of Dorytomus. I will bring a sweep net with me & try for Rhinomacer,
>
> I remain, Yours truly, William Little.'

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2 7 Netherburn Av, Glasgow, G44 3UF
3 43 New Abbey Road, Dumfries, DG2 7LZ

The English letter writer was J.C. Dale (see below) who lived at Glanvilles Wootton, Sherborne, Dorset. The reference to skeps was a method of attracting insects by smearing honey over the outside of an old skep. It had been developed by Prideaux John Selby (1788-1867) of Northumberland in 1835 (Allen, 1976; Jackson & Davis, 2001). The idea originated in earlier observations of the attractiveness to insects of empty sugar casks from the West Indies. It was quick to evolve to 'sugaring' in which mixtures of treacle, and fermenting substances were simply brushed onto conveniently placed tree trunks or posts.

Little was probably encouraged from his first arriving in Dumfriesshire by Singer's enthusiasm for natural history but, prior to their time together, Little had already published a paper on the Coleoptera (Little, 1838). This updated Wilson and Duncan (1834) in which work, and that of James Francis Stephens (1792-1852), he had already been credited with records of beetles (e.g., Stephens, 1839). The compilation of Little's own list (1838) was partly undertaken while visiting Jardine in February, 1836 (Jackson & Davis, 2001). By this time, Little must have been at Raehills long enough to add numerous records of new beetles and demonstrates a considerable knowledge of insects. His interest was already acute and developed in Edinburgh and put into effect while there. Here in the capital, he met and discoursed with James Wilson (1795-1856), James Duncan (1802/4-1861), Robert Kaye Greville (1794-1866) and other naturalists, some details of which are given below. Little is credited (Murray, 1853) with records of 29 species from Cramond, near Edinburgh, dating from this period.

In a letter from Raehills to James Charles Dale (1792-1872), dated 14 April 1840, Little explains why he cannot send some insects as 'my collection is in Edinburgh & I have no insects here except what I took during the last season'. This transitional period was difficult for Little's natural history as he had no time to satisfy correspondents' queries, their requests for specimens or his own fieldwork. Little's interests were broad-based and included botany but he is principally remembered as an entomologist. He collected at various localities around Edinburgh, Ben Lawers (Perthshire), Innerleithen (Berwickshire), Argyllshire, Jedburgh (Roxburghshire), Cambuslang (Lanarkshire), Paisley (Renfrewshire) and near Montrose (Angus). He had visited London and gone to the New Forest, Hampshire, prior to 1840. At a later date, he refers to a box of Swiss beetles he had collected. His greatest efforts however were in Dumfriesshire. His entomological activities continued over many years, and detail is given in the correspondence that exists from 1840-48, much of it with fellow naturalists that he never met.

The first Dumfriesshire coleopterist

Andrew Murray (1812-1878), compiler of the *Catalogue of the Coleoptera of Scotland* (Murray, 1853) showed appreciation of Little's work in the following terms: 'Dumfriesshire has been made entirely his own by the Reverend Mr Little to whom it will be seen we owe a very large proportion of the rare Scottish captures.' He says further 'I had the very great advantage of the free use of my friend Mr Little's valuable cabinet, which, with few exceptions, had passed through the hands of Mr Stephens, and been almost entirely named by him. I had thus the advantage (second only to the use of Mr Stephens' own specimens) of examining what I may call types of his species'. Murray did point out that some of the species represented were occasionally a mixed series but the collection was still a valuable resource. So the disadvantage in being far from London was to some extent ameliorated.

In Dumfriesshire, the summit of Hartfell, the banks of the Annan and Kirkpatrick Juxta yielded records but the majority of Little's local captures were from Raehills, approximately 7 km to the south of Kirkpatrick Juxta. The grounds at Raehills and the adjoining Annandale Estates, extending to some 2500 acres, are particularly favourable for natural history as they include old woodlands (Lochwood Oak Forest is now officially designated a Site of Special Scientific Interest), extensive parklands and the Kinnel Water nearby.

Despite his extensive collecting activities, Little seems to have published only one item under his own name. This paper, on localities of Scottish Coleoptera (Little, 1838), notes that 'a considerable number of the insects contained in the following list have not hitherto been recorded as Scottish'. His stated aim was to expand the data given by Wilson & Duncan (1834) with further finds. It was the first time a local Dumfriesshire naturalist published an account of beetles. Most of the records (of the 176 species listed 156 are his own) are reproduced without critical comment by Murray (1853) who added a further 119 records of Little's. Presumably these latter were derived from the time subsequent to Little (1838) or may have been extracted directly from the collection.

Little on a wider scale

Little corresponded and exchanged insect specimens with contemporaries around Britain and was well-known in entomological circles. In a list (Stainton, 1856), an entry reads 'Rev W. Little, Kirkpatrick-Juxta, interested in Coleoptera, Lepidoptera and other orders'. Little was acknowledged by Shuckard and Spry (1840) for supplying specimens of beetles and Wilson and Duncan (1834) cite records originating from him. Duncan (1838) also acknowledged the provision of some of the earliest records of Diptera for Scotland. Retrospectively, Service (1896) attributed a number of Hymenoptera records to Little. It is probable that most orders of insects were collected to the benefit of others.

William Weekes Fowler (1849-1923) in his monumental five-volume work *The Coleoptera of the British Islands* (Fowler, 1887-1891) added eight more records from Little so the number of beetle species records we have located by him in nineteenth century literature amount to 273. Amongst these, there were many rarities and first records for Scotland and doubts were subsequently expressed about the veracity of some of them. David Sharp (1840-1922) in a long series of articles in the *Scottish Naturalist* was dubious about some 12 species (Sharp, 1871-1878). Fowler (1887-1891) listed numerous species which he thought had been determined incorrectly or had not been recorded from Scotland before or since Little and so recommended verification. One of Little's fellow Dumfries coleopterists, albeit from a later generation and with the benefit of even greater hindsight, said a few records were 'very doubtful' (McGowan, 1912) although he provides no analysis. Interpreting early records can be difficult because of problems of nomenclature. Two thirds of the names used by Little (1838) have undergone change to a greater or lesser extent. Reference to a variety of modern checklists including Duff (2008) *via* Fowler (1887-1891) and some intermediate works have allowed most to be traced. A few, however, could not be referred with confidence to a current species name and so cannot be researched in this context. Since the time of Little's critics there has been more collecting activity and some of these doubtful species have now been confirmed. It is intended to discuss details of the status of these records in a later publication.

Little's collections

Some of these problems could only be resolved by reference to Little's original specimens. His cabinet was bequeathed to his son, also William Little, who was a young boy at the time of his father's death, but there is no evidence that he had any interest in entomology. According to Little's will, dated 1864, the legacy included 'to my son William … my cabinets and collections of natural history ... my spouse being directed to retain and to preserve the same for him until he is able to use them'. William's brother, Reverend George Little, did have an interest and was credited contemporarily with a number of records of beetles. Perhaps the family disposed of the collections piecemeal over a number of years. Lennon (1884) gives an image of Little's collection, saying it was the finest local Coleoptera collection ever made and was sold in London after his death for £500. This statement has no independent collaboration through contemporary references.

Figure 1. This click beetle, although labelled *Ampedus sanguineus* (L.), is one of two examples of *Ampedus cinnabarinus* (Eshscholtz) collected by Little in the New Forest, England (Greville Collection, National Museums of Scotland). The true *A. sanguineus* was found in the New Forest around the time Little visited but is now regarded as extinct in Britain.

What has been established is that there are insect specimens from Little in other collections now found in various museums. In the National Museums of Scotland, one such collection is that of Greville. The labels credit Little for examples of certain species (Figure 1). These often correspond with the published data and so are extremely valuable for assessing the integrity of the original record. In addition, there are small number of specimens labelled 'Little' amongst John Wilson's collection, principal author of Wilson and Duncan (1834). The National Museum also has incorporated the collection from the 'Burgh Museum, Dumfries', received in 1954, but none of these have individual labels even though it is tempting to imagine its basic core could be Little's collection. Many of the specimens appear old enough to qualify. A collection acquired by Thomas George Bishop (1846-1922) contains specimens labelled as Little's. These probably came with the J.F. Stephens material as described by Dobson and Hancock (2008) and are explained by the fact that Little sent specimens to Stephens (see above). In Oxford, the Dale collection contains a number of Little beetles, all sent south for checking or as gifts and exchanges. These are identifiable from the initials WL and the year written on a small square, usually yellow, label (figure 2). This notation is Dale's own but the individual insects can often be related to the letters from Little that accompanied the small boxes sent from Scotland. A few of these specimens were highlighted in Walker (1932) in one of his papers on Dale's collection. There are a number of other collections that if traced might include Little's specimens such as Frederick Smith (1805-1879), William Edward Shuckard (1803-1868), Thomas Coulthard Heysham (1791-1857), and others; this we have not achieved to date.

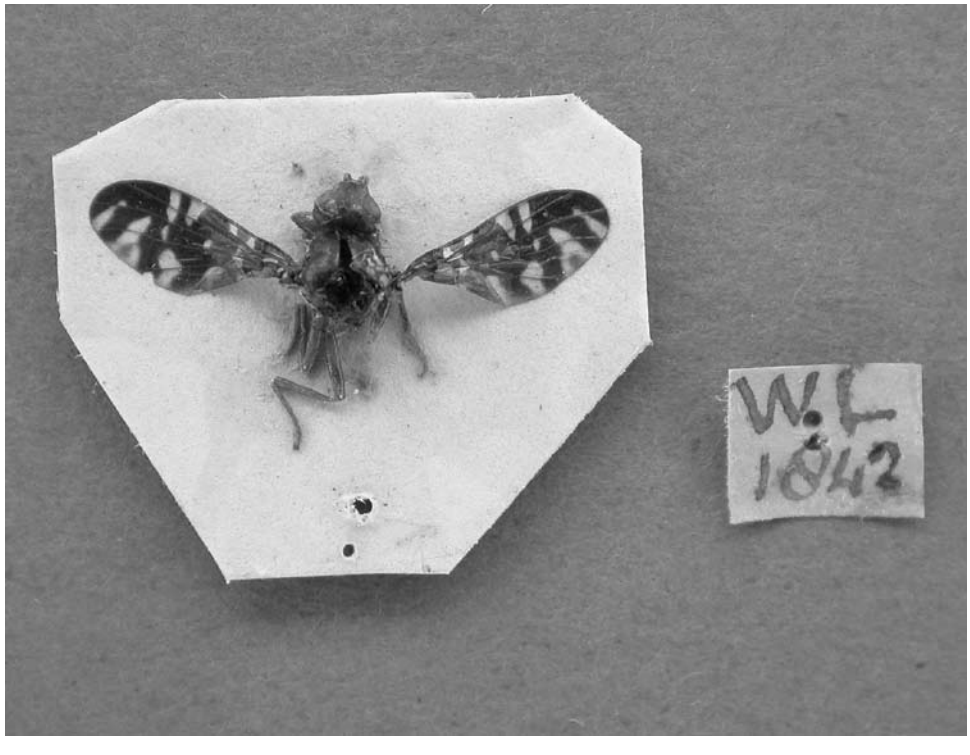

Figure 2. The fruit fly *Platyparea discoidea* (Fabricius) sent by Little to J.C. Dale with the small yellow square label allocated by Dale. The identity of this specimen was not revealed until his son C.W. Dale wrote about it in 1904

Some interesting records

In an unusual entomological adjunct to a regional flora, Robert Service (1855-1911), claimed that he had acquired a number of bees from Little but that the specimens did not all have data attached so there was uncertainty about their origin (Service, 1896). This deficiency in labelling is a feature common to many nineteenth century collections which greatly reduces the value of the specimens but Service acknowledges Little for several local records. Another example of activity amongst the Hymenoptera was provided by the description of a new species of solitary wasp, *Pompilius acuminatus*, sent from Kirkpatrick Juxta 'many years ago by the late Rev W. Little' (Smith (1855). Saunders (1880) had reproduced Smith's description uncritically but later *P. acuminatus* was synonymised with *P. sericeus* Vander Linden by Saunders (1896). He stated that now he had seen Smith's original types, 'from Kirkpatrick Juxta, Moffat'; he was convinced they were just large examples of *sericeus*. Today this name is placed in the genus *Agenioideus*, known only to occur in the Channel Islands within the UK so the current location and identity of the types needs to be checked. Just because Little sent specimens to England for identification or as gifts it does not follow he had collected all of them personally in the vicinity of his own home. These kinds of issues can only be resolved by seeking contemporary evidence. Assumptions or errors on the part of his correspondents do not reflect on Little's own integrity and there are numerous examples of similar misunderstandings occurring between other field naturalists and closet scientists.

Little supplied a beefly *Bombylius major* Linn. (Diptera; Bombyliidae), concerning which Duncan (1838) quotes him: 'I have seen this species twice at Raehills, Dumfriesshire, Rev. W. Little'. He sent away at least one other fly, this time to Dorset, that proved to be *Platyparea discoidea* (Fabr.), of the family Tephritidae. Its identity only became known after Dale's son, Charles William Dale (1851-1906), published its existence (Dale, 1904). It is still in the Dale cabinet in Oxford University Museum and labelled "WL / 1842" on a small yellow square of paper (figure 2). Rotheray & Bland (2003) re-found this species in Scotland when describing the larval habits and thus verified Little's capture. An intervening publication (White, 1988) had missed Dale's note (1904) and listed *P. discoidea* as restricted to Yorkshire so this episode further illustrates Little's ability as a collector and generous supplier of specimens to others.

There are several Coleoptera records later placed in the category of dubious that invite examination. For example, the water beetle *Rhantus pulverosus* (Stephens), recorded as *Colymbetes pulverosus* from Forfarshire by Little (1838), was regarded as doubtfully Scottish by Fowler (1887; p.202) as did Sharp (Vol 2: p. 94). More recent work (Balfour-Browne, 1950) recorded this species from Kirkcudbrightshire over several years, reinstating its status as Scottish and restoring confidence in Little's interesting beetle records. A variation on this theme is provided by a weevil, *Rhynchites nanus* (Paykull), also recorded from Raehills (Murray, 1853) but which Sharp (Vol 5; p. 335) thought unlikely on the basis of never having seen Scottish examples. He suggested it was probably *R. uncinnatus* Thomson. This opinion was repeated uncritically by Fowler (Vol 5; p.126) but as pointed out by Fergusson (1903) *R. nanus* is widespread north of the border. In fact, the opposite is the case as *uncinnatus* is currently only known from one site in Berwickshire (Morris, 1997). It looks as though Sharp was the one confused as to which species was which on this occasion, not Little.

There are a number of similar examples which give the impression some records are dismissed as dubious because no one else has seen them. Superficially this may seem to be reasonable but is often done without actually going to look. There are factors such as habitat loss that may affect the results today but any attempt should include these as part of a critical analysis.

A different phenomenon can affect acceptance of older records where misunderstood species descriptions lead to errors. Given the state of taxonomy and the limitations in communication at the time, these were not uncommon. Books were few in number, expensive and difficult to obtain. Much reliance was placed on a system of sending specimens to other collectors, expert in their own fields, for identification and return. If there were mistakes then the senders can hardly be blamed. An interesting case is given by Little's record of the click beetle *Ampedus cinnabarinus* (Eshscholtz) at Raehills.

The curious case of the red Scottish click beetle

Finding a red click beetle in dead wood anywhere in Scotland would be of some excitement to an entomologist today. In Little's time, none of these brightly coloured species had been seen previously in Scotland. He published his finding as part of the list (Little, 1838) and gave it by the name Stephens used, *Elater semiruber*. It was referred to also as *lythropterus* Germar by some. The species is now known as *cinnabarinus* and restricted to further south in Britain. Little was probably wrong in believing he had caught this species but in the first letter he sent to Dale (6 March 1840) Little refers to it: 'Is Elater balteatus a desideratum? I find it & Elater semiruber in decayed birch trees during the winter'. The second letter says 'I find Elater semiruber in decayed birch trees. It is a rare insect with us. I have never found Elater sanguineus in Scotland, but I provided myself with a plentiful supply a few years ago when I visited the New Forest' (Figure 1). This indicates that he believed he was not confused about his species relative to the other red species available to him (see below for discussion on the actual names). The true *Ampedus sanguineus* (L.) became extinct very shortly after and there is some opinion that it was only temporarily established in Britain (Allen, 1990).

Little seems to have sent two specimens of his supposed *semiruber* down to Dale and there is no record of any correction of identification having been sent in return on either occasion. On 4 May 1841, Little offers to send 'another specimen of Elat. semiruber – in short I flatter myself I shall be able to send a very acceptable box, only I must wait for the return of my insects from London, which may not be for a month or 6 weeks.' This was another opportunity for his correspondent(s) to enlighten him as to any mistake in naming. Dale annotates Little's letter of 29 November simply to say he had received the second specimen of *semiruber*.

Sharp (vol 6, p. 224) pointed out it is not likely that these beetles were *cinnabarinus* and suggests it might have been *Ampedus pomorum* (Herbst). McGowan (1921) had another hypothesis that it may have been the species later found by Lennon, *A. elongatulus* (Fabr.), in an old birch tree in Dalskairth Wood, southwest of Dumfries. This seems a strange alternative, being a small species of a duller red and with a distinct apical black mark. However, in this context it is worth quoting Lennon's own words: 'Elater elongatula is another rarity which I captured amongst the birch trees in Dalscairth Park (sic). It was not

known as Scottish until I found it, and I had considerable difficulty in getting its name, as it was posted backwards and forwards from one entomologist to another, until Dr Rye, one of the editors of the Entomologist's Monthly Magazine, told me what it was' (Lennon, 1881). Clearly it is not so easy to identify these beetles. Allen (1990) discusses the purely bright red species to which group *sanguineus* and *cinnabarinus* belong, indicating the problem of ambiguous characters that can merge in individuals of different species. The only way to attempt to make sense of the situation created by Little's claim is to examine specimens if they can be located.

Finding an unequivocal Little specimen from Scotland, or indeed any examples of these *Ampedus* species in museums is difficult. This is quite frustrating as he sent specimens away to his correspondents but their collections also have been lost or split up. On 20 July 1841, Little wrote to Heysham ' I can send you the following insects if they are desiderata to you – a new species of Agrilus which Mr Shuckard described some time ago - Elater maritimus of Curtis – not described by Stephens who had not met the insect till I sent him specimens - Eubria palustris, Elater semiruber, Sphaerites foveolatus, …[etc]'. Later (24 August 1841), he sends Dale a specimen of this red click beetle amongst other specimens saying 'Elater semiruber is very like E. crocatus, but Stephens says it is the former'. As mentioned above, there have been many name changes and *'crocatus'* is a very old name for *pomorum* which does occur in Scotland. With the contemporary authority of Stephens, however, Little would have been justifiably happy with his name for the specimens he found at Raehills.

There are two specimens in Greville's collection in the National Museums of Scotland labelled 'New Forest, Little' and these are both *A cinnabarinus* (Figure 1). Other specimens labelled as *sanguineus* in old collections often turn out to be *cinnabarinus*. What this indicates is that Little correctly perceived the difference between his two samples, one from Raehills and the other from the south of England but had the wrong names in line with the general confusion of his time. Continual searching may yet reveal other old specimens that might resolve this absolutely. We are fairly convinced that he had caught *A. pomorum* (now actually referred to as *quercicola* du Buysson!) at Raehills, in agreement with Sharp's opinion. An inherently more exciting challenge is to re-find living populations of these enigmatic beetles in Dumfriesshire.

More correspondence

Little's letters give a flavour of the style of writing at the time and of his generosity in sending away specimens. One to Dale, picked at random, from 8 October 1846, reads as follows:

> 'My dear Sir,
> I never was so much ashamed of the contents of a box as that which I now send to you. I have stuck in the only true dragonflies I have got this season [Libellula ?scotica, Aeschna juncea, annotation by Dale] & that just to fill up. The only valuable thing I have to send & which I hope will reach you in safety Byrrhus aeneus a very distinct species & which I have taken only three times. I have also stuck in Lesteva globulicollis of Stephens which I found on the summit of Ben Lomond. I have nothing else worth your acceptance.

> I have been much from home this season & in many good localities but the want of health & strength has prevented me from being so successful as I would otherwise have preferably been. My health is still uncertain & it is not unlikely that I may be sent to the south of England. In this case I may have some chance of seeing your collection. I have done little among the Lepidoptera this season as I dare not expose myself in the evenings. I took two specimens of Sphinx Convolvuli & hear it has been taken in various parts of the country. I shall be glad to hear all your entomological news, Believe me, Yours truly, William Little.'

His ailment is mentioned also in a letter to Jardine on 12 Feb 1847:

> 'Dear Sir William,
> I received the book you left for me at Moffat & am much obliged to you for the trouble you have taken about it. I hope to be in Edin. some time in March, if well, but at present I am suffering a little from some of the ailments that I had last summer – pain in the side &c. If these continue I shall probably go south for a little. When you write to Mr Strickland will you have the kindness to ask him if he knows where his friend Mr F. Holme is residing at present. I sent him some Brachelytra to name a twelve month ago. I wrote him two months ago, & sent it to his usual address at Oxford, but as I have got no answer I suspect he must have left the University.
> Believe me, Yours truly, William Little.'

A considerable correspondence developed with Thomas Coulthard Heysham (1792-1857) of Carlisle. Little had been asked in February 1841 by Dale if they knew each other as he responded 'I have not the pleasure of knowing Mr Heysham, tho' I have often wished to correspond with him, in consequence of seeing his name so frequently in Stephens work as the captor of many valuable insects.' The distance between Carlisle and Moffat is not great but some time and effort would be required to make the journey. The substantial collection of letters from Little to Heysham, with replies in many cases, is in Cumbria Record Office, Carlisle. Brief reference to them has been made previously (Murray, 1909). The first letter from Little was on 8 July, 1841 and negotiations quickly ensued for exchanging their desiderata. Little (11 August 1841) says 'I am just returned to Raehills & find that the H(ipparchia) blandina [Scotch Argus butterfly, now *Erebia aethiops*] in place of being in hundreds as it used to be, it is not to be found. I had instructed a friend on the spot to procure me specimens as soon as they were out & all that he was able to get after several days search were only two. It is possible that they may not come out yet in consequence of the unfavourable weather ….. I am glad that I have some of last year's specimens to send …. It is the only season in ten years I have known them to fail.' As a measure of the efficiency of the postal service at the time, Heysham composed his reply the same day: 'Your last kind note reached me this evening and I feel myself greatly obliged to you for the trouble you have already given yourself in endeavouring to procure me a few recent specimens of H. blandina ….. I think it more than probable that something or other must

have destroyed the brood at Raehills as I understand from a friend that it has been plentiful for sometime past at Castle Eden Dean.' A considerable exchange of beetles took place over several years.

This discussion of the status and distribution of the Scotch Argus is mirrored in the contemporary text on British butterflies (Duncan, 1840). For this species the distribution is given 'it occurs in some plenty over a district of considerable extent in Dumfriesshire – near Minto in Roxburghshire – occasionally near Edinburgh … in England it is found abundantly in Castle Eden Dean.' This is the same James Duncan of Edinburgh mentioned above (Duncan, 1838; Wilson & Duncan, 1834), also engaged to write the volume on British Butterflies for The Naturalists' Library, the iconic series founded by Sir William Jardine. Nationwide networks of collectors provided data on this and other species, each piece of information gathered in the way Little and his correspondents operated.

These brief extracts from the extensive archived correspondence of Little serve to illustrate his activities and show how natural history progressed during the period. He was an example of the archetypal gentleman naturalist, educated and active. The country doctors, parsons and landowning gentry were essentially the environmental scientists of the day, advancing local knowledge of species and their habits. The notion that they could indulge in their hobbies by having leisure time to do so would have been contested by Little but the opportunity was there. He wrote frequently that he was not able to achieve his intentions due to his parochial duties. His entomology seems to have declined from 1850 judging from the lack of correspondence or mention by others. The mention of Switzerland may indicate a history of tubercular problems.

The words ecology, biodiversity and conservation had yet to be defined but the extent of the British fauna and flora would not be so well comprehended without early enthusiasts such as Little. Appreciation of the importance and value and of the natural environment and its preservation could develop effectively as a result.

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PUNT GUNNING FOR WILDFOWL AND WADERS

by John Young[1]

Introduction

Punt-gunning is highly challenging, a tactical activity involving a combination of local expertise in geography, the weather, tides, seamanship, ballistics, and wildfowl behaviour. It is a process carried out in full view of the intended quarry, unlike other stalking approaches, deer species for example, where the cover of ground undulations, vegetation and general topography are exploited.

The gunner afloat in a tidal estuary has to propel his craft lying in a prone position. Exceptional skill and physical strength are required to manoeuvre the punt undetected into a position within firing range of groups of wild and alert birds.

Fig. 1 A punt and its gun: Occupants, the late Sir Peter Scott and Christopher Dalgety.

Mallard, wigeon and teal are now the principal quarry. Grey geese are seldom shot. Their normal daytime feeding habits, usually inland grazing, preclude their daytime presence on the estuarine waters or mudflats. In the past, Barnacle and Brent Geese together with flocking waders such as Knot, Dunlin, Curlew, Lapwing and Golden Plover were important quarry species for the market gunners.

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Practiced primarily by professional market suppliers and subsistence hunters, it also attracted sporting gentlemen and naturalists. Punt gunning as it is known today has certainly been practiced in Britain since the first decade of the 19th century. Before then wildfowl were shot with shoulder guns on both inland and coastal waters. These were fired from ambush using large guns often known as 'bank guns' which were also at times mounted on sleds and propelled over the mud and sand flats. They were even fitted with skates for use on ice and were propelled with iron spikes. Other more cannon-like (i.e. short -barrelled large bore Naval-type guns (Stanchion Guns) were also used at times from larger boats and yachts.

Several early attempts to mount large bore guns on small boats proved ineffective, frequently with disastrous results. By 1887 punting was in vogue in Berwick, Carlisle, the Humber and 'On the shores of the Wash punt-gunners abound'. It was not recorded in Wales but it was described as well established in Scotland where special mention is made of Dingwall as a base for the Cromarty Firth; and on Moray; Dornoch Firth; Orkneys, Beauly; Tay; Forth; and the Solway. Punt gunning was also widely practised in Ireland.

The Punt

A gunning punt is a long narrow craft, initially developed from the shooting canoe, almost but not quite flat bottomed. To avoid being grounded it curves slightly in both directions. It is not a sea going boat though at times they were used in areas away from shallow estuaries, for example in Orkney. It has a light draft to permit its use in shallow water, usually decked fore and aft and with a low coaming running round the cockpit. Parts of the coaming could be removed or folded clear to allow the fowler to use various forms of propulsion. Some early punts were low and had an open hull with only a small gun platform in the front. They were known as 'Shouts' and were open in order that the gunners could pull them through the mud or reeds in places where they could not use their paddles. They were also often referred to as 'floating coffins.'

Generally the beam is 4 feet (1.2m). A wider beam would certainly improve buoyancy but would impair the ability to stalk by causing the narrow craft to ride over the waves rather than cut through them. In length they varied between 14 and 24 feet (4.3 to 7.4m). Wooden punts are traditionally painted a pale plain grey colour said to be similar to the mantle and back of a kittiwake. Regional variations of colours are nearer to sand or dark mud to match the structure of the estuary. Further, to ensure a matt surface many were encased in a cover of sailcloth or canvas before being painted. The underlying timbers were treated first with either pitch or tar.

Gunning punts are either single or double-handed, the latter usually fitted with the longest and heaviest of guns, perhaps 200 lbs (90kg) or more in weight and hence two people are required to manoeuvre the craft. Apart from the fundamental difference between single and double punts, the design varied from area to area and modifications were as individual as the people who used them and often were determined by local conditions and requirements. Early basic design has remained paramount, following the original experiments and plans by Col. Hawker and Sir Ralph Payne-Gallwey over a century and a half ago, although adapted by many individuals to improve camouflage, seaworthiness, and to minimise the recoil of the shot.

Propulsion

Most inshore stalking punts rely on paddles feathered under water for propulsion. Larger punts which may necessitate travelling larger distances from the launch point to a point of contact with the quarry may be designed with a double rowing point, or scull with a single oar through a rowlock on the stern. The use of setting poles ranging in size from 18 inches to 8 feet (46cm-2.4m) gives a powerful method of propulsion provided that the bottom can be reached. These are clad with lead "shoes" to minimise noise. Only in a very few cases have punts been designed with a rudder and facility to erect a simple sail, both removed of course when the stalking zone was reached.

The Wildlife and Country side Act 1981 now makes it illegal to use a mechanically propelled boat in immediate pursuit of any wild bird for the purpose of driving, taking or killing it. There is no evidence to suggest that there were ever any serious attempts to mechanise punts.

The Gun

The long and heavy guns are normally single barrelled, though a few with a double barrel have been produced. They were made from forged iron welded in a twist or spiral, later bored out of solid steel. The gun rests on the foredeck and can be attached to the hull by several methods, so that the recoil is not taken entirely by the punt.

Traditionally, punt guns are loaded with coarse-grained black powder; the wadding is of oakum (loose fibre from unravelling old rope, also used for caulking deck seams). At first they were all muzzle loading, ignited by flintlock then percussion ignition similar to smaller shotguns with 96 lbs (43.5 kg) of gun to 16 ounces (0.45kg) of service load. The majority of guns were single barrelled, with a 1½-inch (48mm) bore, weighing in excess of 120 lbs (5.5 kg) and fired 1½ lbs (0.68 kg) of shot with 3 ounces (84gm) of powder. They were loaded with very large lead shot, known as BB; AAA or No 1. This is claimed to reduce wounding. Shooting is practised amongst open mudflats and in estuarine channels where any wounded birds can be readily seen and followed, more easily (than in for example woodland or heather habitats) dispatched, usually with a 'cripple stopper' (a 12 bore shotgun) that is considered an essential part of the on board equipment.

The effective shooting range of a punt is governed by the shot size and in most cases is around 65 yards (60-70 meters). Thus the killing range of a punt does not significally exceed that of a heavy shoulder gun and it is now illegal to use a punt gun having an internal bore diameter of more than 1.75inch (45mm).

Punters

A pre-war survey estimated that there were 186 punts still in use in the UK; post-war, the number had declined to about 105. By 1967 this was further reduced to around 100 and by 1979 fewer than 50 were in regular use. A comprehensive survey by BASC in 1995 indicated that some 45 punters remain active. This represents a reduction of ca.140 or 80-83% within 70 years. Local information suggests that the decline has continued with for example only three currently active in the Solway, although the Firth is still visited by gunners based elsewhere.

There is little doubt that economic factors caused the demise of the professional punt-gunner. Post-war (1939-1945) escalating coastal developments, together with a massive increase in the volume of inshore maritime traffic, was followed by an extensive proliferation of various leisure activities including the use of motorised, sailing and other vessels. Obviously too the costs of the specialised equipment required to be afloat with a punt have soared, and social changes also followed the years of austerity. Many drawn to the undoubted excitement of foreshore wildfowling preferred to shoot with shoulder guns.

Disturbance

Historically the charge of disturbance was the most difficult for the punt gunner to answer, hunting as they do over feeding, roosting or loafing areas. There were several attempts to have the sport banned (as in the USA — 1918), all of which failed.

In earlier times when shooting was part of a subsistence economy for many coastal villages that was understandable and many other diverse devices such as traps, clap- netting, tide and flight netting were also being operated. Even then an unwritten code operated and the wildfowling community policed itself by socially ostracising those who habitually abused a potentially valuable, shared local resource.

To a large extent wildfowl harvesting in the UK has controlled itself. Ultimately, if overhunting persisted the quarry was dispersed or driven away and that would ensure neither livelihood nor sport for anyone. Later, with a general availability of shoulder guns the disturbance by a multitude of shore-based wildfowlers by far exceeded that of the occasional punter (Allan Allison and John Young pers.ob.).

Had the sport continued at its 19th century intensity the accusation of disturbance might have proved a serious problem. However the remaining few active punt gunners are not regarded as causing any more disturbance to fowl than the numerous other activities apparent on the foreshore. In 1963 at the first European meeting on Wildfowl Conservation where seventeen countries were represented, the meeting concluded with a statement to the effect: -

> *The Conference agreed that punting was a dying sport and not responsible for any depletion of wildfowl stocks. It was agreed that it might be allowed to die out naturally, as any attempt at entailment might upset the present harmonious relationship between all interested in wildfowl conservation*

In 1978 the first UK punt gunner's code of practice was published. It was updated in 1995. From then onwards a record of punt gunners in the UK has been maintained via a Punt Gunner Register.

A recent study by the University of Sunderland (1995) using 5 years data collected at Lindisfarne concluded that punt gunning on that site was not detrimental to other bird populations, and did not or cause significant disturbance. Within the more confined features of an estuary and tidal creeks, where the quarry could include ducks, geese and waders, that is clearly debateable.

In Scotland the hunting zone remains the foreshore, an area between the high and low water of ordinary spring tides whether the foreshore is in Crown or private ownership.

The Crown retains in trust certain rights on the foreshore (except in Orkney and Shetland) including those that permit all forms of wildfowling. In some cases these public rights may be restricted by statute, for example on Nature Reserves. The onus is on the fowler to establish their existence. Unlike some zones in England, Wales and in Northern Ireland, including the Southern Solway shore, no wildfowling is allowed in Scotland on Sundays or on Christmas Day.

Since the Second World War, few punts have been launched from the England side of the Solway Firth, (Allan Allison pers com.), but the estuaries of the major Scottish rivers, Nith, Annan and Esk, as well as Wigtown and Luce Bays have been regularly hunted.

The National Nature Reserve of Caerlaverock was declared in 1957 by lease from the Crown Estate and extended in 1989 with land added from the Mansfield Estate. It now extends to approximately 8,000 ha. including the mudflats and dominates the inner Solway 'scene'. It consists of 10 miles of coastline (16 Km.) 7,000ha of mudflats, 600 ha.of grazed merse and 32 ha. of freshwater marsh.. This protects a substantial part of the inner Solway, between the movable channels of the Nith and Lochar estuaries. In 2007, the reserve was extended when 700 ha. were added at Carse Sands on the west side of the Nith Estuary.

Bag Statistics

The most recent voluntary information indicates that today's punt gunners have seven outings per season during which they fire on four occasions, with an average bag of 16 birds, (64). This suggests that the total kill in UK waters is of 2,880-3,000 birds, per annum. The Wildlife and Countryside Act (1981) sets out the quarry species that may be shot and the months of the year.

Alas for rather obvious reasons, few of the early professional hunters maintained or left records of their bags. Other hunters regarded their efforts as strictly private, while authors tend to accentuate the larger kills, which put these bags entirely out of context, if the frequent blank outings are not acknowledged. Well documented historical records from early in the 20th Century include a kill in 1860 of 704 Brent geese off St Peter's Point by thirty two Essex punts and the career of Snowden Slights who punt-gunned in East Yorkshire. In 16 years he fired 830 shots, missing 19 times. His average of 6.6 wildfowl per shot amounted to a career total of 53,526 head of fowl.

Fortunately, within the Solway, we are indebted to Captain J B Blackett of Arbigland for allowing access to the family shooting records and especially pertinent are those of his late brother Archie, who was an active field sportsman and punt gunner for the 22 years between 1948 and his untimely death by drowning while punting, in February 1970.

Archie Blackett acquired his passion for wildfowling from his father; the family estate is located on the Scottish shore of the Solway Firth, along the western outer estuary of the River Nith. As Capt. Blackett explained - *'My father commissioned the building of a large bore breach loading punt gun. This gun was converted by Vickers Armstrong from a Vickers (artillery) gun machined down and bored out. It was proofed for 40 oz of shot and an appropriate charge of Black-powder. The punt itself was specially built in 1930 to father's specification by Penman of Dumfries, a well known coach builder'* It was this punt and gun that Archie used throughout his punting career.

In the 22 years between 1948 and 1970 there are only two seasons for which data are not available due to his military service. The birds killed by a single shot from *'the big gun'* ranged from 5 to 108. On average each shot at wildfowl (ducks and geese) killed 25 birds. When fired towards waders congregated at a high tide roost, this rose to 47 killed per shot.

The cumulative bag of 2,559 comprised 1,889 ducks 532 waders and 138 geese. The duck total was dominated by wigeon (1,101) mallard (271) and teal (234). Other species included 180 pintail, 78 scaup and 25 shoveler. The total bag of geese included an extraordinary shot which killed 33 Brent. Numbers of the two main grey geese, greylag, 108 and pink-footed goose, 7, reflect the grey goose composition and daytime activity at that time. The only specific kill of waders was of 42 golden plover. Other comments in the game book indicate that the 'various other waders' were oystercatchers and knots.

No reference can now be found in the local literature of a single punt shot, in 1974, which certainly killed at least 600 Knots roosting at Carsethorn (the late James *(Eric) Beaddie and George Trafford pers com.)*. That shot was by a visitor; it was nonetheless witnessed and referred to here as an example of the effect of firing into a species that is so gregarious and the difficulty of obtaining accurate historical data. Similarly, JY was present in 1979, when one shot from a 12 bore shoulder gun killed 52 Knots, grounded on the sand at the same locality.

Acknowledgements

I am most grateful to Allan Allison and Hugh Boyd for their continued interest, patience and helpful comments. I also benefited from discussion with the late Dr John Berry, Capt. J B Blackett, the late Sir Arthur B Duncan, Duncan Irving, Derek Skilling and James Williams Editor of these *Transactions*. Image by courtesy of Wally Wright.

EXCAVATION OF AN IRON AGE ROUND HOUSE AND ASSOCIATED PALISADED ENCLOSURE AT WHITECROOK QUARRY, GLENLUCE

Douglas Gordon[1]

With contributions from Melanie Johnson[2], Louise Turner[3] and Mhairi Hastie[4]

Abstract

The remains of an unenclosed prehistoric settlement were identified during a series of archaeological works that took place in advance of sand extraction in 2006. Rathmell Archaeology Ltd carried out the ensuing excavations on behalf of Barr Ltd. Two ring groove houses were identified, along with a palisaded enclosure dating from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age, and a series of unassociated negative features. While radiocarbon dates showed evidence of further activity from the Neolithic to the Early Bronze Age, no other coherent structures were identified.

Introduction

In 2006 a succession of archaeological works were carried out for Barr Holdings Ltd in response to a proposed sand extraction quarry at Whitecrook, Glenluce, Dumfries and Galloway (NX 1718 5669) (Fig. 1). The first phase of works comprised an evaluation, which revealed sufficient features of interest to warrant additional monitoring. This latter phase revealed the presence of an unenclosed prehistoric settlement, which led to a further stage of excavation works.

The wider landscape around Luce Sands is characterised by low rolling hills flanked by a broad coastal strip of windblown sands. The farm steading of Whitecrook, which lies in close proximity to the excavation area, is located in a narrow coastal strip of low-lying land hemmed in to the north by Challoch Hill. Sitting just north of the outflow of the Piltanton Burn, it is roughly midway between the Piltanton Burn and the Water of Luce. The site itself lies on the most convenient access route from The Machars to The Rhinns, a fact borne out by the fact that the lines of both the Old Military Road (now the A75) and the now defunct Dumfries-Portpatrick branch of the former Glasgow & South Western Railway run E-W across the low-lying coastal strip in close proximity to the extraction area.

Detailed investigation of the extraction site showed it to comprise two distinct environments. The first was a level area of well-drained raised ground, lying at around 10m OD and composed of Aeolian sand. This ground, which was improved pasture, was the area where plough-truncated archaeology was identified. The southern limit of this plateau was defined by an abrupt break of slope that ran in a roughly E-W direction. To the S of this slope the ground again levelled at approximately 5m OD, but here it was underlain by a clay subsoil. The drainage in this low-lying area was very poor due in part to the sub-

1 Rathmell Archaeology Ltd, KA13 6PU
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3 Rathmell Archaeology Ltd, KA13 6PU
4 CFA Archaeology Ltd, EH21 7PQ

soil, exacerbated by proximity to the Piltanton Burn and surface run-off from the higher ground. The absence of identifiable archaeology in the lower ground was linked through the higher water table to suggest that this area may have been inimicable to settlement in prehistory (Matthews and Gow 2006).

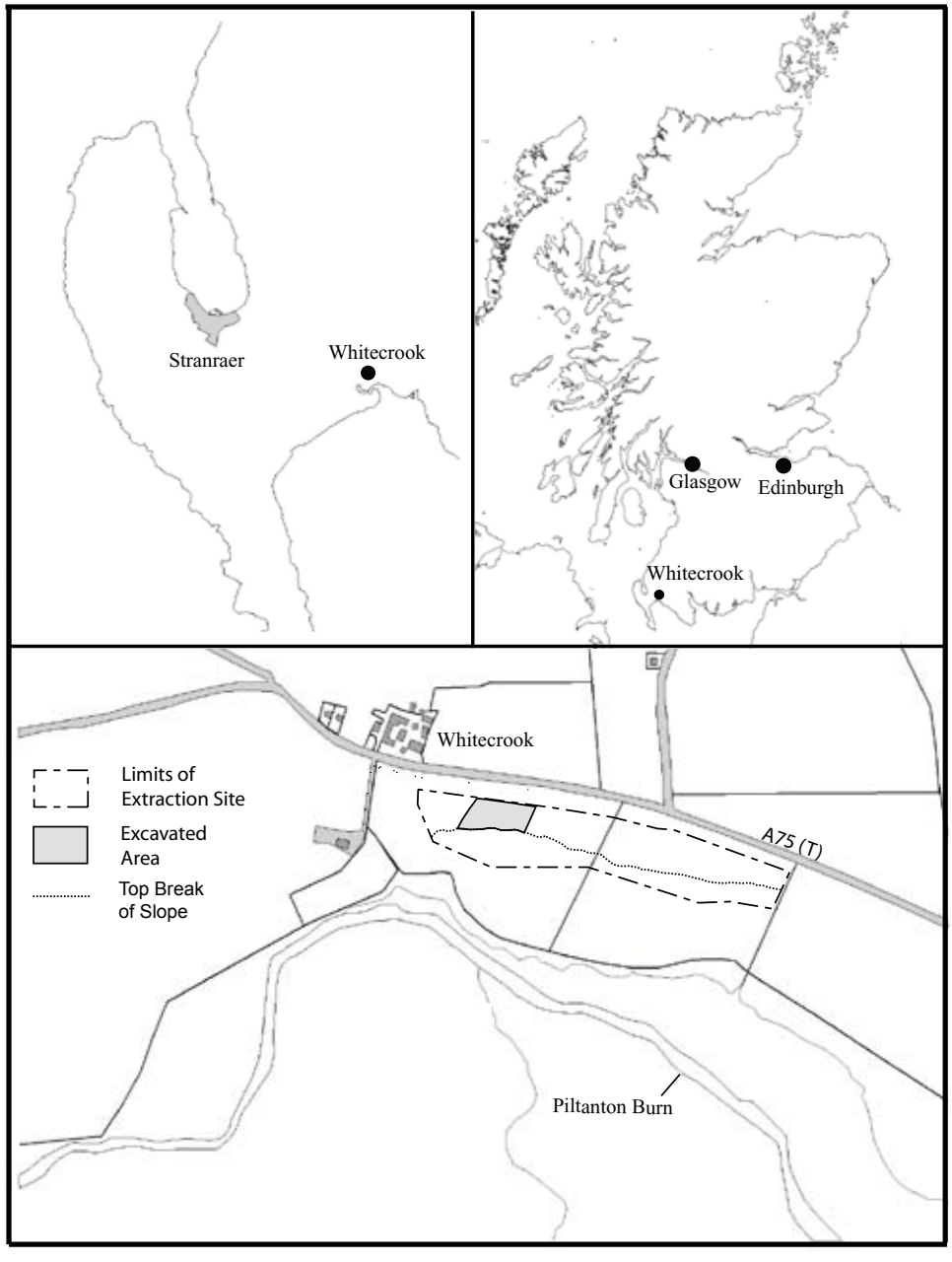

Figure 1 Site Location Plan

Archaeological Background

Superficially at least, the area covered by the extraction showed meagre evidence for earlier human occupation. The National Monuments Record of Scotland identified no known archaeological sites within the extraction area, though finds of artefacts are not unknown. The Dumfries and Galloway Council Sites and Monuments Record notes that, within the last ten years, flint tools have been recovered from the plough soil at the head of Luce Bay in the vicinity of the Piltanton Burn (DG 12725). In addition, a possible enclosure had been recorded by aerial photography in the vicinity of the extraction area (NX15NE 75; DG 9430).

Desk-based research carried out in association with the evaluation did, however, indicate that the site was located north of an area noted as rich in terms of its archaeological remains. Luce Sands, also known as Torrs Warren, is renowned for the large quantity of artefacts that have been recovered there, with discoveries recorded from the nineteenth century onwards. Over 8,500 objects provenanced from Luce Sands/Torrs Warren are present in the National Museums of Scotland collections alone (Cowie, 1996, 14), with additional collections held at Glasgow, Dumfries and Stranraer.

Efforts have been made to put these largely unstratified finds into some kind of archaeological and landscape context. Initial works took place in the late 1970s on behalf of the National Museums of Scotland. These comprised a series of excavations carried out to assess the nature of the buried ground surface and to further explore any archaeological features identified (Cowie, 1996). Episodes of erosion had led to significant truncation of earlier archaeological remains, but nonetheless significant evidence was found for prehistoric occupation in the area, including cairns and traces of early cultivation in the form of ard marks. During the course of this work, substantial quantities of artefacts were recovered, in particular sherds of pottery and lithics.

More recently, an extensive programme of excavation has been undertaken by the University of Manchester at Dunragit, which lies almost half a kilometre to the NE of the excavation area (Thomas, 2001). This work is unravelling the details of a ceremonial complex that was identified initially as crop marks on aerial photographs. A long history of use has been demonstrated at the monument, the earliest phase of which is evidenced by a Neolithic cursus monument. This was subsequently replaced towards the end of the Neolithic and into the Early Bronze Age by a circular enclosure comprising three concentric rings of upright timber posts.

Also worthy of note is work carried out further inland by Corcoran, who led excavations at Mid Gleniron Farm in the 1960s. This site lies approximately one kilometre from the coast in the hilly ground close to the E bank of the Water of Luce (Corcoran, 1963). The focus for Corcoran's work was a chambered cairn, probably Neolithic in origin. This was one of three cairns in close proximity, two of which were thought to be Neolithic in date, while the third was interpreted as Bronze Age.

In summary, then, we find ample evidence for prehistoric occupation in the area around Luce Bay and Torrs Warren. However, it is clear that the elements of which we have greatest understanding to date are those originating in the Neolithic and earlier Bronze Age. As yet, less is known about Late Bronze Age and pre-Roman Iron Age activity. Elsewhere in

Dumfries and Galloway, excavations have been carried out in recent years on comparable sites of late prehistoric date (e.g. the cropmark complex recently excavated at Evans Road, Beattock, as detailed in Dunbar, 2008). However, while research has recently been undertaken into the classification of later prehistoric monuments in Wigtownshire (Poller, 2006), concentrating in particular upon the morphology of monuments and their place within the wider landscape setting, evidence from actual excavations is lacking as yet. It is hoped that the findings from the excavations detailed in this paper will go some way to redress the balance, and help to extend our knowledge of the area into the later prehistoric period.

Findings

Ring Groove Houses

It was during monitoring works that the remains of two ring groove houses were first uncovered on the site (Fig. 2]. The first of these, Structure [114], comprised a complete circuit with a 2m break in the south-eastern quadrant, while the other Structure [148] represented the partial circuit of a house.

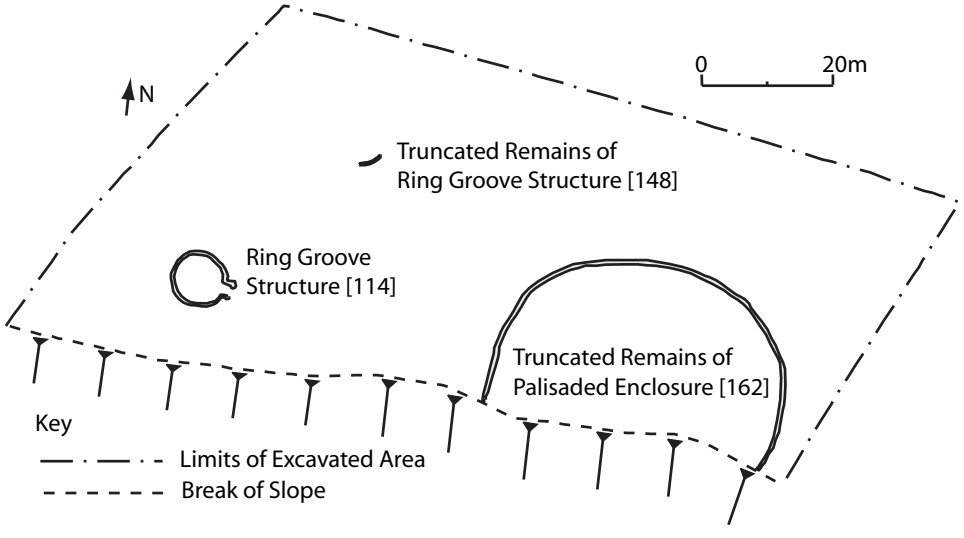

Figure 2 Plan of Excavated Area, Showing Ring Groove Structures [114] and [148], and Palisaded Enclosure [162].

Located in the north-western area of the site, Structure [148] lay approximately 27.2m to the NE of the circular structure [114]. It was much truncated, surviving as a crescent-shaped slot that measured 3.8m long and 0.26m wide. This slot measured 130mm in depth and had near vertical sides that met in a curved base. It was filled with [149], a compact silty sand from which no artefacts were recovered.

In contrast, Structure [114] appeared to have survived in much better condition. It was located in the western portion of the site, lying approximately 10m from the break of slope.

The ring groove consisted of a circular shaped slot with a 'U'-shaped profile with near vertical sides that met in a curved base. Judging by the dimensions of the ring–groove, the structure had an internal diameter of approximately 7.2m and an external diameter of approximately 8m. The slot itself measured between 350mm to 400mm wide and up to 500mm in depth.

The slot was filled with [115], a silty sand containing occasional small sub-angular stone inclusions. Frequent charcoal flecks were also noted. This fill also contained flint and several small sherds of pottery. The sherds of pottery were highly abraded and for the most part consisted of undiagnostic pieces. One, however, has vitrified residue on its interior, which suggests that it saw use as a crucible. Its presence indicates that metal-working was taking place in close proximity to the site, though no further evidence of the metalworking process was found during the excavations.

The entrance of Structure [114] consisted of a 2m gap in the south-eastern quadrant of the circuit, defined by two parallel linear slots that were perpendicular and contiguous with the ring groove itself (Fig. 3). The northernmost slot was 1.6m long, 0.5m wide and up to 0.5m deep, while the southern example was 0.77m long, 0.32m wide and varied from 0.1m to 0.5m deep. Both had near vertical sides and fairly flat bases, and were also filled with [115].

Figure 3 View of Ring Groove Structure [114], with 'Porch' in Foreground

Located at the eastern end of each linear slot was a post-hole: Post-hole [180] was associated with the northern linear slot and measured approximately 400mm diameter and 500mm deep. It had near vertical sides and a flat base. Again, this was filled with [115], though in this instance there was a higher charcoal concentration evident in the section.

Post-hole [181] was associated with the southern linear slot and measured 550mm in diameter and 500mm deep. It had vertical sides that met in a flat base and was filled with [115]. Again, there was a higher charcoal concentration in this feature.

Within the interior of Structure [114], two occupation layers were identified. Lying uppermost was [158], which covered the eastern central part of the interior and measured approximately 3.5 by 3.5m in extent. It was composed of compacted silty sand and contained fragments of burnt bone and small occasional charcoal flecks. Its removal revealed a further occupation layer [175] beneath, which in this instance comprised a compact mixed sandy deposit measuring 3.5m by 2m in extent and up to 50mm thick. This contained burnt bone and charcoal fragments. Charcoal recovered from this context was submitted for radiometric dating, giving a date of 770-480 Cal BC. This places the occupation of the structure within the Early Iron Age.

The northern edge of [158] was truncated by a fire pit [164], which was oblong in plan, measuring 1250mm by 350mm and up to 100mm in depth, with gently sloping sides and a flat base. Its fill [159] consisted of a compact black, slightly sandy, silt that contained many heat affected stones and frequent charcoal and burnt bone inclusions. Carbonised hazelnut shell recovered from this feature gave dates of 790-490 Cal BC, again placing the feature within the Early Iron Age.

Within layer [175] were deposits [209], [210] and [211]; [209] appears to have been the site of a fire, placed within the centre of the Structure [114]. It was sub-circular in plan, measuring 900mm in diameter and up to 30mm in thickness, and consisted of a fairly compact heat-affected orange/pink sand. Located on either side of this material were two further deposits, [210] and [211], which lay on the north and south sides respectively. These are most likely to represent cooking debris that was periodically cleared from Hearth [209]. Both deposits were very similar in terms of the nature and size of the spread, which measured on average 800m long, 500m wide and up to 100mm in thickness and which consisted of a compact mixed deposit comprising black and dark brown sand, charcoal and fragments of burnt bone.

Beneath Hearth [209] was another area of burning [268] that measured 300mm in diameter and 110m deep. It had steeply sloping sides that met in a pointed base and was filled with [269], a compacted dark purple and orange sand. The natural sand subsoil around it was also heat affected.

Identified within the interior of the structure were over 50 negative features, the vast majority of which were stake-holes. In general, these stake-holes measured less than 90mm in diameter and between 40mm and 170mm in depth. They all had steeply sloping sides that met in a pointed base and were filled with a compact sand with occasional small flecks of charcoal present. There were, in addition, four post-holes [224] [286], [234] and [240]. Post-holes [224] and [286] were situated centrally, within the southern half of the structure. These features were very similar in character and measured between 200mm and 250mm in diameter and between 300mm to 350mm deep (Fig. 4). Both had ‘u’-shaped profiles and were filled with compacted sand containing charcoal and burnt bone fragments (fill numbers [225] and [287] respectively). These features were aligned E-W and lay 1.20m apart from one another. Post-holes [234] and [240] were located in the

north eastern quadrant. Post-hole [234] measured 260mm in diameter and was 120mm deep, filled with compacted sand. Post-hole [240], located approximately 1m to the SE, measured 300mm in diameter and 160mm in depth. It was unusual in that it was surrounded by six stake-holes (Stake-hole Group A, comprising [242], [224], [248], [246], [327], and [329]) (Fig. 5).

Stake-holes were spread across the extent of the interior, but two particular groupings were evident. The first group (Stake-hole Group B) was situated to the north of Hearth [268] and consisted of Stake-holes [256], [264], [254], [260] and [258]. These were situated beneath Hearth Deposit [210] and their fill was similar in character. The second grouping (Stake-hole Group C] comprised Stake-holes [276], [226], [278], 335], [274], [333] and [292] and was situated to the S of feature [268] under Hearth Deposit [211]. Like the first group, these stake-holes had a similar fill to the overlying hearth deposit, and it is argued that these groupings of stake-holes may mark the location of a tripod-type arrangement used to support a cooking vessel over the fire.

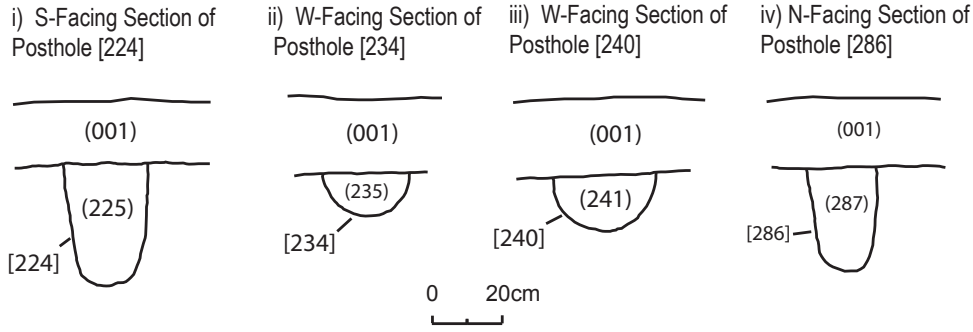

Figure 4 Ring Groove Structure [114], Sections of Postholes [225], [235], [241] and [287]

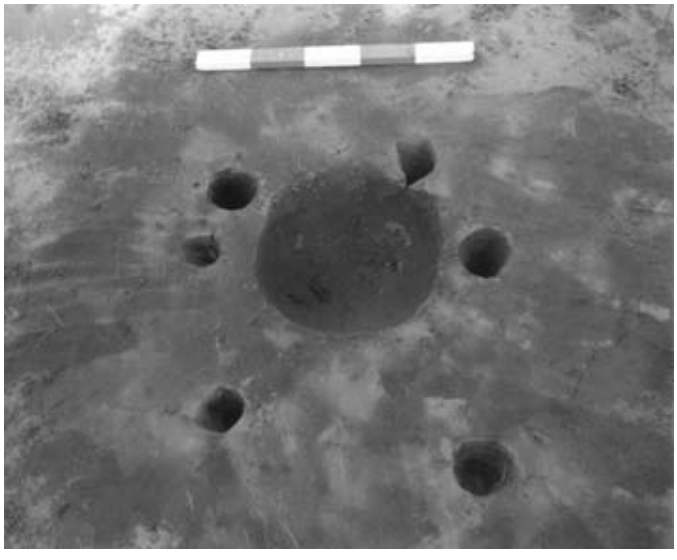

Figure 5 View of Post-hole [240], with Stake-holes in Association

Palisaded Enclosure

During the Watching Brief in the eastern section of the site, an enclosure was identified. It comprised a roughly semi-circular ditch [162] measuring approximately 40m diameter E -W and 25m diameter N-S, the ends of which were located at the top of the break of slope to the south.

A series of 1m long slots were excavated along the length of this feature, giving a total excavated area of 10% of its full extent. These slots revealed the ditch to have, in general, a 'u'-shaped profile, with near vertical sides meeting in a curved base. The width of the ditch varied from 260mm to 540mm. Its depth also varied, from between 120mm to 910mm, with the deepest section appearing to be the NW arc of the semi-circle. Material recovered from the palisade slot gave a date of 800-510 Cal BC, i.e. Late Bronze Age to Early Iron Age.

The fill [163] of Enclosure Ditch [162] was composed of compacted silty sand containing occasional small charcoal flecks. Certain sections (Slots 2, 5, 6 and 7) also contained large stones [326]. These varied in size from 60mm to 320mm long and 20mm to 140mm thick, and varied in their form from angular to round. They may represent the dislodged remains of post packing once associated with a timber palisade.

Within the interior of Enclosure Ditch [162] three features were recorded: a sub-circular pit [178] and two post-holes, [178] and [190]. Pit [178] was located at the western edge of the interior next to the break of slope. It was sub-circular in plan and measured 730mm long, 550mm wide and 190mm deep, with concave sides meeting in an irregular base. This feature was filled with [179], a compacted dark orange-brown silty sand containing moderate amounts of sub-angular stone inclusions. Located approximately 4m to the east of [178] was Post-hole [190], an irregular sub-circular cut measuring 308mm long, 400mm wide and 170mm deep. This feature was filled with [191], a compact dark black/brown silty sand containing occasional charcoal flecks that yielded a date of 3340-3000 Cal BC, pushing activity on the site back into the Neolithic. Post-hole [200] was located in the northeast section of the enclosed area. This comprised a small circular cut, measuring 190mm diameter and 90mm deep. It had near vertical sides that met in a slightly curved base and was filled with [201], a mid yellow-brown compact silty sand.

Unassociated Features

A number of additional small features were distributed across the extent of the site. These have been subdivided into two groups: the first comprises larger sub-circular features measuring up to 1m long, 500mm wide and 250mm deep (i.e. pits), while the second includes small circular features measuring less than 500mm diameter and up to 500mm in depth (i.e. post-holes). In general, the smaller features had steeply sloping or near vertical sides that met in a curved base, whilst the larger ones had more gently sloping sides with flatter bases.

Seven larger sub-circular features were dispersed across the site (excluding those associated with the palisaded enclosure [162]). Three of these (two of which were excavated, namely [130] and [145]) formed a linear arrangement, orientated roughly E-W and located approximately 3.7m N of the circular structure [114]. The easternmost of these, Feature

[145], contained a squat, straight-sided pot (SF 16) that appeared to have been crushed *in situ* (Fig. 6) and that has been nominally dated to the Late Bronze Age – Early Iron Age.

Figure 6 Photograph of In Situ Pottery Vessel SF 16

Feature [128] was located approximately 7m N of this feature group. It was roughly oval in plan and filled with [129], a brown silty sand that contained a fairly large amount of charcoal.

Two additional larger sub-circular features, Features [138] and [156], were located approximately in the centre of the site, and located roughly 20m apart on an E-W alignment. Whilst Feature [138] was slightly larger than Feature [156], both were sub-circular in plan. Feature [138] was filled with a compact silty sand that contained occasional charcoal flecks [139], while Feature [156] was filled with a loosely compacted silty sand [157].

Approximately 10m to the north of the E-W line created by Features [138] and [156] was Feature [160]. This was oval in plan, measuring 580mm by 500mm and up to 165mm deep. It was filled with mid-dark brown silty sand [161] with occasional charcoal pieces and produced an Early to Middle Bronze Age date of 1900-1690 Cal BC.

The smaller circular features were more numerous and these were distributed across the full extent of the site. There appeared to be two concentrations: one in the south-western area close to the ring slot feature [114] and the other in the northern central/eastern portion of the site.

There were 14 small circular features concentrated in the western portion of the site. Of these, four were excavated in total: Features [106], [110], [116] and [117]. They measured between 0.23m and 0.45m in diameter and were up to 190mm deep. All were filled with a similar mid-brown sandy material.

Twenty-one small circular features were located in the central and north-eastern portions of the site. These were roughly circular in shape and measured between 300mm and 600mm diameter and 110mm and 300mm deep. In general, they were filled with silty sand varying in colour from dark red-brown to mid-brown and which occasionally contained small charcoal flecks and small stone inclusions. Enough material was recovered from post-hole [149] to provide a date of 2210-2010 Cal BC.

While these features may relate to structural remains, no discernable pattern or structure was evident.

Evidence for Industrial Activities

The discovery of a likely crucible fragment from one of the ring groove slots hints that industrial processes, and in particular the working of non-ferrous metals, must have taken place in the vicinity of this settlement. The presence of discrete and fairly substantial patches of charcoal also suggested that large-scale heating and burning was being undertaken in places and it was possible that the two processes were linked. These patches were located on the upper surface of the subsoil and did not form part of negative features. They measured, on average, 500mm diameter and up to 10mm thick. Although there did not appear to be any coherent distribution pattern, there was a higher concentration apparent in the western area. Also occurring across the site were small pieces of coal. These were unstratified and as such no distribution pattern could be determined.

While it is tempting to try and link this disparate evidence into a coherent whole, this does not seem feasible, given the circumstances. The crucible fragment was an isolated sherd recovered from the fill of the ring groove slot associated with Structure [114]. It was found in association with a further eight sherds of prehistoric pottery (upon which no traces of adhering vitreous material were identified) and two pieces of flint. No further evidence was identified within the excavated area. There were no likely contenders for a furnace or smelting hearth, no finds of furnace lining, tuyeres or slags, and no fragments of waste spill or casting debris.

It is, however, apparent that evidence of some kind of industrial process is provided by this item. While this does not appear to have taken place within the extent of the excavation area itself, it was no doubt undertaken somewhere in its close vicinity. Why an isolated sherd representative of this process has been deposited in the ring groove ditch is a different matter. The sherd is very abraded and may represent a stray find that found its way into the fill of the ring groove feature, though the possibility of deliberate curation and discard cannot be entirely ruled out.

Pottery

Melanie Johnston

220 sherds of handmade prehistoric pottery (weighing 3878g) were recovered from the excavations at Whitecrook Quarry, comprising 194 sherds (3792g) from a single vessel,

21 sherds (66g) from other stratified contexts, and 5 sherds (20g) of unstratified pottery. These have been catalogued as a maximum of 19 separate vessels. The majority of the sherds are undiagnostic and all are undecorated apart from the almost complete vessel (SF 16), a rim sherd and a possible rim sherd.

A scattering of small sherds and crumbs were recovered from the slot of the roundhouse (context 115). These sherds had an average weight of just under 3g and the majority were extremely abraded. No sherds were recovered from the features contained within this ring groove. It is highly unlikely that these sherds were *in situ*, given how heavily abraded they are.

Two tiny crumbs were recovered from each of contexts 131 and 142, and a small body sherd was recovered from context 184.

In situ Vessel (SF 16)

Excavation photographs indicate that this vessel was found lying on its side and that it appears to have been crushed in situ (Fig. 6). It was contained within a small, shallow pit (context 145; 1.06m by 0.67m by 0.17m deep), which is likely to have been truncated, resulting in the loss of some of the vessel. About two thirds of the rim circumference of the vessel survives, and the base is also incomplete.

The vessel is a squat, straight-sided, simple shape with a flat base and a rounded rim (Fig. 7). It has a rim diameter of c.250mm, a base diameter of c.120mm, and stood at least 130mm high. It is very thick and coarse, with the base reaching 25mm thick and the walls 15mm thick. It is not decorated.

The fabric is coarse, fairly hard, with a hackly fracture. Its condition is poor, being friable and with many cracks across the surfaces. It contains inclusions of grit and small stones (3%, up to 5mm in size) and there are holes in the fabric from where stones have been lost. The vessel has an orange-brown exterior, grey/grey-brown core, and a grey/brown interior. There is evidence for coil forming as a production technique, with examples of false rims present. The surfaces are extremely rough, the exterior in particular, with no attempt having been made to smooth them. Some of the sherds are heavily sooted on the interior.

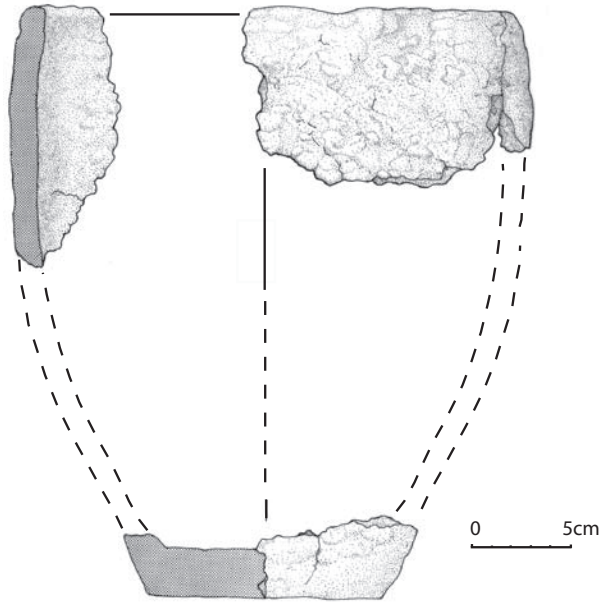

Figure 7 Pottery Vessel SF 16

Other Vessels

Sherds from context 115 were primarily undiagnostic small body sherds, but include a rim and a possible rim sherd. The rim sherd (SF 3) is a rounded rim, in a thick, coarse, friable fabric. An area of vitrified material with a glassy appearance adhering to the rim suggests that this vessel may have been used in metalworking. A very abraded sherd (SF 17) is possibly a rim sherd but it is too small and in too poor condition to determine its morphology.

Many of the sherds from this feature are extremely abraded and have a soft, sandy fabric fired to orange. Very little information could be obtained about their surface finish or fabric.

A number of sherds were recovered from pit fills (131, 142 and 184) and as unstratified finds. All of these were small undiagnostic body sherds or fragments, often abraded, and little further can be said about these.

Conclusions

With the exception of the *in situ* vessel, the assemblage is very poor: abraded, highly fragmentary, and comprising primarily small undiagnostic body sherds. Most of this assemblage was found within context 115, the fill of the ring groove, with a few isolated sherds found in pits. It is impossible to assign a date to such an assemblage or make any comment on its purpose or distribution with any certainty, the exception to this being a rim sherd found within context 115 which may have been used in metalworking and could be related to the coke and charcoal concentrations on the site. The heavily abraded nature of the assemblage suggests that this material has seen considerable post-depositional reworking, which in a sand environment will quickly lead to degeneration of the sherds. It is unlikely that this pottery relates directly to the occupation of the structure: it could have been deposited within this feature post-abandonment or during construction and in either case the pottery could have been incorporated as part of the infill material and thus have derived from anywhere in the vicinity of the site.

The near complete vessel is an unusual find; it was deposited within a small pit near to the roundhouse, one of three forming a rough linear arrangement (although it is not certain that these pits are contemporary). The archaeobotanical remains from this pit were not suitable for providing a radiocarbon date so it is unclear whether the pot's deposition is directly related to the occupation of the roundhouse. It is clearly an act of deliberate structured deposition but its purpose will never be known. However, no other artefacts were found within the pit and there is no evidence to suggest it accompanied a burial or cremation.

The precise dating of such vessels is difficult in the southwest of Scotland. The Iron Age here, as Banks (2002) recently discussed, is poorly understood and has very little in the way of material culture evidence to provide comparisons. The Late Bronze Age provides more in the way of comparative material, for example from Lintshie Gutter Unenclosed Platform Settlement, Crawford, Lanarkshire (Terry 1995). More is known of the pottery from earlier prehistoric periods in Dumfries & Galloway; for example, the area at Glenluce is well known for its assemblages of decorated earlier prehistoric pottery (Davidson 1952, McInnes 1963).

The radiocarbon dates obtained for the site indicate a range of dates, including the Neolithic, Late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age and Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age. Vessel SF 16 is suggested, on the basis of fabric and form, to be Late Bronze Age or Early Iron Age in date, with it more likely to be Late Bronze Age on the basis of the available comparative material.

Macro plant analysis and radiocarbon dates

A variety of samples were sent for macro plant analysis and viable radio carbon dating samples identification. From the analysis, five samples were identified for dating. Charred plant material was also identified in the form of wood charcoal, cereal remains and nutshells. The cereals were identified as barley *(Hordeum Sp.)*, while the nutshells were hazelnut *(Corylus avellana)*.

All material for dating was identified by a relevant specialist and submitted to Scottish Universities Environmental Research Centre for radiocarbon dating. Calibrated age ranges are determined from the University of Oxford Radiocarbon Accelerator Unit calibration program (OxCal3).

The dates obtained reflect a long history of activity on the site from the Neolithic through to the Early Iron Age (Fig. 8). Of particular note are the three Late Bronze Age to Early Iron Age dates obtained from some of the major features on the site. These comprised [158] (the upper occupation layer of Structure [114]), the fill of Cooking Pit [164] (which cuts [158]) and the fill of Enclosure Ditch [162]. These dates are largely in keeping with the findings of the excavation, in particular the shape and form of the structural elements identified and the type of pottery recovered in association.

Lab Code	Context	Material	$\delta 13^C$	BP	2σ Calibrated Date Range
SUERC-15870	150	Cereal grain: *Hordeum v*	-25.5%	3725+/40-	2280-2250 BC (3.6%) 2210-2010 BC (90.6%) 2000-1980 BC (1.2%)
SUERC-15871	158	Charcoal: *Betula sp.*	-24.7%	2475+/-40	770-480 BC (85.9%) 470-410 BC (9.5%)
SUERC-15872	159	Carbonised Shell: *Corylus avellana*	-26.2%	2500+/-40	790–490BC (95.4%) 470–410 BC (3.2%)
SUERC-15876	161	Charcoal: *Corylus avellana*	-26.7%	3480+/40	1900 – 1690 BC (95.4%)
SUERC-15877	163	Charcoal: *Corylus avellana*	-24.8%	2520+/-40	800-510 BC (95.4%)
SUERC-15878	191	Charcoal: *Betula sp.*	-25.9%	4455+/-40	3340-3000 BC (91.9%) 2980 – 2930 BC (3.5%)

Figure 8. Radiocarbon Dates Obtained from Whitecrook Quarry, Glenluce

The other features where suitable material for dating was obtained were representative of the many pits and post-holes scattered across the site, in that they were much truncated, and either occurring in isolation or possibly forming part of more complex structures which have been since been erased from the landscape or masked by later land use. Two such features were identified – Post-hole [191] and Post-hole [149]. The first of these, Post-hole [149], lay within the extent of the Enclosure Ditch [162] but yielded an Early Bronze Age date. The second, Post-hole [191], was even earlier, originating in the later part of the Neolithic. Such ephemeral evidence for Neolithic and earlier Bronze Age activity is not altogether unexpected: it can indeed be argued that such findings are entirely consistent with the evidence already recovered from the nearby Torrs Warren/Luce Sands site.

Discussion

Evidence of human occupation across a very broad chronological range has been attested by the excavations at Whitecrook. This is largely represented by a mostly incoherent palimpsest of features across the site reflecting intermittent use from the Neolithic to the Early Iron Age. Such a level of activity is consistent with observations made on previous fieldwork carried out at Luce Sands/Torrs Warren by Cowie in the 1970s. At Whitecrook, there was an exception to this paucity of evidence in the form of discrete and coherent structures. These comprised two ring groove houses, Structures [114] and [148], and a palisaded enclosure represented by Enclosure Ditch [162]. Together, they appear to represent an unenclosed settlement, occupied at some point between the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age.

Ring Groove House [114]

The entrance to the house, situated in the southern eastern arc, is a porch-like construction defined by two linear slots that project outwards perpendicular to the groove but which are contiguous with it. The end of each linear slot terminates in a large post-hole ([180], [181] that would once have held a load bearing post. Similar porch arrangements are documented at Hayknowes Farm, Annan (Gregory 2001), Ross Bay, Kirkcudbright (Ronan & Higgins 2005). A further example comes from the ring groove structure at Candle Stane, Aberdeenshire (Cameron 1999).

Unfortunately, little or no evidence was recovered for the posts within the ring groove of Structure [114] that would have formed the outer wall of the house. Due to the nature of the sand subsoil, it was also difficult to determine if these posts were removed or if they decayed *in situ.*

The fill [115] of the ring groove contained small sherds of pottery, including the rim of a probable crucible, and flint fragments. The pottery fragments were highly abraded, indicating that they had been subject to post-depositional processes prior to becoming part of the fill [115]. They were therefore unlikely to relate directly with the occupation of the house.

Given their size and depth, the four post-hole features in the interior of the ring groove - [224] and [286] in the south, [234] and [240] in the north - probably held substantial load bearing posts (Fig. 9a). The fact that there were only four post-holes may indicate that they formed a square timber frame, as was the case at Hayknowes Farm, Annan (Gregory

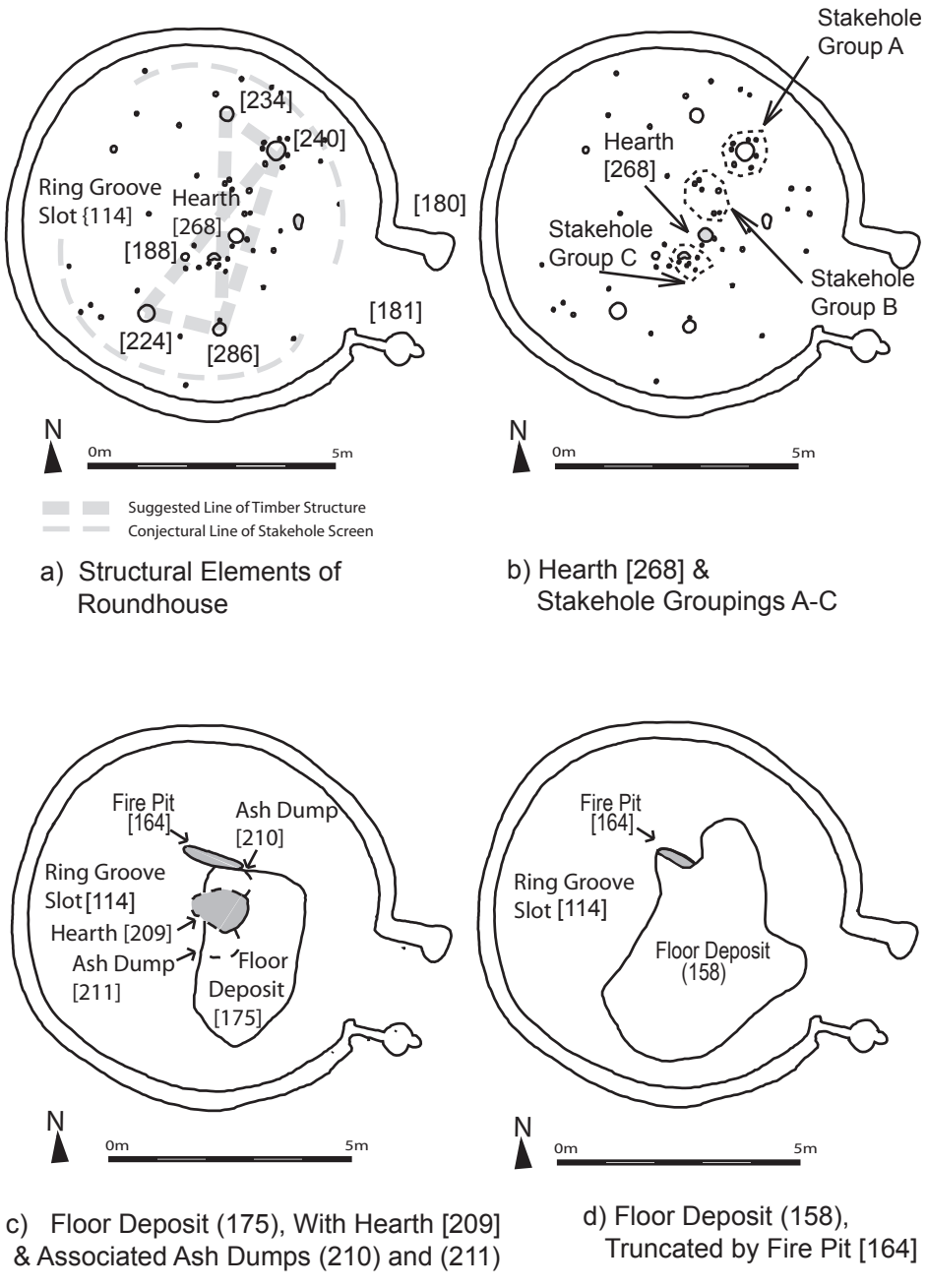

Figure 9. Plan of Ring Groove Structure [114], Showing Different Phases of Occupation And Use

2001). Central four post settings are unusual though not unheard of: examples are found at West Brandon, County Durham (Jobey 1962), Wolsty Hall, Cumbria (Blake 1959), Dalton Parlours, Yorkshire (Wrathmell & Nicholson 1990) and Little Woodbury, Wiltshire (Bersu 1940). It has been suggested that the four post settings were either connected with the upper superstructure of the building or may have been 'like a builder's scaffolding frame in the constructional stages, and could have been used to support a mezzanine floor or internal fittings around the hearth…' (Harding 2004). Unlike the sites above, however, the posts at Whitecrook are not evenly spaced within the interior but positioned off-centre to form a sub-rectangle. This would not be the most stable layout for the supporting of the upper superstructure, but would be adequate for internal fixings around the hearth.

An alternative possibility is that other posts were present that may not have been driven or dug down as deeply into the subsoil, resting instead upon the ground or on a pad. This practice, which would have left no evidence behind, may reflect the use of timbers of uneven lengths in the structure.

Structural repair work also appears to have been carried out at some point in the life of the house: the positioning of Stake-hole Group A around post-hole [240] would seem to indicate that they were placed to reinforce post [240] (Fig. 9b). Elsewhere, the presence of stake-holes may indicate interior divisions within the house though, given their placement, it is hard to determine what any such divisions could have been. One possible internal space located opposite the entrance can, however, be defined by its lack of stake-holes. This is not conclusive, as the stake-holes may not have survived in this area due to agricultural or other processes though, given the generally good levels of survival around this area, the former seems probable. There is also the possibility, especially around the northern side, that the stake-holes formed a circular screen around the interior of the house. The screen would be like an internal wall, creating a passage around the outer edge of the interior.

Within the centre of the house, stake-hole groupings can be identified. The individual members of Stake-hole Group B, uncovered below Hearth Deposit [209] (which was itself located to the north of Hearth [268]), could be linked together due to their similar fill. This was also true of Stake-hole Group C that was uncovered below Hearth Deposit [211] (located to the S of the Hearth [268]). All contained fills that were very similar to the overlying deposits. It is possible that these stake-holes marked the site of a tripod or similar feature associated with cooking activities. However, such an interpretation should be viewed with caution, as trying to allocate patterns and resultant functions to such features is a highly subjective process that can yield many possible interpretations. There is also the additional complication that some stakes may have served multiple functions.

In summary, four phases of occupation and use can be identified following the excavation of Structure [114]. The first of these, Phase 1, was the construction of the ring groove structure itself with its associated central setting of post-holes. The second, Phase 2, was the period of occupation evidenced by the accumulation of Floor Deposit [175], which gave a date of 770-480 Cal BC, with its central Hearth [209] that was subject to periodic clearance (Fig. 9c). This was followed by a third period of occupation, Phase 3, represented by Floor Deposit [158], in which no central hearth was present (Fig. 9d). The final phase, Phase 4, was the cutting of Fire Pit [164] into the N side of [158]. Associating

the stake-hole groupings with particular phases is, however, less straightforward. Because these features were not readily identifiable during the excavation of the overlying floor layers, it could be argued that the floor levels of Phases 2 and 3 represent a build-up of material that post-dates the abandonment of the actual structure itself. However, it is clear that Stake-hole Group A must have been contemporary with Post-hole [240], as the stake-holes in this instance functioned as a means of consolidating or repairing a load-bearing post. Likewise, Stake-hole Groups B and C appear to be closely associated with the Phase II Hearth [209], and can be assumed to be contemporary. Since the layout radically changes between Phases 2 and 3, with the removal of the central hearth, a period of disuse or even complete abandonment could be envisaged, with the cutting of Fire Pit [164] representing yet another change of use which took place at around 780-490 Cal BC. While the repairs to Post-hole [240] suggest that Structure [114] may have had a considerable degree of longevity, this is not, comparatively speaking, born out by the radiocarbon dates, which suggest that Phase 2 and Phase 4 are roughly contemporary. However, considering that the dates in question both spanned a period of some 300 years, this allows ample opportunity for Structure [114] to have been occupied through several generations, its structural elements consolidated and repaired as required, and its internal layout reworked

Palisaded Enclosure

In all likelihood, the palisaded enclosure once comprised a complete circular slot. However, due to considerable erosion having occurred in the slope to its south we have lost some of its original extent, with perhaps 60 - 70% still remaining. No entrance was evident: in all likelihood, it was located in the now eroded southern portion. Normally an entrance for a single palisade enclosure consists of a break in the ditch slot, with larger terminal posts for the gate on either side of the gap (Ritchie 1970). Such examples exist at Methven Wood, Perthshire (Sherriff 1986), Melville Nurseries, Dalkeith (Raisen & Rees 1996) and Greenbrough Hill, Roxburghshire (RCAHMS 1956).

There was a distinct lack of interior features that may have represented dwellings within the enclosure. This, combined with a dearth of artefacts (in comparison with the portion of the site located outwith the enclosure ditch) would suggest that the enclosure was probably used as a stockade for animals. The single palisade slot would also indicate that it was used for livestock, as larger defensive enclosures surrounding dwellings tend to be associated with double concentric circular slot arrangements. In such instances, stock may be confined in the gap between the ditches (Ritchie 1991).

The method of stock control envisaged here can be contrasted with the more complex measures identified during recent excavations at Evan Road, Beattock (Dunbar, 2008), where a trapezoidal enclosure and associated funnel-shaped ditch arrangement were interpreted as arrangements for livestock control, and tentatively dated to the period between 500BC and 500AD. Dunbar suggests, using evidence obtained from excavations at comparative sites throughout south and east Scotland, that sub-square enclosures can be interpreted as Middle Iron Age in origin, while square or trapezoidal examples are more likely to be Late Iron Age (Dunbar, 2008, 46). The circular palisaded enclosure at Whitecrook is very different in character to the enclosures described above, but this should not be seen as problematic as its Late Bronze Age to Early Iron Age date suggests that it represents a different system of stock management.

With regards to the Whitecrook example, the height of the former wooden posts can be speculated upon, based on the assumption that the visible portion of the post will measure double the length of the buried section. The depth of the palisade slot [162] varied from 120mm to 910mm, with an average depth of 750mm. Adding 400mm to allow for the removal of ploughsoil indicates a substantial palisade, potentially standing 2.30m above the ground surface.

Three features were located within the interior space. Two of these, Pit [178] and Post-hole [190], were located in the western area next to the break of slope. A further post-hole [200] was located in the NE portion of the interior. However, these features do not appear to form part of a coherent larger structure that may represent a dwelling or part of an entranceway structure. Post-hole [190] is not contemporary with the enclosure as charcoal recovered from it gave a Neolithic date (3340- 3000 Cal BC).

Conclusion

The excavation at Whitecrook revealed a site that has been used sporadically over a period of approximately 3000 years from the Neolithic to the Early Iron Age. This occupation has left a palimpsest of features across the site, with odd features dating from the Neolithic and the Early Bronze Age and potential evidence of a metalworking industry. More substantial evidence for occupation was, however, apparent in the form of two ring groove houses and a palisaded enclosure. These appear to represent the remains of an unenclosed settlement occupied at some time during the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age, which may help to elucidate the prehistoric settlement pattern in the south west of Scotland.

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ROSNAT, WHITHORN AND CORNWALL

By Andrew Breeze[1]

For nearly four hundred years, historians have been perplexed by the location of 'Rosnat', a British monastery and house of studies mentioned in the lives of various Irish saints. It was long taken as Whithorn in Galloway, and this is still argued, as we shall see. However, what follows discusses the problem and then (on the basis of new evidence) suggests that the place was Old Kea in Cornwall, on a tidal creek between Truro and Falmouth. If so, it allows us to identify (somewhat unexpectedly) a home of Celtic learning and spirituality that for centuries enjoyed international fame, was the intellectual centre of Cornish or south-western Christianity in the sixth century, and has implications for our understanding of religion in early Scotland, as elsewhere in Britain and Ireland. The present paper may here seem ungracious in trying to show that a home of early learning was not at Whithorn. But, being published in Dumfries and Galloway, it perhaps suggests that, if there was not much learning there in the sixth century, there is a great deal in the twenty-first.

We begin with Haddan and Stubbs, whose account is still useful. They quoted from the lives of four Irish saints. The life of Tigernach tells how he was trained *in Rosnatensi monasterio*; Eugenius was taught by a master *de Rosnacensi monasterio*; Énda was instructed to go *ad Rosnatum monasterium*; and Finnian learnt the rules of the monastic life at the same place, called *Magnum Monasterium*. Haddan and Stubbs noted that John Colgan in the seventeenth century and Charles O'Conor in the early nineteenth took the spot as Bangor-on-Dee, in north-east Wales. But John Lanigan in 1822 preferred Candida Casa or Whithorn, and they accepted this. They added that, even though the lives of these Irish saints are late, they themselves were active in the middle or late sixth century, with Finnian dying in 588 and Tigernach in 548 or 550.[2]

Haddan and Stubbs were echoed on Rosnat by Bishop Forbes in his edition of the lives of Ninnian and Kentigern, by W. F. Skene in his *Celtic Scotland*, and by Plummer, who described the spot as 'a great centre of monastic discipline and learning', where several Irish saints were trained in the religious life.[3] Hogan noted further that 'Rosnat' was in Britain, is mentioned by the *Codex Salmanticensi*s as the monastery of St Monennus, and was otherwise known as *Alba*.[4] This last point is vital. We shall come back to it. In a later note, Plummer was sure that *Rosnatense monasterium* was the Hiberno-Irish name of Whithorn, and that saints from Ulster and neighbouring regions 'tended to gravitate' towards it for educational or other reasons. Amongst those saints were Darerca or Moninna of Killeevy, Énda of the Aran Islands, Tigernach of Clones, Eógan of Ardstraw, and Finnian of Moville. Énda's sister thus bids him, *Uade in Britanniam ad Rosnatense monasterium, et esto humilis discipulus Mauceni, magistri illius monasterii.* Graduates of that school would go on for further study in Rome. As for Tigernach, we hear how as a

1 University of Navarre, Pamplona

2 *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, ed. A. W. Haddan and William Stubbs (Oxford, 1869-78), I, 120-1.

3 *Venerabilis Baedae Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. Charles Plummer (Oxonii, 1896), II, 129.

4 E. I. Hogan, *Onomasticon Goedelicum* (Dublin, 1910), 588.

youth he became *sancti Monenn disciplinis et monitis in Rosnatensi monasterio, quod alio nomine Alba uocatur, diligenter instructus, in virum perfectum et moribus est prouectus.*[5] Watson, describing Whithorn as 'long an important centre of religious life and learning, widely known and much frequented', stated that (even though Whithorn is two miles from the sea) the Irish knew it as 'Rosnat', a diminutive of *ross* meaning 'little cape', or else as *Magnum Monasterium*. Watson also commented on Irish saints who went there. He associated Kirkcowan in west Galloway with Eógan of Ardstraw (whose father died in 513), partly because he believed Eógan was trained at Whithorn. As for Monenna, she allegedly founded seven churches in Scotland, including one with a convent of nuns on Castle Rock in Edinburgh, and another called 'Chilnecase in Galweia', which Watson believed lay north of Ayr.[6] This last cannot be right. 'Chilnecase' must be Candida Casa or Whithorn, and in any case Monenna's name seems to have been confused with that of St Ninnian, as Kenney pointed out. Kenney likewise gave information on the saints' lives. Important here is the fame of Énda and Finnian as outstanding teachers. If they had their education in Britain, this would be of significance, especially if we could be sure that Finnian of Clonard and Finnian of Moville, of whom different traditions survive, were the same man.[7]

The official guide to Whithorn states that the house established by St Ninian 'became a famous seat of learning, known throughout the Celtic world. Scholars from Ireland resorted here in the fifth and sixth centuries and monks from Whithorn acted as missionaries to other parts of Scotland.'[8] Yet Nora Chadwick urged caution. Although a 'consistent body of later tradition represents Irish saints of the fifth and sixth centuries as receiving their education at Whithorn', including Énda, Finnian, Tigernach, and Eógan or Eugenius, most of these traditions do not predate the twelfth century. Their evidence is, therefore, 'extremely doubtful'. Even the allusion to St Mo-Nenna or Darerca of Killeevy (near Armagh), who founded 'Chilnecase' (= Candida Casa, Whithorn), can be no older than the tenth century in its present form.[9] Kenney's suggestion on confusion of 'Monenna' and 'Ninnian' would, of course, deepen this scepticism. More substantial evidence comes in the form of a definitive edition of the penitential of St Finnian.[10] The interest of this sixth-century document, which was long influential, would be the greater if we could be sure which British monastic school trained its compiler.

Complete doubt on Rosnat and Whithorn came in 1964 with an article by P. A. Wilson.[11] The effect of this, as is natural, took time to seep through. Citing John Ryan and John MacQueen, Françoise Henry still described sixth-century Irish monasticism as developing under the influence of both Candida Casa or Whithorn and the foundations of Gildas and David, as with St Énda in the Aran Isles, who was the teacher of Finnian of Clonard and Ciaran of Clonmacnois.[12] Yet others did react to Wilson's ideas. Once many felt that

5 *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, ed. Charles Plummer (Oxonii, 1910), I, cxxvi, II, 62-3, 68-9, 263.
6 W. J. Watson, *The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1926), 159, 164, 190, 342.
7 J. F. Kenney, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland: Ecclesiastical* (New York, 1929), 367-9, 369 n. 250, 374-5, 386-7, 390-1, 400.
8 C. A. Ralegh Radford and Gordon Donaldson, *Whithorn and Kirkmadrine* (Edinburgh, 1953), 7.
9 Nora Chadwick, 'Early Culture and Learning in North Wales', in *Studies in the Early British Church*, ed. Nora Chadwick (Cambridge, 1958), 29-120, at 60-1.
10 *The Irish Penitentials*, ed. Ludwig Bieler (Dublin, 1963), 3-4, 74-95, 242-5.
11 P. A. Wilson, 'St Ninian and Candida Casa: Literary Evidence from Ireland', *TDGNHAS*, xli (1964), 156-85.
12 Françoise Henry, *Irish Art in the Early Christian Period* (London, 1965), 21.

Rosnat was not Whithorn, the search for another locale was on. Here Professor Charles Thomas stepped forward, speaking up for Tintagel. He maintained (incorrectly) that the toponym is not Cornish but might be Norman-French. He therefore assumed that the previous and lost Cornish name was an otherwise unknown 'Rosnant', meaning 'promontory valley'. He thus proposed that Tintagel might have been the 'Rosnat' or 'Rostat' presided over by Maucennus or Maucannus; a place where, it was later claimed, 'such early saints as Enda of Aran, Tigernach of Clones, perhaps even St David, were educated, Maucannus being identifiable as the north Cornish patronal saint, Mauchan or Mawgan, of medieval hagiography.'[13] This not-very-secure or logical notion he set out at length.[14]

Others repeated what had been said on Whithorn since 1822. Gearóid Mac Niocaill affirmed that British influence on the Irish Church remained strong and that Ulster saints reputedly studied at Whithorn, amongst them being Énda of Aran, Tigernach of Clones, Eógan of Ardstraw, Finnian of Moville, and Cairpre of Coleraine.[15] John Morris likewise told readers that Whithorn, founded by Ninnian before about 400, was known in Irish tradition as Rosnat, and was 'an important monastic school' from the middle of the fifth century onwards. Morris also translated a passage in Énda's life on the saint's sister, who did not mince her words, and told her brother to get out of Ireland before he was 'seduced by the things of this world' (as a warrior), which he must do by going to Rosnat and staying there until she heard 'good reports' of him.[16] As for Professor Thomas, by the end of the 1970s he had retreated from his confident association of 'Rosnat' with Tintagel. Although he pointed out that the links of the former with Whithorn had been 'called into doubt', he refrained from equating it with Tintagel, but still referred to the latter in a picture caption as perhaps the 'first of the post-Roman Insular monasteries'.[17]

Previous opinion was summed up by David Dumville in a pithy footnote, citing the work of P. A. Wilson. The life of St Eógan of Ardstraw mentions a *uir sanctus et sapiens Nennyo, qui Maucennus dicitur*. But Dumville sees no reason whatever to take him as St Ninian of Whithorn. The case for 'Rosnat' = Whithorn hence, in his view, collapses. Although hope thereafter briefly shifted to Tintagel, archaeological papers by Kenneth Dark and others (including Professor Thomas himself) rule out all likelihood for Tintagel as an ecclesiastical site. Dumville concludes by naming the *uallis rosina* of St Davids as the 'favourite candidate', but more wisely adds that a 'completely different location may await identification: nothing is certain, save that Whithorn is not a credible option.'[18] Of late, scholars have tended to be silent on the question, though Thomas Charles-Edwards touches on the thorny question of St Finnian's identity.[19] So, too, does D. N. Dumville.[20] The great exception is Professor John MacQueen. He has recently given detailed consideration to the matter, concludes that Whithorn may well be 'Rosnat', and that the *alba*

13 Charles Thomas, *The Early Christian Archaeology of North Britain* (London, 1971), 26-7.
14 Charles Thomas, '*Rosnat, Rostat*, and the Early Irish Church', *Ériu*, xxii (1971), 100-6.
15 Gearóid Mac Niocaill, *Ireland Before the Vikings* (Dublin, 1972), 24.
16 John Morris, *The Age of Arthur* (London, 1973), 337, 352.
17 Charles Thomas, *Christianity in Roman Britain to AD 500* (London, 1981), 279, plate 8.
18 D. N. Dumville et al., *Saint Patrick* (Woodbridge, 1993), 142 n. 63.
19 T. M. Charles-Edwards, 'Britons in Ireland, c 500-800', in *Ildánach, Ildírech,* ed. John Carey, J. T. Koch, and P.-Y. Lambert (Aberystwyth, 1999), 15-26, at 17.
20 D. N. Dumville, *Saint David of Wales* (Cambridge, 2001), 11.

already alluded to perhaps represents 'Candida'.[21] This leaves no room for Dumville's suggestion that *uallis rosina* at St Davids = 'Rosnat'. With that, the latest plea for 'Rosnat' as Whithorn, we close the first part of this paper.

Nevertheless, a long-lost manuscript may (in the style of a popular thriller or mystery novel) allow a very different answer here. It seems supplied by a Middle Cornish play on St Kea, of which the only known copy was long concealed from the world of learning by the late Professor Caerwyn Williams. This fifteenth-century text refers to places in the vicinity of Old Kea, on a tidal creek west of Truro River. Let us set out the evidence as regards the enigmatic 'Rosnat'.

We mentioned above the clue given by Hogan from the life of Tigernach (edited by Plummer) that 'Rosnat' had another name, *Alba*. This has not been much noticed. But it is crucial. Beroul's poem on Tristan and Iseult tells how the heroine crossed *La Mal Pas* to reach *The Blanche Lande* to the former is now the village of Malpas, on an inlet two miles south-east of Truro, and was notorious in the middle ages for its *mal pas* or dangerous ford. *The Blanche Lande* to which Iseult was going was also known in medieval records as *Alba Landa*. It was a manor of Kea with its *caput* at Nansvallen, perhaps owing its name to white quartz strewn over the neighbouring downs (which were long used for hunting).[22] Oliver Padel notes that *Alba Landa* as the Latin form of *Blancheland* first appears in about 1250.[23]

The newly-edited play on St Kea also makes frequent mention of the forest of Rosewa, which corresponds to *Rosené* in an account of St Kea published in 1637 by the Breton scholar Charles le Grand. The editors of the play take *ros* here as 'promontory' and *ewa* as obscure. They reject Canon Doble's identification of *Rosené* with Roseland, a region east of the river Fal. They regard it instead as the hill-region, still thickly wooded, just north of Old Kea church, the enclosure of which was probably considered as being within Rosewa or *Rosené*. They refer as well to Goodern, in the west of the parish of Kea. This, now a farm by an ancient fortified earthwork, they describe as 'once the chief place in the later manor of Blanch Lande or *Alba Landa*'.[24]

There hence seem grounds for associating Old Kea, the cult-centre of a sixth-century saint (who allegedly knew Gildas) at a place called Rosewa or *Rosené*, in a manor later known as *Alba Landa*, with the *in Rosnatensi monasterio, quod alio nomine Alba uocatur* of the life of St Énda. We may add that, although the new edition of the play on St Kea helps make this identification, it does not depend on it. The allusion to *Rosené* has been in print since 1637, when Charles le Grand first published his account of Breton saints.

We can go farther. Who was the holy man that appears in the life of Tigernach as Maucennus, in the life of Eógan of Ardstraw as *uir sanctus et sapiens Nennyo, qui Maucennus dicitur*, and elsewhere as Monend or Monenn? He would be Meugan or Mawgan, whose cult spread wider than that of any other Welsh pilgrim saint. Churches are

21 John MacQueen, *St Nynia*, 2nd edn (Edinburgh, 2005), 144-9.
22 L. E. Elliott-Binns, *Medieval Cornwall* (London, 1955), 419; *The Romance of Tristran by Beroul*, ed. Alfred Ewart (Oxford, 1939-70), II, 227.
23 O. J. Padel, 'The Cornish Background of the Tristan Stories', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* i (1981), 53-81, at n. 28.
24 *Bewnans Ke: The Life of St Kea*, ed. Graham Thomas and Nicholas Williams (Exeter, 2007), xxxvii-xxxviii.

dedicated to him in Anglesey, Denbighshire, Brecknock, Somerset, Cornwall, and north Brittany.[25] Doble called him 'an abbot, probably an abbot-bishop, of an important monastery' (the *Magnum Monasterium*?), who shared in a great missionary effort beginning in the sixth century that by its completion had 'covered Wales, Cornwall, and Brittany with churches and monasteries.'[26] In west Cornwall the villages of Mawgan-in-Meneage (near Helston) and Mawgan-in-Pydar (near Newquay) are called after him.[27] The former is some sixteen miles north of Old Kea, the latter thirteen miles west. So they are no great distance from the monastery where Mawgan apparently taught. It may also be that Geoffrey of Monmouth (d. 1155), in a curious tribute to the saint's fame, took his name and his reputation as a sage for his own Maugantius, who encourages Vortigern to believe the strange story of Merlin's conception and who ends up as Bishop of Silchester.[28] It is possible as well that Mawgan's other name of 'Nennyo' explains that of Pelynt 'parish of Nennyd', near Looe in south-east Cornwall, which would have nothing to do with St Non, mother of St David, despite long-held beliefs.[29]

Mawgan would not, however, be the only Welsh saint to live at Old Kea. The Latin life of St David by Rhygyfarch contains the notorious crux *Wincdi-lantquendi*, the name of a monastery where the saint studied in his youth, and usually taken as somewhere in Dyfed. Charles Thomas has the first part of *Wincdi-lantquendi* as 'a descriptive noun-phrase rather than a true place-name', with the rest of it containing *lann* 'monastic enclosure' plus an Irish personal name.[30] As often with the remarks on language of Charles Thomas (an archaeologist), we shall disagree almost entirely. We also take issue with Dr Oliver Padel. Ignoring Professor Thomas's analysis, he takes the first part as perhaps meaning 'white house' or 'windy house'; suggests *lant* might be a corruption of *nant* 'valley'; while the last part may be a scribal repetition of the first.[31] This we also reject, for the following reasons.

Old Kea in Cornwall is also known as *Landegu* 'church site of Kea', where *de* represents the possessive pronoun meaning 'thy', often used with the names of Celtic saints. Landegu appears in early sources as *Landighe, Landekeye, Lantokai,* and the like. It seems possible to regard *Lantquendi* as a corrupted form of the same toponym, referring to Old Kea. We may jettison all the above suggestions linking the form with *nant* or valley, Irish personal names, or white and windy houses. These are mere bad guesses. Here *Lantque-*, resembling *Lantokai* (an early manor of Glastonbury on Exmoor), would be 'church site of Kea'. As for *-ndi*, this hardly contains *ty* 'house' in compound. There is a much simpler solution. Just as *in Rosnatensi monasterio* presents a Latin adjectival form from a toponym that gives *Rosené*, so *Lantquendi* may also be an adjective (albeit corrupted). Rhygyfarch's *in insula Wincdi-lantquendi* might on those grounds be derived from *in insula Lantocensi*, 'in the retreat of Llandegu, in the monastery of Old Kea'.

25 E. G. Bowen, *The Settlements of the Celtic Saints in Wales* (Cardiff, 1954), 90-1.
26 G. H. Doble, *Lives of the Welsh Saints*, ed. D. Simon Evans (Cardiff, 1971), 52-3.
27 O. J. Padel, *A Popular Dictionary of Cornish Place-Names* (Penzance, 1988), 117-18; The Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names, ed. Victor Watts (Cambridge, 2004), 404.
28 Catherine Daniel, *Les prophéties de Merlin et la culture politique* (Turnhout, 2006), 18.
29 Geoffrey Grigson, *Freedom of the Parish* (London, 1954), 79-90.
30 Charles Thomas, *And Shall These Mutes Stones Speak?* (Cardiff, 1994), 100-1.
31 Richard Sharpe and John Reuben Davies, *'Rhygyfarch's Life of St David'*, in *St David of Wales*, ed. J. Wyn Evans and J. M. Wooding (Woodbridge, 2007), 107-55, at 119 n. 40.

It appears, then, that the tradition of Ulster saints who went to Britain for their education has a basis in fact; and that Professor Thomas was right both in locating the 'Rosnat' where they did this in Cornwall, and in seeing the ruler of the community as Mawgan, who was famous for learning. But the monastery of Rosnat would not have been at Tintagel, on Cornwall's rugged and dangerous north coast. It would be been at Old Kea, on a placid tidal creek off Truro River, by the headland of Rosewa or *Rosené*, in the parish of Kea, associated with the twelfth-century manor of Blanch Lande or *Alba Landa*. Old Kea is marked (following the work of Lynette Olson) in a new atlas as an early monastic site in Cornwall.[32] Yet, if the above reasoning holds, it would have had in the sixth century an international reputation as a monastic school, being the Rosnat of Irish hagiography. This implies that Old Kea, now a secluded wooded spot, with only the ruined tower (thick with ivy) of its church to suggest any former glory, once had a famous school of scholars: a Cornish equivalent of Jarrow or Iona.

There is, however, an apparent objection to the above case. A humorous narrative used as preamble to a prayer beginning 'Parce, Domine' of the collection *Liber Hymnorum*, in a manuscript written about 1100, refers to its author as Abbot Mugint of Whithorn, who taught Finnian of Moville, Rioc, Talmach, and others, including even Drusticc, daughter of Drust 'king of the Britons'.[33] The form used here is *i Futerna*, which is certainly Whithorn. It even suggests Whithorn's reputation for learning. However, far from strengthening the case for 'Rosnat' = Whithorn, this text weakens it. Here *i Futerna* is an Irish form of Old English *hwitaern*, a direct translation of *Candida Casa* 'white house'.[34] If this Irish tradition used a toponym that came from *English*, it is clearly late and unoriginal. Against the far stronger evidence from Cornwall, it is flimsy.

If our arguments are sound, they have six main implications. First, they show that Irish saints studied the vocation of a monk in Cornwall. Their own teaching and writings would bear the stamp of what they learnt by Truro River. This is especially significant for the writings of St Finnian. Second, they show that sixth-century Cornwall had a monastic school known beyond the seas. Breton scholars are proud of the Old Breton glosses that show the industry of their schools in the ninth and tenth centuries. But these establishments clearly had a precedent in Cornwall. The style of Gildas (born at *Arecluta* or Arclid, near Chester?) has long been admired, and Ken Dark has referred to an illustrated manuscript of Virgil as evidence for a confident Latin culture in Britain about the year 500.[35] Vigorous Latinity of this kind would have been continued at Old Kea. It is a tragedy that none of its sacred or secular manuscripts can have come down to us.

Third, what might seem a churlish robbing of Whithorn's glory nevertheless aids our knowledge of Scotland's Christianity. We need no longer seek 'Rosnat' anywhere in North Britain as a whole. (Its location in Cornwall explains as well why no Welsh source mentions it.) Yet we may reflect that, if Mawgan taught Finnian, the penitential that Finnian compiled was influential throughout all the Celtic lands. So there would here be a link between a monastery in Cornwall and ones in Ireland, to say nothing of Salzberg or St Gall, from which manuscripts of that text survive.

32 J. T. Koch, *An Atlas for Celtic Studies* (Oxford, 2007), map 25.
33 Nora Chadwick, 'Early Culture and Learning in North Wales', 61.
34 Cf. Charles Thomas, *The Early Christian Archaeology of North Britain*, 18.
35 K. R. Dark, *Civitas to Kingdom* (London, 1994), 184-91.

There are three other implications. Sixth-century Cornwall had an Irish-speaking community, their memorial consisting of six stones with ogham inscriptions; there are also places there named after Irish saints, like St Ives.[36] So Irish students would have found their fellow-Irish in Cornwall when they arrived. The place would not have been as alien as one might think. There is, however, the curious circumstance that all the allusions in hagiography come from the northern half of Ireland, perhaps indicating an original Cornish contribution to the conversion of Ulster. Finally, the activity of the school *in Rosnatensi monasterio, quod alio nomine Alba uocatur* casts a little light on the politics of sixth-century Cornwall, of which we know so little. Gildas in the early part of the century denounced the evil life of Constantine, the ruler of Dumnonia.[37] Yet tradition maintained that he repented of his sins and died a good death, even gaining the reputation of a saint.[38] If a monastic school flourished in the western part of his dominions, civil life must have been reasonably tranquil, so that a school could operate successfully over many years.

For some Celticists, old ideas rarely die without a struggle, as the present writer has often noticed over the years. Let us therefore state the case for 'Rosnat' = Old Kea in plain words, so that it may be understood by all.

1. The Cornish play on St Kea mentions the forest of Rosewa close to Old Kea, corresponding to *Rosené* in the 1637 account of St Kea by Charles le Grand. The life of Tigernach mentions *ad Rosnatensi monasterio*; that of Eugenius, *de Rosnacensi monasterio*; that of Énda, *ad Rosnatum monasterium*. There is every reason to take them as one and the same. One may add that 'Rosnat' would be corrupt. The *de Rosnacensi monasterio* would preserve the best reading, *Rosnacensi* being a natural Latin adjectival form of *Rosené* (where le Grand's text is more authentic than that of the Cornish drama). Confusion of the letters C and T is common in Insular script.[39]

2. In the later middle ages Old Kea lay in the manor of Alba Landa, recorded as such from about 1250. Again, there is every reason to take this as the *quod alio nomine Alba uocatur* of the life of Tigernach. To maintain that this is merely another way of referring to Candida Casa, which was as well known from the text of Bede as Old Kea was obscure, is irrational and perverse.

3. Énda's sister bids him, *Uade in Britanniam ad Rosnatense monasterium, et esto humilis discipulus Mauceni, magistri illius monasterii.* In west Cornwall, Mawgan-in-Meneage (near Helston) and Mawgan-in-Pydar (near Newquay) are named after this saint.[40] Although the cult of this Welsh missionary saint is known from dedications in Wales and Brittany, as well as Cornwall, he has no link with Whithorn. The obvious implication is that he taught at the ancient monastery of Old Kea, by *Rosené*.

4. The Latin life of St David by Rhygyfarch states that the saint studied at *Wincdilantquendi.* This form is corrupt, meaningless, and unlocated. Yet it is not difficult to take the first part as a reduplication of the last, and emend the rest to *Lantocensi* or Llandegu,

36 K. H. Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain* (Edinburgh, 1953), 155-6.
37 K. R. Dark, *Civitas to Kingdom*, 91-4.
38 K. H. Jackson, 'Gildas and the Names of the British Princes', *Cambridge Medieval and Celtic Studies*, iii (1982), 30-40.
39 Cf. Noël Denholm-Young, *Handwriting in England and Wales*, 2nd edn (Cardiff, 1964), plate 7.
40 Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Cornwall*, 2nd edn (Harmondsworth, 1970), 114-15.

the monastery of Old Kea. Rhygyfarch would hereby preserve independent evidence for Old Kea's fame as a house of studies in the sixth century.

The location of 'Rosnat' has been a headache for investigators since the days of John Colgan (1592-1658), Ulsterman and exile. Nevertheless, if the above provides a solution to the question, it should have far-reaching implications, allowing us to see more clearly many aspects of the literature, education, religion, and society of sixth-century Britain and Ireland. It also suggests a task for archaeologists, implying that excavation at the ruinous ecclesiastical site of Old Kea may detect traces of a sixth-century monastery as important in their way as those at Iona, Jarrow, or Whithorn itself.

A NOTE ON THE DATING OF BARHOBBLE CHAPEL BONES AND THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF THEIR DEPOSITION

Richard Oram[1]

In the 1995 published report of the excavations at Barhobble Chapel near Mochrum in Wigtownshire, the late Bill Cormack described a structure built against the centre of the interior face of the chapel's east gable.[2] This was identified as an altar which had been constructed as part of a major refurbishment of the chapel probably in the earlier 13th century and labelled Period 3 (phase 2) by Cormack.[3] Artefact evidence suggested that this phase ended with the Wars of Independence when the chapel appears to have ceased to function as a religious site. The excavation of a High Medieval non-monastic site in Scotland is rare enough but excavation of a rural chapel site of this period anywhere in Britain is of immense importance, and even more so in Barhobble's case on account of the evidence for devotional activity and liturgical arrangements identified within the structure.[4] The altar structure is of particular interest, for against the east gable in the centre of the surviving lower 0.33m of clay-bonded split stone slabs of the altar was a deposit of human bone set into the clay core.[5] These were interpreted as 'corporeal relics', and simply marked as 'relics' on the plan of the church phase of the site.[6]

In 2008, samples of the bone – identified as a human cranial fragment – were sent for radiocarbon dating at the Scottish Universities Environmental Research Centre at East Kilbride. The sample produced a ^{14}C age of 760±25 BP (calibrated 1240-1280 AD @ 68.2% probability and 1220-1285 AD @ 95.4% probability).[7] Bearing in mind the possibility of contamination of the sample, this dating appears to support Cormack's 13th-century rebuilding phase for the chapel, with possible deposition of the remains occurring towards the middle decades of the century. It does not, however, support his suggestion that the bones are relics of the 6th-century Irish saint, Finian of Movilla.[8]

How is this deposit of a cache of mid-13th-century human bone, comprising chiefly of cranium, femur and tibia fragments, to be interpreted? Given their location within the altar, it is difficult to argue for them being anything other than relics of some individual regarded as a saint. The quantity of fragments – 19 skull pieces, two femoral, one tibial and 28 unspecified worn fragments of long bones – could indicate relatively easy access to a well-preserved local burial. Sadly, however, the condition of the bone at time of excavation was too poor to allow assessment of how complete the remains had been at time of deposition. Their deposition appears to have occurred at the time of the construction of the altar, although the loss of the upper part of the altar structure prevents absolute certainty

1 University of Stirling, Stirling FK9 4LA

2 W.F.Cormack and others, 'Barhobble, Mochrum – Excavation of a Forgotten Church Site in Galloway', *TDGNHAS*, 3rd series, lxx (1995), 5-106 at 15.

3 *Ibid*., 52-3.

4 See, for example, P.E.H.Hair, 'The Chapel in the English Landscape', *The Local Historian,* 21 (2001); N.Orme, 'Church and Chapel in Medieval England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th series, 6 (1996).

5 D.H.Lorimer, 'Report on Human Bone' in Cormack and others, 'Barhobble', 101.

6 Cormack and others, 'Barhobble', 20 and Fig.7.

7 SUERC-19655 (GU-17016), sample reference BAR1.

8 Cormack and others, 'Barhobble', 55, 59.

that they were not inserted subsequently. The use of relics in the consecration of altars had become an established feature of Western Christian religious practice from the 9th century, arising from the Emperor Charlemagne's programme for standardisation of ecclesiastical practice.[9] Inclusion within the structure of an altar was intended to prevent the falsification of relics and the invention of spurious cults and, through the obvious Divine acceptance of the relics into an altar, enhance the potential spiritual power of the altar through its association with the corporeal remains of a saint. The fact that the bones were embedded within the altar's clay core is, however, unusual with more common practice being for the remains to be contained within some form of receptacle which could be removed from the altar. Although the reconstruction drawing of the church phase of the site shows a slot to provide access to the deposit in the rear-centre of the altar-slab, there was no surviving evidence for such an arrangement.[10]

The dating of the skull fragment points towards a reconstruction of Barhobble Chapel in the turbulent years around the death of Alan of Galloway (d.1234) and the absorption of the lordship of Galloway into the Scottish kingdom.[11] Building-work may relate to a redistribution of estates in the western Machars in the aftermath of the Scottish suppression of revolts in 1235 or 1247. If the bones themselves are of 13th-century date, their insertion within the altar at this time is very interesting. First, the inclusion of cranial fragments may point to influences from the cult of St Thomas of Canterbury, whose *corona* or cranial top had been sliced off in during his murder by Henry II of England's knights in 1170. St Thomas's skull fragments formed the centrepiece of the Corona chapel at the east end of Canterbury Cathedral, a structure whose physical form reflected symbolically the violent manner of his death and figuratively the assault on clerical freedoms – the corona representing a priest's tonsure – which culminated in his martyrdom.[12] This association may be lessened by the presence of fragments of long bones in the deposit, but the date of deposition may reinforce the link to assaults on clerical freedoms. This point raises a second issue, the contemporary context for the deposition. In 1235, Galloway was subjected to a military invasion and conquest by King Alexander II to enforce the partition of the lordship between the husbands of the three heiresses of Alan of Galloway.[13] Opposition to that partition appears to have enjoyed significant support from the diocesan and monastic clergy in Galloway, particularly from the canons of Whithorn who used the political upheaval as a device through which to attempt to secure control of episcopal elections.[14] Chronicle accounts of the events of 1235, however, also refer to attacks on monasteries by elements of the Scottish army and a Becket-like context for the placement of the relics at Barhobble might be found in these events.

The *Chronicle of Melrose*, an account whose compiler was very well informed of the events of 1235 in Galloway, details attacks on the abbeys of Glenluce and Tongland.[15] Descriptions of atrocities committed by some of the Scottish warriors contain much that

9 B.Abou-El-Haj, *The Medieval Cult of Saints: Formations and Transformations* (Cambridge, 1994), 10.
10 Cormack and others, 'Barhobble', Fig.10.
11 R.D.Oram, *The Lordship of Galloway* (Edinburgh, 2000), chapter 5.
12 P Binski, *Becket's Crown: Art and Imagination in Gothic England 1170-1300* (London, 2004), 11-12.
13 Oram, *Lordship of Galloway*, 141-6.
14 *Ibid*., 181-4.
15 *Chronica de Mailros*, ed. J Stevenson (Bannatyne Club, 1835), 146.

can be dismissed as stock imagery, such as the dying monk of Glenluce who was stripped of the garment he was wearing and left naked in his bed, a motif used in the same chronicle in connection with a Scottish raid on the Cumberland abbey of Holm Cultram in 1216.[16] The chronicler, however, was more specific in the account of the attack on Tongland, where he claims that both the prior and the sacristan of this Premonstratensian house were slaughtered in the abbey church. Although the circumstances of their deaths are not described, the identification of the claustral prior, the most senior of the canons below the abbot, and the sacristan, the individual responsible for the keeping of the community's altar vestments and mass paraphernalia, and their deaths in the church, might indicate that they had been attempting to prevent the plundering of these items. In this context, the parallels with the fate of Thomas Becket at Canterbury would have been immediately obvious to any cleric and they could very easily have been presented as martyrs who died attempting to protect the liberties of the Church from secular aggression. A contemporary parallel, indeed, would be the growth of an unofficial cult around Bishop Adam of Caithness, who had been murdered at Halkirk in 1222 in a rebellion and the account of whose death is presented in the language of martyrdom and sainthood.[17] Bishop Adam, who had been attempting to impose payment of second teinds due to the Church of Caithness, was presented as a martyr to the cause of ecclesiastical liberties and rights. No record survives of the development of a cult around the Tongland canons, but the influence of the Premonstratensian order within Galloway generally would have provided a medium for its promotion. Why Barhobble might have participated in such a putative localised cult, however, is to enter the realm of speculation.

While the dating of the bone fragments from the Barhobble altar may seem only to offer small-scale refinement of Bill Cormack's interpretation of the site, it opens up an intriguing new perspective on the possible development of local cults and the function of cult chapels in 13th-century Galloway. The obvious failure of the cult – and chapel – to survive through the 14th century should not obscure the importance of this local manifestation of a trend in 13th-century saint-making processes of the rapid promotion of the sanctity of the recent dead and the speedy establishment of a cult. Exactly contemporary with these events in Galloway is the canonisation of Edmund of Abingdon, archbishop of Canterbury, who died in 1240 and was established as a saint in 1246 following a papal investigative commission. St Edmund had kings and bishops supporting his case: the un-named cleric whose remains were placed in the altar at Barhobble lacked such high-powered promotion.

16 *Ibid*., 122-3.
17 *Ibid*., 139; D.Farmer (ed.), *Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 4th edition (Oxford, 1997), 4.

‘A LOOP IN THE FORTH IS WORTH AN EARLDOM IN THE NORTH’ – THE REDISCOVERY OF SCOTLAND’S MONASTIC LANDSCAPES

Derek Hall[1]

Introduction

The title of this paper, a quote from the Register of Cambuskenneth Abbey, indicates an awareness of the profit to be made from the exploitation of Scotland’s rich industrial and agricultural landscape. Until the Historic Scotland funded monastic gazetteers of the 1990s, very little, if any, research had taken place on discovering how much evidence of the various monastic landholdings could still be traced or any attempt made to consider their effect on the development of the country and its medieval economy.

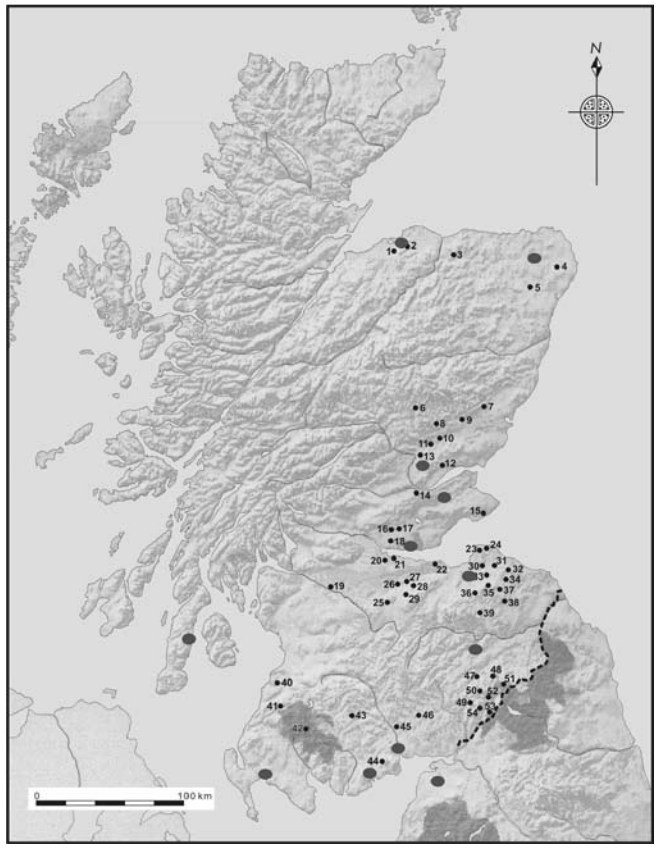

Fig 1 Location of Cistercian granges and abbeys in Scotland (© SUAT Ltd)

1 34 Glenfarg Terrace, Perth, PH2 0AP

Background

It was the arrival of David the First on the Scottish throne that led to the 12th century introduction of the major monastic orders into Scotland. Spearheaded by the Cistercians, Augustinians, Tironensians and Benedictines, these entrepreneurial orders founded some of the largest abbeys in Scotland, many of which remain today as striking ruins in the landscape. Abbey landholdings were controlled by a grange or estate centre that formed the main focus of control for a monastic house. Overseen by a monk with the job of Granger, these establishments were where farmers and landholders on the monastic estates would bring their crops and livestock for reckoning (Fig 1).

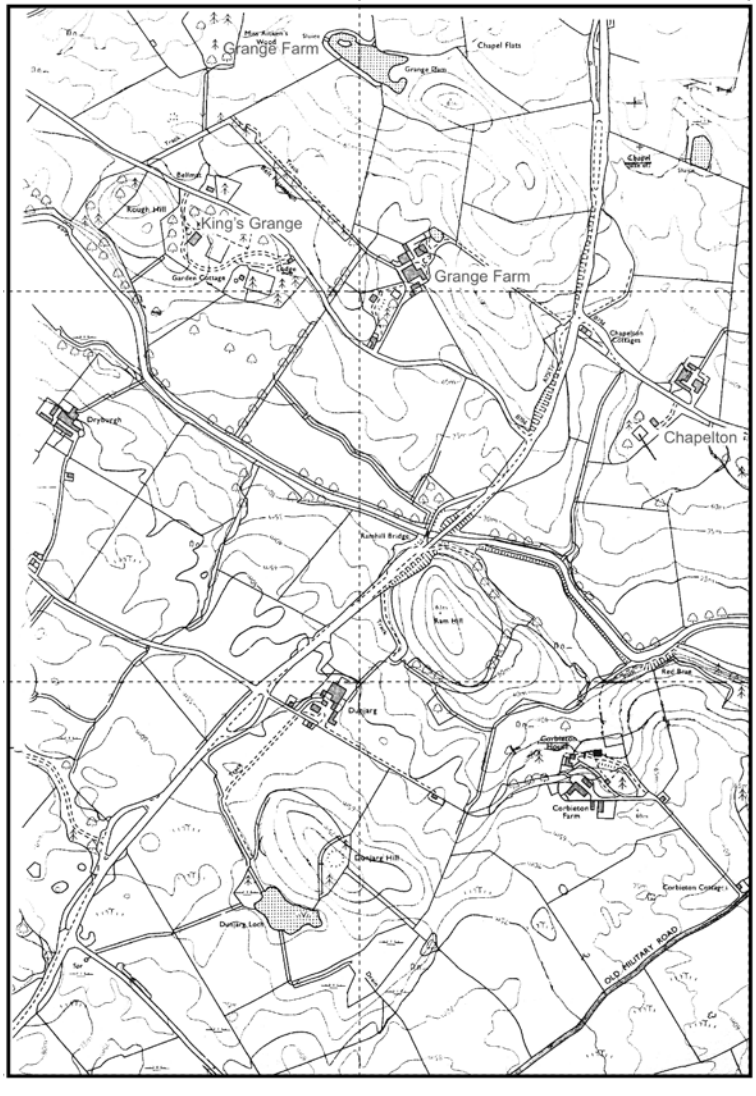

Fig 2 Map of Chapelton, Kirkcudbrightshire (© SUAT Ltd)

Sources of Evidence

The place name Grange can still be found in the modern landscape of Scotland. For example, it is the origin of the name Grangemouth near Falkirk (better known these days for its oil refinery), in Dumfries and Galloway, Culgrange in Wigtownshire and Grange Farm by Chapelton in Kirkcudbrightshire are good examples of such survivals (Fig 2). Many monastic grange sites are occupied today by working farms and small holdings and it is only the place name which remains largely unaltered that gives some clue to its original function. As regards standing structures, we are not as well served in Scotland as England although the remains of monastic barns are still visible at Shambellie by New Abbey and Whitekirk in East Lothian. During the course of our granges survey, the number of isolated medieval churches still visible in the modern landscape became very obvious and it is tempting to consider that such survivals could hint at the former presence of grange sites.

Probably the best surviving evidence that we have for the building layout of a Scottish monastic grange is represented by the scheduled site of Penshiel Grange in the Scottish Borders. This site, a grange of Melrose Abbey, was probably used for storing and processing wool from the flocks of sheep that were kept on the Border granges. A sizeable ruined vaulted stone building still stands and there is earthwork evidence for other associated ancillary structures. Sheep farming was a very profitable exercise for the Border abbeys and Scottish wool was regarded as being of very high quality in the medieval period. Aside from place name evidence and surviving buildings or earthworks, existing aerial photography has also proved useful for several potential grange sites. At the Coupar Angus abbey granges of Cambusmichael and Coupar Grange in Perthshire, it is possible to see cropmarks of the boundary ditches and possibly fish ponds. Monastic water management is another area that has never been properly researched in Scotland: the surviving fish ponds and water courses in New Abbey are amongst the only Scottish examples of these features which are still visible (Fig 3).

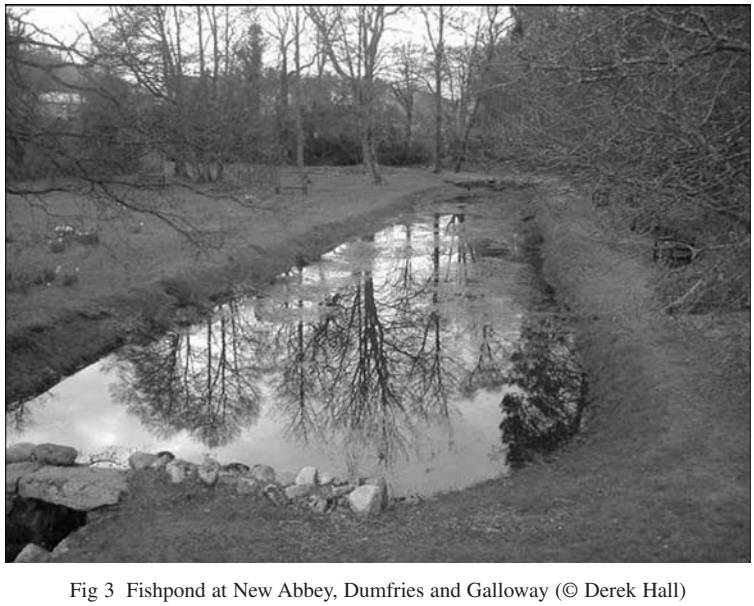

Fig 3 Fishpond at New Abbey, Dumfries and Galloway (© Derek Hall)

Agriculture and Industry

The monastic orders can be regarded as the architects of the first real agricultural and industrial improvements in Scotland, and the function and types of their granges often reflect this. In England, such granges have been divided into roughly five types which include: agrarian farms, bercaries (sheep farms), vaccaries (cattle ranches), horse studs and industrial complexes (ironworking and coal mining) (English Heritage 1997). Documentary evidence for vaccaries and bercaries in Scotland exists for the Border granges of Buckholm and Whitelee and the Lothian grange of Edmundston (*Liber de Melros* nos 107 and 414; *RRS*, ii, no 386). Many of the groups of cultivation terraces visible in the Scottish Borders are on monastic lands: one of the best examples at Romanno Bridge is on land formerly in the possession of Holyrood Abbey (Fig 4). If it is accepted that these

Fig 4 Cultivation terraces, Romanno Bridge (© Scottish Borders Council)

terraces are of medieval date, they would seem to indicate carefully controlled methods of agriculture. Although several articles have been written discussing their function, more analysis needs to be carried out to discover how they were being used (Eckford 1928; Hannah 1931; Graham 1939). This author has always wondered whether some of these might have been using for growing grapes. Some of these terraces certainly face the right way and up until the onset of the Little Ice Age of the 16th century, the climate in Scotland was probably warm enough (Lamb 1995, 219-222).

References to industrial activities in the granges can also be found. For example, the monks of Newbattle Abbey (Midlothian) are granted coal workings (carbonarium)

at Preston Grange by a charter of Seyer de Quinci, Earl of Winchester, between 1210 and 1216 (Bannatyne Club 1849, 53). This charter grants 'carbonarium et quarrarium' between the burn of Whytrig and the bounds of the land of Pontekyn (Pinkie) and Inveresch (Inveresk), and in the ebb and flow of the sea. As this document is a reaffirmation of an earlier grant by his father, the coal workings may have been in use from the late 12th century. A charter of 1291 by Willelmus de Obirwill grants coal workings 'in terra mea de Petyncref (Pittencrieff)' to the monks of Dunfermline Abbey, thus indicating that this resource was being exploited on both sides of the River Forth (Innes 1842, 218). A later document of 1531 details an agreement between Newbattle and Dunfermline Abbeys regarding their adjacent coal workings at Preston Grange and Inveresk and Pinkie, where the Abbot of Newbattle agrees to ensure that his coal is worked in such a way as to allow water in the Dunfermline workings to escape to the sea, even if this includes the cutting of conduits (Innes 1842, 362). Newbattle Abbey was also lead-mining on their lands in Crawford Muir where a mine on Glengonar Water was gifted to them by Sir David Lindsay in 1239 (The Mining Journal 1910). A later reference of 1466 refers to a decree against James Lord Hamilton who is alleged to have 'despoiled' 1000 stone of lead ore from Abbot Patrick Madowre of Newbattle (Bannatyne Club 1849, xxv). The monks of Newbattle were transporting their lead from South Lanarkshire up to Midlothian, suggesting that there was a good road system in place in the medieval period. The permissions granted for passage through the different landholdings en route include one that states that the monks are granted passage as long as they can provide a cart 'like the one that they use' in return.

Salt panning was also being carried out on the Forth, and there are references to 'salina de Preston', 'salina in Carso' and 'salinaria in Kalentyr' (Bannatyne Club 1849, 130,131). Indeed, the Newbattle Abbey salt-works in the Carse of Kalentir (Callendar, Falkirk) were leased to the canons of Holyrood Abbey as is indicated by the settlement of a dispute over the non-payment of rent for these works (Bannatyne Club 1849, 131). Documentary evidence for salt panning any earlier than the 17th centuries on the other major river systems is harder to find, but there must be a strong chance that it was taking place in the Tay, Clyde and Solway estuaries and the Dornoch and Moray Firths. Indeed, there must be case for arguing that the recorded post-Reformation industries at the likes of Saltcoats (Ayrshire), Methil, St Monance and Culross (Fife) were all based on original monastic workings of this valuable resource. A lot depends on the method of extraction being employed: if it relied on the heating of the pans then it may have only taken place in close proximity to a coal source, although evaporation may have still been an option.

The granges and industries of Dumfries and Galloway

Turning to Dumfries and Galloway in particular, it is possible to identify 26 sites that may have originally been under monastic control, although only twelve of them are directly identifiable with an abbey or order. What is of interest in this area are the types of standing remains that can still be seen at the likes of Walls Frenchland, Rogermoor, Watcarrick and Penninghame (Fig 5) (Brann 2002). All these sites have surviving enclosing ditches and upstanding banks and can best be described as moated sites. This monument type is

a very common one to be found on English grange sites and it may be that these four sites are good examples from a Scottish perspective. Other sites of known granges at Holywood and Threave Mains show little surviving evidence of anything that might be connected with a grange.

Fig 5 Watcarrick, Dumfries and Galloway (© Martin Brann)

There are 14 sites in the area that relate to industrial activities, largely salt panning, and it is possible to identify 4 of them as belonging to Melrose Abbey, one to Newbattle and one to Holm Cultram Abbey in Cumbria. One of the sites at Rainpatrick (Redkirk Point) may now be lost in the Solway. The Book of Melrose contains a charter by Richard Fleming, chamberlain of William de Brus, Lord of Annandale, in favour of the monks of Melrose that probably dates to around 1210. This charter conveyed a salt work on the side of the great way (*magna via*) at the church of Rainpatrick. The ground included was bounded on the east by a great ditch, on the south by the sea, and on the west by another salt work already conveyed to the monks by William de Brus. Pertinents of the grant were pasturage for four oxen and a horse, and a right of fuel. The property was subject to the annual burden of a pound of pepper. The other salt work at this point was held of William de Brus for payment of a mark of silver, which, however, he never exacted, and which his son subsequently discharged altogether. The holdings of the Cistercian abbey of Holm Cultram are of interest as there seems to have been a dispute between them and Dundrennan Abbey over the ownership of lands at Conheath and Caerlaverock. A charter dating to before 1174 records an agreement between the two abbeys that on the eastern side of the Nith neither house was to acquire more land without the consent of the other. It would seem that the objection of Dundrennan Abbey, an earlier foundation, led to Holm

Cultram giving up Conheath and Caerlaverock for there is no further mention of these lands in the abbey records (Grainger and Collingwood 1929, 52-3) and the land appears to have passed to the Crown. About 1220, John De Maccuswell (*c*1200-41), sheriff of Roxburgh and Teviotdale, was granted the barony of Caerlaverock by the king.

Recent excavations at Old Caerlaverock Castle by SUAT Ltd certainly never encountered anything that might be connected with a grange (Brann 1999). The Cistercian Abbey at Glenluce is also of great interest for the unique information that it provides for a very sophisticated ceramic water system (Fig 6). This series of redware pipes and junction boxes are only really paralleled at excavations of the Cistercian nunnery of Maubuisson near Paris in France. However, the recent Historic Scotland funded Scottish Redware sourcing project has confirmed that these pipes are not imported and are probably locally manufactured, providing yet further evidence for the high level of technology available to the monastic orders (Haggarty, Hall and Chenery forthcoming).

Fig 6 Ceramic water pipes, Glenluce Abbey Museum (© Derek Hall)

At the Protestant Reformation of the 1560s, the system of Monastic landholdings in Scotland broke down completely and was then divided up amongst new landowners. This must have been a bit like winning the lottery as many of these lands still retained winnable resources such as coal, lead and salt. I would argue that those parties who claimed to have discovered these resources in the 18th and 19th centuries were really exploiting things that had been discovered and worked by the monastic orders several hundred years before.

Future Research

My interest in monastic industry and landownership came very much on the back of an attempt to try and see whether pottery manufacture in Scotland had also been introduced by the monastic orders. However, so far we have not been able to trace any definite evidence of this. In Yorkshire, ceramic tile manufacture is certainly known on Cistercian granges (Eames 1961). Other areas that I think are worthy of future research include bee-keeping: there is one potential structure connected with this at a grange of the Cistercian nunnery of Haddington. Proper investigation and analysis of cultivation terraces, particularly those on lands for which it is possible to identify a monastic ownership, would be vital for understanding how these features were being used. Medieval mills are also poorly researched: many of them lie on monastic landholdings and would have formed an important part of the system of production and distribution of the crops from the granges. The Historic Scotland funded gazetteers of monastic granges and industries have only really scratched the surface and have started to form a base level of data that can be expanded and checked in future years. A properly funded research excavation of a monastic grange is the only way of beginning to understand how these centres operated. I hope that the publication of the complete gazetteer in the back of my book 'Scottish Monastic Landscapes' will enable researchers to move this subject on in coming years.

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Table 1

Monastic Granges in Dumfries and Galloway

Nmrs Number	**Nmrs Name**	**Type of Site**	**Monastery (if known)**	**SAM/ Listed**
	Annan		Guisborough Priory (Augustinian) *OSA*[2]	
NX64NE NX 65 45	Balmangan or Grange of Senwick			
	Caerlaverock		Holm Cultram	
NX59SE NX56 93	Carsphairn		Vaudey Abbey (Cistercian)	
NX76NE 35 NX 798 667	Chapelton Alternative(s): Old Grange Barn [part of Kings Grange?]	Farm-steading		
NX05NE NX 08 56	Culgrange			
NY17SW NY 112 749	Dormont Grange			
NS80NW NS 80 07	Eliock Grange			
NX64NE NX 680 470	Grange (Trail)		Trail Priory (Augustinian) *OSA*	
NX98NW NX98SW	Grange (Dalswinton)			
NX98NW 7 NX 926 850	Grange (Friarscarse)	Religion/ 'Monastery'	Melrose Abbey (Cistercian)	
NY28SW NY 234 828	Grange (Tundergarth)			
NX76NE 36 NX 791 670	Grange Farm (Urr) [part of Kings Grange?]	Farmhouse; Farm-steading		
NX35NE NX 36 57	Grange of Bladnoch			
NX45NE NX 45 59	Grange of Cree			

2 Old Statistical Account.

Nmrs Number	Nmrs Name	Type of Site	Monastery (if known)	SAM/ Listed
NX98SE NX 95 80	Grange of Holywood		Holywood Abbey (Premonstratensian)	
NX86NE	Grange of Kirkgunzeon		Holm Cultram Abbey (Cistercian)	
NX97NE	Grange of Lincluden		Lincluden Collegiate Church (formerly Lincluden Nunnery, Benedictine)	
NX88SE	Grangemylne (Dunscore) [part of Grange (Friarcarse)?]		Melrose Abbey (Cistercian)	
NX76NE 37 NX 785 671	Kings Grange	Country House		
NX46SW 8	Mains of Penninghame Alternative(s): Penninghame Hall; Howe Ha'	Grange (Possible) Moat	Bishop of Galloway?	
NY07SE NY 053 734	Mouswald Grange Alternative(s): Brocklehurst Farm			
NX96NE 33	Shambellie Grange Alternative(s): Shambellie Grange, Archway	Residential	Dumfries and Galloway	L
NY26NW NY 230 682	Stapleton Grange			
NX76SW NX 733 622	Threave Mains Alternative(s): Threave-Grange			
NT10NW 11	Walls Frenchland	Moated Site	Knights Templar?	
NY29NE 12	Watcarrick Alternative(s): Chapel of Watcarrick	Funerary; Religion	Dumfries and Galloway	SAM 4720

Table 2

Industrial sites

Name	Abbey	Order	NGR	NMR	Industry
Salt Pans Bay, Galdenoch	None known	N/A	NW 9645 6160	NW96SE 11	Salt
Salt Pan Bay, Aries	None known	N/A	NW 964 974	NW96SE 18	Salt
Saltpans, Ardwell	None known	N/A	NX 070 472	NX04NE 30	Salt
Chapel Rossan	None known	N/A	NX 1090 4505	NX14NW 10	Salt
Saltpan Point, Port William	None known	N/A	NX 337 432	NX34SW 6	Salt
Saltpan rocks, Sandy Hills	None known	N/A	NX 892 548	No entry	Salt
Colvend	Holm Cultram Abbey	Cistercian	NX 8687 5280	NX85SE 9	Salt and copper
Saltcot Hills	None known	N/A	NY 0535 6516	NY06NE 16	Salt
Powfoot to Browwell	None known	N/A	NY 1465 to NY 0867	NY16NW 42	Salt
Wanlockhead	Newbattle Abbey	Cistercian	NS 87 13	NS81SE 2, 87, 13	Lead
Redkirk Point (Rainpatrick)	Melrose Abbey	Cistercian	NY 3010 6503	NY36NW 5	Salt
Preston	Melrose Abbey	Cistercian	NY 950 550	No entry	Salt
Salterness	Melrose Abbey	Cistercian	NY 9760 5430	No entry	Salt
Lochindello	Melrose Abbey	Cistercian	Unlocated	No entry	Salt

EVIDENCES FOR 'LOST' THIRTEENTH-CENTURY ENCLOSURE/COURTYARD CASTLES IN SOUTH-WEST SCOTLAND: AN OVERVIEW ASSESSMENT AND SURVEY.

Richard Smith[1]

Scottish stone courtyard castles: wider context and historiography

An extensive range of material exists on the development of castles in the British Isles from the now debated spread of the 'feudal system' following the Norman Conquest of England. The long observed transition from earth-and-timber to stone keep to castle of enclosure, while over-simplification, yet broadly bears out in studying the principal castles of Crown, Lordship, and Church (Episcopal palaces). In Scotland, the picture has been long recognised as differing, owing in part to the delayed then only partial settlement by aggrandising Canmore kings of the proverbial castle-building 'Norman' knights. Their Bayeux Tapestry depicted mottes or one of its variants, concomitant of the charter-recorded knights-fee, still dot rural Lowlands especially Galloway, evincing a process resembling colonisation of parts of Wales and Ireland.

Following delayed appearance, Scotland's subsequent deviation, or 'missing link' in castle chronology concerns an absence of the impressive Norman-Angevin era keeps whose remains grace landscapes from Northumbria to Devon. There are indications such structures once stood at the key royal fortresses of Edinburgh, Roxburgh and the Bishops castle of Kinneddar but with no known Lordship examples. This contrasts with over a hundred extant or recorded elsewhere in Britain and Ireland, a deficit appreciated from the era of pioneer castle studies onwards (MacGibbon & Ross, 1887, Vol. I, 62; Mackay Mackenzie, 1927, 70-71; Cruden, 1963, 15, 18). It can seem bewildering, given similarly late-arrival knights' quick replacement of earth-and-timber with stone keep in Ireland, for example impressively evident today in c.1175 work at Hugh de Lacy's Trim (Co. Meath) and John de Courcy's Carrickfergus (Co. Antrim).

The subsequent developed 'courtyard' castle of Plantagenet times, while represented in Scotland, can appear yet a modest collection. A showpiece group comprises a half-dozen in State care. One might add the largely surviving 13th century seaboard castles of Gaeldom. As long acknowledged, however, these mostly represent a distinct cultural/ethnic, including building, tradition, having traditionally received separate analysis, recently so by Fisher and by Caldwell and Ruckley (see bibliography).

Long before the emergence of a Scottish castle discipline, antiquarian enthusiasts were unearthing evidences of 'lost' stone courtyard castles, the majority destroyed during the early 1300s – in survey scope occurring at Carstairs and Wigtown during the early 1800s. Again in the South-West, much more recent digs have uncovered further pieces of the jigsaw: Brodick, Dundonald, Caerlaverock 'Old' and Buittle; plus, in relation, the anomalous Elderslie. Meantime, studies more nationwide in scope, e.g. by Young (2005) and also Oram (2005), have explored groupings of (in popular castle literature) often overlooked 13th century Lordship and Episcopal castles respectively, if with emphasis on the North-East.

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But if findings would cumulatively argue a better case for the castles of Scotland's 'Golden Age', their large-scale absence can still seem a given. Discounted is a former explanation of the 'poverty' of the Scottish realm, clearly contradicted by remains at contemporary Lordship-endowed religious houses, e.g. Sweetheart, Dundrennan, Glenluce, Crossraguel, Kilwinning and Paisley – all within survey bounds. More recently and credibly, another has been suggested by Watson (2005, 27-28, 40): distinct factors fostering a lack of 'inclination' to build them. This, however, in a piece largely concerning the heartland and moreover indigenous Earldom of Strathearn (although Watson applies the observation more widely). A comparative study of the South-West encounters more complex factors involved in castle construction (and disappearance), requiring its own analysis.

Study-survey remit and regional scope

This study-survey aims to reconstruct a broad picture of 'classic' (i.e. stone courtyard/enclosure) castle representation across South-West Scotland up until the era of commonplace Wars of Independence destruction. While not seeking to overturn the 'minimalist' model by positing a host of vanished Conways and Kidwellys, nevertheless it is contended a more conventional castle picture existed before the destruction watershed and subsequent take-off of Scotland's tower-house tradition than is easily appreciated. Inconspicuous remains, documentary reference, and mounting archaeological evidence all converge in pointing to this.

At the early 1100s outset of Scotland's castle story, a line approximately from Dumfries to Ayr then the coast north was virtually a frontier for the kingdom-building MacMalcolms (Barrow, 1981, 112-115). The construction of royal castles and creation of large provincial Lordships (fitzAlan and de Moreville in Renfrewshire and Ayrshire respectively) reflected perceived Gaelo-Norse and Galwegian threats to the west and south (Barrow, 1980, 52, 62, 64-68, 79-84). Similar concerns underlay the early Brus grant of Annandale, whose lands came to eventually include Carrick (caput Turnberry castle). With eventual subjugation of Galloway, Crown and incoming Lordship castles extended to Wigtownshire.

Not least for expediency, most if not all were simply earth-and-timber in initial form (Turnberry, and a late Wigtown probable exceptions – see survey entries), typically centred on a large motte, itself often adapting natural features. During the 13th century, prestige and practicality saw many wooden castles rebuilt in stone, frequently altering existing earthworks – as seen notably in the West by the ascendant fitzAlans (Stewarts) at Dundonald. Meanwhile, substantial masonry royal castles were erected at Ayr, quite probably Rutherglen, Dumfries, Kirkcudbright and Wigtown. With a Church reorganised on continental 'Roman' lines, Bishops acting as key Crown men formed the third component in the new order – the late Nick Bogdan's 'Scottish Episcopal Palaces Project' having shown the sophistication of several Bishops' castles in the North-East (significantly the vanished Kinneddar). However, following 1980s excavation of Glasgow Bishop's Castle, confirmed as largely timber until the late 14th century, the South-West's only probable pre-1300 Episcopal stone courtyard castle appears to have been Carstairs.

Lower down the 'feudal pyramid', lines of smaller mottes in present-day North Ayrshire, South Lanarkshire, Eastern Dumfriesshire and Galloway attest clusters of incoming knights. Survival of charters relating to small, often sub-fief, lordships confirms this in cases. Motte groups like those surveyed in Upper Clydesdale by Tabraham and in Eastern Dumfriesshire by the Royal Commission served simultaneously as buffer zone and potential launch pad for invasion and counter-invasion. Their more usual frontier-policing role contrasted with knights settling on small and typically fertile pockets of land in secure Lothian – infeltment was almost systematic but mottes are relatively few. Unlike many Crown and principal Lordship mottes, none received more than rudimentary stone defences during the period concerned, and when not abandoned sometimes supported timber halls through Late-Medieval times. They are not included within the survey.

RENFREWSHIRE

Renfrew NS 509679 & NS 513675

The latter site is associated with Walter fitzAlan, steward of David I. The term 'King's Inch' suggests an islet or peninsula in the then wide and shallow Clyde. It was possibly a ringwork variation, noted in the 1970s by Talbot (and since elaborated upon by Alexander) as seemingly favoured over the motte within this wider lordship. Walter founded Paisley Abbey and by 1163 his son Alan had founded a Cluniac priory in Renfrew. A 2005 small-scale excavation by GUARD during Braehead shopping centre development uncovered remains of a 15th century building at the Inch site. Traditionally such existed there by that era, in turn having been overlain by Elderslie House.

During the 13th century, the castle moved to a more central position (NS 509679), one subject to repeated post-medieval overlay (now 'Castlehill Park'). As Tabraham noted (1997, 38-39), based on related fitzAlan works in England (e.g. Clun, Arundel), and more pertinently Renfrewshire fitzAlan undertakings at Brodick and Dundonald, as principal caput in their baronial burgh Renfrew castle was likely substantial.

The stones were eventually removed for soap-works, while in 1838 the Statistical Account mentions old people recalling a stone-lined ditch around the site. A resistivity survey of 1996 indicated stone foundations, while a test trench uncovered the rubble core of a possible curtain wall and 12th-14th century pottery fragments.

Elderslie 'Wallace's castle' NS 442630

Late 1990s trial excavations in an area adjacent to the Wallace memorial confirmed early map indications of a huge (100m by 90m) moated enclosure formerly at the site. Not a stone courtyard castle in conventional terms, yet a crude rubble wall with perhaps timber upper portions had round corner 'bastions', the structure dated to the late 13th or early 14th century. Any link with William Wallace is tenuous.

NORTH AYRSHIRE

Ardrossan NS 232423

Built on a coastal promontory, its approach cut off with a stone-lined ditch, while the layout of this surviving ruin is essentially late 13th century, most work represents 14-15th century rebuild.

Lying within the de Moreville lordship partitioned c.1200, the de Ros builders are also associated with Portencross. A plan restricted by site nonetheless assumed an approximately 30m square, with a simple rectangular gatehouse rebuilt from the first-floor level up following 1300s destruction. Clearly visible is the blocking of this gateway, now pierced by a 16th century gunloop.

Brodick NS 016379

1970s maintenance at this National Trust property on the E coast of Arran, in appearance a castellated mansion of the 16th-19th centuries, revealed portions of an entrance to a 13th century rectangular courtyard castle. Built by a fitzAlan junior-branch, it represented a bridgehead in the 'Winning of the West' process as described by Barrow (1980, 1981).

This entrance was originally flanked by a single large drum tower, its stump incorporating the lower portion of a fish-tail crosslet. A large barbican was added c.1300, a portion of which survives. More of the entrance tower appears in a depiction of 1844. Several small-scale recent excavations and a geophysical survey found no other structure of note. However, debris, including sandstone blocks from the demolished 13th century stronghold emerged along with indications of a wide ditch.

Irvine NS 319391

Caput of the de Moreville Cunningham lordship formed c.1160 and partitioned after 1196, the site is also associated with the signing of the Treaty of Irvine a century later. Limited investigations (1996 and 2000) in and around the present, mostly 16th century, Seagate Castle found nothing to indicate a stone predecessor. While alternative locations have been suggested (Simpson and Stevenson, *Scottish Burgh Survey: Irvine*, 1980, 22-23), these were probably never more than mottes.

EAST AYRSHIRE

Dundonald NS 364345

Excavations of 1986-93 revealed evidence of a fairly sophisticated 13th century courtyard castle begun by Alexander Stewart (great-grandson of Walter fitzAlan) upon a lowered and partly natural motte-and-bailey predecessor. Alexander had travelled on pilgrimage in northern France, seeing firsthand state-of-the-art baronial strongholds, notably Coucy-le-chateau. Given Dundonald's elevated position only a few miles inland, a lingering Viking

threat (only finally ended with the Battle of Largs in 1263) possibly influenced the scale of defence.

A portion of the plinth course from one gatehouse tower had been long visible, incorporated in the later tower-block. This twin-towered gateway was one of two, foundations of the other uncovered during excavations with the pair having been linked in an enclosure wall with mural towers. The D-shaped towers of the excavated gatehouse were 11m wide, flanking a 12m long entrance pend. Probably never completed, Dundonald resembled a scaled-down and asymmetrical version of Rhuddlan in north Wales. The Historic Scotland guidebook contains a conjectural reconstruction drawing. A Scottish Archaeological Journal monograph of 2006 (Ewart, G. & Pringle, D.) details the excavations in full.

SOUTH AYRSHIRE

Ayr NS 335222

No trace of the medieval castle remains, apart from perhaps reused stones in the fragment of a later Cromwellian fort. William I is known to have built a castle at the mouth of the River Ayr in 1197, a nationally strategic site providing access to Carrick and Galloway, the Irish Sea (Anglo-Norman Ulster, and Mann), and the Gaelo-Norse Western Seaboard. The initial castle was almost certainly earth-and-timber; however, its importance and low-lying site probably occasioned stone rebuild within a century. While an early burgh seal depicting a courtyard with towers may be artistic licence, yet the donjon-like portrayal of one suggests some attempt at representation. However, with occupation long continuing (including a 16th century French garrison) later reports of portions visible within the fort (Object Name Book) allow for little interpretation.

Loch Doon NX 488948 (NX 485950)

Loch Doon, or Baliol Castle, stood on Castle Island until partial 1930s removal to the shore. Now shorn of later accretions, it forms an enclosure of eleven unequal sides (original site restrictions hampering symmetry) built in the 13th century of quality ashlar; one face was pierced by an arched entrance (a postern opposite). Badly damaged, it was restored with rubble-work perhaps during the 16th century when a tower-house was added. When re-erected, the latter was not included. Occasionally the base of the original islet with *in situ* remains surfaces during drought.

Turnberry NS 965072

On a low rocky coastal promontory are lower courses of an enclosure wall and fragments within. The site is now dominated by an early 1870s lighthouse, being approachable over the private golf course track. More was extant when MacGibbon and Ross surveyed the castle in the 1880s, but still visible are coves over which the curtain formerly carried, these serving as small sheltered harbours with stairs leading to the inner court. The pioneer-

ing duo also described a 'partly circular' keep, very little of which survives. From their plan this was near D-shaped, a rare form. In light of Turnberry's probable builder – or at least keep and (disappeared) gatehouse added to a plain curtain (charters record the castle as in existence before 1200 and timber would not have been practical for construction on such a site) – the influence of Helsmsley Castle in Yorkshire is inferable. Its c.1200 keep is D-shaped, and de Brus (Bruce) relatives of the Carrick Bruces held estates around Helmsley, having links with successive Espec and de Roos owners (Clarke Holt, 1997, 91). Turnberry was reputedly destroyed by Robert Bruce in the early 1300s to prevent enemy occupation.

LANARKSHIRE

Glasgow Bishop's Palace NS 602656

This site, excavated during 1987-88 by SUAT, now underlies the open area immediately west of the Cathedral. A mid-18th century print shows a large tower-house and enclosing courtyard wall of late-medieval appearance (all demolished in 1789). The excavation found a ditch and timbers representing a late 12th century ringwork. A favoured early form of Episcopal residence, the ringwork offered some defence while lacking the overt military associations and physical presence of the motte. Stone foundations corresponding to the print were verified as later-medieval. Unlike Episcopal palaces elsewhere (e.g. Spynie, Fetternear, Kineddar, St Andrews) it appears here the 12th century earth-and-timber residence did not give way to a regular castle of enclosure.

Mains NS 628562

The earthwork on elevated ground N of the restored tower-house likely represents the 12th century caput of incoming knight Roger de Valoins, soon afterwards becoming a Comyn possession. A D-shaped promontory and double-ditch are suggested as representing an earlier construction phase. Of interest within study scope, however, are reports of foundations still visible in 1793 (NSA). If these represented a former enclosing curtain it would have nonetheless have been a simple structure. Whatever stood on the site was later demolished to facilitate construction of the tower-house complex.

Rutherglen NS 615618

Another site overlain by centuries of urban development, here former position now approximates to the junction of Castle Street and King Street. Rutherglen was made a royal burgh during the reign of David I and almost two centuries later housed an English garrison who successfully repelled several assaults before eventual capture in 1313. Occupied until the 16th century, the origin of one 'ancient tower' with 'very thick walls' mentioned in 1839 (NSA) can only be conjectured. This was apparently one of several, in light of which and the siege activity suggests a possible early stone courtyard castle.

Bothwell NS 688593

Like Ardrossan, while substantial pre-1300 portions survive, brief inclusion here aids wider survey context. Here the site of the Olifards earlier motte was abandoned by new owner Walter de Moravia for one in a loop of the Clyde. It is widely appreciated that of the large 13th century courtyard castle planned (Coucy again reputedly the blueprint), only the huge donjon was completed. And although part of the adjoining enceinte was raised the following century, by which time the donjon was half-demolished, the larger remaining portion, including a massive twin-towered gateway, never rose above a few feet.

Lanark Castle NS 879433

Considered an important castle of in the reign of David I, the site is a large partly natural motte, long disfigured by modern activity. The Scots parliament is known to have met here three times in the 1290s, with Bruce capturing the castle in 1310. Given its size and royal status, a large summit of around 50m diameter could conceivably have supported a shell-keep of Restormel (Cornwall) proportions. Yet a small excavation of 1977 by Lanark Archaeological Society prior to the construction of a bowling club house revealed no foundations. And while the area examined was limited, it is unlikely a stone castle of enclosure ever existed here.

Carstairs Bishop's Palace NS 940462

A raised rectangular area and part of an adjacent field are believed to be the site of a 12th century castle of the Bishops of Glasgow. The settlement reputedly took its name from 'castel de terra', literally 'castle of earth', perhaps initially a low motte. Charters were dated there by bishops in 1245 and 1294. Importantly, it is known a new castle was begun in 1286, its licence to crenellate dated 1292. It housed an English garrison in 1302 when Carstairs was considered a superior defence to Lanark. Nineteenth century investigators recorded 'old walls and 'Gothic' stonework' (OS Name Book, 1859) and elsewhere a 'canon bullet' embedded in a wall-base beneath the surface. Traditional associations of the site with a Roman fort can be discounted, the remains more probably representing a small enclosure castle of the type appearing at Episcopal residences elsewhere by c.1300 (e.g. surviving at Achadun, Lismore).

Douglas Castle NS 842318

In a similar scenario to Dalswinton, here one single corner tower of a 17th century structure eventually built on the medieval castle site indicates former lordly presence – in this instance Douglases descended from an incoming Flemish knight. While a mention of the castle occurs in 1288, whether this – the structure whose English garrison was allegedly attacked and its (internal?) buildings burnt down in 1307 – was in essence a stone enceinte, is unknown. Over five centuries of successive demolition and rebuilding, then near-complete destruction after mining subsistence had rendered the structure dangerous, present obvious challenges in any investigation into the early castle's form.

DUMFRIESSHIRE

Tibbers NX 863982

Within the Drumlanrig estate and heavily overgrown by obscuring foliage, the site is a promontory overlooking the west bank of the Nith, defended on its landward approach by a rock-cut ditch. A largely ploughed-out rampart and ditch further out enclosed a bailey. This was doubtless the 'Mote de Tibris', perhaps lowered for the construction of the stone castle in the mid-later 13th century. The suggested builder is Sir Richard Siward, Sheriff of Dumfries, in the late 13th century. Edward I stayed at the castle in 1298 following his victory at Falkirk, and in 1302 he granted £100 for building/repair work. Slighted around 1313, a future part-rebuilding possibly occurred as the castle's burning is recorded during the 1540s Rough Wooing.

An oblong enclosure approximately 36m by 26m transversely survives to a maximum height of 3.5m. Despite the elevated and restricted position, thin-walled 4.5m diameter circular corner towers were built at all four angles, one of these being flanked by an additional D-shaped tower, the 2.6m wide entrance placed in between (the effect a basic form of twin-towered gatehouse). An excavation of 1864 found two Edward II coins and other artefacts.

Auchencass NT 063035

On an elevated setting, overlooking a ravine to the S, this sizeable castle of enclosure is dated to the mid 13th century, with later adaptations notably for artillery. Initial builders were the Kilpatricks, again moving their caput from a nearby motte. Probably the Douglases were responsible for the gun-age remodelling, corresponding with work at Threave.

Encroaching conifer plantations now detract somewhat from its former setting. However, an in-depth survey for the RCAHMS Eastern Dumfriesshire inventory greatly aids interpretation of the entire site. Today surviving only in lower portions, an enceinte approximately 46m square has towers at the angles. In its first stage only the largest of these – the circular NW tower – was built, flanking an entrance as at Tibbers, but here fronted by an unusual dog-leg forework. The curtain was later lowered and thickened with rubble and earth and other roughly D-shaped angle towers added – all most likely during the artillery period. An extensive system of outworks also underwent redesign over two centuries, and possibly still later along with features of the ruins in suggested use as a Romantic folly.

Dalswinton NX 943841

The ruins of Dalswinton castle were cleared in estate improvements and mansion house construction in 1785. Portions surviving seven years later were described as between 12 to 14 feet thick (NSA, 1841). Another location of Roman association, here the Comyns built a castle some time after receiving the lordship in 1212. In the 17th century, what later became known as 'Dalswinton Old House' was erected close to the old walls, this

building being itself demolished except for the circular stair tower (again retained as a Romantic feature). This now stands between two mounds. That to the N, the larger and landscaped around which a drive winds, is crowned by the succeeding Georgian-era Dalswinton House. This is undoubtedly the site of the principal stone castle. Nonetheless the other, flat-topped, mound to the SE has the appearance of scarping (or alternatively, much later landscaping?), conceivably supporting an initial timber castle, though lacking a ditch which however may have been filled in the 17th century. Near its base on the W side are signs of a rubble wall core of uncertain date, while to its S is the intriguing (now-drained) 'Comyn's pool'.

Caerlaverock 'Old' NY 027655

The remains of what is now verified as predecessor to the present triangular-shaped late 13th century fortress lie in woods closer to the Solway. Surrounded by a ditch fed formerly from a burn, overgrown foundations of a roughly parallelogram enclosure with three off-set rectangular angle-towers once prompted differing interpretations – including that of a 14th century temporary castle. However late 1990s excavations revealed its short sequential development – since comprehensively detailed in the *Transactions* monograph publication *Excavations at Caerlaverock Old Castle 1998-9*.

In brief: The stone structure initially comprised a small (10.5m x 7.5m) stone hall, soon augmented by a curtain wall. This modest enceinte enclosed a court some 27m square. Of three angle-towers added, one sizeable plinth-course of dressed stone was unearthed. Other discoveries included an original timber-phase, remains of a small harbour, and a ditch-and-bank enclosure to the SW, perhaps serving as a bailey. The sequence of stone-build at 'Old' Caerlaverock is suggested as c.1220-1270, before erosion resulted in abandonment to the extant castle site. Lords throughout were the Maxwells.

Lochmaben 'Old' NY 082822

Forerunner of the quadrangular mid-14th century English campaign castle across Castle Loch, this large and partly natural motte-and-bailey became the caput of the Bruce lordship of Annandale following the abandonment of Annan castle around 1166. A ditch originally encircling the motte has been partly destroyed by the modern road, with the bailey much disfigured by buildings and a golf course. Within survey remit, a 'bastion-like mound' showing rubble and mortar seems however unlikely to indicate any structure of significance.

Dumfries 'Castledykes' NX 978747

Dumfries became a royal burgh following the death of Radulf, native lord of Strathnith, in 1185-86, 'Castledykes' being thereafter associated with a large motte-and-bailey castle rebuilt during the 1260s. This new castle was apparently of stone; and given site extent plus indications of former (now sub-surface) buildings, would appear to have been of considerable size. The RCAHMS state it unlikely former layout can now be ascertained

– other than earthworks corresponding to the first phase. The proximity of the burgh doubtless saw stone robbing ongoing from Bannockburn-era destruction. More recently, landscaping for Castledykes Park defaced even existing earthwork configuration. And while a small 1953 excavation uncovered some walling, subsequent developments in geophysical survey and the absence of overbuild suggest Castledykes as a prime candidate for investigation.

KIRKCUDBRIGHTSHIRE

Buittle NX 819616

On the west bank of the Urr, downstream from the eponymous Motte, lie fragments and earthworks of a sizeable stone courtyard castle built on a probable site of lordship from the Early Historic period (archaeological finds date from the Neolithic). Recent excavations stopped short of the more conspicuous remains of what served as an inner-ward within a loop in the river, containing a low (or lowered) motte. On its approach side are lower portions of a twin-towered gatehouse formerly faced with ashlar and fronted by a drawbridge (over a cut-ditch) of which the stone-lined pit survives. Around a roughly 40m diameter perimeter are overgrown lower courses of walls and towers, undisturbed since destruction following capture in 1313.

Without excavation, the stone castle sequence (one or two-stage build?) remains uncertain. It is believed to be the undertaking of John Baliol and wife Devorgilla, daughter of Alan Lord of Galloway (d.1239) with Buittle serving as the principal stronghold of extensive estates in eastern Galloway formed c.1240 from Alan's partitioned Lordship. The traditional caput of these lands was remote Burned Island on Loch Ken (NX 658726), a site however more akin to the residence of a Dark Age chief, hardly suitable for a chivalrous feudal magnate with estates and castles in England. Alan himself was possibly the builder of an initial phase – with the towers added by Baliol (a sequence seen at Kildrummy, Rothesay, etc).

Seasonal excavations of 1990-2001 within what approximates to a 2 acre bailey revealed timber and rubble defences around the perimeter. The northern angle of this outer defence, immediately overlooked by higher ground, had a crude but strong rubble revetment, the stepped base of which archaeologists uncovered. Within the bailey was suggested evidence of temporary reoccupation during a brief mid-14th century period of Baliol resurgence. Adjacent to the castle is 'Buittle Place', an L-plan 16th century tower-house.

Kirkcudbright 'Castledykes' NX 677508

In an open area SW of the town are overgrown foundations of a compact but developed courtyard castle, forming approximately an oblong 34m by 23m, of mid-late 13th century build. Once suggested as a campaign castle of Edward I, on precedent elsewhere it was more likely of Scottish royal build. Edward I did stay here, but previously John Comyn was recorded as keeper (1288).

Kirkcudbright was a power-base of Lord Fergus of Galloway until 1160, his residence of 'Castle Fergus', or 'Palace Isle' (NX 698507), surviving as scant earthworks N of the town. A motte subsequently erected in the town (perhaps 'Moat Brae') was possibly abandoned for the Castledykes site, the latter likely also earth-and-timber in its first phase. Excavations of 1911-13 revealed a twin-towered and buttressed gatehouse, and three other towers of which the rearmost was largest (13.5m in diameter), had a solid base, and presumably was intended as a form of donjon. Comparisons exist at contemporary Coull (Durward), Inverlochy (Comyn), and elsewhere where 'mini-donjons' were probably influenced by the grandiose Bothwell and Dirleton examples.

WIGTOWNSHIRE

Cruggleton NX 485428

A dramatically sited promontory castle, one though where destruction, stone-robbing and erosion have all combined to effect near disappearance. The single upstanding fragment represents the vault of a tower-house successor to the 13th century enceinte. However, extensive excavations of 1978-81 enabled comprehensive appreciation of the site's development.

Similar to Buittle, also a likely Early Historic seat of lordship, here the Crown-backed Roland (grandson of Fergus native Lord of Galloway) adapted a restricted natural layout into a form of motte-and-bailey following his subjugation of Eastern Galloway after 1185. The castle then passed to Roger de Quincy, Earl of Winchester, another marrying an heiress of the late Lord Alan. However, the stone castle was almost certainly the work of his son-in-law Alexander Comyn (brother of John Comyn of Badenoch, lord and likely builder of Dalswinton) in the 1260s. Unusually a wall of thick construction with buttress-like towers was laid around the 'motte' base (the same scenario undertaken on a larger scale survives at Farnham in Kent). The largest of these towers on what was another restricted site measured 10m by 15m. An entrance to this compact enclosure had a raisable drawbridge over a re-cut ditch. Like Buittle a huge outer enclosure was defended by a ditch and palisaded rampart, here across the headland on the landward side. Edward Bruce captured the castle in 1308, the customary slighting and subsequent partial reoccupation following.

Wigtown NX 438550

Positioned curiously beneath the medieval town though on a site once at the mouth of the Bladnoch, since 19th century redirection of the river this faint earthwork is sited some 200m inland. A reconstruction drawing on a nearby display board suggests the river filled a ditch still traceable on the castle's N side – giving complete water defence as at Caerlaverock and possibly Buittle. Like these, Wigtown also had a twin-towered gatehouse (not depicted on the conjectural drawing), its robbed wall-core detectable at the W end of what appears as an oval shaped court. A rectangular building, possibly a hall or tower, is indicated by a mound on the S side. No record of Captain McKerlie's 1830s excavation survives; although one suspects this opening up of the site resulted in further quarry use for the nearby harbour.

Wigtownshire was established as a Sheriffdom around 1247, the stone castle likely commensurate with this. Edward I considered it sufficiently important to control in 1291. In common with regional counterparts, the castle was reputedly captured and destroyed by Bruce forces.

Miscellany: Penninghame Bishop's Palace (?) NX 409605, etc.

A tentative entry, as whether an Episcopal residence existed here, though reputed, cannot be verified. However, OS reports of traces of stone around a small courtyard, the whole within a large ditched enclosure (itself suggested elsewhere as a ringwork), may represent a modest example of what by c.1300 existed at Bishop's palaces elsewhere. By the later medieval period the residence allegedly moved to Clary.

The 'Bishop's Palace' site at Whithorn (NX 445404) probably never progressed beyond ringwork (or similar) stage, with nothing unearthed to suggest a former stone enclosure on its long-cultivated site. Crossing back into the Stewartry (Girthon parish) – survey indicates the huge oval moated site of 'Palace Yard' (NX 614544) may have centred (at an uncertain date) around a stone hall, but with its enclosing wall likely only timber/rubble. This site is another of Bishop (in this case also Abbot) association.

Conclusion

Evidences from diverse sources gather to suggest a more positive across-the-board picture for 13th century 'Golden Age' Scottish castles than the eye and thus perhaps popular perception appreciates. Admittedly while in overall British Isles context any comparison will likely remain substandard, it may prove adequate in regions if the largely 'lost' castles of the South-West and North East are considered. Overall across the south-western regions here discussed, a figure of around 20 stone pre-c.1300 stone courtyard castles conforming to standard castle typology seems plausible. Only three or four survive in anything near recognisable form, complete or near-disappearance having been the more customary fate.

The factors behind standard disappearance reflect events, exigencies, even tastes, in the nation's subsequent history. In Galloway, these produced the huge tower-house at Threave, elsewhere witnessed inferior structures built by new lords upon slighted and abandoned Cruggleton and Buittle, and in Ayrshire even saw a monarch construct a tower-house over remains of an ancestral courtyard castle (Dundonald). In urban locations especially, following early 1300s serial destruction – a topic examined recently by Cornell (2008; however his classing of Lochmaben amongst "powerful stone castles", p.36, surely represents oversight or confusion of the two sites) – centuries of quarry use and/or town overlay played their part in the process of physical and psychological removal. This contrasts with the common situation of surviving ruins in English county towns, representing castles varyingly patched up and adapted for changing use (including typically gaol) through the Early-Modern period

Conversely, the sources mentioned (chiefly survey or excavation) combine to the exclusion of other sites, notably Glasgow, Irvine, Lanark and Lochmaben – all earth-and-timber

during the period reviewed. Given its powerful Bruce builders (Corser, 2005), if the last-named example appears to support the 'lack of inclination' notion, still more the seeming absence of any 12th century keep – even a modest example as built by incoming knights in Cumbria – proves the biggest disappointment for any revisionist assessment. However, evidences indicate twin-towered gatehouses – a hallmark of developed 13th century castles elsewhere – as formerly standard in the South-West. And while complete disappearance and urban overlay at many sites renders future investigation unlikely, geophysical survey and/or excavation (small-scale or watching brief) remains a possibility at several.

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Topical, given recent (2008) highlighting in lecture and article by Jane Murray of the RCAHMS, extensive use of the Royal Commission's on-line 'Canmore' database has been here heavily employed, especially in compiling the survey. Canmore entries provide collated information from reports of excavation referred to in the text, details of any *OSA, NSA*, etc, mention; plus other bibliographic references ranging from antiquarian sources to the *Scottish Burgh Survey: the archaeological implications of development* series (authors several, and worth perusing in survey context for Ayr, Irvine, Glasgow, Rutherglen, Lanark, Lochmaben, Dumfries, Kirkcudbright, and Wigtown). Separately consulted works have been primarily as follows:

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THE ORIGIN OF THE IRVINGS

by Alastair Maxwell-Irving, FSA, FSAScot.[1]

According to various past versions of 'family tradition', the Irvings are descended from Duncan of Eskdale, a younger brother of "Crinus (or Crine) Erevine", Abthane of Dule and Hereditary Abbot of Dunkeld, the son of Duncan (d.1045), Abthane of Dule, and father of the King Duncan I who was slain by Macbeth in 1040. This younger brother, Duncan, is reputed to have settled in Eskdale, in the Borders, after the battle of Carham-on-Tweed c.1020 and been the father of the first Eryvine of Bonshaw and Dumbretton ('The fort of the Britons'), in Kirtleside. It has, moreover, been claimed that this Eryvine married an heiress of the ancient British line of Coel Hen, and was the ancestor of all the Border Irvings.[2]

It makes a good story, around which many a tale has been woven, and to which many embellishments have been added over the generations; but there is not a grain of truth in it so far as the Irvings are concerned; it is pure fantasy, apparently originating from the erroneous reference by at least one early historian, John Major,[3] in 1521 to 'Eryvino Abathano de dul', when he meant 'Crinan, Abthane of Dull' — spelling not being considered important in those days. Such traditions were readily accepted in the past for what they were: stories to be told and retold over a winter fire from one generation to the next; and to be fair, many old traditions do have at least a grain of truth buried in them somewhere. Modern research, for example, has shown that Homer's story of Helen of Troy, which has often been questioned in the past, is indeed based on fact, though not quite in the way that the film-makers of Hollywood would have us believe. But the story of the Irvings' arrival in the Borders does not fall into this category. For one thing, surnames themselves were unknown in Scotland at this early date; they did not appear until Norman families were introduced into the country early in the 12th century, and the Norman custom of bearing territorial names caught on.

The story of the Irvings' origin first appeared under the aegis of Dr Christopher Irvine (1618-1693), Historiographer Royal to Kings Charles II and James II, who 'compiled' a history of his own family in 1678: *The Original of the Family of the Irvines or Erinveines*.[4] It was written for his brother, Sir Gerrard Irvine of Ardscragh, Co. Tyrone, the year after he was created a baronet.[5] Earlier, Sir Gerrard had restored Castle Irvine, in County Fermanagh, which had been laid waste during the Civil War, and with a baronetcy now to his name he wanted to know his family's history. In a letter accompanying his history, Dr Irvine wrote: 'The following short account of the family of the Irwines I have extracted from the ancient histories and the records which I, as Historiographer of Scotland, from the earliest to the present times have the full perusal of, and from divers authentic manuscripts

1 Telford House, Blairlogie, Stirling FK9 5PX

2 Copy of manuscript history by Dr Christopher Irvine, dated 1678, given by Capt. J. D'Arcy Irvine, RN, to Col. John Beaufin Irving of Bonshaw in 1901; Irving, J. Beaufin. *The Book of the Irvings* (1907); papers of John Bell Irving of Beanlands (d.1916); and various other fanciful sources (mostly Victorian) too numerous to list.

3 Major, J History of Greater Britain (1521), 95.

4 Irvine, Dr. C. *MS. History (supra).*

5 *Burke's Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies* (1841), 609

communicated to me (many of which are still in my hands) by persons of honour both of that family and others, so that the vouchers are as authentic as can be expected in a work of the nature. I have given an epitome of the most remarkable passages and persons of that family – though a much longer account might be expected from me were I at leisure from my other occupations to procure it'. He adds: 'I have run up our Genealogy of the House of Bonshaw no higher than Christopher of Bonshaw, slain at the battle of Flodden Field. The genealogy of that House (from the settling on the border) being still extant, an attested copy of which I have now by me'.[6] It is most unlikely that his history was ever intended for publication.

Dr. Irvine spun a good story, which included, amongst many other details, the Erinvines being driven out of their palace at Irvine, in Cunninghame, by the Romans in the 4th century AD; their subsequent exile in Scandinavia; the establishment of a branch of the family in Hungary; the restoration of their lands in Albion by Fergus II in 404; the importance of Crinus Erevine, Abthane of Dule; 'David Ervine', Earl of Huntingdon, the brother of Malcolm IV and William the Lyon; the royal line of 'Erevines [who] reigned in Scotland in the male line from the year 1034 to the death of Alexander the Third in 1285 and in right of the females to this day'; the arrival in the Borders of the Irvines, 'brothers to the former abthanes'; the building of 'their first habitation upon the river Esk, between the white and the black Esk, . . . which to this day is called Castle Irvine or Irvine Hall'; and 'from thence by marriage the eldest of that Family got the lands of Bonshaw and many other lands there'.[7]

Would that history were so simple. Around a skeletal framework of real historical personages and somewhat distorted events, he has woven a fantasy of Irving involvement. Where did he get it, and how much of it was his own creation? One can tell from his best known work, *Historiae Scoticae Nomenclatura*, published in 1682,[8] that in those days either he, or his sources, or both, had very imaginative and creative minds! He wasn't going to let facts get in the way of a good story, or be handicapped by lack of them. Instead, he used them as an embellishment. So what do we really know about the early history of the Irvings?

Certainly there was a battle at Carham-on-Tweed in 1018, when Malcolm II defeated the Northumbrians and acquired the Lothians; and around the same time, the king of Strathclyde died, whereupon Malcolm's grandson, Duncan, succeeded to Strathclyde and became 'King of Cumbria', possibly through a dynastic connection.[9] This meant that, when Malcolm died in 1034, the kingdom to which Duncan succeeded encompassed the whole of the mainland of modern Scotland, together with Cumbria. Such a change in the political map of Scotland inevitably led to demographic changes in the population, and it may well be that some of the ancestors of the Irvings, on either the male or female side, moved south to the Borders around that time; but they had no surname that early, and there is no documentary evidence to support who they were, where they came from, or when

6 Copy of letter sent by Dr. Christopher Irvine to his brother, Sir Gerrard Irvine of Ardscragh and Castle Irvine, with his MS. history in 1678.
7 Irvine, Dr. C. *MS. History.*
8 Irvine, Dr. C. *Historiae Scoticae Nomenclatura* (1682) (Reprinted 1819).
9 Dickinson, W. C. *Scotland from the Earliest Times to 1603* (1965), 39.

they arrived. To say more would be pure speculation. And even when surnames did start to come into use a century later, there is no known record of an Irving surname before Robert de Hirewine in 1226;[10] Reginald de Irewyn, a clerk and scholar at Oxford, who received a number of personal payments for expenses from Henry III's consort, Queen Eleanor, in 1252-3;[11] Alan Yrewyne, an envoy sent by the Scottish nobles to Wales in 1258;[12] and Robert de Iruwyn in St. Andrews *c.*1260.[13] The earliest surviving references to Irvings in SW Scotland are John de Herwyne, a tenant of the Douglases in Buittle,[14] and Gilchrist Herwynd, a tenant in Morton,[15] both in 1376, though one Robert de Irwyne had held lands in Berwick prior to 1335.[16] Indeed, there are very few records of anyone or anything in the Borders before the end of the 13th century and the incursions of Edward I, when the records of the English officials give us a much more detailed chronicle of events, albeit through English eyes.

It is, however, around the beginning of the 14th century that another, 'more plausible' tradition appears, even though it has been, and still is, the source of much argument and scepticism. Once again we turn to Dr Irvine's *'Original'*: '[Robert the] Bruce . . . fled [from London] to Scotland where he was joyfully received and crowned in 1306, but being soon after defeated by Edward Longshanks and obliged to fly he came to Bonshaw where he was honourably entertained and took one of the Brethren to attend him, he was his secretary and much in his favour and with him in all his troubles and prosperity to his death in 1329. Whether he was the eldest or what brother he was is not known, he was called Sir William Irvine. To him Robert the Bruce gave the lands of the Forrest of Drum . . .'.[17]

This may have been the source of the tradition that William de Irwyn (he was never knighted), 1st of Drum, was a son of Bonshaw, but the tradition that the Irvines of Drum, in Aberdeenshire, were descended from Bonshaw had long been believed and accepted by that family, and may well pre-date this time. But is it true, and, if not, where did it start, and when? Only now are these traditions being seriously investigated, and challenged. By the 17th century, and possibly a century earlier, it was well established and documented that both families were using arms based on three holly leaves;[18] yet there can be little doubt that the use of holly leaves in the Irving and Irvine arms originated with the Forest of Drum, despite other claims and suggestions.[19] How then did the Irvings of Bonshaw come to be using them too?

The story of Drum's origin at Bonshaw is also repeated in the second volume of Alexander Nisbet's *System of Heraldry* in 1742,[20] but with the qualification by the volume's editor, that 'a great part of this Volume is the memorials of private families, which

10 Black, *The Surnames of Scotland* (1946), 378.
11 Bain, J *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland* (1881-8), I, Nos.1896, 1927.
12 Bain, I, No.2155.
13 Black, 379.
14 Ibid.
15 Ibid.
16 Bain, III, No.1193
17 Irvine, Dr. C. *MS. History.*
18 Irvine, James M *Study of the Arms of the Irvings* (2007), 4.
19 There can be little doubt that, with the Irvines of Drum using holly leaves in their arms, and the Burnetts of Leys using 3 holly leaves and a hunting horn (for the office of forester), holly was chosen to represent the Forest of Drum, which had been divided between the two families.
20 Nisbet, A *A System of Heraldry* (1804 reprint) II, Appendix, 66.

neither Mr. Nisbet nor the publisher are any ways answerable for', which serves to clarify that the history given there — the early part of which is clearly based on Dr. Christopher Irvine's history — was provided by the laird of Drum himself. But whilst the early history of Drum is well known and documented, despite a few uncertainties, that is not true of Bonshaw.

We still do not know for certain what William's original status and origin was. He has been variously referred to as 'armour-bearer',[21] 'secretary',[22] 'auditor'[23] and 'clerk'[24] to Bruce. He certainly served Bruce loyally and well, and in return was rewarded in 1323 with a grant of 'all our forest of Droum outside our park, except the lands of the same forest given to Alexander Burnard [Burnett]',[25] and this was confirmed by another charter the following year granting the lands in free barony.[26] It used to be assumed that the grant included the castle (or royal hunting lodge) of Drum, but it now seems more probable that the castle lay within the excluded 'park' and was not acquired until later.[27] Be that as it may, it is possible that William was not the first Irving on the scene, as one Alexander Irvin is said to have had a grant of part of the park of Drum the previous year.[28] However, neither this grant, nor the supposed date, have yet been confirmed. — Another Irving on record at this time was Sir Robert de Urvyng, who was witness to a crown charter of the lands of Douglas in 1320,[29] but it is not known whether he was related.

Whoever William de Irwyn was, or wherever he came from, he must have been an exceptional man, for, as Lord Lyon George Burnett reported in 1878, he was 'said to have been learned and accomplished to an extent unusual for a layman in that age'.[30] Little is recorded about him at the time he was granted lands in the Forest of Drum,[31] but the *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland* tell us that he was Clerk Register and auditor for the king's accounts four years later, in 1327, when he was paid £20,[32] and in subsequent years until at least 1332, after the accession of David II, when he was still being paid expenses.[33] He is also on record for holding a 'compotum', or financial reckoning, at Glasgow in 1329 for the contributions of the deans for the peace.[34] At the same time, another Irving, one Roger de Irwyn, was in the king's employment as Clerk of the King's Wardrobe. He apparently had lands in Forfarshire, and was presumably related.[35] Roger was paid £10 in 1327,[36]

21 Nisbet, A *A System of Heraldry* (1722) I, 403.
22 Irvine, Dr C. *MS. History.*
23 *The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland* (ERS - 1878) I, lxxv.
24 Ibid, I, 59
25 Spalding Club III (1857), 292; Drum Charters.
26 Ibid.
27 I have no doubt that the lower floors of the castle date from the 13th century and were in all probability built by Alexander III, principally as a hunting lodge; but this is not the place to enter that argument.
28 *Registrum Magni Sigilli* (RMS) I, Appendix 2, Index B, No.54; Robertson, W *Index of Records of Charters* (1798), 17; Forbes Leslie, J *The Irvines of Drum* (1909), 16.
29 Fraser, W *The Douglas Book* (1885) III, 355.
30 ERS I, lxxv.
31 James M. Irvine *(supra)*, who has done extensive research into the Irvines of Drum, has, however, found several early references to "Willielmi Irwing" and "Gullielmi Irwing", which are probably the same person.
32 ERS I, lxxv.
33 ERS I, 428.
34 Bain, III, 316.
35 ERS I, 76.
36 Ibid, 75.

and continued to receive payments until 1331, when he rendered his account for David II's wardrobe for the previous parliament held at Scone.[37]

The Bruces were Lords of Annandale, a territory which had been granted to them by David I in 1124.[38] It was a vast area, which extended from the boundary of Dunegal of Nithsdale's lordship in the west to the boundary of Randulf Meschin's lordship in Cumbria, and it included all the lands around Bonshaw. But there is no mention of 'Bonshaw' or its immediate neighbours this early, nor is there any mention of who occupied the lands. That is a question for which there is as yet no definitive answer, and the same question crops up again nearly two centuries later *(infra)*. Was there a small enclave of Irvings here, as related by tradition, feuars of the Bruces themselves or sub-feuars of some lesser family who answered to the Bruces? One thing is fairly certain: whoever was here would have been known to the Bruces. Did this family produce a young man of outstanding qualities, who attracted the attention of Robert the Bruce and became one of his most trusted and loyal followers? And was such a man William de Irwyn? We know that by that time there were educated Irvings *(supra)*, who were much more than just humble tenants. Whilst we can disregard stories about Bruce's cave at Cove and its spiders as mere fantasies of a romantic mind, traditions that belong far away to the west, the enigma of Bonshaw and its supposed connection with Robert the Bruce is not so easily dismissed. There is too much we do not know.

Moving on for the best part of two centuries, the Irvings of Kirtleside begin to emerge out of the mists into recorded history, but it was a gradual process, the result of more detailed records being kept and surviving. It is sometimes assumed that Bonshaw formed part of the lands forfeited by the Corries after the battle of the Kirtle in 1484, and that prior to this the Irvings were feuars of the Corries, but there is no certainty of this as neither Bonshaw nor its immediate neighbours is mentioned, and it is not known for certain just how far north the Corries' lands extended. All that is known is that, sometime after this date, the lands of Bonshaw appeared under the feudal superiority of the Johnstons of that Ilk, who had been rewarded with much Corrie property (including the lands of Kirkpatrick Fleming and Cavartsholm, immediately to the south-east), and so they remained until the 20th century.[39] The lands around Bonshaw were an 'island', with no certain, earlier owner, and the same appears to have been true of vast areas of moss-land to the east, stretching towards Eskdale, where Irvines also began to be recorded. To the south the feudal superiors were the Corries, to the north the Bells and further to the north-west the Kirkpatricks of Closeburn, who held the lands of Pennersax.

It is at Pennersax, two and a half miles from Bonshaw, that the Irvings first appear on record in the area. As early as 1432, one David Erwyn was witness to a Notarial Instrument by Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick of Closeburn concerning Sir Thomas's lands of Pennersax, and this was done at the 'mansion-house' of Pennersax itself.[40] Nothing more is then heard of this family until 1493, when 'Mathew Irwyne duelland in Pennyrsax' purchased the 23 shillings and four pence worth of the lands of Pennersax, under rever-

37 Ibid, 389.
38 Lawrie, Sir A *Early Scottish Charters* (1905), No.LIV.
39 Reid, R C *The Bonshaw Titles* (TDGNHAS, XXXVII - 1959), 48; Records of Annandale Estates at Raehills.
40 Anderson, J *Calendar of the Laing Charters* (1899), No.109.

sion, from Adam Kirkpatrick of Pennersax.[41] Moreover, Matthew was clearly a man of substance, for he attached his seal, bearing a stork and a stag's head on a shield with the inscription 'S. MATHEI IRUIN'.[42] The lands were later redeemed, and in 1499 granted by Kirkpatrick to Simon Carruthers of Mouswald;[43] and twelve years later, the late (Sir) Simon's son, Simon, received sasine of the lands of Pennersax 'at the house of Matthew Erwing in Penersax'.[44]

The relationship between the Irvings of Pennersax and Bonshaw is not known, but after the battle of the Kirtle in 1484 one William Irving, later of Bonshaw, appeared on the scene. During this battle – a running battle from Lochmaben to the Kirtle – one William Musgrave, a younger son of Sir Thomas Musgrave of Edenhall in Cumbria,[45] was taken prisoner by William Kirkpatrick of Hesilbrae. Kirkpatrick intended to ranson his valuable prisoner for a large sum – 'four score angell nobilis of gold' – , but needed someone with an intimate knowledge of the Border to carry out this enterprise successfully. He chose William Irving; but perhaps through caution, or because he knew William, he took the added precaution of getting Adam Johnston of that Ilk to stand as surety that he would receive the money.[46] For Johnston to agree to this, he must already have had a close relationship with William. Indeed, it may well be that Johnston was William's feudal superior before 1484.[47] In any case, Kirkpatrick's caution was not misplaced, for he never received the gold, and twenty-four years later he successfully sued Johnston for the money.[48] By this time, William Irving is described as 'of Bonshaw' – the very first person so designated. By keeping the money he had dishonestly retained, he would have greatly enhanced his wealth and standing, and it is perhaps worthy of note that Johnston apparently took no action against him. It has even been suggested that the ransom paid for the building of the present tower at Bonshaw, but as this tower, albeit a costly one, was not built until *c.*1570, that cannot be true. What is more likely is that his new-found wealth enabled him to rebuild or improve his existing residence, probably a tower of wood (it and Robgill were 'burnt' by Lord Wharton in 1544),[49] and to acquire additional lands, such as Ecclefechan *(infra)* for himself and his family.

41 *The Buccleugh MSS.* (Historical Manuscripts Commission - 1897), 52.
42 It is worthy of note that holly did not feature on the seal.
43 *Registrum Secreti Sigilli* (RSS - 1908) I, No.498.
44 Buccleugh MSS, 60.
45 Burke's Landed Gentry (1959), 1636.
46 Reid, R C *Bonshaw* (TDGNHAS, XX - 1936), 152.
47 The tragic loss of the Johnstons early charters at Lochwood in 1585 may account for the lack of such evidence (Maxwell-Irving, *The Border Towers of Scotland – The West March* (2000), 197).
48 Reid, *Bonshaw*, 152.
49 Armstrong, R B The History of Liddesdale, Eskdale, Ewesdale, Wauchopedale and the Debateable Land (1883), Appendix XXXVI, lxvi.

Notorial Instrument, dated 5th August 1529, confirming the giving of sasine of the Five Merkland of Boneschaw and the Five Merkland of Dunbratane to Christopher Irving of Boneschaw, 6th August 1522.

References to the Irvings in Kirtleside now become increasingly common. Two years earlier, in 1506, 'William Irving of Boynschaw' acquired the £3 land of Ecclefechan from Lord Herries,[50] and in 1510 (by which time William was presumably dead) 'Edward Irving of Boynschaw' was witnessing a Holmains sasine.[51] But while Dr Christopher Irvine, in his history of the family, states that 'Christopher [Irving] of Bonshaw had the command [of the light horsemen] at the Fields of Flowden in 1513 against the English. . . Here he and all the male Irvines of the House of Bonshaw that were able to carry arms were killed',[52] this has to be treated with great caution, as there is no supporting evidence for this claim, and the name 'Christopher' does not appear to fit with the other records of lairds around this time. The earliest surviving title deed for Bonshaw is a Notarial Instrument, dated 1529, which was drawn up to confirm that Christopher Irving, as son and heir of the deceased Edward Irving of Boneschaw, was infeft in the 5 merkland of Boneschaw and the 5 merkland of Dunbratane in 1522, on precept from the deceased James Johnstoun of that Ilk.[53] Thereafter the history of the Irvings of Bonshaw is recorded history.

At the same time as the Irvings started to appear in the records at Bonshaw, two other branches of the family also started to attract attention elsewhere in the county: the Irvings of Eskdale and the Irvings of Hoddom. They were quite distinct groups and clearly firmly established, showing that Pennersax and Bonshaw were not isolated families, but part of a much wider distribution of the Irvings not on record earlier.

50 Hamilton-Grierson, Sir P & Murray, *A Calendar of Lag Charters* (1958), No.54.
51 Reid, R C *Bonshaw*, 153.
52 Irvine, Dr. C. *MS. History*.
53 Bonshaw Charters, No.2.

The Eskdale family occupied the district between Langholm and Canonbie referred to by Dr. Christopher Irvine,[54] and they may have been there a long time. The earliest mention of them is in 1513, when Sir Christopher Dacre burnt 'the Stakehugh, the Manor Place of Irewyn, and the hamlets down Irewyn Burn' during an English raid;[55] and the following year it was attacked again, this time by Lord Dacre.[56] It stood in the Debateable Land, close to the confluence of the Irvine Burn and the River Esk, and is understood to have been their principal stronghold, though whether it was on the same cliff-top site as the later Auchenrivock Tower has never been established.[57] 'Old Irvine' lies a short distance to the north, and the modern Irvine House at the bottom of the cliff, beside the Esk. The head of this branch of the family was traditionally 'callit Cang', or 'King' in the old Border dialect. During the 16th century, the Irvines and Armstrongs living in the Debateable Land acquired an increasingly bad reputation for lawlessness, which kept them very much in the local news; but it was a struggle for survival in a hostile environment.

Further west, in Annandale, the Irvings of Hoddom enjoyed a certain amount of protection from their feudal superiors, the Lords Herries. But after the Scots' defeat at Flodden in 1513, and the subsequent raids across the Border by the English, the old 'Border Laws' and mutual tolerance rather fell by the wayside, and the Borders became increasingly lawless. The Irvings of Hoddom were not going to be left out, for whatever reason, and by 1517 Lord Dacre was complaining about 'John Irwin, The Duke [of Hoddom], and others making a raid into the Debateable Land'.[58] John was the local chieftain, and his title of 'Duke' came from the Old French and Latin, meaning 'leader'. Thus the heads of the Irving families in both Eskdale and Annandale began to appear in the records with already established, and recognized, 'leaders'. They did not arrive overnight.

The origin of the name 'Irving' itself must remain a subject of conjecture. One source may be the town of Irvine in the Cunningham district of Ayrshire, another the place 'Irvine' in Eskdale, and a third the old parish of 'Irving' in Kirtleside (later part of Kirkpatrick-Fleming). In fact few people took their names from towns; it was more usual to take one's name from one's local place of residence, the parish where one lived, one's trade, or even some personal achievement, characteristic or nickname. Other names, like those of the Norman families, were imported. Even the meaning of the name 'Irving' has been disputed, and there are innumerable known ways of spelling it! Did the Irvings take their name from Irvine in Eskdale, or the parish of Irving, or did they give their name to these places? We shall probably never know. Dr. Christopher Irvine claimed that the name came from the ancient Celto-Scythic 'Erin-veine' or 'Erein-feine', signifying a true or stout Westland man,[59] but the origin of both personal and place names is by no means an exact science, and different etymologists tend to arrive at different answers. What did happen, though, after all the different spellings settled down,[60] was that the most common

54 Irvine, Dr. C. *MS. History*.
55 State Papers, Henry VIII, I, No.4529.
56 Armstrong, 202.
57 Maxwell-Irving, A M T The Border Towers of Scotland –The West March, 65.
58 Irving, J B *The Book of the Irvings* (1907), 27 (from the *State Papers of Henry VIII*).
59 Irvine, Dr C. MS. *History*.
60 One of the writer's Irving ancestors in Dumfries in the 17th century had his name spelt five different ways in the same deed!

spellings became: ‘Irving’ in the Borders and the Shetland Isles; ‘Irvine’ in Aberdeenshire, the Orkneys and Ireland, including direct descendants of Irving of Bonshaw; ‘Irwin’ in Cumbria and Ireland; and ‘Irwing’ in Scandinavia and on the Continent.

GLENSTOCKEN, GUTCHER'S ISLE, COLVEND

Jane Brann[1], Nic Coombey[2] and Geoffrey Stell[3]

This article illuminates the history of a rare survival of a 17th century farmstead, variously known as 'Glenstocken', 'Glenstocking', and 'Nether town of Glenstocking', on the coast near Colvend and describes a project to consolidate the structure. The scheme was implemented by the National Scenic Area (NSA) project on behalf of the partners (Scottish Natural Heritage, Dumfries and Galloway Council and the East Stewartry Coast NSA Advisory Group).

In 2005 the NSA project was asked to look into the ruined building near Gutcher's Isle on the well-used coast path between Rockcliffe and Portling, (NGR NX 863 527), as it was in poor condition, possibly in danger of collapse. The building is one of a group that appeared to be the remains of a once common type of farmstead that has largely disappeared through improvements or decay. It is clearly of historic interest, though not statutorily designated. With such a dramatic but hidden situation on the cliff above an enclosed bay with views to the Irish Sea, suggestions of smuggling associations have resonance.

Figure 1 Glenstocken building group from east 2005

1 Planning and Environment, Dumfries & Galloway Council, Newall Terrace, Dumfries DG1 1LW
2 Solway Heritage, 7 Church Crescent, Dumfries DG1 1DF
3 Architectural Historian, Beechmount, Borrowstoun, Bo'ness, West Lothian EH51 9RS

After initial analysis, the options were to reduce the walls to a safe height, fence off and make completely inaccessible from the coast path or to carry out repair works and improve access. Funding was sought from a range of partners recognising the historic and amenity value of the building to investigate the options and costs. Geoffrey Stell was commissioned to carry out a preliminary analysis of the fabric of these very overgrown buildings and surrounding structures.

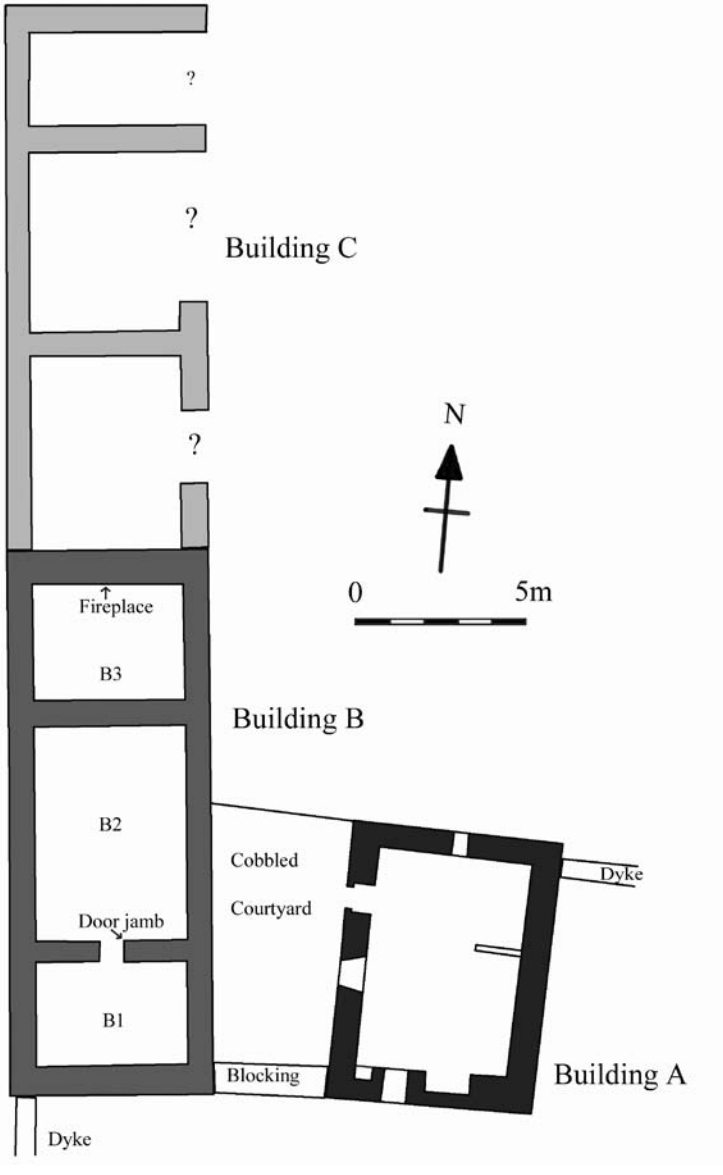

Figure 2 Plan of building group

Preliminary description and analysis

The following account, originally prepared by Geoffrey Stell in August 2005, has been amended in the light of the excavation and clearance work that has been undertaken up to May 2009. He is much indebted to Jane Brann and Nic Coombey for reporting their findings and for their first-hand observations and comments.

This complex of ruinous buildings occupies a relatively remote, exposed and picturesque coastal situation, nestling in the fold to the east of Barcloy Hill. The principal remains comprise a pair of buildings which are laid out in parallel on a north-south alignment, some 3m apart and both gabled to seaward.

The building to the east (Figure 2, Building A) has been a relatively compact oblong structure, measuring some 8m by 5m on plan, and has been of two main storeys. The ground floor was entered from the small 'court' between the two ranges through a well-formed doorway at the north end of the west side wall. The ground-floor interior was lit by a sizeable window with a splayed embrasure in the same (western) side wall flanking the court; it is unclear whether there ever were windows in the outer wall opposite, but there have been smaller oblong apertures in the gable walls, that to seaward having been subsequently blocked. At the collapsed eastern end of the seaward gable are the remains of a fireplace, its position and form being clearly evident from the visible right-hand (west) jamb which shows the seating for the lintel and, above, the scar of the flue.

The upper floor has been timber-joisted and appears to have been in effect a loft formed within the angled roof-space. It also had a fireplace in the seaward gable-wall, which in this case was placed slightly towards the west and, though containing rubble blocking, retains much of its jambs and associated flue. No upper-floor features are visible beneath the vegetation which crowns the landward gable, and one has to presume that the first floor was reached via a steeply-raking, internal ladder stair, which could have been fitted into either the north-west or north-east corners of the building.

For a relatively small structure, the walls are substantial, about 1m thick, lime-mortared and set above a rough, but well thought-out boulder stone plinth, which was particularly necessary to underpin the walls on the seaward slope. The building material is a variety of locally sourced stone including coarse-grained sandstone, quarried locally from the shore from where it was also extracted and used for millstones. The rubble masonry is laid roughly to courses with the use of pinnings in the interstices, and the openings and quoins are of neatly dressed sandstone, the surrounds throughout being characteristically formed with simple rounded arrises (angles). The doorway retains evidence of a hinge and bolt-slot. Tusking stones which project from the outer angles of the landward gable demonstrate the intention, if not the reality, of a continuation of building to the north, and the adjacent ground is sufficiently uneven and disturbed to suggest that it overlies buried structural remains, either of stone or part-stone, part-timber construction.

At first sight, the much longer western building (Building B), which measures some 14m by 5.5m overall on plan, appears to represent the remains of a steading. It is aligned parallel to the house on the opposite side of a small court which has been recently enclosed on the seaward side by a loose rubble field dyke. (This blocking has now been largely removed to recreate the courtyard between the buildings A and B). The inner or courtyard

wall of Building B has likewise been rebuilt in modern times as a relatively flat-topped dyke which cuts off access to the interior of the structure and has thereby allowed it to become overgrown with scrub vegetation. However, closer inspection of the unreconstructed portions of the gables and the west side-wall reveal a quality of coursed and lime-mortared split boulder-stone masonry construction that is similar and, if anything, slightly superior to that of Building A, the visible masonry at the north-west angle being particularly noteworthy.

Furthermore, detectable within the vegetation-choked interior are a number of features which, taken together, suggest that this building originally had a compartmented layout and at least a partial, if not predominant, domestic function. Two cross-walls divide up the interior into three compartments. The southernmost of these transverse walls retains visible evidence of a round-arrised door-jamb (similar to those of Building A) and creates a compartment or unit (B1) which is roughly a quarter of the overall length of the building. Most of the inner face of the associated gable wall is visible and is featureless save for one, possibly two, scarcements (intakes in the wall thickness, usually indicating the positions of timber floors).

At the north end of Building B a room (B3) of similar, if perhaps slightly larger, dimensions had been created by what appears to have been a more substantial cross-wall. A first inspection through the dense vegetation suggested that this wall might have contained a fireplace and an internal communicating doorway on the east side. However, clearance of the wall in 2009 failed to reveal such features and close inspection of the fabric suggested that much of the 0.7m-wide wall had been rebuilt, probably at the same time as the east side-wall. In the north gable wall of B3 the upper part of a mural fireplace (and its associated flue) which served the ground-floor of this compartment was clearly visible (Figure 3) and at least the lintel and one of its jambs bear a characteristic round-arrised surround. Alongside traces of the associated flue in the vegetation-covered masonry above, there are sufficient clues to hint at the existence of a lofted area in the roof-space immediately above this heated chamber.

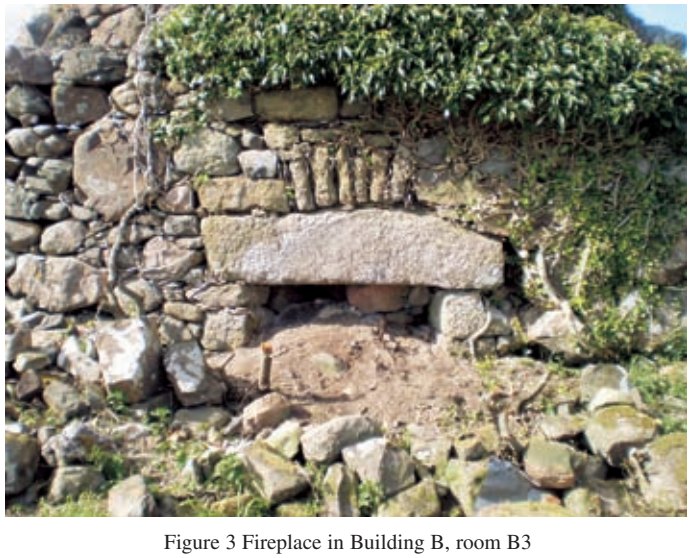

Figure 3 Fireplace in Building B, room B3

Without further clearance, no details associated with the middle unit (B2) could be made out but its proportions alone, apparently taking up some 50% of the overall length, strongly hint at the possibility of this space having served as a centrally-placed hall. The overall picture, partial though it was at that stage, was of a layout which comprised a central hall, possibly open to the roof, flanked by lofted rooms which variously served as domestic chambers, stores or even stables.

The original steading is almost certainly represented by the much-reduced footings and loose rubble of a range of buildings (C) which has extended northwards from Building B for roughly another 15m. The superficial indications are that Range C comprised at least three compartments which were all entered from the east, the two northernmost apparently being virtually open-sided. An initial tentative suggestion that the most northerly compartment, furthest from the dwelling because of the fire risk, may have been a kiln, has now been withdrawn pending further examination of this area. Any such functional identification is currently not possible given that loose stones cleared from the nearby fields overlie much of the structural remains at the northern end of the range.

The remains of an old wall which may have formed part of an enclosure or paddock appear to form the basis of the dyke which runs alongside the coastal path to west, and evidence of further definition of the enclosed ground associated with the buildings is almost certainly there to be teased out.

Conservation of Building A

Given the confirmed significance of the building group, a project to conserve building A, repair the dyke, improve access and prepare an interpretation scheme was initiated. The extent of the works was intended to allow safe public access and inform understanding, through removing uneven rubble, and stabilising walls. A team of masons, qualified in historic building techniques, carried out repairs in early 2006.

Hand clearing the vegetation and rubble from within the building was carried out down to the internal floor surfaces. The surfaces were not excavated and remain intact. A few fragments of 19th century pottery and pipe stems, and a broken lower stone of a rough stone bowl, possibly a mortar were found in the rubble. Many hand-made bricks (measuring 21.3 long x 10 wide x 6.3 cm deep) were found towards the north end of the building.

The overall internal dimensions were around 6.15 m by 4.5 m with wall widths ranging from

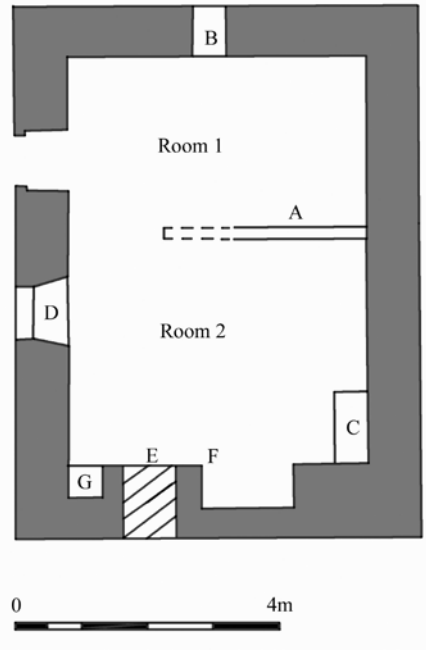

Figure 4 Plan of building A

approximately 0.8 m to 1.1 m. (Actual measurements were: W wall with entrance 6.25 m and 0.8m wide, E wall 6.07m and 0.8m wide, S gable with flue 4.5m and 1.10m wide , N gable 4.55m and 0.8.m wide). There was no definitive evidence for further windows or external doors.

The exposed features and floor surfaces added to the understanding of the building. The remains of a single skin brick partition wall, A, divided the space into two rooms (Figure 4). This division of space was reflected in the use of different flooring. The northern space, room 1, accessed from the main external door was floored with stone slabs. A small, partially blocked opening, B on plan, in the north gable measuring 0.5m wide and 0.45 m high internally would have allowed some natural light and ventilation into this space when the external door was closed. It is set at a low height of around 1.17m above the floor and gives an open outlook to the north. Could it have been a look out? An area of low masonry in the west wall might indicate the position of a window, but this is not at all certain.

Room 1 appears to have functioned as an entrance chamber, perhaps also used as a store room and perhaps where a ladder stair would have given access to the upper floor.

The flooring of the inner space, room 2, was more refined. Within the hearth and rake out area, blue/grey slate and stone slabs were used. The remainder of the room was floored with square red, unglazed tiles, (21.3 cm square and 6.3 cm thick). Although there were some areas where tiles were missing, one area measuring 1.1m by 0.5m appeared to have never been tiled. This was at the junction of the south and east walls, area, C on plan. This suggests that a piece of furniture had sat against the wall. These details all show well on Figure 5. As already noted by Stell, this room had a window in the west wall (D on plan), and a blocked window in the south gable overlooking the sea, (E on plan). Further domestic details are two holes for a pot crane for suspending a cooking pot on the right hand side of the fireplace, (F on plan), and a wall cupboard 0.5m wide 0.45m deep in the south gable, (G on plan). From these details it would appear that Room 2 would have been a comfortable, compact living area.

Figure 5 Building A flooring and internal detail

Brief details of repairs

Removal of the ivy from the northern gable showed it to be extremely unstable, literally moving in the wind. The exposed gable reflected the shape of the chimney-bearing profile of the southern flued gable, perhaps for reasons of symmetry. The decision was taken to reduce gable height to a lower level to assist long-term management.

The walls were repointed, loose stones remortared and the wall heads rough racked. Pointing was in lime mortar, matched to the original by the addition of crushed shells collected from the beach. The southern gable was found to have a crack which was pin and stitched together.

The south eastern corner had collapsed in the past and this was rebuilt to encourage access through the original entrance. Rebuilding was in drystone with a clay and turf cap to distinguish it from the original mortared building.

The line of the partition between rooms 1 and 2 was reinstated by fixing two courses of the original bricks where they were still in situ. The broken stone bowl was left on site within room 2. After recording the internal floor was protected with a geotextile membrane and covered with gravel.

A late blocking wall between buildings A and B was reduced to open up the cobbled courtyard as is shown on the First Edition Ordnance Survey Map and the drystone dykes adjacent to the building were repaired.

A grass covered mound in the field to the north of building A is the material cleared from the interior.

Historical and cartographic evidence

The location of Glenstocken, perched on a low cliff overlooking a sheltered cove behind Gutcher's Isle, has provided a setting for a number of smuggling tales and historical novels including *Fisherman's Haul* (n.d., written 1937, published privately 1999) by Henry Truckell and *Kate Crackernuts* (1963) by K M Briggs. Certainly the indented coastline with caves and coves was much used to land contraband from the Isle of Man in the 1700s. There is no doubt that smuggling was commonplace, action between customs men and smugglers must have occurred from time to time and the body of a drowned sailor was occasionally washed up on the shore.

A search of published and documentary sources helps us to understand better the ownership of Glenstocken revealing the possible progression of use and development.

The first mention of the lands of Glenstocken is when it is listed in the Exchequer Accounts of Scotland in 1462 as belonging to Crown under the charge of William, Abbot of Dundrennan, who was the King's Chamberlain in Galloway.

In the Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland, John Lindsay is identified in 1498 as receiving the extension of life rent of the lands of 'Auchinhay, Clonzark, Auchinskeauch, Glenstokane and Auchinloschip'. John was the youngest son of James Lindsay of Fairgirth and was to become the ancestor of the Auchenskeoch branch of the family. He was Master Falconer to the King and the gift was a reward for his services. After his death, the gift

of life rent was transferred to his widow Marion Bunkill who had been one of the nurses who looked after the infant King. His son, James Lindsay, was also a Master Falconer and received a grant of the lands from the crown for the good services of himself, his father and his mother.[4]

By the early 1600s, a prolonged and deadly family feud is recorded in the Kirkcudbrightshire Register of Hornings and Inhibitions. John Lindsay of Auchenskeoch and James Lindsay of Glenstocken, and who appear to be brothers, were involved in bitter disputes with the Lindsays of Fairgirth.[5] The horning dated 21 November 1614 is the first reference of someone dwelling in Glenstocken and the violent dispute suggests that there was a need for a defendable house of a size and quality suitable for the brother of the Laird of Auchenskeoch.

In 1628, James, son of John Lindsay, had retour of Glenstocken which was still part of Auchenskeoch[6] and three years later he mortgaged Auchenskeoch to the Dumfries surgeon and family friend Patrick Young. James Lindsay of Auchenskeoch, his sons Andrew and Robert and his grandson John, are listed in the War Committee book in 1640, although in the 'ancient' valuation of 1642 the lands of Glenstocken are recorded separately from Auchenskeoch. Glenstocken is not found on Blaeu's map of 1654, based on the Pont manuscripts of the late 1500s (Figure 6). However, the Lindsay seats of Achinskioch (Auchenskeoch) and Fairgirth are shown.

Figure 6 Gallovidia, vernacule Galloway / auct. Timoth.Pont. Blaeu 1654

4 J Reid, 'Auchenskeoch Castle', *TDGNHAS*, 3rd series, volume 14 (1926-7), pp. 216-18; see also Alastair M T Maxwell-Irving, *The Border Towers of Scotland, The West March* Blairlogie, 2000, pp. 66-8.

5 [H E Sproat, researcher], *Register of Hornings and Inhibitions for 1614 - 1621 Kirkcudbrightshire* (Drury, Missouri, 1997), pp. 1,2,9,11,30,55,72,85

6 P H M'Kerlie, *Lands and their Owners in Galloway*, (Edinburgh, 1877), volume 3, pp. 330-1, 343-4.

It would appear that the lands mortgaged to Patrick Young were never redeemed and in 1654 were finally conveyed to him. However, he almost immediately sold Glenstocken to Robert Lindsay who is identified as being a minor.[7] This Robert Lindsay appears to be a generation after the Andrew Lindsay of Glenstocken who is recorded in 1659, the same year that Robert reached his majority and Glenstocken is sold to George Maxwell of Munches. In 1660, George Maxwell of Munches bestowed the lands of Glenstocken upon his son George (junior).

This was a time of agricultural improvements. The Roy map of the 1750s identifies Glenstocken in its coastal location with surrounding fields enclosed and cultivated (Figure 7). The Maxwells continued to own Glenstocken for over 100 years and the property was initially rented to John Robson and then to the Blair family for over 50 years from the late 1600s. Interpreting the history of Glenstocken becomes more difficult in the mid 1700s when references to additional Glenstockens appear. The Register of Sasines refers to Upper Glenstocken, Glenstocken and Nether Glenstocken at this time. The Ainslie Map of 1797 identifies the new 'Upper town of Glenstocking' to the north of the earlier settlement on the shore which is now named 'Nether town of Glenstocking'.

Figure 7 Roy's military map 1750s

The Ainslie map (Figure 8) also shows the Colvend coast as an industrious place with a smithy, millstone quarry and copper pit. There are lower carboniferous sedimentary rocks on the shore south of Glenstocken and, despite the inconvenience of only being exposed at low tide, the Old Statistical Account notes that there are quarries on the shore which were worked for mill stones and that 15-20 were sold annually. The Old Statistical Account also identifies copper workings, shown to the east of Nether town of Glenstocken, which were first worked about 1770 when a considerable quantity of ore was raised.[8]

7 Dumfries Archive Centre, Estate Papers of the Maxwells of Munches, transcription by Erica Johnson.
8 John Sinclair (ed.), *The Statistical Account of Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1791- 9), volume 17 (1794), p. 108.

Figure 8 The Stewartry of Kirkcudbright. Ainslie 1797

Still shown as 'Upper town of Glenstocking' on the map published by Thomson in 1821, it is later referred to as 'Farm of Glenstocken' and provides evidence of farm steadings being constructed as part of the agricultural improvements in the area. The property changed ownership again and is purchased by Robert Carrick of Braco by 1819 and is then inherited by James Carrick Moore by the 1850s.

The census records of the mid 1800s allow us to see who was living at Glenstocken although there is some difficulty in differentiating between the two settlements. The 1851 census suggests that a Samuel Hyslop, farmer of 25 acres, lived in Nethertown of Glenstocken with his wife and three daughters.

The 1st Edition OS maps of 1857 (Figure 9) and 1854 (Figure 10) show both Uppertown of Glenstocking and Glenstocking. However, the latter is shown as a ruin with only a small section roofed and this suggests that the Uppertown of Glenstocking has become the dominant farm house while Glenstocking is becoming ruinous. This is supported by entries in the Ordnance Survey Object Name Book[9] which notes that Uppertown of Glenstocking is 'a farm house and office houses in middling repair, having a farm of land attached'. The entries for Glenstocking note that it is Samuel Hyslop who identifies the mode of spelling and that the property is 'a house chiefly in ruins, which formerly had a farm of land attached, but is now united with that of Uppertown'.

9 National Archives of Scotland, *Ordnance Survey Object Name Book*, Parish of Colvend

Figure 9 First Edition 1" to mile 1857

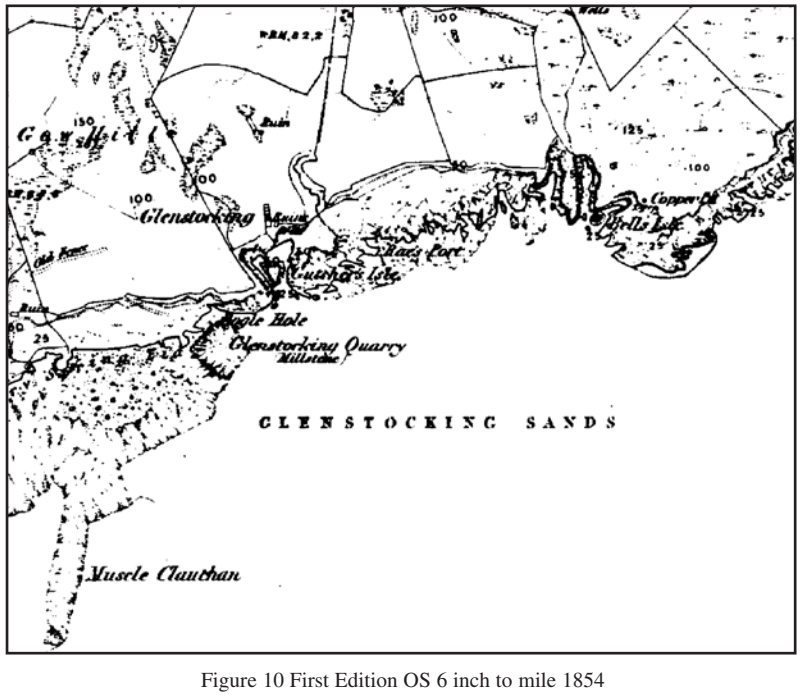

Figure 10 First Edition OS 6 inch to mile 1854

In the late 1800s, Glenstocken was purchased by John Sprot, a merchant from London, and by this time the building on the shore appears to have been abandoned.

The Reverend J Fraser's updated second edition (1895) of M'Diarmid's *The Handbook of the United Parishes of Colvend and Southwick* includes an inserted comment about Glenstocken:

> 'Dilapidated, however, as the old manor-house of Glenstocken now is, and incapable of affording shelter to either man or beast, a family did live there, and within these very walls some forty or forty-five years ago I baptized two children at once. The parents being negligent, and the children were baptised standing' [that is they were no longer infants]. [10]

Summary and Conclusion, Geoffrey Stell

Historical evidence

The historical evidence adduced above appears to point to the creation by 1614 of a dwelling house at Glenstocken, an establishment carved out of the lands of Auchenskeoch for a brother of Lindsay of Auskenkeoch at a time that that family was engaged in a bitter dispute with the Lindsays of Fairgirth. Mortgaged to Patrick Young, the property remained with the Auchenskeoch Lindsays until 1659 when it was purchased by Maxwell of Munches and later run by a succession of their tenants. From the latter half of the 18th century, following the splitting of the Glenstocken lands, this small complex came to be known as Nethertown of Glenstocken and found itself lying close to a coastal industrial zone, busy with mining and quarrying which added to the ever-present smuggling activities. During this same period, however, the agricultural emphasis progressively shifted to Uppertown of Glenstocken, with the result that, by the 1850s, decline and ruin were already clearly apparent and, by the 1890s, the 'old manor-house' had become completely dilapidated and roofless.

Necessarily episodic and patchy as it is bound to be in detail, this historical evidence suggests a broad chronological and a social and economic outline that appears to fit remarkably well with the likely date and with the relatively lowly but still lairdly status of the surviving physical remains.[11]

Physical evidence

The overall picture which these remains convey is of a small residential chamber block (Figure 2) (A) associated with what appears to be a hall range (B) of mixed domestic and

10 W R M'Diarmid, *The Handbook of the United Parishes of Colvend and Southwick* (original edition, Dumfries 1895; facsimile second edition by Rev. J Fraser, Dalbeattie), p. 86.

11 For the social and economic background to the creation of lesser lairdships in post-Reformation Scotland, see Margaret H B Sanderson, *Scottish Rural Society in the 16th Century* (Edinburgh, 1982), and Ian Whyte, *Agriculture and Society in Seventeenth Century Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1979). Though referring to an earlier period, Margaret H B Sanderson, *A Kindly Place? Living in Sixteenth-Century Scotland* (East Linton, 2002), brings together evidence which is relevant to an understanding of the life-style represented by buildings such as Glenstocken.

agricultural function, with the ruinous components of a steading (C) and vestiges of enclosures or paddocks, all forming part of a relatively small-scale, probably lairdly farming establishment. It is a precious survival from the pre-improvement era, and precedes the 18th-century heyday of infamous smuggling activities and later mining operations in this neighbourhood, though both these aspects of local life have doubtless impinged upon the history and later use of the site. Such dating signatures as are currently visible point to a 17th-century date, but detailed features such as rounded arrises (angles) with which the coarse sandstone dressings are wrought are not sufficiently precise to permit more than a generalised indication of date, probably in the 1650-1700 range.

That the complex almost certainly falls within this general date bracket is the significant factor; more precise dating may be established in due course. The matter of over-riding importance is that Glenstocken is identifiable as another in the small but growing corpus of lesser house-types of sub-medieval form, that is, houses which can trace their ancestry in architectural and planning terms back to the great towers and great halls of the Middle Ages, and which, much reduced in scale and often in quality, have found their way down to the lowest ranks of landholding society in both town and country in the course of the 17th and early 18th centuries.

In a very loose sense, Building A has a few characteristics which mark it out as an unvaulted, cut-down version of an oblong bastle house, that is, a fortified farmhouse of 16th- or early 17th-century date, characteristic of both sides of the Borders and across much of southern Scotland. A visitable example of a bastle, excavated in the 1980s and early 1990s, is now on the regular tourist trail at Glenochar in upper Clydesdale (NS 9439 1394) just beyond the Dumfries and Galloway regional boundary, while within Galloway 'The Old House' at New Abbey (NX 9618 6622) has recently been described as the 'best surviving bastle house in Scotland'.[12]

A parallel, but again not an absolutely precise one, for the hall range (Building B on Figure 2), can be found at Balsarroch near Corsewall in western Galloway (NW 9935 6913), a building ascribed to the last quarter of the 17th century and the subject of a published detailed study.[13] Other examples of this form of sub-medieval house elsewhere in Scotland and the north of Ireland are cited in the first footnotes to the Balsarroch article,[14] and another more recently recorded building of this type in an urban context in northern Scotland is represented by the first, late 17th century phase of Hugh Miller's Cottage, Cromarty.[15]

Postscript

The consolidated building (see Figure 12) is now one of the highlights of the coastal walk. On-site interpretation will be created and the location promoted as 'Gutcher's Isle'

12 Tam Ward, 'Elusive Bastle Houses of Scotland', *History Scotland*, volume 9/3 (May/June 2009), 7-9; for Glenochar, see *idem*, 'Glenochar', *Current Archaeology,* volume 13 (12 March 1998), pp. 444-9; and for the Old House, New Abbey, RCAHMS, *Inventory of Kirkcudbright* (Edinburgh, 1914), p. 210, no. 383.

13 Ian M Smith, 'Balsarroch House, Wigtownshire', *TDGNHAS*, 3rd series, volume 60 (1985), pp. 73-81.

14 *Ibid*., p. 73, notes 1-2.

15 RCAHMS *Annual Review 2003-2004*, p. 40.

Viewpoint, part of a developing network of viewpoints that are being created across the three National Scenic Areas in the region (see Figure 11).

Acknowledgements

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Figure 11 Building A from south after consolidation

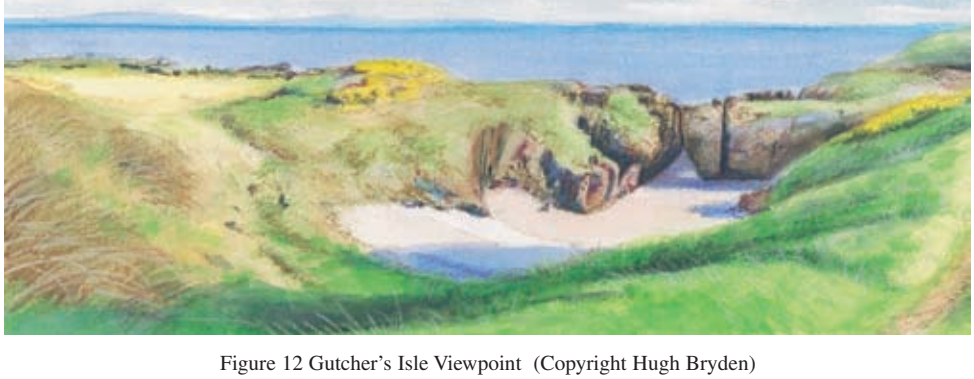

Figure 12 Gutcher's Isle Viewpoint (Copyright Hugh Bryden)

SMUGGLING AND KIRKCUDBRIGHT MERCHANT COMPANIES IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Frances Wilkins[1]

Introduction

The common perception of the smuggler is of a rough-looking character lurking on a beach or busy hiding casks of contraband in a cave. This takes no account of where the contraband came from – who supplied it and how did this man arrange for its arrival on the beach?

The story of eighteenth century smuggling is dominated by its detailed organisation. A network of merchants in Europe and the Americas supplied cargoes of brandy, tea, tobacco and rum to another network of merchants in Scotland, Ireland and England, and on the Isle of Man, as part of a legal trade. The main aim, however, was to supply customers with these goods duty-free. In fact the duties were so excessive that the costs of warehousing, repackaging and transporting the goods in a clandestine manner still produced major profits. The merchants distanced themselves from the physical side of the operation – hence the role of the rough-looking character on the beach.

In the Kirkcudbright context, the 'smuggling' merchants were essentially legal traders, dealing mainly in tobacco but also other goods. A detailed account of their activities can be reconstructed from several different sources: the custom house letterbooks recording correspondence between the senior officers at Dumfries and the Board of Customs at Edinburgh; the Kirkcudbright and Dumfries Port Books, formed by the local collector's quarterly reports; the Kirkcudbright Town Council Minutes and Minutes of the Rating Committee; the House of Commons Journal for 1722; customs ingates, court records, wills and merchant letterbooks on the Isle of Man and the letterbooks of Walter Lutwidge, a merchant in Whitehaven.[2]

The Isle of Man plays a major role throughout most of the story. Within sight of Galloway, the Island belonged to the Earls of Derby and then the Dukes of Atholl. The Lords of Man encouraged trade by charging very low import duties and no export duties, except on Manx produce. This meant that it became essentially a 'storehouse' of contraband goods. Tobacco, tea, brandy, rum, wine and other high duty items were available only a few miles from Kirkcudbright. A short boat journey landed these goods on shore duty free.

In 1765, the English Crown purchased the fiscal rights of the Isle of Man from the Duke of Atholl in an attempt to put an end to smuggling, particularly of East India goods such as tea. The illicit trade continued, however. Some merchants like John McCulloch, who had moved from Kirkcudbright to Ramsey, left the Island and set up new bases on Guernsey or elsewhere. The style of smuggling changed. Instead of small boats travelling

1 8 Mill Close, Blakedown, Kidderminster, Worcs DY10 3NQ

2 Carol Hill has written two papers about the legal aspects of the trade: The Mechanics of Overseas Trade: Dumfries & Galloway, 1600-1851 *TDGNHAS* LXXX 2006 pp81-104 and 'A Company of Four': the Waste Book of a 1764 Kirkcudbright Co-partnery in trade *Scottish Archives* Volume 12 2006 pp 57-69.

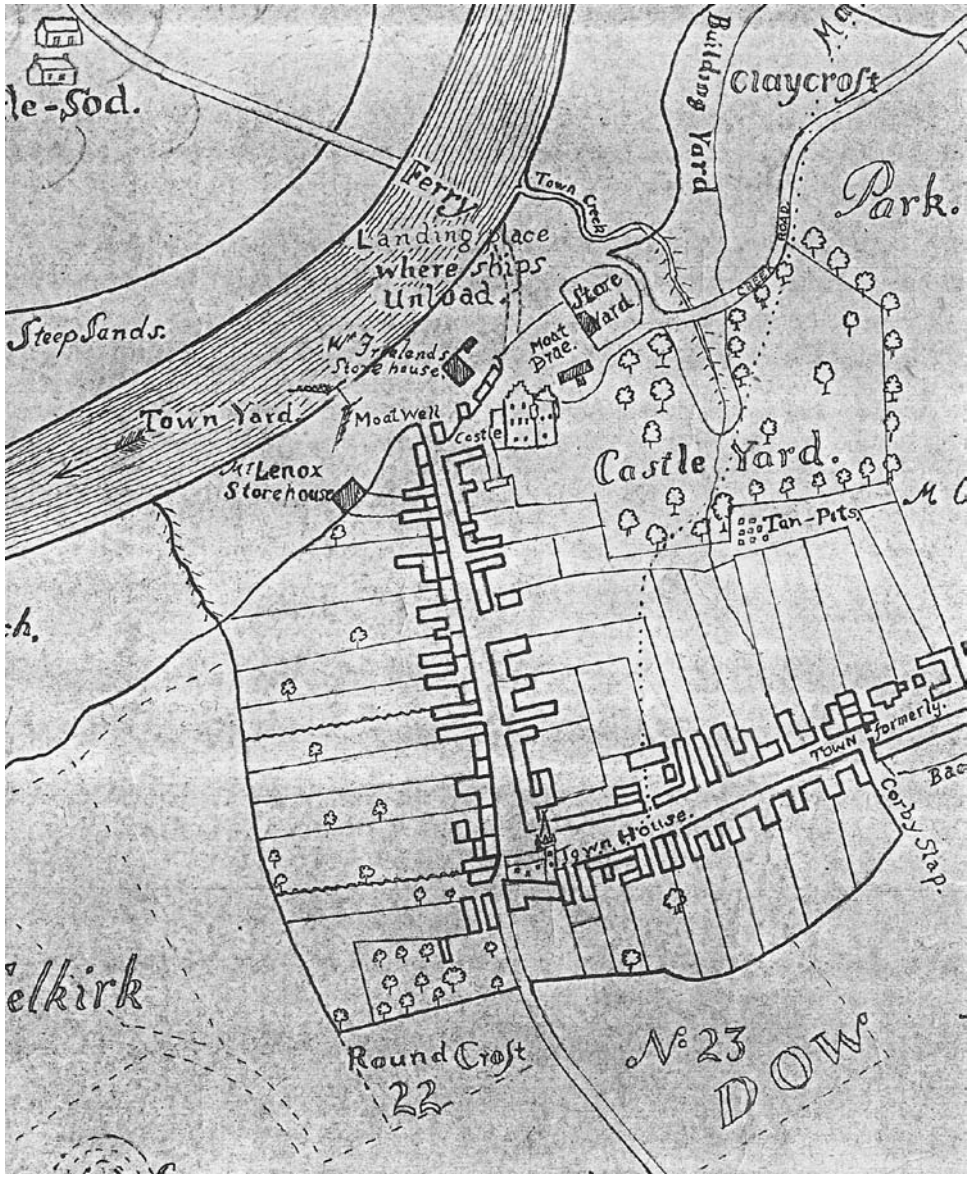

Figure 1. The Kirkcudbright Company's Store & Yard
From the Plan of the Town of Kirkcudbright and the lands belonging thereto and lying south of Boreland Burn. Also of the Intermixed and adjacent lands. John Gilone junior 1776.
Courtesy of the Stewartry Museum, Kirkcudbright

short distances, large armed vessels appeared off the Solway coast to deliver their cargoes forcibly. From the merchants' viewpoint, the networks existed already – as will be seen from the brief rum trade from Grenada to Kirkcudbright in the 1770s.

The Early Days

In the early days, people living in Kirkcudbright were dependent on merchants based on the Isle of Man for their supplies of contraband goods. The merchant John Bignall travelled from Ramsey to Kirkcudbright, looking for customers. In contrast, James Hanna of Kirkcudbright visited Douglas looking for merchants who would supply him with goods. William Gordon of Campbeltown, a member of the Kirkcudbright Company established in 1734, was involved with both these people.

John Bignall and his Kirkcudbright Network [3]

Born in Belturbet, County Cavan, John Bignall was a merchant in Dublin before he settled on the Isle of Man during 1708, living first in Douglas and then at Ramsey. He operated a small shop, selling a wide range of goods, but his main income came from his smuggling activities. Bignall frequently acted as a factor for small partnerships of fellow merchants but he also supplied his own customers along the Solway coast with contraband goods.

In 1717 William Thwaites and Michael Sampson of Dublin set up the company William Thwaites & Co. with formal articles of agreement. John Bignall was to act as their factor on the Isle of Man, landing tobacco purchased in Whitehaven and negotiating for supplies of brandy already on the Island. He was to manage a small tobacco manufactory in Ramsey, employing the men necessary to convert leaves into roll tobacco. He must find customers in Galloway and then arrange the shipment of their orders to the north Solway shore. A commission of 2½% would be paid on all his sales. During the five years until 1722, when Michael Sampson died, Bignall's commission totalled over £92 so that at least £3,680 worth of goods had been sold.

John Bignall's expenses were allowed on journeys to Whitehaven at the rate of five guineas and to Kirkcudbright at seven guineas. His voyage to Kirkcudbright in December 1718 'to get in debts', presumably from orders collected when he was there the previous April, highlights the main problem that effected the company, virtually from the beginning. Collection of overdue payments became Bignall's main preoccupation. In 1722 the outstanding debts, supposedly from the company's customers, totalled several hundred pounds.

Finally, John Bignall was expected to keep a Book of Account that could be inspected at any time by either of the partners or Henry Towers of Douglas, who acted as William Thwaites & Co.'s agent on the Island, essentially to watch what Bignall was doing. It

3 The main source of information about John Bignall comes from his will (MNHL: MS10216 (1736)). The William Thwaites & Michael Sampson story is in MNHL: MS10071 Lib Canc 1723/26 1723 f37, 1730/1733 1730 f107, 1731 ff5,51,66,147,148,151,153 & 157; Chancery File 1730 ff38 & 39, 1731 f24 & Liber Scacc 1723/29 1723 18 July 1723 & 1730/35 1730 5 September 1730. See also Wilkins *The Smuggling Trade Revisited* 2004 pp 106-110.

soon became apparent that Bignall abused their trust in him, by using much of his time in Scotland to extend his own network of customers. On several occasions, he was supplying people with some goods purchased by the partnership and some goods that he owned as an individual. This meant that his accounts became so interlinked that Towers could claim with some justification, 'several sums of money outstanding in notes, bills and book debts in John Bignall's name did not belong to the company but to Bignall alone'.

John Bignall's customers in the Kirkcudbright area included Captain John Stewart [sic] of The Green, Samuel Gordon of Knockbrex and John Malcolm. Captain John Stewart[4] was a respectable merchant in Kirkcudbright, renting a warehouse there in 1737. In 1740 he was living at 'The Green', which must have been near Manxman's Lake on the road to Torrs. John Bignall supplied Stewart with brandy, visiting his house regularly. There he met Stewart's daughter, Sarah.

In the summer of 1732, the *John* of Ramsey, John Christian master, landed six casks of brandy on the shore of Manxman's Lake and then continued into the port of Kirkcudbright with her legal cargo. One of her crew, Henry Steward was left with the brandy so that he could contact the customers. He went to John Stewart's house, 'desiring leave to lodge some casks of brandy thereabouts'. Sarah Stewart warned Steward that the Kirkcudbright collector of customs' daughter was visiting her and she suggested that he should take the casks to Torrs, as 'the safest place' in the area. A few days later, Sarah saw three casks of brandy that had been seized by an exciseman carried on horseback 'by her father's door'. The three other casks were seized by customs officers. Steward only received part-payment for the brandy but was charged by the owner on the Isle of Man with the full value.

Sarah Stewart, described as 'a gentleman's daughter', was on the Island in January 1733, when Deemster Christian was authorised to take her statement, proving that the casks had been seized. It is probable that she was visiting John Bignall, either to tell him that she was pregnant or to show him their baby. Bignall had been a widower since 1724. Whatever the reasons for remaining apart, Sarah continued to live with her father and Bignall stayed in Ramsey.[5]

John Bignall died in 1736 and his executors were Norris and Thomas Thompson from County Cavan. They spent the next fourteen years attempting to disentangle the intricacies of Bignall's affairs and collecting the debts owed, mainly in the Kirkcudbright area. They used William Gordon of Campbeltown to help them. The Thompsons' expenses included:

1736	to a boat for carrying us to Scotland to recover several debts due there	£1 4s 6d
	to our expenses during the time we stayed in Scotland: horse hire & guide etc.	£7 17s 2d
	to a boat that carried us back to the Isle	£1 4s 6d
1747	to Mr Gourdon [sic] of Campbeltown, our attorney in Scotland, for prosecuting and suing several persons for debts due to Mr. Bignall before his death and since, being for many years.	£30 6s 8d

4 John Stuart's name is shown at the beginning of the earliest surviving Minute Book of the St Cuthbert's Masonic Lodge [STEWM: 2007/09/01]. In 1740 he is listed as 'Captain'. The exact date of his death, in the 1740s, is illegible. The Green has not been located. It does not appear on Ainslie's Map of 1797.

5 MNHL: MS10071 Chancery File 1733, 1734. 1733 f14.

When the executors' accounts were finalised in 1749, Captain John Stewart had still not paid his debt of £20 to the estate.

Samuel Gordon of Knockbrex[6] owed John Bignall £150 sterling at 5% interest. Gordon had given Bignall titles to part of the land at Knockbrex as security against the debt. When Samuel died, the money was still owed and so Bignall applied to his son, William, for payment. William refused either to pay the money or hand over the land and Bignall sued him for the debt in Edinburgh. On 21 December 1727 Gordon of Knockbrex was arrested by James Gordon, messenger, who charged the Kirkcudbright provost and two baillies to receive William into their tolbooth, 'or firm warding place, therein to remain on his own proper charges and expenses' until he paid Bignall. Gordon stayed in the 'court hall' of the tolbooth until 26 December 1727, when William Gordon of Campbeltown allowed the prisoner to be liberated. There is no information to confirm that he had paid the debt in full.

On 5th March 1735, John Malcolm[7] of Kirkcudbright wrote to John Bignall with an order for 'spirits etc.', totalling £49. This order was delivered safely by the boatman Thomas Baillie, formerly of Glenluce but now living in Ramsey. Malcolm gave Baillie a receipt for the goods, which 'agrees exactly with the copy of the account taken out of Mr Bignall's book'.

1735		
March 21	183 gallons brandy @ 2s 2d per gallon	£19 18s 4¾d
	41 ¾ gallons rum @ 2s 6d	£5 4s 4½d
	64 ¼ tea @ 4s per lb	£12 18s 0d
	3 casks	4s 0d
	104 lbs coffee @ 2s per	£10 9s 6d
	2 casks	3s 0d
	Coquet & harbour duty	3s 9d
		£49 1s 0¼d

John Malcolm's Account with John Bignall

According to John Bignall's executors, this account was still unpaid. John Malcolm was charged to appear in the Chancery Court on the Island. He produced a receipt dated 11 September 1735, supposedly signed by Bignall and acknowledging a payment of £42 from Thomas Copland of Kirkcudbright, whom Malcolm had sent from Douglas to Ramsey with the money.

The court decreed that the payment had been made by Thomas Copland and must be subtracted from the total money owed. At an appeal on behalf of the executors, however, it was agreed that no money had been received by John Bignall and John Malcolm was instructed to pay the full amount. Malcolm now produced a new defence, claiming that before Bignall died they had agreed some of the goods were 'overcharged'. Based

6 Stewartry Museum: Town Council Minutes 3rd Book 1714 to 1729.
7 MNHL: Liber Causar 1737.

on 'ample testaments' that Malcolm had produced, 'vouching for his character' he was allowed to confirm on oath that there had been 'a positive agreement' to pay Bignall at the rate of 2s per gallon for the brandy and rum (instead of 2s 2d and 2s 6d) and 3s 6d per lb. for the tea (instead of 4s). As a result, £4 3s 3d was deducted from the invoice but the balance of £45 must be paid by Malcolm immediately or he would be sent to St German's prison at Peel 'there to remain till he discharge the same with all fees'. Now Malcolm was given permission to appeal against this decision of the court. The hearing was deferred on several occasions because he was not on the Island. Finally it was decided to refer the case to two merchants, one chosen by Malcolm and the other by Bignall's executors. The referees did not report back to the court in the prescribed time, however, because they could not agree, even differing over the identity of an umpire. The appeal was dismissed on 1st June 1738. There is no evidence that Malcolm ever paid his debt.

James Hanna of Kirkcudbright[8]

Several merchants on the Isle of Man supplied goods to James Hanna of Kirkcudbright. They were all based in Douglas and included:

Name	Date of bills	Amount
John & William Murray	February 1725	£36 9s 6d
	December 1725	£57 13s 0d
Hugh & Andrew Greg	November 1726	£30 0s 0d
Henry Towers on behalf of John Sanforth		£40 11s 0d

In addition, James Hanna owed John Sanforth £50 10s 4d, the balance of accounts between them.

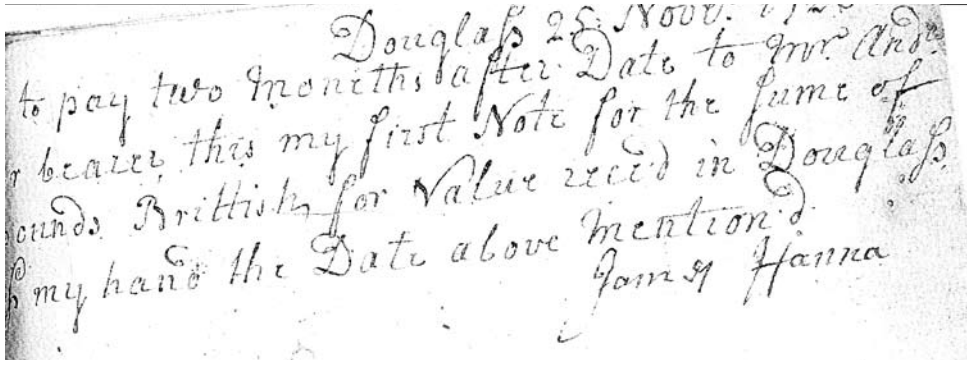

Figure 2. Bill from James Hanna to Mr. Andrew Greg dated Douglas, 25 November 1726. Courtesy of the Manx National Heritage

8 For James Hanna's problems on the Isle of Man see MNHL: MS10071 Lib Canc 1727/29 1727 ff 11, 15 & 62, 1729 f43 & in the Chancery File 1728 ff14,15,31& 32. See also Wilkins *The Smuggling Trade Revisited* 2004 pp 223-224. For the Kirkcudbright case see Stewartry Museum Town Council Minutes 3rd Book 1714 to 1729.

Debts were paid by a bill or piece of paper on which was written the date, the amount owed and the term of payment. This would be signed by the person who owed the money (the creditor), often with a witness to the signature. This piece of paper could be used as currency. It would be endorsed on the back by the debtor so that effectively the debt was transferred to one of his creditors. Sometimes the bill would be made payable by someone who owed the creditor money. Both the bills given to the Murrays by James Hanna were to be paid by Captain John Stewart of Kirkcudbright. He claimed, however, that he only owed James Hanna £20 so that over £74 was still outstanding on their debt alone.

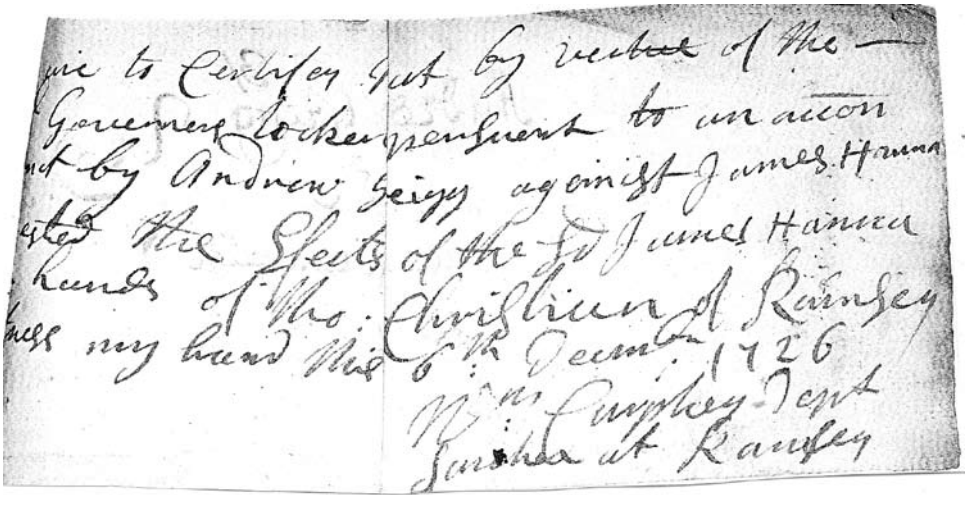

Figure 3. Arrestment of James Hanna's belongings on the Isle of Man, 6 December 1726.
Courtesy of the Manx National Heritage

James Hanna knew that he could not pay any of the Manx merchants and so he told both Thomas Baillie and Thomas Fitzgerald when they were in Kirkcudbright that the Manx court could authorise the sale of his goods remaining on the Island and use the money towards payment of his debts. These goods included five hogsheads and two packs of leaf tobacco, 21 casks of brandy and a 'parcel' of wine, supplied by John Sanforth. By this time, the wines were 'in a perishing and decaying condition' so that they were sold immediately.

In February 1728, James Hanna was imprisoned in the tolbooth at Kirkcudbright for a debt of £30 owed to John Sanforth, who had endorsed Hanna's bill to Arthur France, a merchant in Glasgow, who in turn had endorsed it to William Gordon of Kirkcudbright. Hanna was in dire straits because he was unable to 'aliment' himself in the tolbooth. As a result it was agreed that if he transferred to Gordon all the debts due to him then Hanna

could be released. These debts provide a clear picture of Hanna's customers for the goods supplied on the Isle of Man. They included:

For brandy	
Captain John Stewart in Kirkcudbright	£5 14s 0d
Francis McCartney, glover	£5 16s 0d
Sarah, wife of Samuel Brown in Kirkland	18s 0d
	£12 8s 0d
For brandy & tobacco	
Samuel McCoskie, gardener	£26 18s 0d
Merchant accounts	
John Millar, merchant in Dumfries	£64 4s 8d
James & John Rennicks & John McCally, merchants in Dumfries	£15 0s 0d
	£79 4s 8d
Money borrowed	
James Brown of Staikford	5s 0d
Bills, no details of value received	
John Millar, merchant in Dumfries, bill in Mr. Cairnes' hands	£12 0s 0d
Thomas Baillie in Isle of Man, two bills totalling	£11 11s 6d
Andrew Arthur	£1 4s 0d
	£24 15s 6d
Other debts, no details	
Thomas Bell, stone miller, Whitehaven	£10 10s 0d
John MacKinon, saddler, Kirkcudbright	£4 5s 0d
John Muir in Kingantoun	15s 4d
Alan McClauchlain, sailor	13s 0d
John Boddam at Milburn	1s 6d
	£16 4s 10d
Total	**£159 16s 0d**

There is no information about how much money William Gordon managed to collect against the £30 owed to him by James Hanna.

The Tobacco Trade

Ships supplying tobacco to merchants in Kirkcudbright sailed from the Clyde (Port Glasgow and Greenock), Irvine, Dumfries and Whitehaven to Virginia and Maryland. These vessels carried the all-essential plantation supplies. Their tobacco cargoes were imported legally into Britain and security given at the local custom house for payment of the duties. Because of these high duties, the price of tobacco for the home market was

excessive. A high proportion of the tobacco that had been imported into Kirkcudbright was exported, sometimes several months if not years later. This was destined either for the European tobacco market or for the smuggling trade; or both. Once it could be proved that the tobacco had been exported legally, the import duties would be repaid. This was known as 'drawback'. The ships returning from Europe after delivering their tobacco cargoes often landed tea or other contraband goods on the Isle of Man before returning to their home ports. These goods were entered by Manx merchants who had strong connections with the Kirkcudbright and Dumfries areas and were then repackaged and smuggled along the north Solway shore.

Sources of the tobacco landed at Kirkcudbright

Although there are hints of a connection between Kirkcudbright and the Whitehaven tobacco trade from the late seventeenth century, the first hard evidence is not found until the 1720s. According to a report made to the House of Commons, the *Kent* of Whitehaven, Joseph Kelsick master, arrived at Kirkcudbright in January 1720. The Whitehaven merchant, Thomas Lutwidge entered 241 hogsheads of tobacco which was weighed at the scale as 145,242 lb. or only 603 lb. per hogshead – the average contents was usually nearer 900 lb.[9] In autumn 1723, the *Queen Anne* of Whitehaven, Alexander Arbuthnott master, arrived in the Solway with 233 hogsheads on board containing 207,000 lb. of tobacco. 'Mr' (probably Thomas) Lutwidge imported 50 hogsheads of her cargo at Kirkcudbright and the remainder at Annan.[10]

Born in Dublin during 1688, Walter Lutwidge was a shipmaster, merchant and politician, spending some time in London before he was invited by his uncle, Thomas Lutwidge, to join him in business at Whitehaven. Two of Walter Lutwidge's letterbooks have survived. The first includes nearly 800 letters to over 70 correspondents during the period August 1739 to February 1741. These letters cover a wide range of subjects and were sent to his shipmasters, factors and agents in America, local contacts in northern England, his factors and colleagues (Thomas Kirkpatrick and William Gordon) in Kirkcudbright, merchants, agents, relations and lawyers in Ireland, bankers and lawyers in London and merchants and agents in the Baltic, Holland and France. The second letterbook covers the period 1746-1749. By this stage Lutwidge had very little contact with people at Kirkcudbright.[11]

For several years Walter Lutwidge, finding the Whitehaven customs officers too interested in his exploits, used Kirkcudbright as his 'home port'. In July 1737, the *Cockermouth*, Joseph Fleming master, was wrecked near Kirkcudbright with a load of tobacco on board.[12] By 1739, Lutwidge's tobacco fleet included the *Argile, Brothers, Mary & Betty* and *Walpole*. These vessels made annual voyages to America, returning with tobacco, part of which would be exported and carried to Rotterdam at the start of the subsequent voyage. The remainder would be sold to Scottish and English 'inland' customers.

9 National Archives, Kew: House of Commons Journal XX 1722 pp 106-107.
10 NAS: CE51 1/2 Collector at Dumfries to the Board of Customs at Edinburgh, 9 September 1723.
11 A book written about Walter Lutwidge in 1994 could not be published because of the uncertain status of his letterbooks on loan to the Cumbria Record Office, at that stage in Carlisle.
12 CRO: WL to James Hillhouse, 29 November 1739.

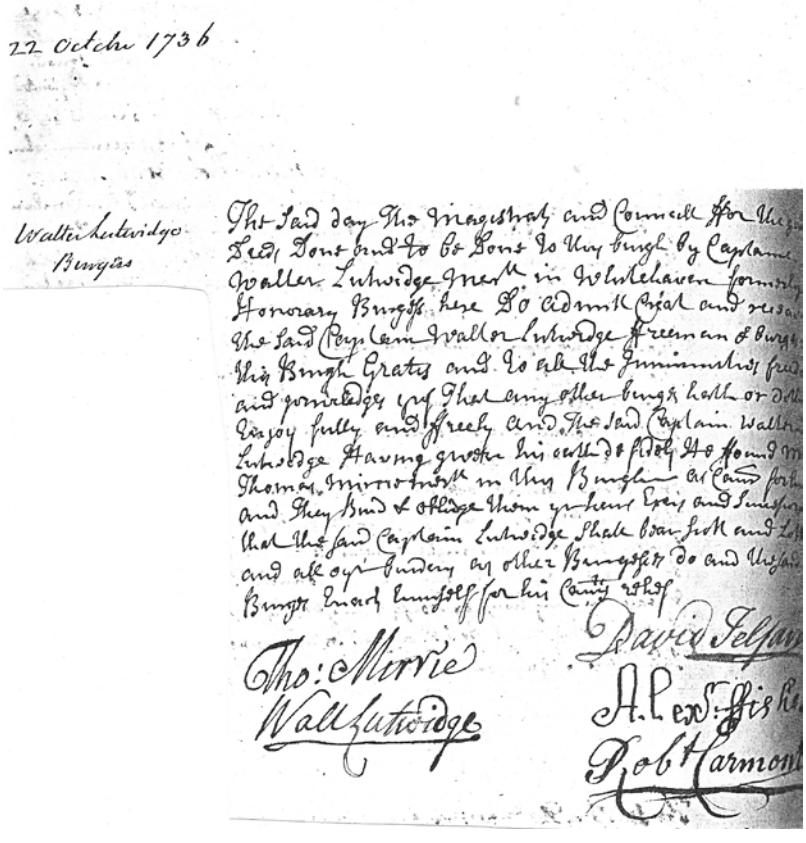

Figure 4. Signatures of Walter Lutwidge and David Telfair etc 22 October 1736: Walter Lutwidge Burgess
Courtesy of the Stewartry Museum, Kirkcudbright

Robert Armstrong was Walter Lutwidge's factor in Kirkcudbright. His role was to forewarn the customs officers of the imminent arrival of a ship, help with unloading the vessel, take an account of the weights and marks of the individual tobacco hogsheads, arrange for warehouse space and finally forward tobacco to the next person down the line, either John Hodgson at Rockcliffe on the south Solway shore or the customers in the north-east of England.[13]

The Kirkcudbright Company[14]

The Kirkcudbright merchants John Milligan and Thomas Kirkpatrick together with William Dalrymple, Thomas Gilchrist, John Griar [sic], David Telfair and William Gordon [of Campbeltown] and the master of their ship, the *Basil*, James Patton, set up a company in 1734. Their first action was to petition the Town Council, explaining that they were

13 For details of the tobacco trade see Wilkins *The Smuggling Trade Revisited* 2004 pp 75-92.
14 Stewartry Museum: Town Council Minutes 4th Book 25 September 1728 to 22 September 1742.

> 'intending to carry on some foreign trade from this burgh, which they cannot do to good purpose without a warehouse and yard, which they (with all due submission to your Honours) think might be conveniently built at the east end of the church yard, where they also intend to make a small wharf for unloading of goods and where they humbly think such house and yard can be no loss to the common good of the burgh but on the contrary, if your petitioners succeed in their trade under your Honours countenance and encouragement, that may in time turn out to the good of the town in general and of every individual inhabitant in particular.'

This space was allocated by the Council:

> 'That plot or part thereof on the east side of the ash tree, as it's now measured out and marked therefrom for the number of sixty-six feet southward into the body of the church yard and then to be carried in way of angle ten to twelve feet to the south-eastward. Thence in a direct line toward the east, which will no wise prejudice the entry to the church, there being at least thirty feet from the north-east corner of the church to the nearest part of the above marks. And the dyke or wall to be drawn by the petitioners on the south side is no ways to prejudice the common highway from the east end of the church by the creek to the Milnburn. And it's also the Committee's opinion the petitioners may advance their warehouse and wharf as far to the shore northward and to the creek eastward opposite to the plot, as they think needful.'

The resultant building became known as the 'Basil warehouse'.[15] (see Figure 1)

There were several changes in the membership of the Kirkcudbright Company that can be traced from the annual town rentals of merchants renting property by the Harbour between 1737 and 1765[16]

	1737	**1739**	**1740**	**1742**	**1748**	**1750**	**1758**	**1765**
Cambelton (William Gordon)	√	√	√	√	√			
Thomas Kirkpatrick	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	
David Currie	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	
James Patton	√							
Leonard Freeland	√	√	√	√			√	
John Milligan	√	√	√	√	√			
Walter Lutwidge	√	√						
William McAdam	√						√	
Thomas Bean		√	√	√	√	√	√	
John Maculloch		√	√	√		√		
Baillie/Provost Carmont				√	√			
William Lennox jnr. & Co.					√	√	√	
William Herries							√	
Joseph McWhan & Co.							√	
Baillie Halliday							√	
Mrs Freeland								√
	8	8	7	8	7	5	9	1

15 'A building which was a prominent landmark on the Moat Brae for a century and a half'. The Basil Warehouse *TDGNHAS* 2nd Series Vol IV 1915-16 pp 20-21

16 Stewartry Museum: Minutes of the Rating Committee 1737-1765.

In 1736, the Kirkcudbright Company offered Walter Lutwidge space within their yard for weighing his tobacco cargoes landed at their port. On 22nd October Lutwidge, who was already a burgess, became a freeman of Kirkcudbright and on 15th April 1738, Thomas Lutwidge Esquire, Walter's son and partner in trade, became a freeman and burgess.[17] Unfortunately Walter Lutwidge's letters have only survived after August 1739, by which time the company had been in business for nearly six years and were in the process of severing connections with Lutwidge. James Patton, master of the *Basil,* was one of the main reasons for this problem.

Early in 1739, the Kirkcudbright Company became concerned about James Patton's behaviour towards them. They wanted to sue him for the money that they believed he had misappropriated. Walter Lutwidge wrote to Archibald Hamilton in Rotterdam, 'but they were ignorant and did not know where to lay their fingers. They laid them on the shadow and did not see the substance, which made me conclude he had been ill used by them, so [I] advised them to give up their demand'.

Believing that Patton had been misjudged by the Kirkcudbright Company, Walter Lutwidge made him master of his vessel the *Walpole*. Later he commented bitterly, 'who deserved all I got for being led away by his false insinuation [against the Kirkcudbright Company] … A rogue when I took him out of the gutter when his former owners fell out with him for the same crimes which I charged him with'.

Following disagreements over their accounts, James Patton sent a series of 'incendiary' letters to Walter Lutwidge, who wrote, 'it's not in the power of my pen to set forth the wickedness and impudence of that man'. Lutwidge concluded, 'the fellow has turned, which is the best I can say for him'. Whether or not he was insane, Patton 'gave out here he would cause my ships to be arrested in the country [America] if they had any contraband goods in them, and a thousand worse things'. Lutwidge threatened to 'draw up the state of his accounts and send them that you may be adjudged of his wickedness and I shall print them and all his letters and send them to Virginia that his works may follow him'.[18]

One is left with the impression of a rogue, who had no future in America. Yet Patton became a very respectable and wealthy linen merchant.[19]

It appears that Walter Lutwidge was somewhat outspoken about James Patton to both Thomas Kirkpatrick and William Gordon, accusing them of not forewarning him properly of the man's crimes towards the Company. This might have been the beginning of the problems between the Kirkcudbright and Whitehaven merchants. There were clearly other differences, however. Lutwidge believed that he had been overcharged for the time he had used the Kirkcudbright Company's storehouse and cellar. He did not think 'it was reasonable that any company should have the power of teasing me at their pleasure'. He had offered them tobacco and they had taken the pick of every cargo, leaving Robert Armstrong with the poorer quality tobacco to send to the customers in north-east England, who complained.

17 Stewartry Museum: Town Council Minutes 4th Book 25 September 1728 to 22 September 1742.
18 CRO: WL to several correspondents. The definitive letter is to Archibald Hamilton, 6 March 1740.
19 Personal communication with a Professor in US, who has traced James Patton's subsequent career.

By July 1740, the relationship had deteriorated even further. Walter Lutwidge wrote to Thomas Kirkpatrick: 'I can't help being astonished at the contents of your letter as well as at the turns of thought which I have perceived in you for a long time past, which in my humble opinion was no ways convenient with your interest. But that's not my business to examine into'.

Walter Lutwidge was shocked by some of the charges made by Thomas Kirkpatrick in their accounts, including the cost of loading a few carriers with tobacco for England. Lutwidge emphasised the advantages to the Company of his unloading his tobacco ships at Kirkcudbright, including letting them send 70 hogsheads on his ship for Rotterdam, 'greatly to my loss'.

> 'I see the moment you went off from my interest and I have governed myself accordingly, as my conduct justifies. But it's the way of the world for people, when they think they can do for themselves, to grasp at all and so lose all. I am sorry I should write this last to one whom I esteem so much as I do you. But I know what's right and I know what one friend ought to do for another and I know proper returns. And I know that had you been governed by me it would have been better for both … And it's not yet too late but if you resolve to go your way I must do the same'.[20]

The Glasgow Merchants

In January 1740, Thomas Kirkpatrick told Walter Lutwidge that the Kirkcudbright Company would be purchasing their tobacco from merchants at Glasgow in future. Lutwidge's response was 'am very well pleased … being convinced that any proposals I ever made you were to my disadvantage'.[21]

There is no official information about the Kirkcudbright tobacco trade until the Port Books start in October 1742.[22] At this stage, there is evidence that some of the tobacco that was exported from Kirkcudbright had been imported into Port Glasgow or Greenock and then brought to the Solway coastwise.

In late April 1743, John Milligan & Co. loaded on board the *Prosperity* of Dumfries, James Smith master, a cargo of 55 hogsheads of tobacco for Holland that had arrived at Kirkcudbright on either the *Betty*, Finlay Brown master, from Port Glasgow or the *Dove*, Andrew Brown, from Greenock. The tobacco had been purchased from the following Glasgow merchants:

Glasgow merchants	**No. hogsheads**
Mathew Bogle & Co.	6
John & Mathew Bogle & Co.	6
Archibald Buchanan & Co.	8
Lawrence Dinwiddie & Co.	4
Hugh Milliken	8
Andrew Ramsay, Archibald Govan & James Boyd	23
	55

20 CRO: WL to Thomas Kirkpatrick, 15 September& 25 December 1739, 26 January, February, 21 March, 5 April, 30 June and 29 July 1740, 27 January 1741 and 10 December 1746. William Gordon, 8 & 19 November 1739, 7 January 1741 & 20 December 1746.

21 CRO: WL to Thomas Kirkpatrick, 26 January 1740.

22 From 1743 to 1755 the information about the tobacco imports and exports from Kirkcudbright comes from NAS: E504/21/1 & 2.

A further 50 hogsheads were taken to Holland for John Milligan & Co. by the *Prosperity* of Dumfries in July 1743. These were supplied by Andrew & Archibald Buchanan & Co. (20) and Andrew Ramsay & Co. (30 hogsheads) on the *Dove* and *Betty* respectively.

Other Glasgow suppliers were John Stevenson & Co., Richard & Alexander Oswald and John Baird & Co. and John and Robert Wilson.[23]

The Kirkcudbright Tobacco Trade, 1740 to 1755

In January 1740, Walter Lutwidge wrote to William Gordon, 'I shall make no observations about the Dumfries people farming the cellar'.[24] From this date onwards, a number of Dumfries and local merchants used Kirkcudbright for part at least of their tobacco trade:

George Bell jnr.	James Guthrie	James McNish	Robert Nasmith
George Bell snr.	Thos Kirkpatrick	Adam McWhannell	Wm Rain
James Corbet	Wm Kirkpatrick	Edward Maxwell	Wm Rovieson
Robert Erskine	Wm Lenox	George Maxwell	Adam Smart
Robert Ferguson	Thos McBrair	Robert Maxwell	Alex. Spalding
John Freeland	John McCulloch	John Milligan	David Telfair
George Guthrie	George McMurdo	John Morrison	John Wallace

These people seldom imported tobacco solely on their own account but invariably as part of a partnership. Although some of the partnerships appear to have lasted for several years, it is unlikely that they were based on detailed articles of agreement like those set out by William Thwaites & Co.

In July 1743, Robert Ferguson & Co. sent to Holland on board the *Willing Mind* of Irvine tobacco that they had imported on board the *Caledonia*, William Graham master, in December 1740. This is the only official information about the *Caledonia* and Kirkcudbright. Between January 1743 and February 1754, a further 20 vessels imported tobacco directly into Kirkcudbright:

1743: 1	1746: 3	1748: 2	1750: 3	1752: 3
1744: 1	1747: 1	1749: 2	1751: 3	1754: 1

(see also Appendix 1)

In November 1755, the *Duke of Cumberland*, Gerard Robinson master, arrived at Kirkcudbright. Thomas Kirkpatrick, John Williamson and John Bryce, as agents for the Whitehaven tobacco merchant, Peter How, imported 215 hogsheads of tobacco. The story had come full circle.

23 For further information about the Glasgow tobacco merchants see T. M. Devine *The Tobacco Lords* 1975.
24 CRO: WL to William Gordon, 27 January 1740.

What happened to the tobacco?

Having discovered how the tobacco reached Kirkcudbright, the next section describes subsequent frauds intended to supply it to the customers duty-free. In 1722, the House of Commons was told about what happened after the *Kent* delivered her cargo at Kirkcudbright in 1720. Only 145,242 lb. of tobacco had paid duties at the port yet 165,882 lb., supposedly from this cargo, was sent coastwise into England 'for home consumption'. This meant that 20,640 lb. was sent duty free, a loss to the revenue of £436 6s 5d. 'I have reason to believe the damage was more considerable because, for want of Coast Books in the late Collector's time, I was not able to find out what was carried coast-ways, or by land-carriage, since August 1720'. One suspicion was that because the hogsheads had only averaged 603 lb. in weight then they had been 'light-weighed' and that in fact all the 165,882 lb. had been on board the *Kent*.[25]

This problem of light weighing continued. In 1744, the Board of Customs in Edinburgh were informed that 'there is a large warehouse at Kirkcudbright, built and walled round, just by the waterside, within 40 yards of the ship, into which the merchant brings his hogsheads to weigh. When a certain number is weighed of light hogsheads the officers and merchants go to breakfast or dinner, in which time a number of hogsheads are landed and those carried into the cellar without weighing and the former parcel that was weighed turned out and weighed again and so on. This practice is much more extensively carried on at exportation, where there is no check, for the officers to a man are in the plot'. The information continued: 'by which doings matters are so managed that their whole imports are sold in the inland and not one duty paid. It's now so notorious that tobacco is sold at under the duty in an inland town 150 miles from the place of importation, which can't pay less than one penny per pound weight for carriage. The Dumfries officers are no better than the Kirkcudbright officers the only difference being that the places of import and export are not convenient'.[26]

One problem facing the conscientious customs officers was confirming that any tobacco exported had in fact come from a particular cargo and had not been tampered with in any way. On 11th April 1753, when John Freeland & Co. exported 40 hogsheads containing 39,175 lb. of tobacco in the *Jeannie* of Dumfries, James Smith master for Rotterdam, the Kirkcudbright customs officers included the following statement in the Port Book: 'and now to be shipped and exported in the original package with the same marks on and with which it was at first imported and no other without any alteration whatsoever being made in the package except such as was occasioned by necessary cooperage for the repair of the package or any other tobacco being put therein or any part of the tobacco removed or taken out of the package in which it was first imported except only 10 lb. tobacco allowed to be taken out at importation'.

Inevitably, several of the merchants took short cuts, pretending that their tobacco had gone to Europe when in fact it had been landed along the Solway shore or directly on the Isle of Man. The best example of running the tobacco on shore is Thomas Lutwidge's

25 National Archives, Kew: House of Commons Journal XX 1722 pp 106-107.
26 NAS CE51 2/1 Anonymous letter to the Board of Customs in Edinburgh, November 1744.

cargo of tobacco on board the *Lachmere*.[27] This involved part of the *Queen Anne*'s cargo that had been landed at Annan but the collector of Dumfries' subsequent enquiry also produced information about what had supposedly happened to the 50 hogsheads landed at Kirkcudbright.

On 14th October 1723, the *Lachmere*, William Ramsey master, sailed from Whitehaven supposedly to the Isle of Man with nine hogsheads and one barrel of tobacco and eight chalders of coals on board. The next day she was at Annan where on 28th October she shipped on board 45 hogsheads of the *Queen Anne*'s cargo, also for the Isle of Man. Three days later at 11 o'clock in the morning, the *Lachmere* sailed from Annan and steered towards Silloth on the English shore. On 1 November she arrived at Neston near Dumfries with only the Whitehaven tobacco and coals on board. It is unclear what the ship was doing during the next few weeks but on 20th November the *Lachmere* was stranded at Orroland west of Barlocco Bay between Kirkcudbright and Dalbeattie. The nine hogsheads and one barrel were staved and the tobacco washed ashore. There was no sign of the 45 hogsheads taken on board at Annan nearly a month before.

Collector John Crawford of Dumfries wrote to the Board of Customs in Edinburgh on 20 November 1723 that he was 'jealous they run her ashore on purpose to colour their fraud'. He added, 'it is as plain as the sun shines that they have relanded the 45 hogsheads of tobacco' between 31st October and 1st November. He reassured the Board, 'I shall not be wanting to do all that lies in my power to make the discovery plainer if possible'.

Because he was not able to go to Orroland himself, Collector Crawford sent an express message to James Tomlinson, customs surveyor at Kirkcudbright, to start questioning any appropriate witnesses. The master and crew of the *Lachmere* were still in the port. Tomlinson explained to the sailors that they would not be prosecuted for smuggling if they gave information about 'frauds in exportation of tobacco'. Thomas Lutwidge had expected the master, William Ramsey, to swear that he had landed the *Queen Anne*'s tobacco on the Isle of Man. When the master refused, his passage was arranged to the Island and he left Kirkcudbright on 31st December 1723.

Another approach was to confirm that the tobacco had **not** been landed on the Isle of Man. Collector Crawford sent James Tomlinson to Ramsey with a letter from the Board of Customs in Edinburgh addressed to William Henderson, the king's officer there. Henderson managed to obtain a copy of the entry of the *Lachmere*'s last cargo landed from Whitehaven on 1st October 1723: 29 hogsheads of tobacco. This was before the *Queen Anne* had arrived from Virginia and so could not be part of her cargo. Tomlinson also contacted the Manx customs officer in Ramsey, who 'could do him no service for he is an officer for the Earl of Derby and it seems as it's contrary to the laws of that Island to grant any certificates anent the landing of any goods from Britain'. The surveyor's expenses were paid by the Board of Customs in Edinburgh together with 'what sum you think fit for his charge and trouble in going to the Island'.

27 NAS: CE51 1/2 Dumfries Letters from the collector, John Crawford, to the Board of Customs in Edinburgh: 1 November 1721, 19 & 26 February, 9 & 23 September, 16 October, 25 November & 2, 3, 4, 5, 11, 18 & 23 December 1723, 1, 22 & 27 January, 9 & 17 February, 4 & 30 March, 4 & 29 April, 4, 5, 6 & 20 May, 3, 10 (two letters), 17 & 29 June, 29 October, 16 November 1724. Letters from the collector, George Maxwell, to the Board 2 & 20 November 1726 & 7 October 1728.

John Crawford's next evidence came by a somewhat cloak and dagger route. At this time, the merchant bankers Josiah Poole of Liverpool and Richard Maguire of Dublin rented the collection of the Manx customs from the Earl of Derby for £2,000 a year. They had their own officers on the Island, including the man at Ramsey. John Sanforth was the collector of customs based in Douglas and, as we have seen, at the same time a merchant on his own account. He would not sign a certificate detailing the amounts of tobacco landed there. Crawford persevered, however, and in March 1724 he received a note, possibly from Joshua Robinson, Sanforth's clerk, of the tobacco imported into the Island from 24th June to 25th December 1723. When he compared this with all the tobacco sent there from Dumfries and Kirkcudbright it could be proved that 127 hogsheads had never arrived there. Crawford believed that all this tobacco had been relanded along the Solway shore. In addition, since his initial enquiries, 50 hogsheads from on board the *Lachmere* had been 'stuffed' into the collector's books. Crawford commented: 'I heartily wish that all the measures he [Lutwidge] takes to conceal the fraud committed by him about these 45 hogsheads may be as ill concerted'. Unfortunately, the Manx customs records have not survived from this period – there is a gap between 1722 and 1729.

Now that communications had been established between them, William Henderson reported to Collector Crawford that at the end of December 1723 'there came a small barque into Ramsey Burn from Kirkcudbright with about 22 hogsheads of tobacco on board. She stayed there till the 14th February, when she took on board a boatload of brandy, which was sailed from Douglas to her, and then sailed for some place on this [the Solway] coast, without putting one hogshead of her tobacco on shore in that Island'. This was probably the *George* of Parkgate, Samuel Gray master, who at the end of December 1723 had taken 21 hogsheads of the *Queen Anne*'s cargo on board at Kirkcudbright.

John Crawford was shocked at the apparent slipshod behaviour of the English customs officers. In late April 1724 he met with Mr Dean, the collector at Carlisle, and discovered that Thomas Lutwidge had just exported from that port 29 hogsheads leaf tobacco weighing 11,114 lb. The officers had accepted Lutwidge's affidavit that 16 of the hogsheads had paid duty at Kirkcudbright out of the *Queen Anne* and were part of 30 hogsheads carried by coast cocket from Kirkcudbright to Carlisle.

To conclude we now know that 30 of the 50 hogsheads of the *Queen Anne*'s cargo landed at Kirkcudbright had been sent to Carlisle and 21 exported in the *George* to the Isle of Man but not entered there and supposedly smuggled on shore again.

The Export Trade

From 1743 onwards, a high proportion of the tobacco imported into Kirkcudbright was exported to Europe. A total of 44 cargoes was delivered to the following countries:

Norway	12	France	13	Germany	1
Holland	14	Ireland	4		

(See also Appendix II.)

Tobacco for the European markets was sent to a network of merchants, several of them Scottish. At first, Walter Lutwidge dealt with the Rotterdam tobacco merchants Arthur Hamilton and Birstain Molewater. Problems developed with Molewater, based on a misunderstanding on the Dutch merchant's part about the exact terms of Lutwidge's offer to reimburse the creditors of his son-in-law, James Arbuckle, who had died at Peel on the Isle of Man, taken ill while negotiating a smuggling deal. Robert Herries was still a young man when he settled at Rotterdam in 1739. Lutwidge decided to test his abilities. As he explained to Hamilton:

> 'This goes by my ship *Mary & Betty*, Captain Fleming commander, in whom I have shipped 132 hogsheads of tobacco, which goes consigned to your good self, which tobaccos will I hope come to a good market. I have also consigned to Mr Herries 50 hogsheads and as the numbers goes on progressively so I have ordered Mr Herries to take from one and so on to 50 and you the rest. I intend to load the *Brothers* for Holland in 10 days or a fortnight's time and consign the bulk to you. But you must excuse my not sending you the whole. You know a father may have two or three sons and if he gives the whole inheritance to the eldest it's as much as he ought to do. If the *Argile* arrives in any reasonable time I'll send her likewise with the bulk of her cargo to you.'[28]

In 1740, Thomas Lutwidge went on a European tour. Although it had been hoped that the two young men would meet, this does not appear to have taken place. The following January Tom wrote to Herries:

> 'Though my personal acquaintance with you is but slender, yet the character you bear in your own country is a prevailing motive with me add to that young folks ought to encourage and push each other forward in their world and endeavour to make their concerns of mutual advantage. I assure you, Sir, I shall make not the least doubt of your willingness to promote my interest to the utmost of your power for I have great confidence of your veracity and I hope shall never have reason to alter my opinion.'[29]

Walter Lutwidge complained continually about Robert Herries' management of his affairs: he sold the tobacco at too low a price or too soon or too late. Yet both Walter and his son continued to use Robert Herries as their main agent in Rotterdam until 1748. Robert Herries and his brother John were also used by James Guthrie and the Corbets and by George Bell, all Dumfries merchants who unloaded part of their tobacco cargoes in Kirkcudbright.

Between 1750 and 1753, David Telfair and his partners sent tobacco to several different places. This suggests that they did not have fixed 'correspondents' in any one country and were testing the different markets.

28 CRO: WL to Archibald Hamilton, 15 January 1739.
29 CRO: TL to Robert Herries, 9 January 1741.

Country	No. of hogsheads	Country	No. of hogsheads
Norway	60	Holland	202
France	322	Ireland	30

Once the tobacco was safely delivered in Europe and the duties refunded there were two alternatives: it could be returned to Scotland, by way of the Isle of Man, or sold and the money used to purchase other goods. John Freeland exported his tobacco to Norway and imported timber and iron into Kirkcudbright legally. Other merchants purchased tea that was delivered on the Isle of Man. Here it was landed by merchants, including Charles Herries, David Forbes and others originally from the Dumfries & Galloway area. Several of the Kirkcudbright merchant families, like the Kirkpatricks, had representatives living in Ramsey.

On the Isle of Man

In 1754, Adam Smart was taken to court on the Isle of Man for debts owing to John Graham junior and Gilbert Paterson of Dumfries and John Lewhellin of Ramsey and Robert Kennedy of Castletown on the Island. His accounts with both Lewhellin and Kennedy were produced in court to prove their case. These provide valuable information about Smart's contacts in the Island and the amounts of tobacco that were being landed there from Kirkcudbright via Europe. Smart was involved in exportations to Dieppe in August 1751, Havre de Grace in January 1752 and Rotterdam in March 1752 and July 1753.

In October 1752, John Lewhellin acted as Adam Smart's agent on the Isle of Man when Captain Richard Tonkin arrived at Douglas with 22 hogsheads of tobacco. He paid Tonkin's freight charge of £11 and the Manx duty and fees of nearly £32. There was a problem, however: the hogsheads were 'greatly shattered' so that coopers had to be employed to repack the tobacco, strengthening its containers with hoops and nails. In addition to their fees, the porters who carried the tobacco out of the warehouse for weighing twice were paid 2s in drink.

In December 1752, a second cargo of 20 hogsheads of tobacco was landed by David Tonnis [sic]. His freight charge was £12 14s 2d and the Manx duty and fees totalled nearly £33. On this occasion, the hogsheads were damaged after they arrived at Ramsey 'by an uncommon high tide'. 12 hogsheads of the tobacco were shipped to Douglas where they were repacked: 226 yards of cloth were used to produce 102 packs of tobacco from eight of the hogsheads. It appears that the tobacco was shipped in five wherries. Each time Lewhellin supplied three gallons of rum for 'sea store' on the journey, presumably to the Solway coast.

In addition, John Lewhellin purchased for Adam Smart a puncheon containing 111 gallons of rum at 2s 6d per gallon. He supplied eleven empty ankers (barrels) at 18d each. There was an additional anker of rum at 2s 8d per gallon. A further 'parcel' of 111½ gallons of Thomas Forbes' strong rum at 2s 8d per gallon and 11 ankers were supplied by Lewhellin. The tea and rum were shipped off on three wherries. The exact quantity of the

tea is not described in detail but Lewhellin charged a 1½% commission of £3, suggesting that it cost £200. The tea was transported in nine herring barrels costing 3s and four empty ankers. By October 1754, Lewhellin's charges included interest and totalled £144 13s 7d. Adam Smart had only paid £26 to date.

In March 1754, Robert Kennedy, a member of 'my Lord Kenmure's family' who had settled as a merchant in Castletown, landed seven hogsheads of tobacco for Adam Smart. He paid the duty on 6,000 lb. of tobacco and, waiting for instructions from Adam Smart, paid cellarage of 6d a week for 10 months and 2 weeks at 6d per week, totalling £1 1s 0d.

Adam Smart's belongings on the Island had been seized to satisfy the debt supposedly owed to John Graham junior and Gilbert Paterson of Dumfries. These included items held by the Douglas merchants Ross, Black & Christian (David Ross's nephew was in Kirkcudbright), John Lewhellin and Robert Kennedy. The most valuable item was the seven hogsheads of tobacco, which were appraised by three merchants and a tobacconist at £53 2s 8d. On 29th January 1755 they were sold to Archibald McCartney, the highest bidder, for £67. John Cottiman, the deputy searcher of customs at Castletown, charged Robert Kennedy for the costs of the sale as follows:

25 January 1755	To a man, horse and cart for to carry the weights and scales for the weight of tobacco	1s 2d
	300 of 6d nails	1s 6d
	5 porters	5s 10d
	2 cooper 7d per hhd for 7 hhds	4s 1d
	Thomas Taubman & Edward Kelly for beam & scales	3s 6d
29 January	John Clague & Simon Crestrey for porterage	1s 6d
	A man horse & cart to carry home the weights & scales	1s 2d
	To the auctioneers for selling the tobacco	5s 4d
	Paid Mr. Birch for dinner & drink for the jury and the persons viewed	12s 3½d
	Manx	£1 16s 10d
	British	£1 11s 7d

'My trouble to be considered by the Honourable Court.'[30]

Tobacco arrived from America in the form of leaves still on their stalks. Often the leaves were processed into roll tobacco before they were smuggled on shore. The stalks were converted into snuff. John Bignall processed his Cumbrian tobacco in Ramsey while at a later date the two Kirkcudbright merchants William Lennox and Adam McWhannell were involved in a tobacco manufactory there. Presumably they were processing their own tobacco which had been exported from Kirkcudbright to Rotterdam in April 1753 and then relanded on the Island. They employed Samuel McWhannell as an overseer. When the company 'broke up', one of their tobacco presses was lent to John Wattleworth of Ramsey. When he refused to return the press, McWhannell and Lennox employed George Strachan

30 MNHL MS 10071: Lib Canc 1754/1755 1754. ff144 & 162; Chancery File 1754/1755. 1754 ff33 & 47.

of Ramsey to prosecute Wattleworth in the Manx court. Wattleworth now claimed that Samuel McWhannell had owed him a debt. The Manx merchant had sued McWhannell, in his absence, in the Chancery Court on 9th February 1768 and on 6th July 1769 the court approved the debt. A jury was formed to find any of Samuel's belongings still remaining on the Island. They 'identified' the tobacco press. It was sold at auction to George Strachan but he had not paid for it as yet because he was unsure about the ownership. McWhannell & Lennox were frustrated. The press had belonged to them only and Samuel had no interest in it whatsoever. He had been in Scotland when Wattleworth brought the case against him and so could make no defence. Their case against Wattleworth was dismissed and there is no information about what happened to the tobacco press.[31]

There is evidence in the Manx customs ingates about teas and other goods being delivered to the Island by the vessels that had carried tobacco from Kirkcudbright to various parts of Europe. This first story is from the letterbooks of George Moore, a merchant in Peel.

On 19th October 1750, the *Friendship*, John Wilson master, arrived at Peel from Gothenburg. The invoice and other paperwork associated with her cargo of tea had been sent to John McCulloch in Kirkcudbright so that George Moore, as his agent on the Island, could land the cargo but not pay the duties. He wrote to McCulloch the next day by Captain Christian of Ramsey, who was due to sail to Kirkcudbright, and again on 30th October by way of Wilson himself. On 10th November, Moore reported that Wilson had reached the Scots shore but had been 'put back with contrary winds and is yet lying in this harbour'. Apparently Wilson had expected that McCulloch himself would have come to the Island by a boat that had just arrived at Peel from Kirkcudbright but which only carried a letter from the merchant. According to this letter, McCulloch now wanted Wilson to land his cargo of iron at Peel as well as the tea. The captain refused. There is no evidence about what happened to the *Friendship*'s iron. At last the duties on 42 chests and 1 tub of tea and some chinaware were paid by McCulloch on 27th November 1750, when he was apparently on the Island.[32]

In September 1752, January 1753 and January 1754 the *Queensberry* was at Ramsey where David Forbes, John Lewhellin, Anthony Malcolm and John McCulloch imported large cargoes of tea, purchased from the Swedish East India Company at Gothenburg.[33]

Other vessels importing goods at the Isle of Man were: December 1749: *Friendship*, Robert Hamilton from Norway; December 1749 and early January 1750: *Cesar*, George Johnston, from Rotterdam with goods for Charles Herries, including eight chests containing 1,341 lb. of bohea tea valued at £161 6s 7d and four boxes containing 487 lb. of green tea valued at £111 15s 7½d, 205 casks of raisins, currants, liquorice ball, pepper and two casks of gunpowder and for John Lewhellin velvet, plain and flowered cambic, baskets of earthenware and a half crate of tobacco pipes; July 1751: *Friendship* from Norway. John Allen imported at Douglas deal boards, timber and fir poles; December 1753: the *Belly* of Irvine, John Boggs was at the Isle of Man from Rotterdam. Paul Bridson and Philip Finch

31 MNHL: MS10071 Chancery File 1770/1771. 1771 f30.
32 MNHL: MS501C George Moore to John Maculloch, Kirkcudbright, 20 & 30 October & 10 November 1750; Ingates 1750.
33 MNHL: MS10058 Ingates 1753 & 1754.

imported Guinea goods, other Manx merchants imported geneva (gin), tea, raisins, sugar candy, nutmegs etc., David Forbes imported sugar, raisin & currants, Robert Irvine four chests of tea valued at £162 0s 3d, brandy & geneva, Anthony Malcolm imported starch, cinnamon, nutmegs, pepper, prunes, whalebone, bacon chocolate, mace, almonds, hyson tea etc. The *Dalkeith*, John Heslop, had sailed for Bergen in August 1751. In January 1752, she arrived at the Isle of Man from Rotterdam with a mixed cargo of raisins, currants, loaf sugar, cinnamon, nutmegs, cloves, sago, almonds, pearl barley and white paper etc. for David Forbes.[34]

John McCulloch[35]

There have been several references to John McCulloch. His brother, James was a shipmaster. In 1749, as captain of the *Friendship*, James McCulloch delivered a cargo of tobacco to Kirkcudbright. In the 1750s, he delivered rum to the Isle of Man for David Forbes, David Ross and Robert Black, his brother John and John Wallace. This is an early indication of the involvement of Kirkcudbright-related merchants in the rum trade.

The Rum Trade

On 29th October 1776, George Macartney, Governor of Grenada, wrote to John Macartney of Halketleaths: 'There are vessels here sometimes from Kirkcudbright, but the packet (boat) is by much the safest conveyance'.[36]

Between 1770 and 1779, nine vessels delivered rum from Grenada to Kirkcudbright. The pattern was very similar to the tobacco trade – a high proportion of the rum was exported. Several of the merchants' names are familiar:

John Beck & Co.	William Kirkpatrick jnr	Samuel McNaught
Currie Beck & Co.	Kirkpatrick, Beck & Co.	Adam McWhannell
John Grahame	William Lenox	Gilbert Paterson
Adam Muir		

The first of these voyages is possibly of greatest interest because John Paul was the captain of the *John* of Dumfries that reached Kirkcudbright in December 1770. Her cargo of 122 puncheons of rum was imported by Currie Beck & Co. (18), William Kirkpatrick junior (42), John Beck for William Kirkpatrick junior (40) and John Beck for William Kirkpatrick junior, Gilbert Paterson & John Grahame (22). Currie Beck & Co. exported 74 puncheons of this rum to Ireland on the *Dublin* of Whitehaven, John Watson master. Other goods imported on the *John* were sugar (34 hogsheads) and cotton wool (12 bales containing 3000 lb.)

34 Sources for this survey: the Kirkcudbright port books, the Dumfries port books and the Manx Ingates for 1749-1754.

35 For details of John McCulloch's careers on the Isle of Man and in Guernsey and France see Wilkins *The Smuggling Trade Revisited* 2004.

36 Maxwell of Kirkconnell Archive. The information about the rum trade to Kirkcudbright is from NAS: E504/21.

Between 1771 and 1775, the *John* of Kirkcudbright made five voyages from Kirkcudbright to Grenada with James Stewart as master on the first two voyages and Thomas Wallace on the next three. In March 1776, the *John*, Thomas Wallace master, sailed for Grenada with a loading for John Beck & Co. It is possible that she was lost on this voyage but Thomas Wallace survived. In April 1777, the *Peggy* of Kirkcudbright, Robert Laurie master, sailed for Grenada with a loading for John Beck & Co. The size of the cargo suggests that this was a larger ship. She returned in January 1778 with 232 puncheons of rum. There were only two more voyages. The *Peggy* sailed again for Grenada in April 1778, returning that December. The last cargo from Grenada was on board the *Friendship*, with Robert Ker her master, in August 1779.

With the exception of a cargo on the *Sallie* of Maryport, Amos Beeby master ,to Dunkirk in January 1772, the majority of the rum was exported to Cork, often at the start of the next voyage to Grenada. In May and June 1774, three Whitehaven vessels, the *Gale, Golden Rule* and *Jeany* carried a total of seven puncheons of rum to New York.

The general impression is certainly of a fully legal trade. Then in March 1775, 74 puncheons containing 8,247 gallons from the *John*'s autumn 1774 cargo were exported by Thomas Clark & Co. on the *Hope* of Workington, John Bell master for Dunkirk. This was the Mull of Galloway smuggling company, formed by a group of Manxmen from Peel after 1765. The *John* carried a further 102 puncheons to Dunkirk for John Beck & Co. in September 1775. This was a special voyage – the John did not sail for Grenada until March 1776.

Conclusion

The people of Kirkcudbright were deeply involved in the smuggling trade from the early eighteenth century until the 1770s. Most of this smuggling was masked by an apparently legal trade in both tobacco and rum.

Appendix I:
Vessels from Virginia & Maryland delivering Tobacco to Kirkcudbright 1743-1755

Date	Vessel & Master
1743 January	*Sir David* of Irvine, Alexander McTaggart
1744 January	*Indian Queen* of Dumfries, Edward Maxwell
1746 January	*Indian Queen* of Dumfries, Edward Maxwell
1746 December	*Indian Queen* of Dumfries, Edward Maxwell
1746 December	*Adventure,* Alexander Ferguson
1747 January	*Peggie* of Dumfries, David Blair
1748 October	*Diligence* of Glasgow, James Dunlop
1748 November	*Nannie & Jeanie* of Kirkcudbright, Lancelot Tyson
1749 June	*Friendship* of Kirkcudbright, James McCulloch
1749 November	*Peggie* of Dumfries, David Blair
1750 January	*Thistle*, John Graham
1750 March	*Neptune* of Dumfries, Robert Gordon
1751 April	*Jeanie* of Dumfries, John Graham
1751 August	*Queensberry* of Dumfries, Thomas Bell
1751 November	*Neptune* of Dumfries, George Johnston
1752 July	*Jeanie* of Dumfries, James Smith
1752 September	*Friendship* of Kirkcudbright, James Brown
1752 December	*Nancy* of Glasgow, Finlay Gray
1754 February	*Neptune* of Dumfries, George Johnston
1755 November	*Duke of Cumberland*, Gerard Robinson

Appendix II:
Vessels taking tobacco from Kirkcudbright to Europe 1743-1754

Vessel and Master	**Destination**	**Date**
Sir David of Irvine, Alexander McTaggart	Dieppe	February 1743
Prosperity of Dumfries, James Smith	Holland	April 1743
Prosperity of Dumfries, James Smith	Holland	July 1743
Willing Maid of Irvine, Robert Gillies	Holland	July 1743
William & James of Irvine, William Fairrie	Holland	September 1743
Christian, John Rogers	Rotterdam	February 1744
Baltick Merchant, Andrew Kennedy	Holland	April 1744
William & John of Irvine, Samuel Fairrie	Arundel, Norway	June 1744
Success of Dumfries, John Graham	Havre de Grace	October 1744
Adventure of Wexford, Richard Sleg	Rotterdam	November 1744
James of Greenock, Abraham Hastie	Havre de Grace	November 1744
Baltick Merchant, Andrew Kennedy	Norway	June 1746
Thomas of Dumfries, James Hodgson	Dublin	January 1747
Indian Queen of Dumfries,	Havre de Grace	February 1747
Peggie of Dumfries, David Blair	Havre de Grace	February 1747
Indian Queen of Dumfries, Robert Morris	Havre de Grace	April 1747 [37]
Happie Chance of Irvine, John Boggs	Christiansand, Norway	June 1747
Mary of Dublin, Luke White	Rotterdam	August 1747
Endeavour of Dumfries, George Halliday	Dublin	January 1749
Fortune de la Mare of Konningsberg, Johan Jeskill	Bordeaux	January 1749
Mercury of Dumfries, William Craik	Rotterdam	March 1749
Friendship, Robert Hamilton	Longsound, Norway	July 1749
Caesar, George Johnston	Rotterdam	October 1749
Friendship, Robert Hamilton	Havre de Grace	December 1749
Duke of Cumberland, Gerard Robinson	Dunkirk	April 1750
Mercury of Dumfries, William Craik	Hamburgh	May 1750
Neptune of Dumfries, James Sturgeon	Dieppe	May 1750
Nancy, William Whiteside	Dieppe	June 1750
Inger & Hellana, Jergus Gundwen	Longsound, Norway	August 1750
Ester, James Little	Rotterdam	October 1750
Friendship of Kirkcudbright, James Brown	Brewick, Norway	April 1751
Sarah of Saltcoats, David Cunninghame	Drunton, Norway	May 1751
Jeanie of Dumfries, John Graham	Longsound, Norway	May 1751
Dalkeith, John Heslop	Bergen	August 1751
Sarah of Saltcoats, David Cunninghame	Dieppe	August 1751
Phoenix of Dundalk, John Morton	Dublin	November 1751
Neptune of Dumfries, George Johnston	Havre de Grace	January 1752
Duke of Whitehaven, Francis Yowart	Rotterdam	March 1752
Robert & Elizabeth, Robert Reid	Longsound, Norway	May 1752
Jeanie of Dumfries, James Smith	Norway	August 1752
Jeanie of Dumfries, James Smith	Rotterdam	April 1753
Margaret of Kirkcudbright, Andrew Martin	Dublin	April 1753
Bellie of Irvine, John Boggs	Rotterdam	July 1753
Duke of Whitehaven, Valentine Yowart	Drontheim, Norway	May 1754

37 No mention of tobacco but *en route* to Dumfries

'MOKISINS', 'CLOAKS' AND 'A BELT OF A PECULIER FABRICK': RECOVERING THE HISTORY OF THE THOMAS WHYTE COLLECTION OF NORTH AMERICAN CLOTHING, FORMERLY IN THE GRIERSON MUSEUM

Alison K. Brown[1]

Abstract

In 1965 the Grierson Museum, Thornhill, was disbanded and its rich collections of natural history and antiquities were distributed to other museums and to private dealers. Glasgow Museums acquired several pieces, including some rare items of clothing that mostly originated in the Great Lakes region of North America. The collection history of these items has become obscured, but current research to reattach the clothing to surviving documentation suggests that it was acquired by a Dumfriesshire man, Thomas Whyte, early in the nineteenth century. This paper introduces this little-known collection and the archival processes through which its history is now being reconstructed and recast. It also reflects upon the social relationships through which the Grierson Museum was developed and highlights possibilities for future research into its fascinating history.

Introduction

This paper concerns on-going research on a little-known collection of early nineteenth century clothing made by First Nations seamstresses which is currently housed in Glasgow Museums, but originally formed part of the ethnographic material in the Grierson Museum, Thornhill.[2] The collection was founded by medical doctor and former President of the Dumfries and Galloway Natural History Society, Dr Thomas Grierson (1818-89), and from 1872 was housed in a purpose built museum building in the village of Thornhill, where New Street joins Boat Brae. For decades the Grierson Museum was a source of inspiration and wonder for local people and visitors to the town. However, despite the creation of a trust to support it following Dr Grierson's death, insufficient financial resources were available to keep it operational. This, combined with a lack of interest at the appropriate administrative levels, meant that it soon became neglected. In 1965, following an enquiry by the Department of Education for Scotland, it was agreed that the collection should be dispersed by the Dumfriesshire Educational Trust. That the collection was so disregarded at this time is most unfortunate. However, it is also perhaps not surprising given the museum climate of the mid-twentieth century. This was a period when many museums in the UK, and particularly those operated by local government, began to reorganise their activities with a view to concentrating on exhibitions and collections related directly to the geographical areas which they served. The drive to focus on local history and archaeology was often at the expense of ethnographic collections, which many museums no longer

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2 'First Nations' is the current preferred term for the Indigenous people of Canada, replacing 'Indian' and 'Native'. In the United States the collective term 'Native American' is used.

viewed as being part of their mandate. As few small museums had specialist ethnographers on staff, it was not uncommon for such collections to be transferred to larger institutions where there was appropriate curatorial expertise.

The dismantling of the Grierson Museum was, then, part of a wider movement of 'rationalizing' collections. Most items regarded as of local significance were transferred to the Dumfries Museum, which also retained the Egyptian, Assyrian, and some of the Central and South American material, and a selection of the eighteenth and early ninteenth century ethnographic material. Some of the non-Scottish ethnographic and archaeological items were transferred to the Royal Scottish Museum, Durham and Leicester universities and to Glasgow City Council. A number of other important items were purchased by dealers and their whereabouts are no longer known. With great foresight, however, A.E. Truckell, who had fought for many years to save the Grierson Museum and in the end had to oversee its dispersal, compiled an extensive list of the destinations of the some 4000 catalogued items that were in the collection at the time the Grierson Museum was disbanded.[3] Without this list, Dr Grierson's collection would have suffered the fate of so many other important collections assembled in the Victorian era that were broken up when their owners died or the money ran out. Although many such dispersed collections would now be considered 'lost museums', Truckell's list can help museum scholars today identify items formerly in the Grierson Museum and now in other collections, which may otherwise have become disassociated from valuable provenance information. His list is not the only surviving documentation regarding Dr Grierson's collection, however. Like many educated men of his generation, Grierson was meticulous about recording information about the pieces he acquired. His original catalogue, written in flowing copperplate in his idiosyncratic style and, at times illustrated with sketches of artefacts, has survived in the archives of the Dumfries Museum, along with a substantial quantity of additional documentary material relating to the museum's history.[4] This is indeed a rich source of material for those interested in the history of the museum movement and the public understanding of science in the second half of the nineteenth century.

I draw upon some of these archival materials in this paper and trace below how the surviving documentation from the Grierson Museum has played a central role in identifying the source of important early nineteenth century First Nations artefacts. I demonstrate that sifting through seemingly disconnected pieces of information can provide valuable context for the collection history of these objects. In recent years many museum scholars have observed that artefacts have biographies; with each stage in an object's journey as it passes through the hands of its maker and subsequent owners, its meanings change and it takes on new, additional, layers of knowledge.[5] Furthermore, as recent research into the collections of the Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford, has shown, social relationships are created, maintained and sometimes severed as artefacts move between different locations.[6] Thus, studying the collection histories of these artefacts as they move through space and

3 Truckell, 1966; Truckell, 1989, 160.

4 In addition to many original documents, the Dumfries Museum has a computerised database of the Grierson Museum collection. I am most grateful to James Williams of the *DGNHAS* and Joanne Turner of the Dumfries Museum for their kindness in allowing me access to these records and for their helpful comments as the research has progressed.

5 See, for example, Kopytoff, 1986; Thomas, 1991; Hoskins, 1998; Myers, 2001.

6 Gosden and Larsen with Petch, 2007.

time effectively allows us a window into understanding the relationships between different groups of people.

The Thomas Whyte collection, which forms the focus of this paper, is one such collection that has passed through many different stages before it was acquired by Glasgow City Council on behalf of the city's Museum service following the dismantling of the Grierson Museum. The collection consists of nine items of clothing and adornment that were most likely acquired in the Great Lakes region of North America, though not all are made using techniques usually associated with First Nations people from this area. I use this collection to give some insights into how the social relations between Dr Grierson and local people from Thornhill and its environs led to the development of his museum. Indeed, in order to understand the biographies of the objects in the museum, it is essential to also understand the individuals who contributed to it. I emphasise, however, that although the focus of the research thus far has been on the individuals known to be associated with these artefacts, there are rich possibilities for further study into how these pieces were used by Dr Grierson in his displays, and in turn, on the role of ethnographic artefacts in the Grierson Museum and in nineteenth century museums more broadly.

Glasgow connections

In order to trace the history of the Thomas Whyte collection, we must start with the artefacts in their current location. Today, Glasgow Museums has some six hundred items from North America in its collections. Like most local government operated museums in the UK, the museum service has no history of sponsoring ethnographic fieldwork and has been largely reliant on donations from the public to develop the collections, which, as a result, have been come together in a rather haphazard way. Not surprisingly, the quality and quantity of documentation in the museum's files is also quite uneven. Despite there never having been a specialist curator of North American ethnographic material on Glasgow Museums staff, in the 1960s the museum seems to have been especially keen to develop these collections, perhaps encouraged by one of the education officers, who wanted to create visitor programmes about the Indigenous people of North America.[7] Quite unusually, the curatorial staff was allocated sufficient financial resources to buy new pieces, either through private sale or at auctions and from specialist dealers in what was then termed 'primitive art'. It was thus fortuitous for Glasgow Museums that the Grierson Museum collection became available in 1965.

In addition to a number of archaeological specimens and weapons, 21 items of ethnography were transferred to Glasgow Museums, almost half of which originated in North America. These included two painted coats, one of caribou hide, the other of moose; a quill-wrapped belt; some elk tendons and a lasso. Though it was recorded in the files that these items had come from the Grierson Museum, very little additional material was noted and crucially, one of these coats seems never to have been fully catalogued. Since their

7 Most curators of ethnographic collections in the UK are responsible for collections from around the world, rather than from one particular region or continent. Indeed, only three British museums currently employ specialist curators of ethnographic material from the Americas: the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, the British Museum and World Museum Liverpool.

arrival in Glasgow, two pieces – an Innu coat and a hide pouch that is probably Slavey in origin – have been published, but other than these, the pieces that were formerly in the Grierson Museum have remained largely under-researched.[8] Glasgow Museums has only recently begun to make records of researcher interest in particular pieces but it seems reasonable, given research trends in First Nations and Native American material culture, that any previous interest in these items would have been geared towards specific item types or technologies, rather than in studying the collection as an entity.

In 2002 I joined the staff of Glasgow Museums as the Research Manager for Human History and became interested in how ethnographic materials have been displayed in Glasgow since the founding of the first council-owned museum in 1854.[9] I was especially interested in learning more about the connection to the Grierson Museum, as I have long been interested in nineteenth century museums and the dispersal and movement of ethnographic collections, and was aware that several pieces in the Glasgow Museums collection had come from this source. Furthermore, my own research background concerns working with First Nations people to explore the contemporary meanings of historic artefacts, and it was apparent that the pieces from the Grierson Museum were unusual both for their age and their condition. Although my work commitments during my time at Glasgow Museums prevented me from devoting much time to the Grierson collection, I have subsequently been able to study the items in more detail as part of a research project based out of the University of Aberdeen which has focused on First Nations collections in Scottish museums and family homes.[10]

In 2005, just before I left Glasgow Museums to take up my current post, Sherry Farrell Racette, a colleague from Canada who has studied First Nations clothing for many years, made a research visit to view two spectacular painted coats which are in the ethnographic collection. There are some 20 coats of this kind known to exist, mostly in museums in Europe, though there are also a few examples in North American collections. Known as 'toggies' in fur trade parlance, a term derived from the Cree word muska togy, these painted hide coats were worn in winter and combine the aesthetics and manufacturing techniques of the Indigenous peoples of the region with those of Europeans who participated in the fur trade or were part of military campaigns. As such, they symbolize the complicated histories of cultural entanglement in the Canadian northwest.[11]

8 The Innu coat is illustrated in Burnham 1992, 207; the Slavey pouch is mentioned in Thompson 1994, 25. The pouch in Glasgow appears to be identical to one that was formerly in the Speyer Collection and is now in the collection of the Canadian Museum of Civilization. These two pouches are so similar that the same woman may have made them (Judy Thompson to Alison Brown, email communication 27 May 2007).

9 Brown, 2006.

10 'Material Histories: Social Relationships between Scots and Aboriginal People in the Canadian Fur Trade, c1870-1930', was funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council and ran from 2005-07. The project was based in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Aberdeen. See www.abdn.ac.uk/materialhistories.

11 For a discussion of the Cree vocabulary used for these coats see Farrell Racette 2005, 13.

Figure 1 Reverse of painted hide coat. Eth/NN/564.
Courtesy of Glasgow Museums, Culture and Sport Glasgow.

One of these two coats stood out for us. Of the two, it was in less good condition, in part due to its age, but also because it had been well worn. However, it was undoubtedly one of the earliest coats of its kind that Farrell Racette had seen, and we were both intrigued by its history, by the woman who had made it and the person or persons who had worn it. On turning to the museum's files, however, we were frustrated by the lack of documentation that would help us learn more. The coat was listed in the records simply as 'Eth/NN/564'. 'NN' in Glasgow Museums' documentation system means 'no number' and usually applies to artefacts for which there is seemingly no knowledge of how or when they came into the

collection. Given that the vast collections of Glasgow Musems have been assembled over many decades, during which time varying standards of curatorial care have been in place, it is not surprising that some artefacts can no longer be traced in the museum's records. However, retrospective research can occasionally help recover the histories of artefacts and match them with the slightest of written clues, for example in correspondence or in historic registers. Such research can often involve going through descriptions of artefacts written many years ago, and trying to match these with contemporary knowledge of the collections. In this case, it was a partly illegible old label that provided a vital clue. The only documentation we could find for coat Eth/NN/564 was a handwritten label that appeared to read 'Indian Dress North America. Presented by James White, Britain' and a second label with the letter number combination 'R.N. 371'. Both these labels were clearly of considerable age and showed that someone, somewhere, had taken the care to catalogue this magnificent coat at some point in the past. Though the labels suggested the coat had been part of another collection before it arrived in Glasgow Museums we could not, at this time, identify which collection this was.

In the meantime, I had begun to look at the documentation in Glasgow Museums relating to the First Nations pieces that had come from the Grierson Museum and were of a similar age. Several of these were listed as having been donated to that museum in 1861 or 1863 by a J.W. Douglas. Although there is no information in Glasgow Museums' files about the identity of J.W. Douglas, by this time I had learned that the archives of the Grierson Museum had survived in the Dumfries Museum. These original records point to a fascinating story of generosity, local pride and commitment to Victorian values of education and the public good but have also been absolutely crucial in confirming the source of the mystery coat, Eth/NN/564.

The Grierson Museum

The Grierson Museum is what we might refer to as a 'lost museum'. Thomas Boyle Grierson, a medical doctor who spent his working life in the town of Thornhill, was committed to the service of his local community and like many Victorian Scots was a champion of education as a means of social improvement. His personal collection of several thousand artefacts was accumulated with the intention of founding a teaching centre for young people, particularly those from local farming communities. Initially the museum was housed in his home on Drumlanrig Street, but as the collection grew and more space was needed to display the many natural history specimens, archaeological and ethnographic artefacts, and relics of local historic, literary and cultural significance, he was awarded a land grant from the 5th Duke of Buccleuch, the president of the Society of Antiquaries and one of the wealthiest landowners in the country. This allowed him to develop a dedicated space to maximise the educational benefit of his diverse and fascinating collection, and the new museum[12] building (Figure 2) and its extensive gardens opened to the public in 1872.

12 The museum building was demolished around 1970 and a senior citizens care home is now located on the site (James Williams, personal communication with the author, 1st March, 2009).

Figure 2 The Grierson Museum. Courtesy of Dumfries Museum.

Figure 3 The displays of the Grierson Museum, 1965. Photographer: James Williams.

The lower gallery was devoted to natural history, with displays of geological specimens including fossils and minerals, shells, insects and taxidermy from around the globe, including a number of 'sheep monstrosities' (Figure 3). Upstairs, visitors could observe objects of art and antiquarian interest, including a significant collection of Burns memorabilia, Egyptian and Chinese antiquities, and 'a large number of national costumes and various things illustrative of a rude state of society', which is probably where the items that are the focus of this paper were displayed.[13] This extract from an 1887 poem published in a Canadian newspaper gives something of the flavour of the displays that confronted the curious visitor:

> 'Go gliding o'er the world's wide breast:
> That tomahawk came from the West;
> Those wiry-gods from India's plain;
> Those bright shells from the Spanish Main;
> That parrot chattered, monkey swung,
> Coiled serpent shot its forked tongue,
> That curious dress first met the eye
> Where burning suns are riding high.
> Whereas those birds so dim and white
> Have cowered beneath an Arctic night;
> A man, like him in yon canoe,
> Has flung his harpoon where they flew,
> Then upon blubber dined forsooth
> Or started at yon narwhal's tooth!
> Far nearer, where the Nith may croon,
> That otter fished beneath the moon;
> There's the first larch whose branches grew,
> Soft nourished by Dumfriesshire dew;
> See the old jugs, and older cross;
> Glencairn smiles placid at their loss.'[14]

Such exotic displays fired the imagination and the museum was tremendously popular. So keen was Dr Grierson that all appreciate his collection that he did not impose an entry fee on Saturday afternoons, though a small charge was in place at other times. It is said that on New Year's Day 1863, he held a competition to see which of the visitors could give the longest and most accurate list of objects in the museum: the winner named 170 items.[15]

Grierson seems to have been an obsessive collector and something of a renaissance man. He was also the founder of the Thornhill Institute, a local society to which talks on a variety of subjects were given by many distinguished speakers. Grierson was extremely

13 Descriptions of the galleries and their contents were reported in Anon. 1872 and Ramage 1874.
14 Melville 1887.
15 Truckell 1965, 71.

well-read and was avidly interested in subjects ranging from religious doctrine, botany and archaeology, to the physical sciences, the arts and literature. He corresponded with many eminent intellectuals of the day and was a member of learned societies such as the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland and the Geological Society of Glasgow.[16] Secondary sources suggest that although Dr Grierson was regarded as something of an eccentric by local people - Joseph Waugh described him as 'a forby queer man' - he was also very highly thought of and respected for his generosity and his willingness to share his knowledge and resources.[17] As one reporter noted:

> 'Dr Grierson is most liberal in regard to admission to his museum and grounds, ready to receive with utmost kindness and patience all who present themselves – young and old, rich and poor; – willing also to pour out from his well-stored mind the knowledge which he has been gradually accumulating for many years.'[18]

It is undoubtedly partly due to Dr Grierson's kindness to the people of Thornhill and neighbouring villages that he was able to expand the museum collection so successfully. He was passionate about the educational influence of museums; this must have been infectious and many items were given to him for the collection as a result. He was also forward thinking and was seemingly in favour of distributed collections. He encouraged others to think of smaller, local museums when choosing a destination for their own collections, as he believed the national museums already had sufficient resources and could afford to buy rather than rely on donations.[19] His catalogue allows us to see the source of many of the specimens and artefacts that filled the cases and were suspended from the ceilings. Furthermore, because the Dumfries Museum has a number of photographs of the Grierson Museum displays that were taken in the 1960s prior to its dispersal, it is possible to get some sense of how this remarkable collection was organised at different stages in its history. The artefacts that have survived give us further clues to the kinds of material that people valued in the Victorian period, and Dr Grierson's catalogue, in which he faithfully recorded each object, often with as much information as he had, and giving multiple versions if his sources differed, helps provide context for these pieces as they entered the museum stage of their biography.

The Thomas Whyte Collection

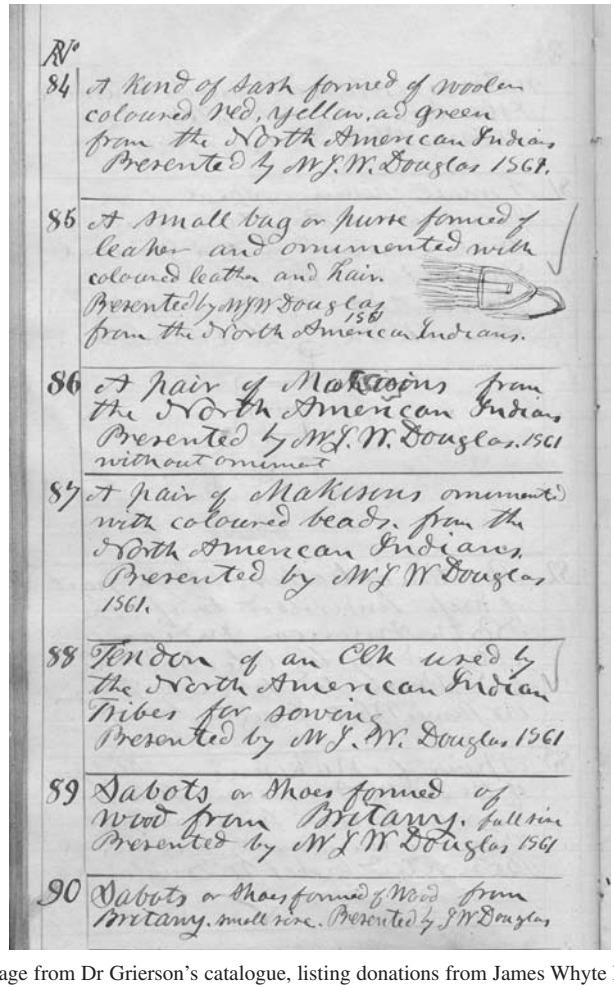
Dr Grierson's catalogue has allowed for the First Nations items in Glasgow Museums that were acquired following the dispersal of the Grierson Museum to be reconnected with collection information that was not passed on with them at the time of transfer. Recently, the Dumfries Museum staff transcribed these original catalogue entries into a searchable database and curator, Joanne Turner, kindly checked this database on my behalf for any records relating to J.W. Douglas. Through her efforts we established that J.W. Douglas

16 Anon. 1889.
17 Waugh, 1923, 121.
18 Ramage, 1874.
19 Anon, 1878, 18.

was, in fact, James Whyte Douglas (Figure 4) and that he was a regular donor to the Grierson Museum, having given some 30 artefacts during the 1860s and 1870s. These items included natural history specimens, for example, the 'skull of a tiger'; historical relics, including, the 'fringe of Queen Mary's bed at Castlemilk where she slept before the Battle of Langside' and some artwork including a 'painting of my pony and my dog Plato'. The catalogue also includes five items that were specifically identified as having been 'brought from America' by Thomas Whyte, the father of James Whyte Douglas, and a further artefact that is described as having been 'obtained by the late Mr T. White'. Five grizzly bear claws with holes bored through the root and tied together with a piece of string (Figure 5), optimistically identified in Dr Grierson's catalogue as 'probably from a tiger or lion', are said to have 'belonged' to Thomas Whyte, though it is not stated whether he brought them from North America himself. It is reasonable to speculate that the remaining eight items donated by James Whyte Douglas that have a North American provenance were also owned and perhaps collected by his father.

Fig. 4. James Whyte Douglas and an unidentified boy, probably his son, George, 1862. 1965.663. Courtesy of Dumfries Museum.

Fig. 5 Grizzly bear claws, listed as the claws of a tiger or lion in Dr Grierson's catalogue. A1965.33ad. Courtesy of Glasgow Museums, Culture and Sport Glasgow.



No

84 A kind of sash formed of woolen coloured red, yellow, and green from the North American Indians Presented by W. J. W. Douglas 1861.

85 A small bag or purse formed of leather and ornamented with coloured leather and hair. Presented by W. J. W. Douglas 1861 from the North American Indians.

86 A pair of Mokasins from the North American Indians Presented by W. J. W. Douglas. 1861 without ornament

87 A pair of Makisons ornamented with coloured beads from the North American Indians. Presented by W. J. W. Douglas 1861.

88 Tendon of an Elk used by the North American Indian Tribes for sewing Presented by W. J. W. Douglas 1861

89 Sabots or Shoes formed of wood from Britany. full size Presented by W. J. W. Douglas 1861

90 Sabots or Shoes formed of Wood from Britany. small size. Presented by J. W. Douglas

Fig. 6 Page from Dr Grierson's catalogue, listing donations from James Whyte Douglas. Courtesy of Dumfries Museum.

Dr Grierson used large labels on his artefacts, with a number preceded by 'R.N.', which we can assume stands for 'Registration Number' (Figure 6). In his catalogue the artefact with the number R.N. 371 is described as 'Large cloak formed of skin or leather, the lower edge is fringed with pieces of copper. Brought by the late Thos White Esq from America. Presented to me by his son James White Douglas 1863'. This description and the number matches the label in the file for the painted coat, Eth/NN/564, in Glasgow Museums. Finally it was possible to start uncovering the history of this rare item of clothing. As so few of these coats that have survived have detailed provenance, being able to associate this garment with a named owner and also to link him to other items he collected is an extremely important development.

All fourteen items listed in Dr Grierson's catalogue that are connected to Thomas Whyte were donated in 1861 or 1863. However, only eight of these can now be identified in the collection of Glasgow Museums, including the coat described above. The other pieces were described by Dr Grierson in the following manner:

> 82. Portion of Leather. Likely a part of dress, understood so of the North American Indians. Obtained by the late Mr T. White and presented to me by his son, Mr James White Douglas, 1861
>
> 85. A small bag or purse formed of leather and ornamented with coloured leather and hair. Presented by Mr J W Douglas from the North American Indians, 1861. Presented by Mr J W Douglas, 1861.
>
> 88. Tendon of an Elk used by the North American Indian Tribes for sewing. Presented by Mr J W Douglas, 1861
>
> 250. Lasso used by the North American Indians in catching wild animals. Presented by Mr J White Douglas, 1863.
>
> 372. Large cloak formed of skin or leather, it is ornimented with painting. Brought from America by the late Thos White Esq. Presented to me by his son James White Douglas 1863.
>
> 376. Belt of a peculiar fabrick brought from America by the late T White Esq. Presented to me by his son James White Douglas 1863.
>
> 381. Five large claws, probably of a tiger or lion belonged to the late Thos White Esq. Presented to me by his son James White Douglas, 1863.

In addition to these pieces there is also a single 'beef shoe' or 'botte sauvage' in the collection of Glasgow Museums - which has the number 92 and a label identifying it as a 'North American Moccasin presented by J.W. Douglas', suggesting that it originated with Thomas Whyte.[20] There is nothing in the Grierson catalogue which identifies this boot more clearly, however, and the number 92 is not an original Grierson number, but is the

20 The 'botte sauvage' was a type of shoe that combined the soft sole of a moccasin with the stiff leather upper of European boots. They were typically worn by voyageurs, men who worked as crews on the canoes that carried trade goods and supplies to trading posts throughout the Canadian northwest.

result of the re-cataloguing of the Grierson collection in the later nineteenth century, a point to which I will return.

Matching up the objects in Glasgow Museums with the Grierson catalogue suggests that several other pieces that were collected by Thomas Whyte have gone astray since Dr Grierson first accessioned them in the 1860s. Although their whereabouts today are not presently known, Grierson's catalogue provides some tantalising glimpses:

> 83 A pair of mokisins or Slippers of the North American Indians on which soals have been put. They are considerably woran
>
> 84 A kind of Sash formed of woollen coloured red, yellow and green from the North American Indians
>
> 86 A pair of mokisins from the North American Indians, without ornament
>
> 87 A pair of makisins ornamented with coloured beads from the North American Indians
>
> 343 Hair of the Bison or Buffalo of North America brought by the late Mr Thos. White
>
> 366 Large roll of bark. Birch, used by the North American Indians

Though it is frustrating to know that these items have probably been lost, the descriptions in Dr Grierson's catalogue at least offer a fuller idea of the kinds of objects which Thomas Whyte brought back to Scotland with him, if not their details. Comparison with late eighteenth and early nineteenth century pieces in other collections can provide some clues as to what his full collection must have looked like.

It is not possible to be certain when these items went astray but once again the documentation gives some clues. Five years after Dr Grierson's death, George Black of the National Museum of Antiquities, reorganised the displays and published a catalogue of the collection in 1894 with co-author Joseph Bisset.[21] This catalogue listed all the artefacts that were on display at the time of compilation, arranged according to Black's categories, though he retained much of the character of Dr Grierson's former displays. In this catalogue only those items which are now in the Glasgow Museums collection are listed, though no information is provided regarding provenance. We can thus surmise that the other pieces from the Thomas Whyte collection went missing from Dr Grierson's collection sometime between the early 1860s to the early 1890s, or became misidentified during this period. I am familiar with most of the other Scottish museum collections from North America and to date have not come across any of Grierson's labels which might help identify any of these missing pieces.

21 Black and Bisset, 1894.

Who was Thomas Whyte?

I began this paper by noting that tracing the process through which collections are assembled can inform us of the social relationships between the people associated with them. As I have shown in the discussion above, original documentation is crucial in uncovering the trajectories of objects as they move between owners. But has this reliance on museum records brought us any closer to understanding how Thomas Whyte was able to acquire these beautifully made pieces? Preliminary research generated by the museum documentation has allowed me to start piecing together his biography, though at present, aside from Dr Grierson's catalogue entries and the artefacts themselves, there is still no hard evidence which connects him to North America.

Thomas Whyte was born in 1783 to James Whyte of Stroquhan and Esther Whyte (née Cranford). He died in Edinburgh 1861, the year his son donated part of his collection to the Grierson Museum. Early nineteenth century records show that he owned Upper Stroquhan Farm, a small estate also known as Glen Esslin or Gleneslyn, in the parish of Dunscore, Dumfriesshire, but it is not yet known if he was ever actively involved in running it himself. Newspaper adverts placed in the *Dumfries Weekly Journal* in the 1820s, for example, indicate that he leased the property for a number of years during which time he was living in Sligo on the west coast of Ireland.[22]

In 1803 a Thomas White was commissioned as a Captain in the Kirkcudbright and Wigtown Militia, also known as the 21st Regiment or the Galloway Rifles.[23] Although the spelling of this individual's surname differs, it is likely that he was the Thomas Whyte who interests me. In a period in which Britain was almost constantly engaged in warfare both in Europe and North America, service in the military or navy was common for young men. The Militia Bill introduced in 1797 authorised a force of 6000 to be raised within Scotland, drawn from all eligible men aged between 18 and 45.[24] Thomas Whyte would have been 17 years old when the bill was passed, and so it is no surprise to find that he joined the local militia three years later, when he turned twenty, the year which coincided with the most serious threat of French invasion. I have yet to locate records that confirm his activities and whereabouts from 1803, and so have no knowledge of how long Captain Whyte stayed in the Militia; enlistment was usually for a period of five years, though exemptions to this rule were permitted at a cost. Some records of the Kirkcudbright and Wigtown Militia's movements have survived for the period between 1803 and 1814, when it was disembodied, and these imply that it remained in Scotland throughout this time. However, it seems unlikely that Thomas Whyte was part of this militia during this entire period, especially as it coincides with the probable date of collection of the North American artefacts.

All that can presently be said with any certainty regarding his life as a young man is that in 1814 Thomas Whyte married Emily Olivia Douglas, the daughter of Henrietta Nicholson and Captain William Douglas of the 103rd Regiment of Foot (King's Irish Infantry) in Dunscore.[25] Emily was from an extremely privileged background and was

22 *The Dumfries Weekly Journal*, 23 November 1823, p.1, col. 3.
23 *The Dumfries Weekly Journal*, 16 August 1803, p.4, col. 4.
24 Devlin, 1997, 11.
25 Adams, 1921, 347.

related through her father to the titled Douglas family of southwest Scotland as well as to the Irish landed gentry through her mother. It is not yet clear what the social status of Whyte's family was, but he must have been well connected and at least of the gentleman farmer class to have been in a position to marry a woman from such a prominent family. Thomas and Emily had four children, James Charles Whyte Douglas (1819-1885); William Thomas Whyte (d. 1824); Harriet Esther Whyte (1817-1847) and Emily Olivia Whyte (1824-1869).[26] By the early 1820s the family was living in Annaghloy House, a mansion in Sligo, close to Emily's mother's family.[27] Emily Whyte died in 1838 at the age of 54 and after her death, Thomas Whyte returned to Scotland, though he retained property in the west of Ireland. It is not yet known how he spent the later years of his life, though as he inherited considerable land holdings and property from his wife following an antenuptial agreement, it is possible that he lived off the rents and had no need to work. He was clearly extremely wealthy when he died, aged 78 in 1861, and although some personal items are referred to in the 38 pages of his will, for example family silver, shooting and fishing equipment, an upright clock and two portable writing desks, his North American souvenirs are not mentioned specifically.[28]

James Whyte Douglas, the eldest son, lived an unconventional life, supported by his father, even though their relationship is believed to have been rather tense. Whyte Douglas was apparently extremely proud of his mother's lineage, and a detailed handwritten genealogy he prepared can be found in the collection of the Dumfries Museum. He is said to have taken the Douglas name as part of his own following the death of his mother's only brother, who had no children.[29] In 1857 Whyte Douglas married a Breton woman, Mathurine Moy (d. 1903), at Belle-Isle-en-Terre and they had two children.[30] Whyte Douglas seems to have spent much of his life travelling between Ireland, Scotland and Brittany, where he mostly lived alone some distance from any neighbours in a small house deep in the forest, referred to as the Hermitage. He found fame as a wolf hunter, undoubtedly an unusual career choice for someone from such a privileged background, and was known by the nickname 'Shafto'. Edward Davies created a vivid portrayal of Whyte Douglas in his book *Wolf-hunting and Wild Sport in Lower Brittany*, and also commented on his troubled relationship with his father:

> 'Shafto's sire was yet alive, a large landed-proprietor in the north of England; but, having a numerous family by a second wife, he had given a willing consent to the self-imposed exile of his son and heir; with whom, owing to his devotion to the chase, and refusal to adopt a learned profession,

26 *Ibid*.

27 Annaghloy House remains a private residence. Correspondence with the Sligo Archives has shown that Thomas White [sic] had the land surrounding the house surveyed in 1825 and was leasing it to a Thomas Ray at the time of the Griffith Valuation 1852-8 (Fran Hegarty, personal communication with the author, 16 May, 2006). It is therefore possible that there may be additional documentation in Ireland to provide further context for the family and any North American connections.

28 James Whyte Douglas inherited all the furnishings of Annaghloy House and Greenside House, Whyte's Edinburgh mansion, and it is likely the North American material was housed in one of these properties. Thomas Whyte, Last Will and Testament, dated 24 April 1863. Edinburgh Sheriff Court Wills, Ref SC70/4/86.

29 Adams, p. 494.

30 The two children, Hélène and George, were both born before their parents were married. Hélène married Nathaniel Kemp, an English gentleman whose family was from the south coast of England and were prominent in Brighton society. Some attempt has been made to trace descendents of the Whyte Douglas family, though without success so far.

> he had held little or no intercourse for years, beyond paying him his regular allowance in quarterly instalments. When this was exceeded – a by no means uncommon event – and a request made for a ''further advance,'' the vials of the old man's wrath, charged with the bitterest invective, were poured unsparingly on the son's head. An old college friend once told me that his father had denounced him as a prodigal anticipating his inheritance, and ''eating up the calf while yet in the cow's belly.'' To which the son, not without some reason, thus replied: "Father, I am the oldest heir-apparent in Great Britain; and you would have me wait till I've no teeth left either for cow or calf"'.[31]

Whyte Douglas achieved some notoriety in later life and has become something of a romantic figure in Brittany, following his rapid departure in 1877 with his young servant girl, whose husband later accused him of raping her.[32] His property was sold off in his absence, and it seems likely that any papers concerning his father were disposed of then. Neither of his sisters married, and though their wills have been sourced there are no leads in them that might connect the family to North America.

It must have been just after Thomas Whyte's death that James Whyte Douglas donated most of his father's First Nations material to Dr Grierson, along with several European antiquities and relics that he had also owned. Contemporary newspaper reports show that Thomas Whyte supported the Thornhill Mechanics Institute, and it seems likely that he was in favour of other educational initiatives.[33] Although he died before Dr Grierson's Museum opened in its new building, he would have known of the collection and its role in introducing local people to the wider world through the use of artefacts. It thus seems reasonable that rather than moving his father's collection to his own home in Brittany, James Whyte Douglas considered the Grierson Museum to be a more fitting place for it to be housed. Furthermore, we can speculate that his problematic relationship with his father might have made Whyte Douglas disinclined to hold onto any keepsakes. Thus, having being kept by Thomas Whyte for some fifty years, and having travelled with him as he moved from southwest Scotland to Upper Canada, then to Sligo and finally to Edinburgh, the pieces eventually found what Whyte Douglas must have assumed would their final resting place: the Grierson Museum, Thornhill.

The North American connection

Biographical information on the Whyte family such as that presented above has been extremely helpful in establishing this collection's history since it has been in Europe. However, there is still no evidence to explain how, where or even when Thomas Whyte collected these fascinating items. With the exception of the Innu coat (number 372 in Dr Grierson's catalogue), and the quillwork belt and pouch (numbers 85 and 376), the pieces

31 Davies, 1875, 133. No reference has been found to date regarding Thomas Whyte having remarried following the death of his first wife.

32 Serge Duigou, personal communication to author, 24 April 2007.

33 *The Dumfries Weekly Journal,* 12 April 1825, p.4, col. 5.

that have survived are stylistically comparable to other examples from the Great Lakes region. That said, the extensive trade networks between First Nations peoples and also between other Europeans means that these pieces could have been collected in any number of places. In terms of their age, comparison with similar pieces in other collections suggests a tentative date of late eighteenth to early nineteenth century, making them some two hundred years old.

There are currently two plausible theories as to when and how this collection was assembled, though both require much more time to be spent consulting archival sources in the UK, Ireland and Canada. First, through his marriage to Emily Douglas, Thomas Whyte was connected to Thomas Douglas, 5th Earl of Selkirk, who founded the Selkirk Settlement in the region known today as southern Manitoba. It is possible that through the system of patronage that guided social and business opportunities among the upper classes Thomas Whyte travelled to Canada to represent Lord Selkirk's business interests. While this family connection is undoubtedly a line of enquiry worth pursuing, at present the favoured theory is that Thomas Whyte acquired these artefacts during a period of military service in Upper Canada. As mentioned above, he was commissioned as a Captain in the Kirkcudbright and Wigtown Militia in the first few years of the nineteenth century, and it seems entirely possible he could have subsequently gone overseas as a soldier before returning to southwest Scotland in time for his marriage in 1814. The military lists for the War of 1812 include a 'Lieutenant Thomas White' in the 3rd Battalion of Quebec City, the 'British militia', though no additional information about this individual is offered and I have not yet had the opportunity to consult relevant archival sources in Canada.[34] Although the spelling of this admittedly common surname differs, because Thomas Whyte's name is spelled this way in a number of other reliable sources, the discrepancy does not rule out that he and Thomas White are, in fact, the same person.

The items that Thomas Whyte brought from Canada are mostly clothing or other forms of adornment and would have comprised the winter dress of a European. As Dorothy Burnham has noted, military officers in Upper Canada sometimes wore painted coats made by First Nations people in the early nineteenth century. Further, finger woven sashes, which we can assume is what was meant by Dr Grierson's description: 'A kind of Sash formed of woollen coloured red, yellow and green from the North American Indians', were a common part of a European officer's dress.[35] It is likely that Thomas Whyte's two coats would have been worn with such a sash, though recent examination of the moose hide coat, Eth/NN/564, does not suggest excessive rubbing of pigment where a sash might have been worn. Like other well-to-do military men, such as Major Jasper Grant, whose collection is in the National Museum of Ireland and was assembled around the same time, it seems entirely likely that Thomas Whyte chose to bring his clothing and several other curiosities, such as the elk tendons and the birch bark, back to Scotland when he left the army.[36] Indeed, he may well have had to wear these items as he travelled back across the Atlantic. If this is so, like his contemporary, Major Grant, he kept the collection until his death as a souvenir of his travels and a memento of his cultural encounters with First Nations people.

34 Homfray, 1908, 145
35 Burnham 1992, 15
36 Phillips, 1984.

Though we can only speculate on the nature of these encounters, important work being done together by scholars and First Nations knowledge bearers is helping all of us better understand these important pieces.

Conclusion

Recovering the history of the Thomas Whyte collection has allowed us an initial entry point into thinking about how this fascinating collection has been used and understood during its time in the southwest of Scotland, but at present we can reflect only on one small part of the lives of these artefacts. Indeed, so far the research has revealed rather more about museum practice over the past 150 years in the UK and the biography of the collector than it has about the history of the artefacts themselves. We know nothing about who made them and what their meanings were to their maker and owner(s). The next step is to broaden out the research to consider how such artefacts can be used to think about the lives of First Nations people living in north eastern North America at the turn of the nineteenth century and the processes of cultural exchange which has resulted in the production of these important objects.

This process has already begun to take place and a number of the pieces were recently looked at by researchers from the Great Lakes Research Alliance for the Study of Aboriginal Arts and Cultures (GRASAC) network, co-ordinated by Professor Ruth Phillips of Carleton University. GRASAC is an international collaborative research network that brings together museum specialists, academics and First Nations community researchers to develop research projects and to share knowledge and resources about Great Lakes material culture using web-based technologies to facilitate access. It is hoped that the input of community members from First Nations in the Great Lakes region will allow us to think about these fascinating artefacts in ways which will consider their contexts of production as well their context of use and especially their meanings to First Nations people today.

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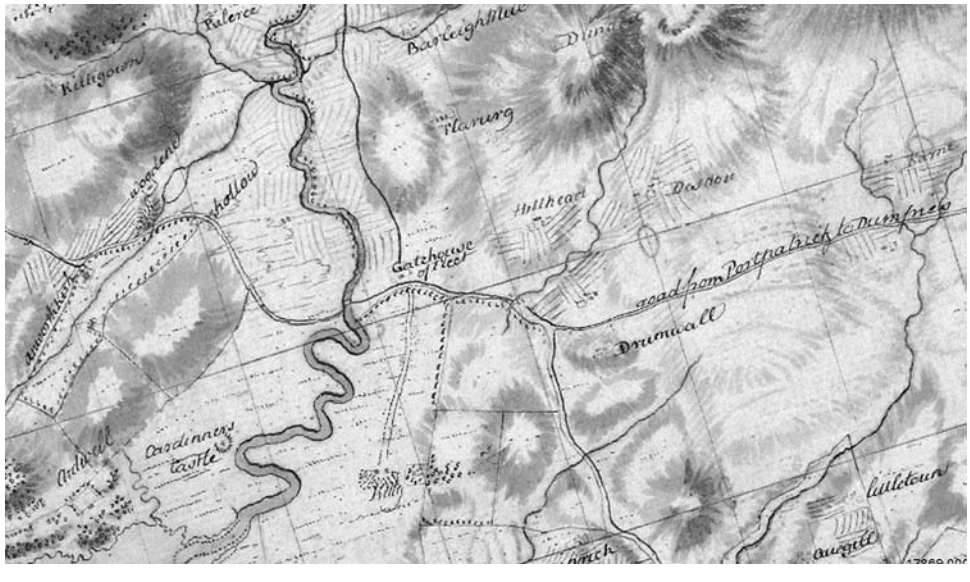
THE BIRTWHISTLES OF GALLOWAY AND CRAVEN: DROVERS, INDUSTRIALISTS, WRITERS AND A SPY

Tony Stephens[1]



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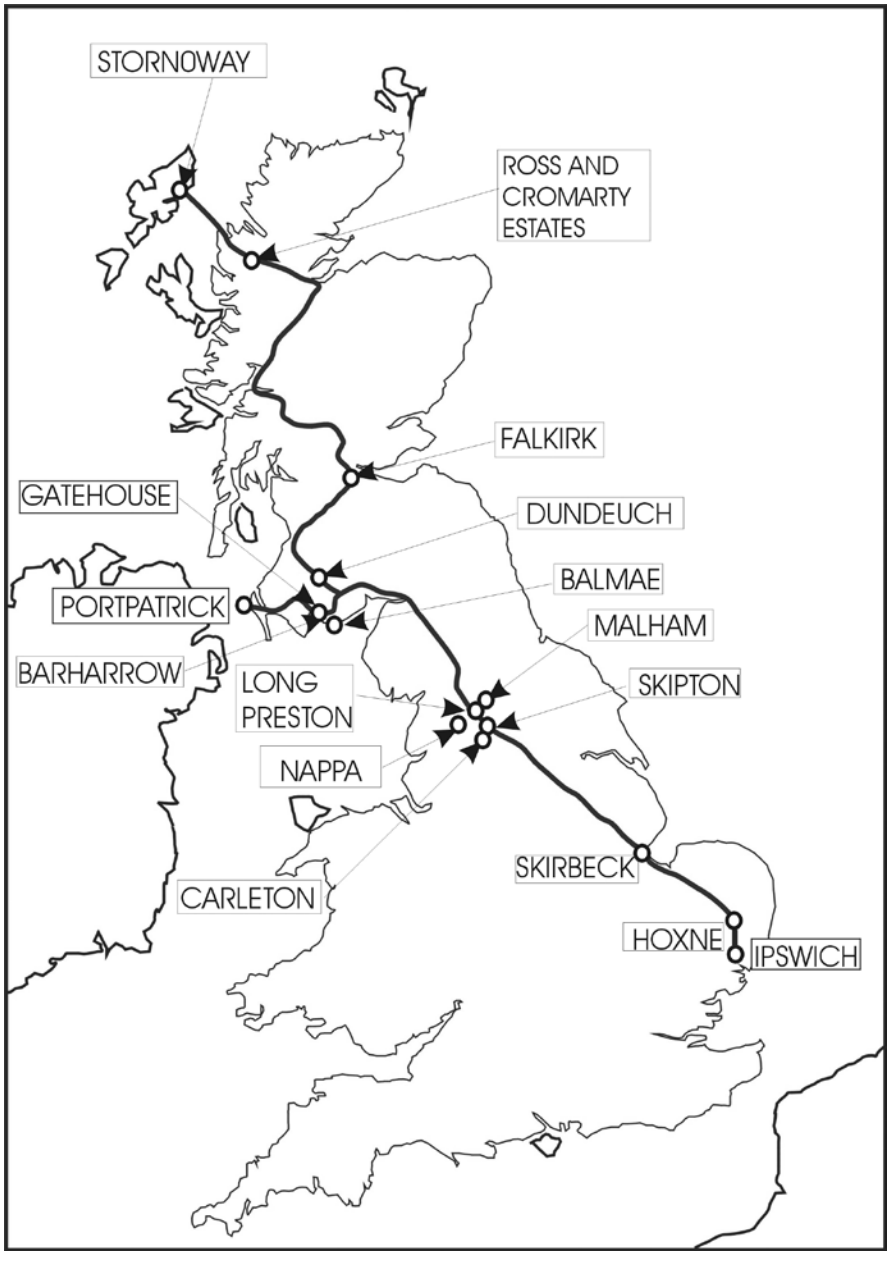

Main locations associated with the Birtwhistle businesses
1745- 1819

Cover pictures
Gatehouse in 1852 by Robert Kelly (above)
Gatehouse from Roy's military map 1747-55 (below)

Introduction

Although poorly documented by contemporaries, a sharp increase in the number of cattle driven from Scotland into England in the second half of the 18th century radically altered the agricultural economies of both northern England and Scotland. The aim of this paper is to show that the records of the Birtwhistle family, originally of Skipton but later of Galloway also, provide useful new insights into the Agricultural Revolution of the middle of the 18th century and the Industrial Revolution which followed.

What is extremely unusual about the Birtwhistles is that over two generations, between 1745 and 1819, they built what contemporaries described as the largest cattle business in Britain, and then used their wealth to become important players in the early years of the Industrial Revolution. Because of the size of their operations, the Birtwhistle records provide rare insights into the local implications of the economic changes which affected northern Britain in the second half of the 18th century.

Droving and its effect on the agricultural landscape

After the English Civil War, there was a significant and sustained increase in the price of cattle relative to grain products. This provided a financial incentive to convert from arable to pastoral farming but, in both northern England and Galloway, non-commercial considerations preserved a large amount of arable farming for a further century. In Galloway there was governmental opposition to the importation of Irish cattle and physical opposition from the Levellers, while in Craven it was land tenure that limited the adoption of pastoral farming. Craven freeholders were able to enclose their land for pastoral use in the late 17th century and early 18th century, but the yeomen who farmed leasehold strips in the townfields were constrained to arable farming by ancient township customs.

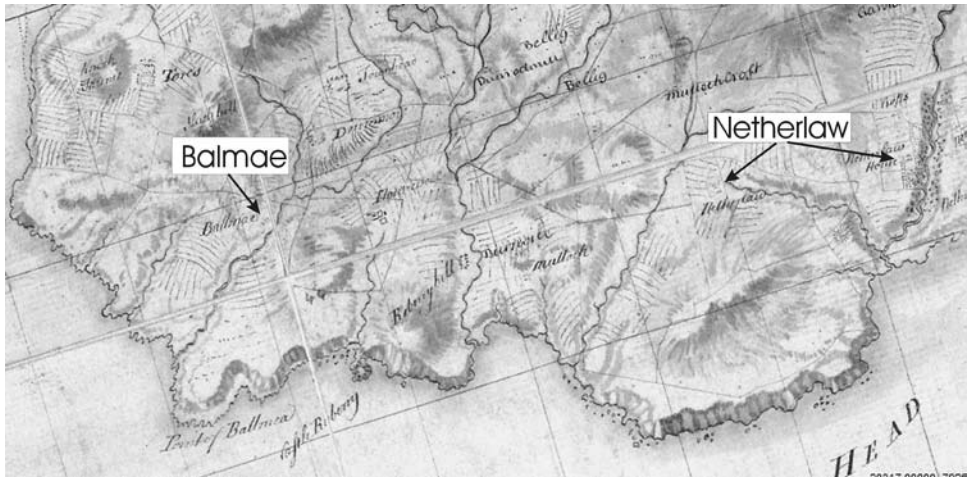

Figure 2 Solway coast near Kirkcudbright in middle of 18th century, with later Birtwhistle estates at Balmae and Netherlaw highlighted

Luckily, we have a snapshot of farming practices around Gatehouse from Roy's military map (see cover illustration) which shows cattle enclosures and arable fields adjacent to groups of dwellings. William Roy was an estate factor by profession, which may explain why he included agricultural details such as ridge and furrow representation of arable fields, providing an invaluable record of the Scottish agricultural economy of the time. Figure 2 shows, from Roy's map, a section of the Solway coast line to the south of Kirkcudbright where some of the Birtwhistle Galloway estates were later located, including Balmae (purchased by William Birtwhistle in 1783) and Netherlaw (occupied by Alexander Birtwhistle before 1786). Close inspection of figure 2 shows that the estates were primarily arable holdings in the middle of the 18th century.

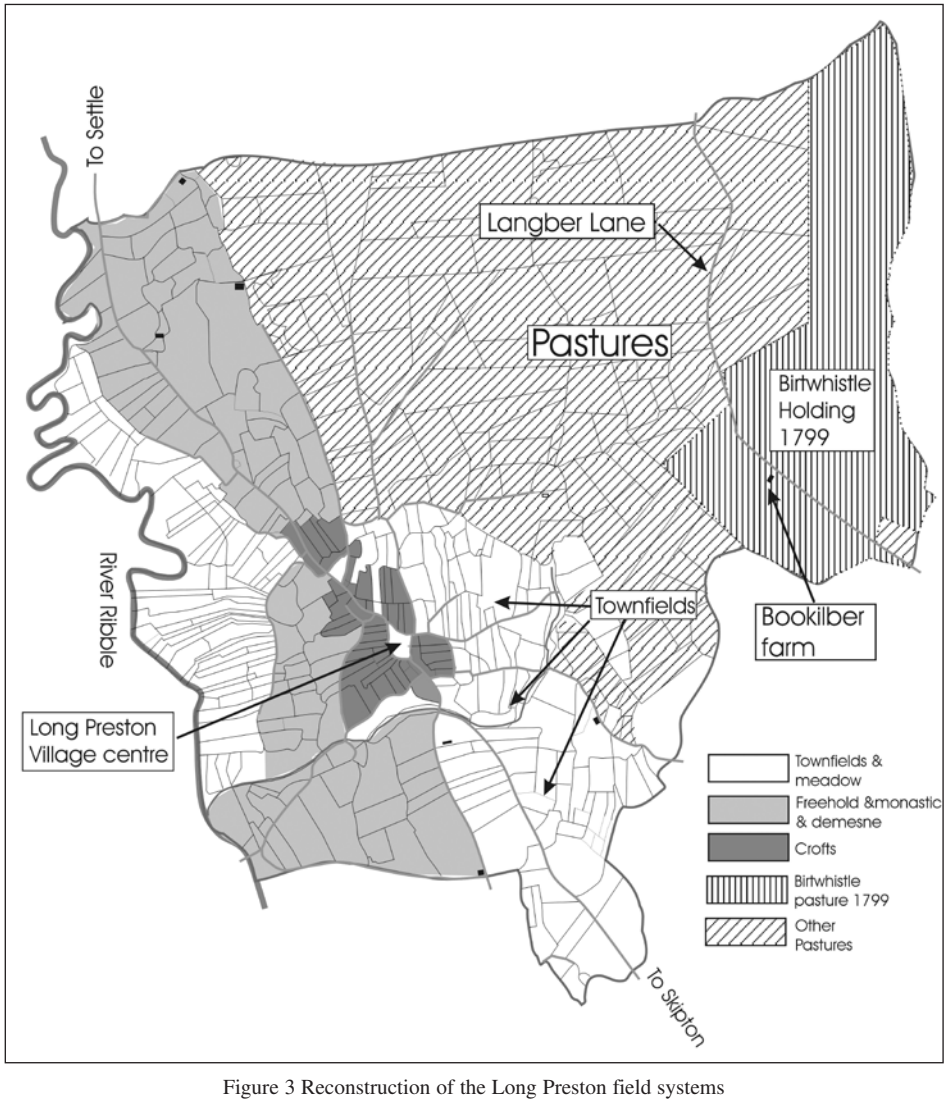

Figure 3 Reconstruction of the Long Preston field systems

An Act of Parliament of 1776 finally removed political opposition to Irish cattle coming into Scotland, partly stimulated by the realisation that trade restrictions had been the main driving force behind the American Revolution (McHaffie 2001). By 1780, 10,000 cattle a year were being brought across the Irish sea in flat-bottomed boats to Portpatrick and Port Logan (Bonsor 1970 p75), and it was this new source of cattle that attracted the Birtwhistles to move to Galloway.

Although there are no maps similar to those of William Roy for Craven, deeds registered at the West Riding of Yorkshire's Deeds Registry (now WYAS/W) enable a reconstruction of a reasonably detailed picture of the agricultural economy of a number of Craven townships, including Long Preston, where the Birtwhistles operated. Long Preston's main agricultural features in the middle of the 18th century (illustrated in figure 3) comprised

- a band of freehold, demesne and former monastic land, which had largely been enclosed before the middle of the 18th century:

  Unenclosed arable townfields to the east and south east of the village

  Hilltop pastureland, the best of which came into the hands of the Birtwhistles at the end of the century (see eastern edge of the township in figure 3).

From around 1745 there was a significant increase in the number of Highland cattle coming into Craven, and Wakefield deeds show farmers swapping their arable strips to create larger holdings, which were then enclosed by common agreement for pastoral use. Long Preston was much later than many other townships in enclosing its townfields and pastures, only doing so by Act of Parliament in 1799, the main sponsors being the Birtwhistles.

John Birtwhistle (1714-1787): Early development of the business

Before the enclosure of its townfields, there was little pasture available to fatten droving animals in Craven. Cattle were taken from their breeding grounds in the Highlands and Galloway to south east England for fattening, a lengthy and risky journey. Thomas Bell found cattle plague in Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex in 1745, when he took 500 cattle purchased from Murray of Broughton into England (Coombey 2007) and, in the following year, Rosshire drover Alexander Gray reported from Skipton having great difficulty in finding hay: …*'the county is full of their own cattle at such a price as was never known. I have seen local steers sold for 35s to £3… the chief reason is scarcity of hay… above a shilling a stone in spring… cattle that are full fat for present use begin to sell well… what helps their sale is a little demand from Holland… there is plenty of moors and cheap wintering in Craven for cattle such as mine tho' not for their own breed. But the dealers are all served from Falkirk and Crieff'* (after Harland 1998).

The Skipton Parish Registers (Stavert 1895) describe John Birtwhistle's father variously as a yeoman and a 'badger' (a travelling salesman), and it may have been the latter profession that influenced the son to travel. We do not know when John Birtwhistle first took up droving, but it would appear to be in the early 1740s. He was described as a yeoman in 1740 when he was witness to the sale of an inn in Long Preston (WYAS/W MM712 1009), but he was probably buying Scottish cattle by 1741, the year in which he married Janet Shearer in Falkirk.

Thomas Pennant described Falkirk as *'a large ill-built town supported by two great fairs for black cattle from the Highlands, it being computed that 24,000 head are annually sold there'* (Pennant 1769), and there is a record of the British Linen Bank providing John Birtwhistle with an advance of £2000 in Falkirk in 1767 (Bonsor 1970 p80). There is also a record of John Birtwhistle buying property in Falkirk in 1756 (NAS RS 59/22 no 41 1790), the family maintaining property in the town until 1800, when a house and a yard on the south side of Falkirk High Street was sold to Alexander Shearer, physician (NAS RS59 Vol 36 no 197), no doubt a relative of John Birtwhistle's wife. Roy's military map shows arable fields surrounding Falkirk, the Tryst where the cattle fairs were held being several miles to the south, near Gardum Moss.

Perhaps John Birtwhistle's idea of having a large cattle fair in Craven came from his experiences in Falkirk and, for several decades, he hired the 732-acre Great Close at Malham from the Listers of Gisburn Park. Writing retrospectively in 1786, Malham schoolteacher, Thomas Hurtley related the story of the Great Close fairs, where 5000 Scottish animals were on the close at any one time and 20,000 over a summer (Hurtley, 1786).

Figure 4 The Great Close on Malham moor

Because Hurtley's account was written four decades after the event, some historians have questioned its veracity. However, an article in the *Dalesman* of how Hurtley's book was published gives us more confidence in the accuracy of the elderly schoolmaster's

account. In his *Dalesman* article, Professor Hodgson (Hodgson1984) related how he had purchased a copy of Hurtley's book only to find a handwritten account by a contemporary of Thomas Hurtley inside, describing how the book had been published. Unable to get his book published, Hurtley had been summoned to Tarn House, the country mansion of Thomas Lister, the landlord of the Great Close. Lister *'procured him more subscribers and superintended the publication…had the plates drawn and engraved at his own expense……he (Hurtley) never saw his book again'*.

A record in the archives at the *Yorkshire Archaeological Society* in Leeds (YAS MD 335/1/4/5/3) shows that John Birtwhistle was still hiring the Great Close from Thomas Lister in the year of publication, and other YAS records show considerable business dealings between the two men. No one will have known John Birtwhistle's business activities on Great Close better than his landlord, giving some confidence in the estimate of 20,000 cattle a year on the close - around 20% of the cattle coming into England from Scotland. If there were indeed 5000 animals on the Great Close at any one time, upwards of 50 drovers would have been required to bring them to Malham, and many would have frequented the Drovers Inn, whose remains may still be seen on the Great Close at SD 905 666. According to local accounts, there were nightly festivities to primitive music at the inn, and Margaret Hurtley, the school master's grand-daughter, was a clever step-dancer who danced in public when she was approaching 80 (private communication Richard Harland).

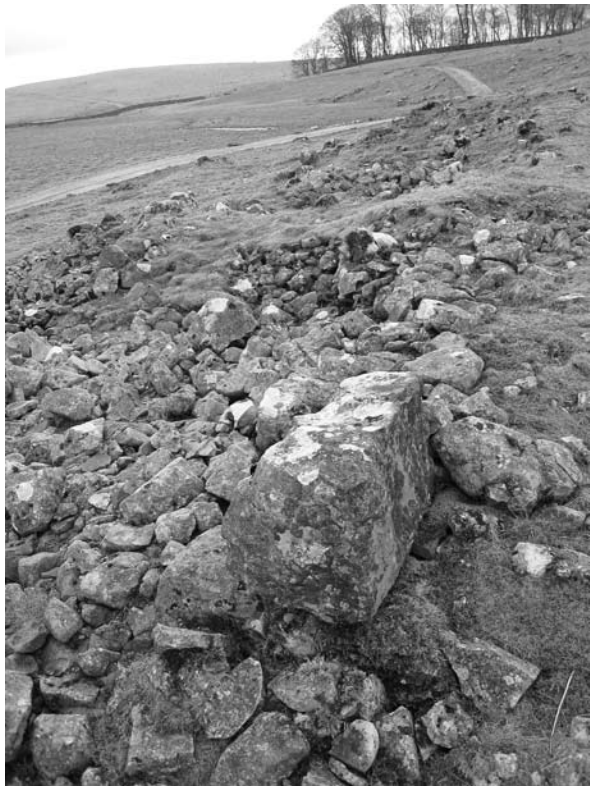

Figure 5 Remains of the drovers' inn on Malham Great Close

Hurtley claimed that John Birtwhistle had purchased the cattle for his Great Close fairs in the Highlands *'travelling the Hebrides and Scottish Isle and Counties of the north of Scotland, and that at a hazardous time in 1745… every herd enticed from the soil and ushered into this fragrant pasture (i.e. Malham), by the Pipes of an Highland Orpheus'*. Partly because of the flowery language, some researchers have questioned whether the account of John Birtwhistle being in the Hebrides at the time of the Jacobite Rebellion was a piece of romantic fiction. Was it more likely that, like other drovers, Birtwhistle had purchased cattle in Falkirk confiscated from the clans by the Duke of Cumberland's troops, and sold to drovers at knock down prices? However, we have already seen that John Birtwhistle was in Falkirk before the Jacobite Rebellion and, although there is no evidence of where he purchased his cattle in 1745/6, there are two records of him buying cattle in the Hebrides in the 1760s.

In 1764 George Gillenders, the factor of the Isle of Harris brought an action against John Birtwhistle who had travelled to the island to purchase black cattle in the previous year, the bond given in payment having failed: *'John Birtwhistle in the month of June last came to the north of Scotland to purchase black cattle and in the course of his dealing came to the Island of Harris and applied for credit to purchase the cattle of the island that is annually sold for paying the proprietors rents…. In consequence of this credit Mr Birtwhistle made a tour of the island and purchased cattle to the value of £500'* (NAS GD427/242/1).

John Birtwhistle was again in a dispute over the purchase of Hebridean cattle in 1767, when the factor for Mackensie of Seaforth (Lewis) commented in court that *'of late years it had been usual for dealers in black cattle in our neighbouring country to come or send to the remotest part of Scotland to purchase cattle'* (Haldane 1997, p179).

It may be wondered why John Birtwhistle needed to travel hundreds of miles from Craven to the Hebrides, through a land full of cattle, to make his purchases. A plausible explanation comes from an interview with Craven farmer Eric Foster who was still travelling to the Hebrides to buy his cattle in the 1960s: *'the visitors from the Yorkshire Dales worked on the principle that if they took cattle from hard localities, such as the Hebrides, they were almost certain to have beasts that would "do" back at home'* (Mitchell 1990). To prosper in places such as the Hebrides, cattle needed to be particularly hardy, a characteristic essential on the high limestone pastures of Craven. It is interesting that Highland cattle have been successfully re-introduced onto Craven pastures in recent years.

John Birtwhistle (1714-1787): later years and business interests in Galloway

By the 1760s John Birtwhistle had accumulated significant wealth, and was no longer described in records as a yeoman or drover, but as a gentleman - a man of independent means. He may have been motivated to develop his business further by having a family of eight children, three of whom would follow him into the cattle business. However, it was not possible simply to expand his early business, for much of Craven's arable land had now been enclosed, and a new breed of pastoral farmers were beginning to travel to Scotland to stock their own land, rather than rely on drovers. Although he continued to hire

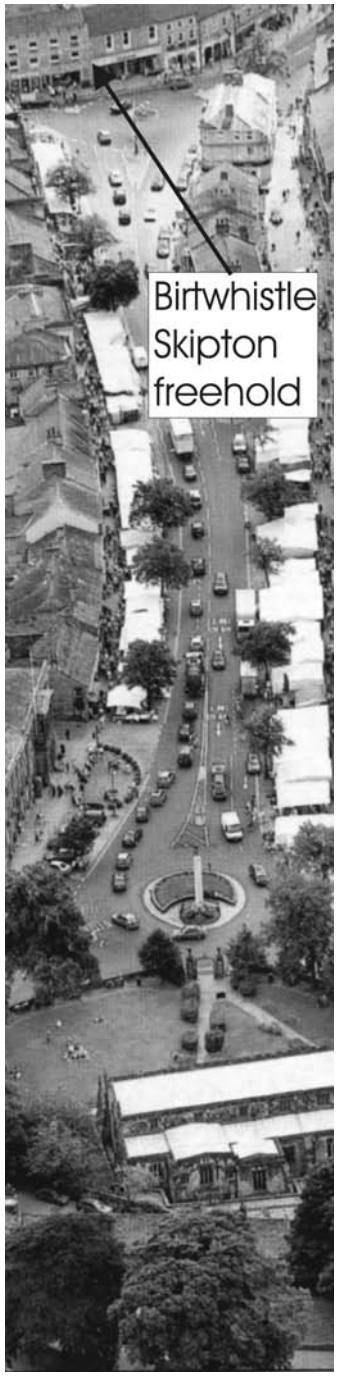

Fig 6 Birtwhistle freehold at the southern end of Skipton High Street

Malham's Great Close from the Listers, John Birtwhistle now bought substantial estates that enabled him to take Scottish animals to the south of England, rather than auction them in Craven. Before buying land however, he purchased a substantial freehold property at the south end of Skipton High Street in 1762 which included a malt kiln (Rowley notebook 1 p 167). This property was roughly where Supadrug and Woolworths now stand (see view of Skipton High in figure 6), with extensive property and the yard behind, still called Birtwhistle Yard. The probate records of William Birtwhistle (Borthwick Institute in York), John's grandfather, who died in 1715, reveal a typical small yeoman farmer who owned two cows and two stirks. His home had two ground floor rooms, a parlour doubling as a bedroom, and two chambers above, one with a bed and the other containing household goods. The success of the cattle business enabled the grandson, in only two decades, to acquire one of Skipton's most prestigious freehold properties (later window tax records show it had 11 windows), entitling the family to a front pew in Skipton Parish Church.

The purchase of the Skipton High Street property was followed by the purchase of extensive lands in Craven in 1764 (WYAS/W BA43 63), and lands and a rectory at Skirbeck in Lincolnshire in 1769, his eldest son, Thomas, being installed as rector (webref2). Since Lincolnshire never established a deeds registry, its land transactions are more difficult to trace than those in the West Riding of Yorkshire, but it was undoubtedly through their Lincolnshire holding that the Birtwhistles transferred their animals to Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex.

Although no records have been found of its purchase, it was probably also in the late 1760s that John Birtwhistle purchased Dundeuch, the 600-acre estate, near New Galloway, which lies at the confluence of the water of Deuch and the water of Ken. The failure of the Ayr bank in 1772 revealed a John Birtwhistle, drover, on its books (private communication Dr David Steel), and it is likely that this account implies ownership of Dundeuch. John Birtwhistle had bank accounts in London and Leeds, and access to funds from the British Linen Bank in Falkirk, so it is unlikely that he will have needed a bank account in Ayrshire unless he had a property relatively nearby.

It was claimed in the inheritance dispute which will be discussed later that John's third son, Alexander, moved permanently to Scotland in 1772 and a Wakefield deed of 1782 (WYAS/W CK320 457) records John handing over property in Falkirk, Craven and Lincolnshire to sons William and Alexander, the deed describing the sons as drovers. The Lister records in the Yorkshire Archaeological Society show that John Birtwhistle continued to have some involvement in the cattle business until his death in 1787, but the involvement of his sons in the cattle business enabled him to concentrate on developing other business interests. He was the biggest investor in the Skipton section of the Leeds Liverpool canal, and next turned his attention to textile manufacture.

With the coming of the droving trade to Craven, most of its arable lands had been turned to pastoral use, leaving numerous former water driven corn mills redundant. These were capable of being converted to textile factories at little expense and, following Arkwright's successful automation of cotton spinning, the Pennine foothills became one of the most favoured locations for the building of cotton spinning factories. Cotton mills were established in Settle and Giggleswick in 1783 and in Skipton in 1785, but a feature of these mills was that they were limited by their water supplies to typically 10 hp. John Birtwhistle could have purchased redundant corn mills in Craven had he wished to do so, but must have been aware of the potential of the more powerful water sources available in Galloway.

He was unsuccessful when he approached the Earl of Selkirk for permission to build a cotton mill in Kirkcudbright, but James Murray was much more amenable to the suggestion of a cotton mill in Gatehouse. Roy's map (see cover) shows that Gatehouse hardly existed as a town in the middle of the 18th century, but James Murray had ambitious plans to build a new industrial town. In August 1777, an advertisement in the *Dumfries Weekly Journal* advised that: *'Mr Murray, in terms of his rights, intends very soon to establish a weekly market; and as he is very desirous to have the two streets built out, so he hereby gives notice, That, in order encourage industrious manufacturers, shop-keepers, and tradesmen, to settle in the village he will be ready to grant feus to such as apply for ground for a house and garden, till the two streets are built out, and for which, in place of feu-duties that would be reasonable, he will only ask an acknowledgement of one shilling yearly for ever. For further particulars, enquire at Mr Murray the proprietor, at the Cally, or Mr Bushby, the Sheriff clerk of Dumfries'* (Coombey 2007 p11).

In 1785 an agreement was reached between Murray and Birtwhistle to build in Gatehouse a cotton mill that would be driven by water brought four miles from Loch Whinyeon (NAS GD10/1266), Murray bearing the cost of bringing the water from the loch and Birtwhistle the cost of the mill. The engineering was ingenious, a tunnel bored through the mountain taking the water westwards from Loch Whinyeon, and the spoil extracted from the tunnel placed at the east end of the loch to raise its level. The main features of the water extraction at Loch Whinyeon and the tunnel through the mountain may be seen today, together with the decayed and overgrown water conduit which follows the contour across the hillside from Loch Whinyeon to Gatehouse. Kelly's picture of Gatehouse on the cover shows that the mill pond at the top of the town was much larger in 1852 than it is today. In addition to the power available from its water supply, John Birtwhistle would no doubt have been attracted to Gatehouse by its proprietor having a 40,000-acre cattle estate in Ireland, and

James Murray would have seen the benefit of collaboration with the owner of an efficient cattle distribution network.

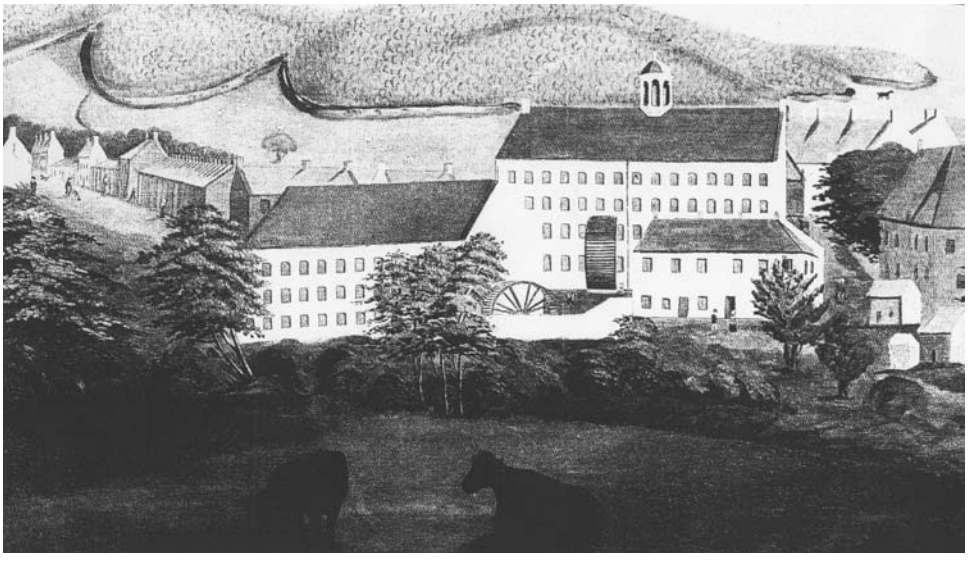

Figure 7 The Birtwhistles' cotton mill at Gatehouse of Fleet c 1800

Although the Wakefield deed of 1782 recording John Birtwhistle handing over the droving business to sons William and Alexander, his will of 1787 shows a change of mind; the cattle business was now left to William, Alexander and Robert as tenants in common, and the Gatehouse cotton mill to sons William, Alexander, Charles and Richard, also as tenants in common. This form of ownership left much of the business intact long after the family members had any day-to-day involvement in its running, providing useful insights into the business from later records. Substantial bequests were made to family members not involved in the business and their future offspring, leaving the future business initially heavily encumbered.

High in the aisle of Skipton Parish Church is a substantial and somewhat unusual memorial, erected by a grandson half a century after John Birtwhistle's death. As we shall see later, the memorial was less a celebration of John's life than of the outcome of a protracted family inheritance dispute that was eventually settled in favour of the grandson.

Figure 8 Major Birtwhistle: William Birtwhistle of Balmae and Skipton

The second generation and the move to Galloway

An advertisement of 9th March 1782 in the *Norfolk Chronicle* shows John Birtwhistle's sons, William and Alexander, taking cattle as far as Hoxne in Suffolk: *'To all Gentlemen Graziers. This is to give Notice, that on the 14th and 15th of this Instant, March, will arrive at Hoxne, in Suffolk, a large drove of very strong fresh Galway Scots, belonging to Messrs William and Alexander Birtwhistle, and remain there till sold'(webref3).*

This reference to Galway Scots is the first evidence of the Birtwhistles handling Irish cattle, and it is possible that the cattle seen by government agricultural commissioners in Settle in 1793 were Birtwhistle cattle. The commissioners reported, with apparent bafflement, seeing cattle which were *'long horned and seem in shape, skin and other circumstances to be nearly the same as the Irish cattle'* (Brown 1799).

This new source of Irish cattle coming into Galloway may have been the motivation behind William Birtwhistle's purchase of Balmae (sometimes Balmay) in 1783 and, although the brothers would buy other estates, Balmae appears to have been the main residence for the extended Birtwhistle family when they first came to Galloway. Cattle prices relevant to where the Birtwhistles operated would suggest that John Birtwhistle's land purchases in the 1760s, and his sons' purchases in Galloway in the 1780s, were a reflection of better returns from fattening animals than from droving: cattle purchased in Ireland at £4 10s-£5 would fetch £6 in Gatehouse, £8-9 on arrival in Lincolnshire and £13-17 after being fattened for a summer (Bonsor 1970).

John Birtwhistle had stipulated that the droving business was to pay the substantial family bequests in his will, and it therefore looks more than a little suspicious to find four of the main beneficiaries dying within a short period of time - Thomas aged 46 in Skipton in 1789, Richard aged 37 in Gatehouse in 1791, Charles aged 35 in Gatehouse in 1791 and John aged 46 in Skipton in 1792. Those who benefitted financially from these deaths were not only the three drover sons William, Alexander and Robert, but also son-in-law John Vardill, rector of Fishtoft in Lincolnshire and government secret agent. Until he died, Thomas Birtwhistle had been rector of Skirbeck in Lincolnshire, adjacent to the parish where John Vardill, his brother in law was rector. Charles Birtwhistle replaced both his brother as rector of Skirbeck and John Vardill as rector of Fishtoft but, on the death of Charles, John Vardill became rector of both parishes.

The surviving brothers rationalised the two businesses, William and Robert taking over management of the cattle business, with Alexander, who was to be resident in Scotland for the rest of his life, running the Gatehouse textile business.

The three brothers jointly owned Dundeuch, inherited from their father, and the residences of William and Robert are relatively easy to identify: William owned the Skipton freehold property and Balmae near Kirkcudbright, while Robert owned Crakemoor farm near Long Preston.

Alexander's residences were both numerous and difficult to identify. When he purchased a property in the High Street Gatehouse in 1786 he was described as *'of Netherlaw'* (see figure 1), and the court case which will be discussed later shows him living at both Balmae and Netherlaw in the early years of the 19th century. At an unknown date he purchased Barharrow Farm near Gatehouse, and an article in the *Dumfries Standard* (Desnes 1923) tells us that Provost Alexander Birtwhistle was one of the original owners of three properties on the corner of St Mary Street and St Cuthbert Street in Kirkcudbright that were owned by Birtwhistle family members. After rebuilding the Gatehouse property (47 High Street, now the Bank of Fleet Hotel), he appears to have lived there from 1805 until his death in 1810, but exactly where Alexander lived before 1805 was the subject of considerable contention in the later inheritance dispute. Although the case is primarily of interest to us in providing a listing of the Birtwhistle holdings in Craven, it is also our main source of information on where Alexander lived at different times. In addition to his other business activities, Alexander was a merchant in Kirkcudbright (webref4) and, in Oct 1789, the Dumfries Weekly Journal recorded his successful election to the position of Provost (DWJ 13 Oct 1789): *'there was a keen contest for the provostship between Alexander Birtwhistle Esq and David Sproat Esq, which was decided in favour of the former. There was universal rejoicing among the inhabitants and the evening concluded with the utmost festivity, with the greatest of harmony and decorum'*.

Figure 9 A property in Kirkcudbright owned by Alexander Birtwhistle

Alexander came to the attention of Robert Burns who visited Gatehouse in 1795 and included him in two ballads:

Election Ballad	Laddies by the Banks o'Nith
'roaring Birtwhistle	*'To end the wark here's Whistlebirck*
Wha' luckily roars in the right'	*Lang may his whistle blaw, Jamie'*

Land tax records for Long Preston, which survive at Wakefield (WYAS/W) for the period 1781 and 1831, show the Birtwhistles steadily expanding their holdings in the township. In 1781 they paid 3s 2 ¾d but, by 1799, the tax had risen to £1 1s 4¼d, reflecting shrewd investments in Long Preston land prior to its enclosure. Many North Craven townships had enclosed their land during the 1760s, but Long Preston's land remained largely unenclosed because of fears among its many small farmers that they would be displaced by large landowners. Thomas Harrison, a Long Preston farmer who was in favour of enclosure reported to Thomas Lister, the Birtwhistles' landlord on Great Close: *...'a great many proprietors who have small share are obstinate and unwilling to apply to Parliament (fearing expense) for these great improvements'*.

By 1799, William Birtwhistle appears to have been able to appease the Long Preston small farmers, and the Parliamentary Enclosure Act lists him as its main sponsor. Long Preston farmers previously had ancient rights to cattlegates on the best hilltop pasture at Langber (see figure 3), but enclosure resulted in the Birtwhistles gaining sole control of most of Langber. Together with their contiguous holding in the adjacent township of Airton, this created an 872-acre estate, the largest Birtwhistle holding in Craven, and many

of the cattle coming from the Birtwhistle estates in Galloway must have passed down Langber lane to this holding (see figure 3). Until recently there was an outdoor kennels at the Birtwhistles' Bookilber farm, and the Royal Commission for Ancient Historical Monuments of Scotland website records a kennels at Balmae; it is likely these kennels will have housed the droving dogs which brought cattle from Galloway to Craven.

The later inheritance dispute shows that 89% of the Birtwhistle holdings in Craven was pastureland, only 11% being meadow. The Birtwhistle strategy must have been to fatten cattle on the better grasslands of the Solway and Lincolnshire coasts, only using Craven for summer pastures and to handle cattle in transit. A major advantage of holdings in different parts of the country must have been that it enabled the Birtwhistles to supply the market in the south of England continuously throughout the year. We have already seen fresh Birtwhistle cattle sold in Norfolk in March 1782, and an advert in the *Ipswich Journal* recorded their cattle being sold in Ipswich in December 1803… *'To Graziers To be sold at Handford Hall, on Monday next, the 5th inst. A drove of Highland Scots, the property of Mssrs. Birtwhistle. By their humble servant. Benj Johnson'*.

Barharrow was rented out after Alexander's death in 1810 and, shortly after William's death in 1819, the tenant of Barharrow became bankrupt. Taken to court by the executors, the tenant implied that it was the demise of the Birtwhistle cattle business which had bankrupted him and many other Galloway farmers: *..'all the farms in Galloway were in a state of bankruptcy owing to the failure of the principal cattle dealers in the county with whom they were all connected'* (NAS CS 271/6493). Surprisingly, in view of the fact that the Gatehouse mills operated long after his death, Alexander's probate inventory suggests that the affairs of the cotton mills were in poor order in 1810, and that the mill was unlikely to yield any value to his estate. Perhaps Alexander had too many other business interests and had failed to devote sufficient attention to the textile business.

William appears to have had no further use for Balmae after Alexander's death, and it was offered for sale (DWJ 21 July 1810). The advertisement, which was for East Balmae, West Balmae, Howell and Raeberry, described the 731 acre estate as *...'elegant and commodius finished in a style far superior to any other house in the South of Scotland…a garden of four acres of very rich land surrounded by a substantial wall and stored with a great variety of fruit trees…affords excellent accommodation for sea bathing in the purest waters…two commodius harbours…..proprietor has right of Admiralty'*.

It was claimed that considerable attention had been paid to the improvement of soil fertility at Balmae over the previous 26 years by the application of *'lime, shells, dung, soapwaste, etc, without tillage'*. Balmae was purchased by the Earl of Selkirk, but William's probate inventory shows that the Earl still owing his estate £20,000 in 1819 (NA prob 11/1618). Sadly, the Balmay estate is today an MOD firing range, its mansion having been demolished in 1962.

Similar claims were made for the 464 acre Barharrow farm, which had been subject to an *'improving Grazing system'*, but the 600 acre estate at Dundeuch was only claimed to be *'capable of great improvement'*, with an allowance given for *'erecting a new dwelling house and offices'*. It would appear that, in transferring their main interest from Highland

to Irish cattle, Dundeuch had been allowed to become run down. Today all that remains of the former Dundeuch dwelling is a pile of rubble hidden in undergrowth.

Figure 10 Robert Birtwhistle's Crakemoor residence

Robert died in 1815, and it is from his probate inventory (ESC SC70/1/20) that we learn his estate owned 1/3rd of Dundeuch and Crakemoor farm in Craven, and that the brothers had major sheep farms in the Highlands, with stock valued at £12,365. Their executors ran the sheep farms after the death of the three brothers, taking to court a manager who appears to have diverted Birtwhistle animals to his own use. The court case recorded that the farms were in the Loch Maree area, being managed from Bruachaig, and including holdings at Letterewe, Beinn-a-chaisgan, Strathnashla, Sleog and Botag (NAS CS271/54364 &CS271/5045).

On William's death in 1819, the *Leeds Mercury* advised its readers that the Birtwhistles had been the biggest cattle dealers in the country: *'William Birtwhistle Esq of Skipton, brother of the late Robert and Alexander Birtwhistle. By their deaths the ancient Birtwhistles, the greatest dealers and graziers in the Kingdom are all extinct'.*

It is difficult to assess the wealth of the Birtwhistles from their probate records, because many of their assets were handed down to family members without valuation. The court case which we shall discuss in the next section is the only source of information about the value of the estates in Craven, and at one of the hearings it was stated that the Craven estate yielded £1650pa when rented out, a figure which would suggest a valuation of £30,000-£40,000. We have the figure of £20,000 owed by the Earl of Selkirk to William's estate for Balmae, and £12,365 for the stock of sheep on the Rosshire estate, but no valuation for many of the other known assets. £100,000 would therefore appear to be a conservative estimate for a valuation of the business at the end of the second generation.

A matter which has always been of keen interest to social and economic historians is how the world's first Industrial Revolution was financed. Was the capital provided by the landed gentry, or those newly enriched by the Agricultural Revolution in the previous decades? In the case of the Birtwhistles it was clearly the wealth they generated in their cattle business which enabled them to finance their industrial investments, and not the capital of their landlords, whether the Earl of Thanet in Skipton, Thomas Lister of Gisburn and Malham or James Murray of Gatehouse.

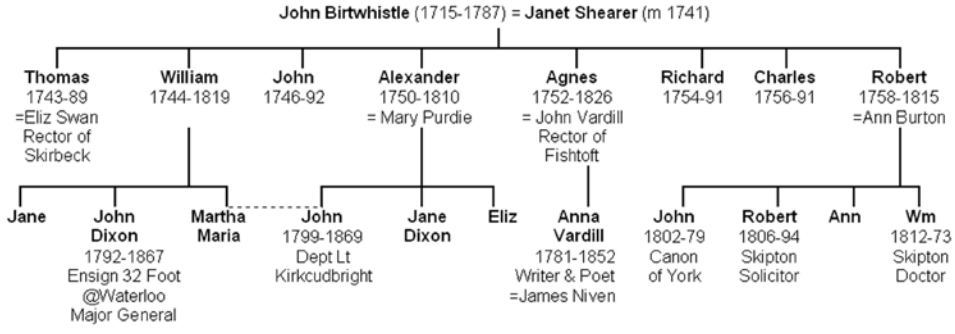

Figure 11 The Birtwhistles of Galloway and Skipton
(mainly after Birtwhistle 1989 and webref9)

The third generation: a celebrated inheritance case which provides information about Birtwhistle land holdings in the previous generation and set an important precedent in International Law

William Birtwhistle failed to specify in his will who should inherit his share of the Birtwhistle estate in England, causing considerable inheritance difficulties. Under Scottish law, children automatically inherited family property, regardless of the marital state of their parents, but English law prohibited inheritance to those born out of wedlock, unless named in a will. Agnes Vardill took the view that none of her brothers had been legally married, and applied for and was granted administration of the English estate. When Alexander's son, John, came of age, he applied to his aunt for a share of the English estate but was rebuffed. He took his aunt to court, first in the Court of Chancery in 1823, then at the Yorks Spring Assizes in 1825 and again at the Court of Chancery in 1826. Agnes Vardill died in 1826, and there was then a long delay before the matter was raised in the House of Lords (webref5), Agnes Vardill's daughter Anna now being the defendant. The matter was finally settled in the House of Lords in John's favour in 1835 (Axon 1908).

Records of the 1823 hearing are on eight large parchments in the National Archives at Kew (NA CA13/791/18), and provide the only complete listing of the Birtwhistle holdings in Craven, although there was no accompanying map to show the exact locations of the holding. No original documents have been found of the case at the York Spring Assizes in 1825, but a detailed account appeared in the Leeds Mercury of 2nd April 1825, a copy of which may now be found on microfilm in the Leeds City Library. The question to be considered by the jury was whether Mary Purdie had been married to Alexander Birtwhistle in 1795, legitimising John who was born in 1799, or whether she had merely been his mistress, as claimed by Agnes Vardill. The picture which emerged from the somewhat lurid cross questioning provides the most detailed information about the Birtwhistle Scottish residences in the previous generation.

It was stated that Mary Purdie, a great beauty, had come to Portpatrick with her father, the family being in Alexander's employ and her brother being Alexander's overseer (presumably at the Gatehouse mill). In 1795, 16-year-old Mary had moved to Gatehouse, her father having two rooms directly opposite Alexander's house. Mary had caught

Alexander's eye, and he had quickly proposed a secret marriage to her, claiming that he was unable to marry openly because of the opposition of his sister-in-law, Mrs Thomas Birtwhistle, whose property was to be his only if he remained a bachelor.

Mary claimed in court that she agreed to a secret marriage that took place on 12th Nov 1795, but continued to live at her father's house for two years, where Alexander visited her, and where she had her daughter Elizabeth. She then moved to Netherlaw, where she gave birth to John in 1799 and, as evidence that she was Alexander's wife, and not his mistress, Mary said she had a feather bed rather than a chaff bed at Netherlaw, and was not require to mow. It was insinuated by the defence that while Alexander had lived with Mary at Netherlaw, Mrs Thomas Birtwhistle, his sister-in-law, had been his mistress at Balmae, and that Mary had received a butcher named Ruston at Netherlaw, pretending that he was a relative from Ireland. Cross-questioned about where she had met Alexander in Gatehouse, Mary said that they had met both in the closet at her father's house and in a room with a bed belonging to a Catherine McGeogh, which was not to her knowledge a *'house of bad fame'*. After Mrs Thomas Birtwhistle died in 1803, Mary had moved to Balmae before going to Gatehouse with Alexander in 1805. Deeds of 47 High Street (the Bank of Fleet hotel) show that it originally comprised two properties, one purchased by Alexander Birtwhistle in 1786 and another purchased by him of Catherine McGeogh in 1799. It will be suggested later that there may be some relevance in Alexander and Mary meeting opposite and adjacent to Alexander's residence rather than in his residence.

Figure 12 Alexander and Mary Birtwhistle's residence from 1805

Evidence was brought to the court from the registry office in Edinburgh, which was claimed to be a copy of the marriage certificate of 1805 with a reference to an informal marriage between Alexander and Mary in 1795. Unfortunately for John Birtwhistle's case, this evidence was disallowed by the judge, on the request of one of the defence lawyers, a Mr Brougham, who claimed that only original documents were admissible in court - anyone might forge a copy. Several witnesses gave evidence to the court that they were aware of the earlier marriage, including Alexander's cousin Agnes Shearer, and John Brown Esq., who said that Alexander Birtwhistle had told him in 1807 that he had gained many thousands of pounds by concealing his (earlier) marriage. This evidence did not however sway the court, which found in favour of Agnes Vardill. No doubt there still exists in Edinburgh an original record of the 1805 marriage which would confirm or otherwise Mary's claim of a previous marriage.

Perhaps the biggest irony of the series of cases which constituted Birtwhistle vs Vardill is that Mr Brougham, who had represented Agnes Vardill in 1825, later became Lord Chancellor Brougham and declared in 1835 that his own opinion in the earlier trial had been incorrect (Axon 1908). He now believed that the question at the earlier hearings should not have been whether Alexander and Mary were married at the time of John's birth, but whether the inheritance laws of the John's country of birth would have allowed him to inherit. Since John had been born in Scotland, it was Scottish law which should prevail. The House of Lords found in John Birtwhistle's favour and the precedent set by Birtwhistle vs Vardill has had legal ramifications far beyond the confines of the Birtwhistle family, or even British law, its judgement being built into the constitution of a number of countries, including that of the United States.

No doubt to avenge himself on the Vardills, John Birtwhistle erected a large memorial high in the aisle of Skipton Parish church, in which all his grandfather's descendants down to himself are listed, with the exception of the Vardills. Ostensibly to the memory of his grandfather, the memorial is in reality a celebration of his victory over the Vardills in the House of Lords.

No records have been found of John's involvement in any business or profession, and it would seem that his inheritances allowed him to live the life of a gentleman, dividing his time between Yorkshire, France and Galloway. It was from France that he returned to Gatehouse in 1843, when a bad debt of his wife threatened court seizure of his Galloway assets, which included Barharrow, 1/3rd of Dundeuch, ½ of the two cotton mills at Gatehouse and a property in Gatehouse. The Gatehouse property referred to will have been 47 High Street, since its records show a judicial sale in 1845 against John Birtwhistle who was *'residing in France'*. Despite losing 47 High Street, John appears to have spent much of the rest of his life in Galloway, subscribed for 20 shares in the Gatehouse Gas Co. in 1845, being proprietor of Cargen House, Dumfries, at the time of the 1851 census, and, as John Birtwhistle of Dundeuch, becoming the Deputy Lieutenant for Kirkcudbright.

John Birtwhistle of Dundeuch appears to have maintained a strong friendship with John Dixon Birtwhistle, who was both his cousin and brother-in-law through marriage of his half-sister Martha Maria to John of Dundeuch. Records show John Dixon Birtwhistle living at different times with John and Martha Maria in Skipton, Cargen House and at Beaufort Villas in Cheltenham, where their residences were almost adjacent to one another.

A particularly interesting letter survives, written by John Birtwhistle of Dundeuch from Gatehouse in 1862, to a Birtwhistle relative in Skipton, describing how the Gatehouse annual fairs had deteriorated since his youth.

Gatehouse of Fleet
29th June 1862

My Dear Madge Birtwhistle
We had a grand fair here yesterday, it is a yearly one, but it is nothing now to what it used to be when the Birtwhistles held sway (ruled) in these parts; in those days the streets were crowded with people, young and old, who came in all the glee of people bent on fun and frolic and determined to enjoy it, they came along in carriages and carts, on horse back with their wives behind them and those who could not afford such luxury came on foot; and what with horses and donkies, with ginger bread and sweeties to sell and with fiddling and dancing, the fair in times long gone by was a great treat to all the country round; but now, from its being a great horse and hiring fair, it has dwindled down to a few farmers in their gigs and carts and pedestrians from the neighbourhood, and not a horse to be seen for sale, it is melancholy to think on the changes that take place in the course of years. I myself always disliked all such gatherings and to be out of the way I spent most of the day in the Cally Avenue, a beautiful promenade half a mile long and within 200 yards of me, its trees and lofty spreading branches with their green fresh foliage meeting over head and the woods on either side completely shut out the summer sun, and the wind playing amongst the branches and fluttering the leaves make it a cool and refreshing retreat, and forms one of the most enchanting spots to be met with anywhere; indeed I admire it so much that it always tempts me back again – well I may be proud of Cally!

Yours ever and ever
John Birtwhistle

Robert Birtwhistle's children prospered in the professions. William became a Skipton doctor, Robert a Skipton solicitor and farmer, John the Perpetual Incumbent of Beverley Minster and Canon of York Minster, and an annuity enabled Ann to set up a successful wine importing business in Skipton, Birtwhistle & Mitchell, in partnership with her husband. Of particular importance to our understanding of the Birtwhistle cattle business is that Long Preston records show Messrs Birtwhistle continuing to hold land in the township formerly held by the three drovers, and Wakefield deed WYAS/W NF 411 388 confirms that Mssrs Birtwhistle were the three sons of Robert Birtwhistle. The map which accompanied the Tithe Survey then allows us to locate the Birtwhistle land in Long Preston, which was listed but not located in the 1823 court case.

The article already referred to in the *Dumfries Standard* (Desnes 1923) tells us that a descendant of Jane Kissock, nee Birtwhistle, was the last Birtwhistle family member to live in Galloway, and had been the original owner of a property on the corner of St Mary St and St Cuthbert Street in Kirkcudbright, the adjacent properties belonging to Provost

Alexander Birtwhistle and Colonel Birtwhistle. Although Birtwhistle 1989 has Jane as daughter of William Birtwhistle, William's will made it clear that Jane was Alexander's 'reputed' daughter rather than his own, as in figure 11. The Colonel was possibly John Dixon, the 'reputed' son of William Birtwhistle, who was an Ensign in the 32 Foot at the Battle of Waterloo. An oil painting records ensign Birtwhistle thrusting a sword into a French officer who was attempting to steal the King's colours (webref7), and a letter sent to Skipton by Thomas Birtwhistle of Reading in 1977 said that his late brother had owned a Waterloo medal with an inscription round the edge which read *'Ensign John Birtwhistle 32 Regiment of Foot'* (Rowley).

The Vardills: two writers and a senior government agent (spy)

Figure 13. 'Poplicola' (John Vardill) in an engraving of the Boston Tea Party

Perhaps the most historically interesting member of the Birtwhistle family was John Vardill, John Birtwhistle's son-in-law, who was a senior and highly effective British Secret Service agent at the time of the America War of Independence, and during the hostilities with France at the end of the 19th century. Much is known about John Vardill's early spying activities, because of American researchers' interest in him, but nothing has previously been written about his activities in Scotland in the 1790s.

As one might expect of a secret service agent, John Vardill kept a very low public profile in Galloway, but knowledge of his earlier methods of working allow us to identify four letters written anonymously by him to the *Dumfries Weekly Journal*, giving us important insights into his operation as a senior secret agent at a time of government concerns about

a republican movement in Scotland. To understand John Vardill's activities in Scotland, we need first to consider in some detail what is known about his general methods of operation as a government agent before he moved to Scotland in 1791.

John Vardill's father was a port warden for New York, and it was possibly this official position which caused the son to take an active interest in politics at an early age. Americans were then having to decide whether to side with the rebels or remain loyal to the Crown and, by 18, John Vardill was already satirising New York rebels using the pseudonym *'Poplicola'*. Poplicola was a Roman consul who was a *'friend of the people'*, and subsequent use of classical pseudonyms when writing government propaganda in London and Yorkshire strongly suggest that letters supporting the government that started to appear in the Dumfries Weekly Journal from 1792 under classical pseudonyms were penned by John Vardill, the pseudonyms used in the Dumfries Weekly Journal being

– Nerva (one of the five good Roman Emperors)
– Numa (an early Roman Emperor who ruled for 43 years)
– Agricola (the Roman governor who campaigned in Northern Britain in AD79)

An extremely gifted classical scholar, John Vardill was appointed Fellow and Professor of Natural Law at King's College, New York (now Columbia University) in 1773, at the age of 21, where he was in correspondence with George Washington and senior figures in the American Congress. His chosen profession was the Church, where American contemporaries anticipated a glittering career; while many contemporary American 'loyalists' were motivated by financial gain, those who have researched Vardill's career have concluded that the reward he sought was ecclesiastical preferment.

Vardill was in favour of the British tea tax and the monopoly on tea given to the East India Company, two of the issues that provided rallying points for the American rebels. In 1773, rebels disguised as Mohawk Indians threw British tea chests into the harbour at Boston, and Vardill appears in an American satirical representation of the Boston Tea Party shown in figure 13, an engraving thought to have been created in 1775. In *'Liberty Triumphant; or the downfall of oppression'*, American rebels disguised as Indians are on the right hand side, while *'Poplicola - John Vardill'* appears in the British party on the left hand side. The British contingent is headed by Lord North, the Prime Minister, with Vardill being the only member of the British party facing left (talking to the Chairman of the East India Company); his inclusion in a gathering of such luminaries underlines the important position John Vardill had already reached in political circles by the age of 21.

The reason for the American Vardill being in the British party in the engraving is that he had come to London in 1774 to be ordained, but had delayed his return to America to argue the case for his college being granted a royal charter as a university. He was recruited into the secret service by William Eden, the head of the British Secret Service, and his importance to the government in his new role as a spy is reflected both in his office address (17, Downing Street) and his surviving correspondence in the British Library between himself and Lord North (the Prime Minister), William Eden (the head of the secret service) and Charles Jenkinson (the Secretary for War).

In addition to gathering intelligence and carrying out clandestine operations, John Vardill wrote political pamphlets in support of the Crown under the pseudonym *Coriolanus*, no

doubt considering his own position to be similar to that of the Roman hero Coriolanus, who had taken refuge with a foreign king. The correspondence in the British Library concerns backroom work such as keeping an eye on Americans in Britain, decoding secret documents and handling reports from agents in American and France, and also fieldwork, including the capturing of American vessels carrying diplomatic correspondence from France to America.

Some of Vardill's methods were somewhat unconventional for a clergyman, including the putting of agents into London brothels, and his biggest coup was in 1777, when he subverted an American sea captain who was lodging at an establishment where it was said that the *'pleasures were enhanced by the attractions of ladies whose virtue was none too oppressive to the lodgers'*. The captain had boasted to the landlady that he was to take important correspondence between the American Commission in Paris and America, information which the landlady promptly passed to John Vardill in Downing Street. Vardill befriended the sea captain and his mistress, and a plan was hatched by Vardill, and sanctioned by William Eden, which resulted in the American Congress receiving only a bundle of blank papers, while George III was the recipient of the important correspondence between the French court and the American Commission. The correspondence confirmed London's fears of French intentions to provide military support to America, and led the King to appoint Vardill as Regius Professor of Divinity in New York in 1778, the King's citation reading *'Whereas we have received a good report of the ability, loyalty and prudent conduct and sober conversations of our Trusty and Well beloved John Vardill….. we have therefore appointed him to be our Professor of Divinity in the said college'*.

The Franco-American cooperation spelt out in the stolen papers led to the American Commission authorising Captain John Paul Jones to set sail from Brest in 1778 with the objective of harassing the British navy. Jones was a native of Galloway, and one of his exploits was the mounting of a raid on Kirkcudbright to capture the Earl of Selkirk, the attempt failing because the Earl was not at home. To the great embarrassment of the Admiralty, Jones then captured HMS Drake in Belfast Lough, forcing the navy to deploy HMS Thetis to Portpatrick to protect the Irish mail.

John Vardill was registered as a resident of Skipton when he married in 1778, and it was probably government concerns about an organisation called the Yorkshire Association which took Vardill to Yorkshire and resulted in him meeting and marrying John Birtwhistle's daughter, Agnes. By his own account, he wrote papers opposing the Yorkshire Association in 1779, which *'he caused to be printed and circulated thro' the Counties'* (Einstein 1933). The Association was a substantial group of Yorkshire radicals, whose agenda was opposition to the war in America, support for parliamentary reform and a reduction in the influence of the Crown, an agenda would have been anathema to the fiercely royalist and conservative Vardill. As previously, he chose a classical pseudonym in opposing the Association, *Cassandra*, the daughter of the last King of Troy. The government's use of such a senior agent to mount a propaganda campaign against the Yorkshire Association is a reflection of its concerns that the Association members were not hoi-polloi, but gentry, 9000 freeholders signing a petition at York in December 1779. There are considerable similarities between John Vardill's government propaganda roles in Yorkshire 1779 and in Dumfries in 1792/3/4, where the government was concerned about an increasing level of support for republican movements such as the 'Scottish Friends of the People'.

With America lost after the War of Independence, the attention of British politicians now focussed on the growing movement for independence in Ireland, both William Eden, John Vardill's superior in the Secret Service and Charles Jenkinson, Secretary for War, with whom Vardill had an extensive correspondence, becoming directly involved in Irish politics. Eden became Chief Secretary of Ireland in 1780, MP for Dungannon in 1781 and Vice Treasurer of Ireland in 1782, and Jenkinson Chief Secretary in 1783, and it is therefore reasonable to assume that a record of John Vardill being in Ireland in 1785 (Sabine 1864) is an indication that he too had been drawn into Irish politics. Although no record survive of his original request, John Vardill must have asked for Jenkinson's help in securing the position of chaplain to a regiment, for a reply from the Secretary for War of 24 March 1782 (BL Add 38309 ff48) advised him…. *'If it were in my power I should be happy to make some provision for you, but I have no Ecclesiastical or Civil Preferment in my gift. The Chaplainships of the Regiments is not in the gift of the Secretary of War but the Colonels of each respective regiment and I believe are generally sold - Lord North and Mr Robinson are also fully informed of your merits and attachment as I am.'*

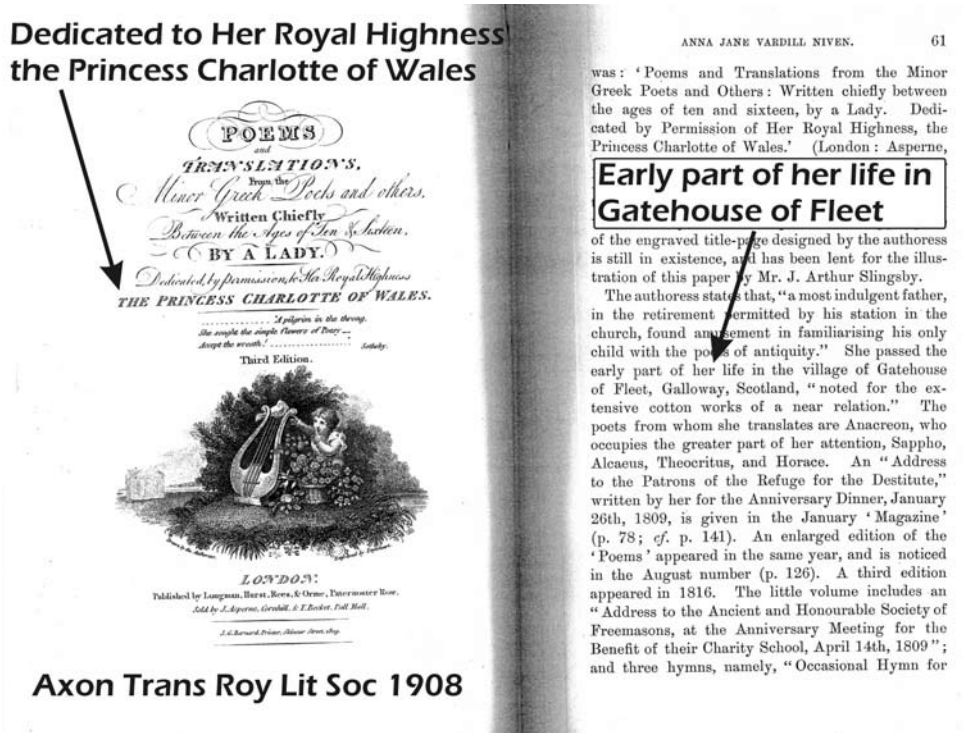

Figure 14. Frontispiece to Anna Vardill's book, possibly showing the young poet on the banks of the river Fleet at Gatehouse in the 1790s (from Axon, 1908)

It is only from the writings of John Vardill's daughter, Anna, a precocious and celebrated writer, that we learn of the Vardill's residence in Gatehouse (webref6). In 1809, Anna published *'Poems and translations, from minor Greek poets and others, chiefly written between the ages of 10 and 16, by a lady'*, which was dedicated to the Princess of Wales and is now in the British Library (Lady, 1809), the publication evincing a gushing letter from Lord Moira at St James Palace, informing her that the Prince of Wales, the future George IV, had enjoyed the work (Axon, 1908). Anna's familiarity with royalty and senior politicians such as Lord Moira (who was at one time asked by George III to form a government) was the result of her father having gathered intelligence against the French and Americans. John Vardill and Lord Moira may have been acquainted since the Battle of Fort Washington during the American War of Independence, in which Moira fought, and whose outcome Vardill reported to the Secretary of War (BL Add 38209 ff70/ 71). Included in 'Poems and translations' were six sonnets on scenes from Galloway:

- *On a View of Castammon*
- *On the River Dee, near Kirkcudbright*
- *On the Fleet, near Gatehouse*
- *On Raeberry Hill*
- *On Ross-Isle, near Balmae and*
- *On Balmae House.*

A letter of 16th Feb 1790 survives in the library at Lambeth Palace from John Vardill to the Archbishop of Canterbury, discussing the health of Charles Birtwhistle, who had been a curate at Gisburn, the seat of the Listers from whom the Birtwhistles had leased the Great Close at Malham. Charles was then staying with the Vardills at Clipstone Street in London, where he was being treated for a long term infirmity, and the record of his death in Gatehouse in 1791 suggests that it was probably in 1791 that he and the Vardills moved to Gatehouse. Two lines from a poem written by Anna in 1807 would suggest that the Vardills left Gatehouse around 1798:

> *'Nine summer suns have shone since by the side*
> *O'er the rich bank of Gently Fleet I hung',*

dates which are consistent with *'Poems and Translations'* being written in Gatehouse, since Anna tells us they were *'written chiefly between the ages of ten and sixteen'*.

No documentary evidence has come to light to show where the Vardills lived in Gatehouse, but Alexander Birtwhistle's High Street property is the most likely residence, later rebuilt as what is now the Bank of Fleet hotel (figure 12). When Alexander purchased the High Street property he was described as *'of Netherlaw'*, but the High Street property appears not to be been used by him as his primary residence until 1805. The Birtwhistles had many business interests, and their properties in Galloway and Craven appear to have been used flexibly by all the family, depending on their particular business and personal circumstances at the time, and there would have been no need for the Vardills to house themselves in a non-Birtwhistle property. The Vardills were well acquainted with Balmae, Agnes leaving money to the gardener, and Anna writing several poems about Balmae and its environs, and they may have lived in Gatehouse simply because Alexander had no need of the High Street property as a residence, making it available for use by other family members. The Vardills being resident in the High Street property would also explain the

otherwise strange revelation in the 1823 court case that, although Alexander had a property in Gatehouse, his secret relationship with Mary Purdie was conducted in houses opposite and adjacent to his own. No doubt Agnes, the wife of a Professor of Divinity, would have objected to her middle-aged brother having an illicit affair with a teenage girl under the same roof as her own teenage daughter, even if the roof did belong to her brother.

In May 1792, Thomas Paine published a second edition of the 'Rights of Man', in which he advocated the abolition of the monarchy, the British government being sufficiently concerned about its popularity to ban the book and try the author for sedition in his absence. The concerns of the authorities were further exacerbated in December 1792 when Glasgow advocate Thomas Muir made seditious remarks at a convention of *'Scottish Friends of the People'* in Edinburgh, the convention ending with delegates swearing the French oath *'to do or die'*, and when the French government passed a resolution to support republican insurrections in Scotland and Ireland. Four pieces in the *Dumfries Weekly Journal* that month should therefore be seen in the light of these political developments viz

- a report of Secretary of State, Charles Jenkinson, John Vardill's former colleague in London, advising Parliament that there had never been a more favourable time to go to war with France
- an edict from the Sheriff of Dumfries declaring the need for *'the suppression of divers wicked and seditious writings'*
- a report of the Trial of Thomas Paine
- a letter attacking Thomas Paine, signed Nerva.

For the period 1792-94, only four letters appeared in the *Dumfries Weekly Journal* signed with pseudonyms, all appearing to be from John Vardill, both on account of their hall mark classical pseudonyms and content. Only someone intimately involved in American politics, such John Vardill, would have been in a position to claim, as Nerva did in a letter of 10th Dec 1792, that the 'Rights of Man' was a work of plagiarism, incorporating *'manufactured paragraphs from American newspapers, in the time of the war'*. According to Nerva, Paine was *'bred to a mechanical employment without the advantages of a classical or liberal education, or even having enjoyed the company and conversation of men of real knowledge and literature'*. Also, Paine was *'anguis in herba'* (a snake in the grass), likely to poison the minds of the *'middling and lower classes'*... with writings…. *'of a man destitute of real talents, unimproved by education, unenlightened by general knowledge, uninformed of the true principles of government, raising disquiets in the most perfect system of legislation that ever was formed by the wisdom, foresight, and experience of man'*.

Thomas Muir was arrested in January 1793 for his remarks to the *'Scottish Friends of the People'*, and a further letter attacking Paine's work, dated 21 January, appeared in the *Journal* signed Nerva. In February, the Journal carried a report from Gatehouse of a meeting chaired by John Vardill's brother-in-law, Alexander Birtwhistle Esq, supporting the British constitution and, in March, there was a report in the *Journal* that Mr Lister had offered to raise a regiment of dragoons at his own expense in Skipton (William Birtwhistle became a Major in Lister's dragoons, see figure 8). These reports support Vardill's claim

in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1790 that the Birtwhistle family had always been *'warm friends to the Church and Government'*.

Like Thomas Paine, Thomas Muir fled to France, but was captured travelling from France to America and, in September 1793, sentenced to be transported to Australia for 14 years. John Vardill next appears in print in the *Dumfries Weekly Journal* in November 1793, under the pseudonym Numa, applauding the government for *'guarding against the principles of the infuriate faction that domineers in France'*. In May 1794, William Pitt took the controversial step of suspending habeas corpus, and a letter appeared in the following edition of the *Dumfries Weekly Journal*, under the pseudonym Agricola, supporting Pitt's action. Agricola's letter is exactly what we might expect of Vardill, the classical scholar, a carefully argued rebuttal of Sir William Blackstone's views on habeas corpus. Sir William was the most important British authority on habeas corpus, and had argued that habeas corpus was built on Roman law, but Agricola, quoting chapter and verse from Livy, claimed that Sir William *'had not examined the point in question with his usual precision and accuracy'*.

John Vardill was in receipt of an income of £200pa from the government until 1806, and it is difficult to interpret the letters on contentious political issues from Nerva, Numa and Agricola to the *Dumfries Weekly Journal* as anything other than the work of a government agent. A curious mention in Anna Vardill's writings of having a Monsieur Cramozin of Rouen as tutor in Gatehouse suggests that John Vardill, who had agents working for him in London, may also have had agents in Galloway. The French medieval poet Villon mentions a *cramozin* (crimson cloak) in one of his poems, and a crimson cloak is exactly the type of pseudonym the fiercely royalist Vardill might have thought appropriate for an agent working for a Regius Professor of Divinity.

To date, no attempt has been made to identify later writings of John Vardill in the Galloway Press, although it would have been uncharacteristic of him to remain silent when the French attempted to land 15,000 troops in Ireland in 1795, or succeeded in landing 1000 troops and canon in 1798 in support Irish separatists, the insurrection being ruthlessly put down by Lord Cornwallis, whose exploits during the American War of Independence were reported to Secretary of State Charles Jenkinson by John Vardill (BL Add 38209 ff71). Although these suggestions of John Vardill's spying activities may today seem extraordinary, it must be remembered that the government devoted enormous financial resources to the Secret Service at the end of the 18th century, as is highlighted in the report in the Dumfries Weekly Journal of William Pitt's budget for 1792. Of a total budget of £5.73m, the Navy received £2.3m, the Army £1.5m, and no less than £0.191m was devoted to the Secret Service.

Although the Vardills lived in Gatehouse, John Vardill would appear to have had an office in Dumfries, for this is where his letters to the Press were written, and it is clear from reports in the Dumfries Weekly Journal that there was a sizeable faction with republican leanings in Dumfries in the early 1790s. Robert Burns is reputed to have joined in the singing of the French Revolutionary anthem *Ça Ira* after a performance of *'As you Like It'* at the Dumfries Theatre in October 1792, but the threat of losing his employment in the Excise appears to have made him extremely cautious thereafter. A handwritten note inside a bound copy of the *Dumfries Weekly Journal* in the Ewart Library records that no

mention could be found of Burns for the period 1792-95, something that is surprising in view of Burns' considerable poetic output during this period. Bearing in mind the fates of Thomas Paine, Thomas Muir, and many others whose charges of sedition were reported in the *Dumfries Weekly Journal* in 1793, Burns' caution was wise. It is not necessary to be sympathetic with Robert Burns' undoubted republican views to feel some satisfaction that he did however manage to express his political opinions in his chosen medium of poetry, publishing anonymously *'Scots Wha Hae'* to coincide with the trial of Thomas Muir in 1793.

Acknowledgements

The original stimulus for this research was an article on John Birtwhistle written by Dr Arthur Raistrick in the late 1950s in the *Dalesman*, but only followed up by the author in recent years. By coincidence, Mr Richard Harland of Grassington had been making parallel studies of the life of John Birtwhistle, similarly stimulated by the work of Dr Raistrick, publishing a paper on John Birtwhistle in 1998 (listed in the bibliography). The author would like to thank Mr Harland for making the results of his researches available to him, including information on the location of the remains of the Drovers Inn on Malham's Great Close. Thanks are due to Mr Bill Mitchell, formerly editor of the *Dalesman*, for bringing attention to the article by Professor Hodgson in the Dalesman, which is important for an understanding of Thomas Hurtley's book. For important help in identifying sources relevant to South West Scotland, the author would like to thank, Dr David Steel, Mr James Williams, Dr David Devereux of the Stewartry Museum in Kirkcudbright, Mr John Pickin of the Stranraer Museum, Mrs Anna Campbell of the Carsphairn Heritage Centre, Mr John Russell and Mr Marion Rochester of Gatehouse and Cathy Gibb of the Ewart library Dumfries, who found the two letters written by Nerva in the *Dumfries Weekly Journal*. The author is greatly indebted to two descendants of John Birtwhistle who have provided considerable information about the lives of John Birtwhistle and his descendants, Dr Geoff Sharwood-Smith and Mr Bob Birtwhistle. The picture of William Birtwhistle is reproduced by kind permission of Dr Sharwood-Smith and of the Boston Tea Party by kind permission of the American Antiquarian Society. Any misinterpretation of the above sources is entirely the fault of the author.

Abbreviations

BL- British Library

DWJ- Dumfries Weekly Journal –Ewart Library, Dumfries

ESC- Edinburgh Sheriff Court

NA- National Archives, Kew

NAS- National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh

WYAS/W- West Yorkshire Archive Service, Wakefield

YAS- Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Leeds

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STROLLING PLAYERS, MINSTRELS AND LIVING PEOPLE: ENTERTAINERS IN GALLOWAY AND IN DUMFRIES 1861-1871

Innes Macleod[1]

The review notices and advertisements in the Dumfries and Galloway Herald and Register, the Dumfries and Galloway Courier, the Dumfries and Galloway Standard, the Kirkcudbrightshire Advertiser, the Galloway Gazette, and the Galloway Advertiser and Wigtownshire Free Press between 1861 and 1871 show the extent to which the traditions and values of London-centred Music Halls and variety theatre and of British popular culture from panoramas and penny readings to minstrel shows had reached out into the towns and villages of South-west Scotland.

Of course, any analysis based on evidence from newspaper archives is always going to be incomplete and partial. Some strolling players only appear in reports of accidents and disasters. The only local reference, for example, to the splendidly named Purchas's Royal Collection of Iron and Wax-Works and Lions seems to be when one of their eight caravans was wrecked in Annan High Street in May 1862 when the horses bolted. The caravan contained the Judgement of Solomon, but this Solomon was left decapitated and the child in question minus an arm and a leg. Other players emerge unexpectedly in Census enumeration books: for example, James and Eliza Bostock, Joseph and Martha Williams, and Helen Hase, comedians and actresses from England, who were in lodgings in Main Street and Glasserton Row in Whithorn in 1851.

There was a whole street theatre in everyday life as a galaxy of itinerants and entrepreneurs passed through Dumfries, Castle Douglas, Gatehouse of Fleet, Newton Stewart and Stranraer. There were street acrobats and street preachers, bell-hangers and umbrella-menders, chapmen selling penny books with tales and histories and songs and poems and romances, quack doctors selling marvellous cures and lozenges and bottles of coloured water or worse and pairs of spectacles, and dentists willing and perhaps able to undertake at their stalls immediate and painless extractions.

There were itinerant musicians, blind fiddlers and harpists; Highland and Border pipers; players with fife and drums and penny whistles, a piano on wheels, concertina, accordion played with a handle, banjo, musical glasses, bells or rocks, a hammer ringing onto strips of metal; Italian organ grinders with a machine decorated with Chinese mandarins or Nebuchadnezzar's band and pulled by a donkey; a little organ carried by a boy; and a tinkling cupboard on a stick with a handle.

There was the ubiquitous 'miscellaneous artist' who hung around, saddled, propped up, sat upon, wedged in and stuck all over generally with two dozen or more musical instruments, like the Music Man in Concanen, Lee And Siebe's music sheet cover (c.1860). He tried to play most or all of them at the same time while dressed up like the King of the Cannibal Islands or a North American Indian. Happy children danced around him while he worked a drum with a wire attached to one foot; his mouth moved round a semi-circle

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

blowing pan-pipes, flute, clarinet, horn and other tubes hung round his neck; one hand was on an accordion attached to his thigh; a triangle dangled from his waist; a tambourine was fixed to his side; cymbals knocked together on the inside of his knees; and bells were attached to his remaining foot and ankle.

There were local juvenile musicians in Dumfries with tin whistles, triangles and drums, and some regimental fifes who imitated Dr Marks Little Men or the military bands of the local Volunteers. There were Scottish and English vocalists blasting out songs and ballads from 'Polly Perkins' and 'Sally in Our Alley' to the Music Hall tune of the year about 'Champagne Charlie'.

Most of the itinerants passed on unrecorded, but some appeared before local courts in Wigtown, Kirkcudbright and Dumfries on minor charges of drunkenness, assault, begging and petty theft, examples being James Kelly, a ballad singer from Whithorn in Wigtown; Bernard McGinty, a wandering minstrel, and Robert Currie, an itinerant fiddler, in Kirkcudbright; two Italian *lazzaroni*, a musician and a dancer from the Bay of Naples, in Dumfries; and many others….

'Show Vans' or caravans with wooden booths appeared at the Whitsun and September fairs, for example at Dumfries Whitesands and Castle Douglas Market Hill, and were attended by hundreds of folk coming into town by special trains. Other caravans turned up in open spaces at Glencaple Quay, The Angle (now Dashwood Square) in Newton Stewart or the Quay Head at Stranraer, and booths appeared – with or without licenses – in Dumfries High Street and the closes off it. Some were travelling theatres or 'geggies' where there might be performances of melodramas, burlesques, abbreviated 'Macbeths' or 'Hamlets', or a musical Rob Roy. Others were show-boxes with small menageries, Barbary Coast monkeys or Botany Bay cockatoos. There were shooting galleries or saloons; photographic booths; peep shows; Punch and Judy shows; galleries with 'Steriscupic Vus'; a Haunted House with ghosts and 'spectre-ospic' entertainments; an Olympic Arena in The Angle at Newton-Stewart in July 1862, with acrobats and tumblers; and booths with camp-stool minstrels. And then there were the miscellaneous jugglers, tightrope dancers, fire-eaters, fortune tellers, living skeletons, learned pigs, Pickwickian 41-stone 19-year-old Fat Boys, winged mermaids, Cheap Jacks, card-sharpers and pickpockets.[2]

Local teachers and visiting 'professors' of music and dancing, deportment and callisthenics were busy in towns and villages introducing pupils to the 'Science of Singing' and to the intricacies of the lancers, polkas, quadrilles, schottisches and galops, and organising celebratory concerts, assemblies and balls.[3]

2 John Faed's painting, *the Statute Fair* (now in Wolverhampton Art Gallery), was exhibited in Brook's Scotch Gallery, 46 Pall Mall, London in 1871. Sold for £2,500, it was also called The Statute or Hiring Fair and was described as a scene in a Highland village. Oleographic copies were available for sale in August 1871 at four or six guineas a copy.
Faed had been at the Castle Douglas Market in September 1870 to select 'bits' or 'groupings' for his painting, which can be taken as a commentary of Scottish rural life in general with aspects drawn from Galloway in particular. It shows stalls with apples and sweets, an old woman washing her coggies, luggies and wooden spoons, girls waiting to be offered employment, farmers and/or factors, and show vans or booths with clowns and musicians with trombones and trumpets, supposedly on a provincial tour from Lambeth.

3 Callisthenics. An example of the Victorian enthusiasm, especially prevalent in the Music Halls, for using or inventing long words taken from Greek or Latin sources, as Callisthenics, here referring to the development of physical strength and beauty through programmes of gymnastic exercises.

There was a great demand for classes in singing and for tuition in the use of musical instruments. There were singing clubs and groups, for example the Buittle (High School) Singing Club and the Ross Light Templars who supported the Borgue Abstinence Society; and choral societies, for example Auchencairn and Kirkcudbright and the Dumfries and Maxwelltown with its Juvenile Association. There were training courses for church choirs and congregations: the Free Church in Newton Stewart, for example, specified that the precentor to be appointed in 1862 must be qualified to conduct a class.

Who were these teachers and what subjects did they offer? Mr Dodds, for example, the teacher at Bargrennan, had a psalmody class at Knowe Village north-west of Newton Stewart which ended happily in December 1871 with a concert and ball. Professor Parker and his brother from Edinburgh taught classes in Newton-Stewart and in Garlieston in 1862 and 1864. The pupils of the Misses Wemyss in Gatehouse of Fleet in 1865 learned sacred and Scottish and, unusually, Gaelic songs. Their concert in Gatehouse in 1862 to defray the expenses of converting the Masons' Hall into a school-room for the Misses Wilson included Andrew Denniston singing *Auld Joe Nicholson's Bonnie Nannie*.

Classes and concerts were held in assembly rooms, in parish schools and in many other places: the 'store' at Dunragit, the 'barn' at Logan Mains and (to raise funds for Sandhead School) in Culhorn House near Stranraer.

The record of the life of the great blind fiddler, singer and teacher, Andrew Denniston of Whithorn (1822 - 1897) over fifty years from the 1840s to 1880s is remarkable. Year after year, he taught juvenile and adult classes, each ending with a concert, in towns and villages from Stranraer and Glenluce to Penpont and Thornhill. He trained choirs in Whithorn and Glasserton and Sorbie and the choral society in Kirkcudbright. He gave talks on Scott, Byron and Burns and, a Free Church man himself, opposed to the 'sin-creating, soul-destroying, hell-plenishing' evil of drink, he lectured and sang at many hundreds of Temperance soirees and rallies. The repertoire at his concerts ranged from sacred songs to 'The Death of Nelson', from Music Hall favourites such as 'Awfully Jolly' (1868) to minstrel tales about 'Eva and Topsy', to Scottish local songs, for example the always popular Whithorn Grand Soiree (c.1840/43).

The dancing masters included Mr W.S. Rodie, who took classes at Carsphairn (1863) and in Knowe Village where he had fifty pupils (March 1866); Professor James Thomson from Glasgow, who gave annual classes in Castle Douglas and in Kirkcudbright (1863 - 1867), where his former pupils who had 'graduated' in the 'Terpsichorean Arts' were able to show off their skills at the Candlemas Balls; Professor Gordon from Belfast, who was in Stoneykirk, Glenluce, Wigtown and Whithorn in 1866 and 1868 and included Highland Flings and sword dances in his programme; and J.D. Andrews, Professor of Dancing and Callisthenics in the Gymnasium Institute in Belfast, who included the Chest-Expander Dance in his repertoire at Whithorn.

There were Quadrille Bands, for example Mr Brydone's own in Dumfries and the Stranraer Quadrille Band, and the famous Strathspey and Reel band in Dumfries. The Industrial School and the Boys Home in Dumfries each had their own brass band. There were the Rifle Volunteers' bands and various town and village brass bands, so for example six bands with 100 musicians, the Volunteer Bands from Dumfries, Sanquhar, Moffat

and Lockerbie and the Dalbeattie and Wanlockhead Brass bands, played together at the September 1871 Musical Fete at Castledykes in Dumfries.

Music Sheet Covers

There was a very considerable service sector in Dumfries & Galloway selling song sheets and dance music, and variously supplying, tuning and repairing musical instruments – pianofortes, violins, accordions, harmoniums, concertinas, guitars and banjos. The most important business was probably Fryer & Murdoch in Dumfries High Street, later Fryer's New Music Saloon in English Street, who also organised and promoted concerts. Other shops included Currie & Co. and James Maxwell in the High Street, and J. Mitchell in Friars Vennel in Dumfries; S. Gordon, Bookseller, Printer and Stationer in Castle Douglas; James Stewart in Castle Street, Kirkcudbright; and James Dixon, R.T. Ross, Mr McCold and Mr Dick in Stranraer. Herr Yung toured the South-west tuning and repairing musical instruments, combining this with concerts, for example in Sorbie, Whithorn, Isle of Whithorn, Glasserton and Garlieston in 1867.

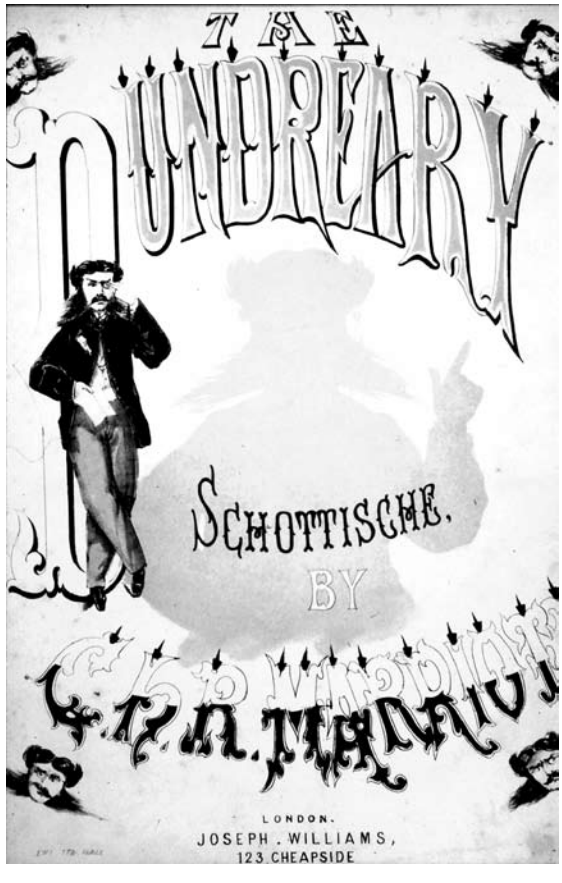

Figure 1 The Dundreary Schottische, composed by Charles Godfrey, and music sheet cover by Alfred Concanen.

Newspapers included reviews from London journals such as Bond Street (1868) and Boosey's Musical Cabinet, with details of new songs and dances. Publishers, including Morrison & Kyle in Glasgow, Schenk & Macfarlane in Edinburgh, and Hopwood & Crewe of New Bond Street and Robert Cocks of New Burlington Street in London, advertised lists of their new Music Hall songs and fashionable dances, for example *The Mormon Quadrille*.

The 1860s were a sort of 'golden age' of illustrated sheet music, with London the centre of a vast industry printing each year hundreds of new songs and dances with the most exquisite and brilliantly coloured lithographic covers. At typically three shillings a copy, these were expensive. Twenty or thirty stones might be used in the preparation of the most delicate, subtle and complicated plates. The work of two men, John Brandard (1812-63) and Alfred Concanen (1835-86), stands out for the originality and perfectionism of their covers. Collectors commonly kept their favourite music in bound volumes.

Probably upwards of 100,000 music sheet covers were published between 1830 and 1900. The whole constitutes a remarkable collection of visual evidence for life in Britain. It is a gallery of changing fashions, of uniforms, dresses, gowns and accessories from Bloomermania and the Court of St James to 'telegram' parasols, large 'parashutes' and small Tom Thumb umbrellas; of the interior of music halls and piano warehouses, and the staging of musical productions; of the post-1848 enthusiasm for romantic Poles and Hungarians (in Brandard covers) and gypsy encampments; of topography, waterfalls, picturesque ruins, seaside promenades, London street scenes and exhibitions, events and arrivals in London, for example, Chang, the Chinese giant in 1865; of political scandals and London working and lower middle class morality, embracing, for example, hostility to effete aristocrats (Lord Dundreary) and Mormons and, later, to Wilde, the Aesthetic Movement and flippitty-flop young men; of wars and adventures overseas, from the Crimean War to the Abyssinian Expedition; of sailing ships and steamers and yachts; of railway trains and steam engines, tunnels, stations and accidents, railway porters and guards; of cricketers, roller skaters and children's games; of royal weddings, such as the Princess Louise to the Marquis of Lorne in March 1871, celebrated in waltzes, polkas and quadrilles; and of the world of dreams and nightmares in Concanen's Harum Scarum Galop and Jack'a'Lantern Waltz. There were also the stars of Music hall, from Sam Cowell and George Leybourne to Marie Lloyd.

Items of local interest include The Friars Carse Quadrille (1859), published by Fryer & Co, which was an encapsulation of six items – *The Nith, The Whistle, The Primrose Dell, The Fairies of the Scaur Wood, The Lilies of the Loch, and Ellisland* C; The *Drumlanrig Polka* (1859), from J.J. Fryer; *The Sherwood Quadrille* (1861) by George Lowe of Dumfries, dedicated to the Duchess of Buccleuch and published by Paterson & Son of Glasgow, which had 'conceptions' of Friar Tuck, Little John, Robin Hood and Allen-a-Dale; and three dances by Miss Kirkpatrick of Challoch – The *Galloway Quadrille* (1859), *The Scottish Rifles Volunteer Quadrille* (1860) and *The Atlantic Telegraph Galop* (1867), also from Paterson & Son.

Operas, Operettas and Concert Parties

Even before 'the railway age', Dumfries benefited from being on a west coast route from London to Glasgow and Edinburgh, and to Belfast and Dublin by Portpatrick or

Stranraer. Mr Strauss, for example, brought his orchestra to Dumfries on 16th November 1838 for his last Scottish concert before returning to Vienna for the Carnival. In the 1860s, audiences in the Theatre Royal and the Mechanics' Institute Hall were able, to an extent almost unimaginable today, to enjoy the works of singers and actors, theatre managers and technicians from the London, Glasgow and Edinburgh Concerts and the London Music Halls. The Mechanics' Hall, which opened in December 1861, could accommodate 1,000 and even, it was claimed at the time, 1200 people.

The arrival of the English Opera Company under Henry Corri in Dumfries in April1868 was noted in local newspapers with some reservations about the likelihood of their attracting sufficient support. However, Donizetti's *Lucretia Borgia*, Verdi's *La Traviata*, Rossini's *Barber of Seville*, Mozart's *Don Giovanni*, Bellini's *La Somnambula* and Gounod's *Faust* secured 'fair' audiences. The company returned to the Theatre Royal in November, and again for a week in November 1869, with twenty singers and an orchestra of seven. Their repertoire included Donizetti's *L'Elisir D'Amore* and Balfe's *The Bohemian Girl*. Each evening was ended with a fashionable farce.

In November 1871, Mr Corri returned to Dumfries, to the Mechanics' Hall, and went on to the Queen's Hall in Stranraer with his Royal English Opera Concert Party. Their programme included selections from *La Traviata* and *Lucia di Lammermoor*, and various English, Scottish and Irish popular songs, but this time sparse attendances were reported in both towns.

The Dumfries and Maxwelltown Choral Society assembled a chorus of eighty in support of four professional singers for Handel's *Messiah* in the Mechanics' Hall in April 1870. This was followed in March 1871 with a Grand Oratorio Concert, including Handel's *Samson*.

Miss Louisa Pyne's Royal English Comic Opera Company claimed that their performances in the Dumfries Mechanics' Hall and Castle Douglas Town Hall in November 1867 and January 1868 would have all the elegance of a first-class Drawing Room Entertainment. In 1867, they presented two operettas, Victor Masse's *Jeanette's Wedding* about a Dutch girl and a runaway bridegroom, and G. Allan's *The Wild Cherry*, which featured two ladies, one as a Dundrearyish officer and the other (Susan Pyne) as a Highlander (!) singing Annie Laurie. In 1868, there were two 'new' operettas by Offenbach, *Sixty-Six (Le 66*, 1856) and *The Treasure Found by Lantern Light* (1853). *Sixty-Six*, if indeed it can be said to have a plot at all, was about a wandering minstrel who purchased a lottery ticket in Vienna (was it 66 or 99?). The *Treasure* was about a simple-hearted young farmer in France who was deliciously introduced by Louisa Pyne to *Comin' through the Rye* and *Bonnie Dundee*. The Standard reviewer welcomed the arrival of opera from London in the provinces ... 'in spite of artistic blemishes ... it was still far from being so radically defective or outrageous as to provoke a pelting'.

There were other operatic evenings with D'Almaine's *Cousin Kate or, the Haunted Mill* (Castle Douglas, November 1865), a serio-comic operetta; *The Fairy's Gift* (Newton-Stewart, July 1866) and Mendelssohn's *Son and Stranger* (Dumfries, October 1870). Louisa Pyne also appeared in 1869, 1870 and 1871 in Grand Operatic and Ballad Concerts in Dumfries, Castle Douglas and Newton-Stewart with excerpts from *Guy Mannering, Rob Roy* and *The Bohemian Girl*.

Most concerts were essentially variety shows with singers and comedians brought together by Morrison Kyle of Glasgow or Duncan McPherson, the Director of the Edinburgh Evening Concerts, or by the owners of music stores or bookshops in Dumfries, Castle Douglas and Stranraer. The Dumfries Saturday Evening Concert committee hoped to present 'delightful entertainment for the working classes' or 'Music for the Millions', a memorable phrase used in 1857 referring to the Weekly Promenades on the Dock ... to refine, to instruct and to amuse audiences of whom typically at least half were 'boys and lads.' Critics were concerned about the need to avoid vulgar buffoonery from comics hailing from the music saloons of cities whose songs might be excessively devoted to 'the loves of cooks and nursemaids, policemen and factory girls'.

The 'crop of comicalities' from the Glasgow, Edinburgh and London Concerts and the Music Halls included the great Sam Cowell, Harry Clifton and E.W. Mackney. The Saturday Concert on 13 January, 1866, under the patronage of the Provost and Magistrates of Dumfries, included Miss Bessy Aitken, Scottish Vocalist, and Mr Nash, 'the unrivalled Delineator of Negro Life, the greatest Banjo Player in the World, Tambournist, Eccentric Jig and American break-down Dancer and the original Dandy Jack'. The Standard critic described Mr Nash as clever and crowd-pleasing, but somewhat 'exuberant and obstreperous'.

There were other special occasions in Dumfries, for example, the May 1871 Concert by the Royal Tyrolese Singers with Jodl Music and Mountain Echo Songs for the Zillerthat, and David Kennedy's *Nicht Wi' Burns* in January 1862, which included Howard Glover's cantata on *Tam O'Shanter* and H. R. Bishop's arrangement of *The Jolly Beggars*.

The most successful Scottish company was Mr Kennedy's Songs of Scotland. Absent from March 1866 on a three year tour of the United States and Canada, he was back with his two sons and two daughters on annual tours visiting Dumfries, Castle Douglas, Kirkcudbright, Newton-Stewart and Stranraer in 1870 and 1871 before leaving in March 1872 for a two year tour to Australia. Mr Kennedy was not only the star singer: he also gave recitations and stories, for example, a tale of a San Francisco housemaid – *There's Nae Luck Aboot the House*, *Waverley* (a condensation of Scott's novels with songs), and his travel journal, *Glimpses of Salt Lake City*, which was not likely to have included a friendly representation of 'old man Mormon' and his people.

Professor John Henry Anderson from Aberdeen, the Wizard of the North, was a concert party in himself. After thirty years in the business, his farewell tour through Scotland brought him to Dumfries in May 1870 with his '100 experiments and astonishing feats in natural magic'. He was accompanied by his daughters Louise, Lizzie, Flora and Ada, who added some of the latest specialities such as the Japanese Butterfly Trick. Other Scottish concerts were led by Miss Helen Kirk, Mr Hamilton Corbett and Mr Stembridge Ray.

By the late 1860s and going into 1870/71, the local newspapers were including increasingly detailed reports of amateur concerts in towns and villages throughout the South-west. Competition between the three Dumfries journals was intense; they offered more pages and/or more columns on each page; and some moved from one to two editions a week. The arrival of the Gazette in Newton-Stewart in 1870 greatly increased competition between the Galloway papers.

Many good causes benefited from funds raised by amateurs – for the family of a man disabled for life in an accident at work (James Black, Dumfries 1865), to cover the debts incurred by the Nithsdale Regatta Club in erecting and repairing their Boat-house (February 1866), or as part of a much wider effort for the relief of victims in France of the Franco-Prussian War.

The description in the Free Press of the concert in Whithorn on 30 September, 1870 is interesting as source material for local and family history. The parish school was 'packed to suffocation ... parties having to climb over the wall and attempt an entrance through one of the windows'. The names of the young amateurs, Miss Jane Gordon, Miss Elizabeth Drape, Mr Dick who gave *The Hupper Ten Thousand* and others are all detailed. They were assisted by Andrew Denniston and by Miss Margaret Howard from the London Star Dramatic Company.

Amateur groups were many and varied, examples being the Dumfries Southern Opera Troupe (1864) and the Tonic So-Fa Association (1866), whose concert in the M. I. Lecture Room included Fawcett's *Oratorio of Paradise* and glees, duets and choruses. Some concerts were put together by ad hoc groups, such as at Mouswald in October 1871, when the members came from Townfoot, Collin, Ruthwell Station, Mount Kedar and Woodside. Every available space in the schoolroom was taken up by 250 people. The proceeds went towards realising the wants of the deserving poor. Thirty-three pieces were sung or played and the comic songs, 'Villikins and his Dinah' and 'The Railway Porter', etc., were never allowed to degenerate into the coarse or the vulgar. Some concert parties visited village halls as 'companies': James McCutcheon and his Company from Castle Douglas, for instance, gave a concert in the Free Church School in Auchencairn in December 1869, their song, 'Angelina Tapioca', being very well received.

The amateur concerts in Castle Douglas in 1863, 1869 and 1870 in aid of the Town Hall Fund, the Mechanics' Institute and the Cricket Club were reported in unusual detail, perhaps because J. H. Maxwell of the Advertiser took part, playing the banjo in 1863, when the Town Hall was packed with 700 people. The concert lasted for three and a half hours!

The report of the 1869 concert, 'a complete cram with many accommodated in the lobby', included the whole of a lengthy Prologue by Mr Lindsay. The amateur Negro Minstrels, led by Mr J. T. Blackly (Julius), Mr R Ross (Frying-Pan) and Mr W. Hewat (Bones), blacked up and highly grotesque in appearance, were busy cracking jokes and trying out conundrums, some of which were detailed in the Advertiser, which also included the ten verses with choruses of the Loyal Minstrels' Ditty –

'So de performance to cummence
Wid song and dance vel show
De jolly life de nigger lives
Where cane and cotton grow
Wid Banjo, Tambourine and Bones,
De Nigger life vel shew;
Wid de painer in good tune,
Vel make de song to flow.

(chorus)
Strike, strike de Banjo,
Shake de Tambourine,
Make de Bones to rattle,
And de eyes to gleam.'

Mr McL. Harper (author of the above?) was one of the three directors of the evening's entertainment.

Minstrels: Hoop-de-doo-dem-do

The idea of white men blacking up as Negroes emerged out of the New York theatres in the 1830s as a form of entertainment developed by Mr D. (Tiggy) Rice, who brought it over in person to London and to Glasgow. Some of the first songs, in particular 'Jump Jim Crow', embraced truly vicious racial stereotyping. The minstrel band or troupe brought together by Mr E. P. Christie in Buffalo in 1842, later the Virginia and then the Christy Minstrels, established a tradition that was to last for another 150+ years.

By the 1850s and 1860s a more or less set pattern had developed. A troupe, which might consist of eight or twelve or even twenty minstrels, would sit on stage in a semi-circle with the interlocutor in the middle, Mr Bones with wooden bone-ettas on his right hand, the Tambourine player on his left, with perhaps two banjo twangers and a violinist in the front row and a second tier of vocalists to take part in what the C.C.C. Troupe called 'A Grand, Comical, Mimical and Musical Melange'.

Some minstrels presented themselves as providers of refined and elegant entertainment. Their songs were to be found in every drawing room and at every musical assembly in Britain. This was true of the songs written for banjo-picking accompaniment by Stephen Foster (1826-64)), for example *Oh! Susanna* (1848), *Compton Races* (1850), and his smooth, sweetly sentimental songs in the British/Irish/American ballad tradition, *Old Folks at Home* (1851), *My Old Kentucky Home* (1853), *Jeanie with the Light Brown Hair* (1854) and *Beautiful Dreamer* (1864).

Other minstrels songs, for example *Da Racoon Hunt, Swash Away, Sally Come Up, Kiss Me Quick and Go; Oh! For a Donkey's Life, Tapioca, Dixie's Land,* and *Hoop-de-doo-dem-do* lacked the finesse and sweetness of Foster's work.

There were many aspects of minstrels shows which reveal a cruel world view of racial superiority and inferiority – the stump oratory, the conundrums, the character assassination through the use of absurd pseudo-classical personal names; the devastating mockery of the 'faithful and correct delineation of Plantation life', which as almost a ritual humiliation of a whole people; in the eccentric jigs and head banging and buffoonery and the inane grins and grimaces and rolling eyes that made men and women seem like simpletons and half-wits; in the blacking up itself and the wearing of incongruous costumes, for example the Court Dress of the reign of George II; and in the clever use of illusions, for example the way the head hair of the African Opera minstrels moved into a state of erection when ghosts appeared on the stage.

At least seventeen minstrel companies were in the South-west between 1861 and 1871, several on annual northern tours. Some claimed to have appeared before Napoleon III and

the Empress Eugenie, before Queen Victoria at Balmoral and the Prince of Wales at Camp Curragh, and before the Duchesses of Atholl, Cambridge, Manchester, Montrose and Sutherland. They might well have added Thomas Carlyle, the sage of Chelsea, who was known to enjoy visiting minstrel shows in London.[4]

Many, perhaps most, of the minstrels had learned their trade in the London halls and theatres and were skilled dancers. There was much ingenuity on display in the best comic sketches, the 'Opera de Camera Obscura', the 'Celebrated Music Lesson', the 'Mesmerism Unmasked'; in the Ethiopian burlesques of *La Traviata* and *Lucia di Lammermoor* and *The Black Swan*, which featured Signor McPatrooni, the Celebrated Hibernian Italian; in the Black Pantomime in the Dumfries Theatre Royal in December 1863; and in the hectic finale Plantation Walk-Rounds or Skedaddles, the Darkies Carnival, The Fire Bell Galop, The Shoo Fly, the Farmyard Galop and That's a Climate.

The Ayr-September 1868 Great Northern Tour by the Real and Original Christy Minstrels (proprietor Mr Charles Christie) was perhaps typical in visiting Dumfries, Castle Douglas, Kirkcudbright, Gatehouse, Creetown, New Galloway, Newton-Stewart, Wigtown, Whithorn, Stranraer, Portpatrick, Girvan, Maybole and Ayr before going on to Glasgow City Hall for twelve and the Edinburgh Music Hall for eight nights. Many companies used the term Christy Minstrels as an instantly recognisable household name. Apart from the Buckley Serenaders, the African Slave Troupe, Ludlow's Original African Opera Company and the Benzano Family Natural Dark Troupe, there were two Real and Original and one Celebrated and Original company, the Royal Original Christys (the largest with twenty on stage), and the Eclipse (C.C.C.) Constellation Concert Co., Wilson and Montague's Original Co., Forrest's Co., Whitworth's American Co., the Tremont Co., the Star Troupe, Butterworth's Permanent Royal Co., the Christy Minstrels of New York, and the Royal Female Christys. Most had between eleven and seven members.

Critics in some towns, especially Newton Stewart and Stranraer in January and February 1863, felt that the situation was becoming intolerable, that a saturation point had been reached, that too many minstrel troupes had been arriving, putting up six-feet high posters glorified with all the colours of the rainbow, making claims they did not live up to and then giving feeble and wretched performances; that this was not at all flattering to the local appreciation of what was and was not genuine; and that in future audiences would be prepared to demand their money back.

The Royal Female Christys (four women and one man), who were in Castle Douglas and Newton-Stewart in November 1871, appeared in the Beautiful American-Indian Costume of the Mohicans. The Female Christy's in 1881 were better prepared for a hostile reception as they appeared as Armour Clad Amazons.

The American Slave Troupe claimed that all of its members had been untaught African Slaves (living in Georgia) prior to 1865. Critics were not convinced that they were 'real' Negroes, although the majority seemed to be of African descent; their progress in the study of English was remarkable and their accent and pronunciation savoured more of the

4 It is interesting to compare Dumfries and Galloway with other regions in Britain – see, for example, an article by Innes Macleod, 'Strolling Players, Minstrels, Star Turns and Music Sheet Covers; Merthyr Tydfil, 1864-1868' in the *Merthyr Historian*, 19, 2008

Cockney. Perhaps the troupe was a mixture of London actors and Americans from New York or Boston rather than Charleston or Savannah.

Any assessment of the importance of the Minstrels in Britain in the 1860s has to try to take into account the wider background, the activities of the anti-slavery movement, the impact of the Beecher Stowe *Uncle Tom's Cabin* propaganda machine, the widespread support for the Southern Confederacy and Blockade Runners during the American Civil War (1861-65), the economic problems and disturbances in Jamaica, and the frightening riots and antipathy between the Irish and Negroes in New York, all covered in the columns of the local newspapers in Dumfries and Galloway. There were lectures by former slaves and 'coloured persons' on the situation in the United States and by school teachers from Canonbie and Parton on 'The Characterisation of the Anglo-Saxon Race' and on 'Human Faces, Races and Habits', which followed contemporary pseudo-scientific anthropology in rating the 'Races' of mankind from the Caucasian to the Terra-Del-Fuegian and the Negro. There were the 'innocent' amateurs who blacked up or corked up as minstrels or for Negro Interludes at fund raising concerts for, for example, the Dalbeattie Mechanics' Institute and the Whithorn Choral Society; and there were amateurs who formed their troupes, the Newton Stewart Amateur Minstrels and the Black Joan Negro Troupe in Sanquhar. And there was Thomas Carlyle who advocated the reintroduction of slavery in the West Indies.

Star Turns from the Music Halls

Music Halls developed because of the success of the drinking clubs and saloons with entertainments, in London in particular, in the 1830s and 1840s. Halls — for example Wilton's in 1856, with a stage and room for selling food and drinks — were built in the 1850s and 1860s. The biggest and the best, for example the Oxford Music Hall (1861), were palatial structures. Dumfries did not have a music hall as such, but many of the stars from the British circuits played in the Mechanics' Hall and the Theatre Royal. It was interesting to notice that Mr Jem Moss, whose Grand Music Hall played in the Theatre Royal for seven nights from 26 December,1868, claimed that he was offering 'such amusements as are given in the Principal Music Halls in England and Scotland'.

Long before the Edwardian era of Marie Lloyd and Dan Leno, the stars of the 1860s and 1870s were household names all over Britain. They also accumulated and often spent very considerable fortunes earned from their appearance fees on the London and other circuits, from touring with their own companies or concert parties, and from royalties for songs they had written or had performed. Music was sold with covers showing stars, for example The Great Vance, singing one of 'their' songs, and they received perhaps £25 for every 1,000 copies sold, sales over the years often numbering in the tens of thousands.

The great Sims Reeves, an almost legendary figure in his own lifetime, impersonated and imitated on stages everywhere, including his Ballad Concert Party in the Mechanics' Hall in Dumfries on 20 November, 1867. The packed house broke all records as the prices had been increased to a nearly incredible six shillings for the Dress Stalls Numbered Seats and four shillings for Reserved Seats, with Second Reserved Seats at three, Side Seats at two and Back and Gallery Seats at one shilling. Reeves sang the old favourites from his repertoire, 'The Last Rose of Summer', 'My Pretty Jane' and 'Come Into the Garden,

Maud.' To put this into perspective, when Reeves appeared in Swansea in 1864 special trains were run from Aberdare and Merthyr Tydfil.

Samuel H. Cowell (1820-64), who was almost the founder of the Music Hall tradition of buffo songs, mimicry and comic characterisations, and who had actually played (twice) before Queen Victoria at Windsor, appeared in Dumfries and sometimes in Castle Douglas, Stranraer and Wigtown on tours arranged by Morrison Kyle of Glasgow in 1857, 1862 and 1863. His Scottish tours began in the 1840s (his uncle W.H. Murray was the manager of the Edinburgh Theatre Royal). At least 1,000 people were packed into the Dumfries Mechanics' Hall for his January 1862 concert, at which he gave his favourite comic characters and songs about Billy Barlow, Lord Lovel, The Artful Dodger, Villikins and his Dinah, The House That Jack Built and The Ratcatcher's Daughter.

The undisputed top of any bill in the 1860s was Alfred (the Great) Vance (1839-88), who had learned his trade on the Northampton circuit and had been a dancing master and fencing instructor before moving on to the London halls. He was *the* Cockney singer and dancer, The Chickaleery Cove, who excelled in portraying effete aristocrats (Jolly Dogs) and the fashions of the day (Walking in the Zoo). He appeared in one of the Dumfries Saturday Evening Concerts in March 1864. In November 1868 and April 1872, it was The Great Vance and his own Company that was filling the Mechanics' Hall.

The only one of the 'lions comiques' who did not appear in Dumfries in the 1860s was the flamboyant George Leybourne (1842-84), who his still remembered because of Alfred Lees's songs Champagne Charlie, The Daring Young Man on the Flying Trapeze and Up in a Balloon.

The much loved Harry Clifton (1824-72) first appeared in Dumfries in a Saturday Evening Concert in 1863. He brought his own Concert Party to the South-west in 1865, 1866, 1869 and 1870. His August/September 1865 tour included Lockerbie, Dumfries, Castle Douglas, Kirkcudbright, Newton Stewart, Wigtown and Stranraer. Much admired for his versatility, he was able to examine modern life without resorting to vulgarity, for example in his Irish songs about Paddy's Wedding and Lannigan's Ball, and his Jolly Uncle Joe, The Perfect Cure, and What's a Married Man Going To Do.

Arthur Lloyd (1839-1904) first appeared in Dumfries with his father, always *Mr* Lloyd of the Glasgow and Edinburgh Theatres Royal, in 1858. The Drawing Room Vaudeville and Musical Diapologues with 'Remarks on Things in General and Local Matters in Particular' was a format used for many years. Arthur Lloyd moved to London in 1862 and had a long career, writing some 200 songs including Prime Edinburgh Ale, Beautiful For Ever, The Brewer's Daughter, and Not For Joseph. He created hundreds of characters, Lord Fitzyawn, The Railway Porter, The Postman, Jock McGraw, The Organ Grinder, and The Street Musician. A special feature of his concerts was the way he looked at matters of national interest (The Tichborne Case, Napoleon III's war songs) and researched local scandals and happenings (The Wigtownshire Rifles Volunteers at their Review 1860) to include in his sketches and in his song, The Hale Rick-Ma-Teck, much imitated by amateurs.

His tours in Dumfries and Galloway from Langholm to Stranraer continued throughout the 1860s and included smaller centres such as Creetown, New Galloway and Dalry. On

his eighth annual tour in 1870, his programme included an operetta, *The Rustic Lovers: Or, More Blunders Than One* and a vaudeville comedy about *The Swiss Cottage: Or, Why Don't She Marry*. His career seemed to last for ever. In 1898, he was in a pantomime, *Little Cinderella*, in Castle Douglas Town Hall and in April 1899 he was touring the Stewartry with his concert party.

There were, of course, many lesser names. Miss Emma Stanley portrayed thirty-six characters in her *Seven Ages of Women*, in 1867, 1868 and 1872. Dr Marks and His Little Men, an orchestra with between 28 and 40 juvenile musicians, was in Dumfries in 1857, 1862, 1865 and 1868. His November 1868 festival party included a well-trained Newfoundland-St Bernard cross which barked with the orchestra.

Mons D'Argo's French Waxen Manikins and Mechanical Figures managed to fill the Dumfries Mechanics' Hall for six nights in December 1871. W.S. Woodin's Transformation and Olio of Oddities was in Dumfries, Castle Douglas, Kirkcudbright and Stranraer in 1863. His Cabinet of Curiosities with magic mirrors in four quarters representing Spring, Summer, Autumn and Winter, was built out from the stage on a high platform into the seating area. There were daguerreotypes by the score: thirty characters were portrayed waiting for a train; there was 'high society' at Baden-Baden and low society at the Epsom Derby; there were town criers and a beadle and a pew opener and a lodging-house keeper and an imitation of Mr Southern as Lord Dundreary.

Edward A. Southern (1826-81) was a British actor who played Lord Dundreary and his 'bwother' Sam in Tom Taylor's play *Our American Cousin* in New York in 1858, London in 1861 and Glasgow in 1865. His Lord Dundreary captured the imagination of the British public, becoming the classical silly English aristocrat, not a bounder or a spiv but an amiable fop with an eye-glass and drooping side whiskers which were no doubt trimmed by a man servant. Endowed with substantial means and an unfortunate lisp, he had been to Eton and felt obliged, indeed compelled, to give his views and display his ignorance on every subject literally under the sun. He turned up in every theatre and music hall, he was on music sheet covers, he was taken up by the London journals who printed his speeches, which were then pirated by provincial newspapers, for example the Free Press of 16 October, 1862 for Dundreary on The Great Hippocampus Question, the Advertiser of 24 December, 1869 for Dundreary On The Suez Canal Scheme, and the Advertiser again on 3 October, 1862 for Dundreary on Fishing (from the London Society of September)...

'Then the keeper takes some howid wriggling worms out of a dirty bag of wet moss, and tortures the poor creatures howibly by putting them on your hook, smiling all the time as if he was doing a mewitowious action, the old wuffian. Then you sit on your chair under an osier bed by the hour together, the bulrushes bobbing while you bob, till you get quite giddy looking at them, and the weeping willows weeping away like anything... Then suddenly there comes a dwag that nearly pulls you off your chair. 'A bite, sir, a bite', cwies the old keeper, seizing the opportunity to take another lift at the beer-jug. Then you pull, and out to the top of your hat flies a gweat monster of a perch, howid cweature, with wed gold fins, stawing eyes, back a wegular fan of pwickles, a wet flabby tail, and gills like the leaves of a wed pin-cushion... and sometimes an eel dwags your wod away, and the old keeper, by this time nearly drunk, has to swim after it.. And the only good time is when you put the wod and line down and go to luncheon'.

Among the lecturers cum entertainers who visited the South-west, the most remarkable was George Grossmith ('George the First', 1820-80), the chief reporter for The Times at Bow Street Police Court. He had a second and more lucrative profession as a lecturer, visiting more than four hundred literary and scientific societies and Mechanics' Institutes in England, Wales and Scotland. These included the Dumfries Mechanics' Institute (January 1864, December 1867, February 1869 and February 1870), the Castle Douglas M.I. (December 1863), and the Stranraer Town Hall Lectures (January 1864 and December 1867). His evenings with Charles Dickens, or with John Bull and Brother Jonathan, his Lecture on Lecturers, on A Night at New Swindon or "A night's repose in a house above a railway, with engines continually running, puffing, blowing, screaming and steaming beneath" were illustrated with songs and anecdotes and 'a little bit of buffoonery'.[5]

George Grossmith ('George the Second'. 1847-1912) followed his father as a reporter for The Times. In 1870 he began a remarkable career as an entertainer, raconteur, lecturer, mimic, rapid fire patter singer, author and song writer (including See Me Dance The Polka in 1886). Between 1877 and 1888, he took what became known as 'the Grossmith roles' in Gilbert and Sullivan operettas. He was Sir Joseph Porter, The First Lord of the Admiralty in *HMS Pinafore* (1878), Reginald Bunthorne in *Patience* (1881), the Lord Chancellor in *Iolanathe* (1882), Ko-Ko in *The Mikado* (1885) an Jack Point in *The Yeomen of the Guard* (1888).

At the Theatre: Plays, Pantomimes and Burlesques

From *Othello* to *The Colleen Bawn*, from Shakespeare to Lord Dundreary, the theatre in the South-west revolved round the companies who occupied the Theatre Royal in Dumfries. Most lessees who were successful in Dumfries were also involved with one or more of the theatres in Glasgow, Dundee, Aberdeen, Greenock or Edinburgh. Mr John Daly, who died on 26 January, 1867, had been at one time the lessee of the Theatres Royal in Dumfries, Carlisle and Whitehaven, a very different circuit. A lessee who was part of the Scottish circuit was able to bring to Dumfries a resident core company for a season, whether that was for one week or two or ten or even twelve weeks, introduce the occasional star actor, draw on a pool of musicians and technicians and a store of scenery and backcloths, mechanical contrivances and costumes, and afford to spend money on redecorating the Theatre Royal. In May 1863, for example, Mr Alfred Davis had 'our pretty little theatre' painted and decorated, with rays of gilding on the ceiling, and a new chandelier installed.

The efforts of Mr and Mrs Davis, 'a host in themselves,' were appreciated in Dumfries, their energy, enthusiasm and innovative use of novelties over five seasons being recognised at a supper in their honour in the Commercial Hotel in April 1865. Mr Fryer acted as compere. Mr Davis was splendid whether as a rollicking stage Irishman, Myles-na-Coppaleen, or as Lord Dundreary by Special Train. Mrs Davis was a lively Starlight Bess, Basket Maker, Fortune Teller and Ballad Singer in *The Flowers of the Forest*. During his 1868 Dumfries season and in 1869, he was the lessee of the Prince of Wales Theatre in Glasgow. Francis Sophia Maxwell, Mrs Davis, died in Glasgow on 1 November, 1869, aged only 32.

5 It is pertinent to remember that only 45 years ago it was possible to take what now seem amazing overnight journeys by train, for example from Newton Stewart not just to Crewe and London but to Aberdeen, changing at Carlisle and Perth, leaving Newton Stewart just after 10p.m. and getting into Aberdeen about 5a.m..

Local individuals and organisations from the Provost and Magistrates of Dumfries, the Marquis of Queensberry, and Mrs Maxwell of Terregles to Colonel McMurdo and his officers, Captain Howat of the 5th Kirkcudbrightshire Rifle Volunteers, the Castle Douglas Quoiting Club, The St Mary Bowling Green and the Dumfries Branch of the Manchester Unity Oddfellows were patrons of performances on different evenings.

Mr Davis took the Theatre Royal for a seven week season in July/August 1862, for ten weeks in May-July 1863, six weeks in June/July 1864, ten weeks in January-March 1865, and eleven nights in October/November 1868, and was back with the *second* Mrs Davis and Mr Brownlow Hill for six nights from 24 April 1871.

James Robe, a comedian from Mr Davis' company, took the theatre for a short season in May/June 1865. J.H. Robb, the lessee of the Theatre Royal in Dundee, had a very successful season in February-April 1866 with a company of actors from London, Glasgow and Edinburgh. There was new scenery and a curtain painted by Mr R. Cowan and machinery under the supervision of Mr Avern of the Theatre Royal in Edinburgh.

Mr A. McLein, the lessee of the Theatre Royal in Aberdeen, had twelve weeks in April-June 1867 and a summer season in 1868. He brought with him an orchestra from the Glasgow Theatre Royal, new scenery, masks and costumes, and an artist, Mr Pont, who painted a winter scene of the High Street below the Fountain and a view of the Nith Head of the Dock.

Mr McNeill, the lessee of the Theatres Royal in Aberdeen and Dundee and the Princess Theatre in Edinburgh, and his company under Charles Wilstone and Mr R. Thornleigh, had ten weeks in March-May 1869, eight weeks in May/June 1870, and six weeks in May/June 1871. The J.P. court in Dumfries approved the allocation of a licence to him from 12 May 1870 for every night from 7 to 11p.m., excepting Sundays and the Friday and Saturday of the Dumfries Sacrament Week. He introduced new scenery under his own artist, G.S. Lewis, and claimed that the theatre, now comfortable and elegant, had undergone a complete metamorphosis. Brownlow Hill, who died in Birmingham in March 1872, leased the theatre from 6 March to 3 April 1871.

The Theatre Royal companies did not itinerate outside Dumfries. Mr Robb's company took *Life in Paris in 1793* and *Why don't She Marry* to Castle Douglas Town Hall on 30 March, 1866 and Mr Brownlow Hill took his players as a concert party to Glencaple Quay, Castle Douglas, Kirkcudbright and Dalbeattie in May 1871, but these seem to have been exceptional occasions.

'Life upon the wicked stage' was hard work. A very few plays were held over a run of three or four nights, but mostly each evening meant a change of programme to a new play and a new farce and another interlude with a song or a dance routine, for example *Macbeth King of Scotland* and *The Spitalfield Weavers* and a comic song. It was sometimes more demanding, for example a night in February 1865 with a comedy, *The Wonderful Woman*, a burlesque of *Bluebeard*, and a farce, *the Artful Dodger*. A 'fashionable night' on a Friday in the same week was a comedy, *Sweetheart Wives*, a comic operetta of *Othello*, a new farce, *My Preserver*, and a mindboggling finale, *Lord Dundreary's Visit to the Colleen Bawn*.

Audiences could be rowdy and disruptive. Whistling from the gallery was particularly resented by the players. Mr McNeill complained about this after an unfortunate evening with Bulwer Lytton's *Richelieu* and *Brown Among the Brahmins*. In April 1864, the Mechanics' Institute committee had placards placed round their Hall prohibiting whistling on pain of expulsion. Newspaper critics were usually generous to a fault. However, sophisticated metropolitan comedies were sometimes just too much for Dumfries critics and performances of *London Assurance* on 8 April, 1869 was one such occasion. The Standard critic described it as 'lewdness wholly unredeemed by artistic skill' – unfortunate, as that was the evening on which the Marquis of Queensberry was the patron.

Many, probably most of the actors, were English and coping with Scottish accents and dialects was a problem. Evenings with Irish and Scottish plays and farces could be a trial for players and public. The staple programmes were not very different from what audiences might have been seeing in Liverpool or Newcastle - *The Ticket of Leave Man, The Lady of Lyons, Lady Audley's Secret, The Rough Diamond, Still Waters Run Deep, The Rivals, The School for Scandal, Aurora Floyd, East Lynne, Nicholas Nickleby, Black-Eyed Susan, Sweeney Todd, The Corsican Brothers, The Relief of Lucknow, Ivanhoe, Kenilworth, Romeo and Juliet, Hamlet, Richard III, Othello, As You Like It* and *Much Ado About Nothing*. The Shakespeare plays followed abbreviated versions of the original texts as corners had to be cut and passages left out to allow time for the second item in each evening's double bill. Of course extras such as 'A Highland Fling' in *Romeo and Juliet* were always acceptable.

Irish plays, particularly boisterous farces, were popular – *The Colleen Bawn, The Irish Widow, The Irish Housekeeper, His Last Legs, Ireland As It Is, Kathleen Mavoureen, The Rose of Killarney* and *The Irish Emigrant*.

Even nursery extravaganzas about *St George and the Dragon* could take on a Scottish dimension as the four squires turned out to be Wallace, Bruce, Douglas, and Rob Roy! Scottish plays included *Rob Roy, Cramond Brig, Guy Mannering, Tam O'Shanter, The Bonnie Fishwife, Douglas; Or, The Noble Shepherd, The Flowers of the Forest, Lord Darnley, Mary Queen of Scots, Jeanie Deans,* and *Wallace and Brus; Or, The Scottish Chiefs*.

Guy Mannering, of course, was a play set in Galloway. *Maidenbower Crag, a Legend of Dumfries*, was performed as a second feature to *Wallace and Brus*. *The Boots at the King's Arms* was an example of the localisation strategy, i.e. giving a play a title which made it seem that it was geographically centred in Dumfries. There was a strong Parisian theme in February and March 1866 (and a shrewd economy of effort) when three plays were performed, *The Workmen of Paris, The Rag Pickers of Paris* and *Life in Paris in 1793*. *The Poor of Paris* was explicitly adapted and, using Mr Pont's painting, played as *The Streets of Dumfries* in 1867.

The Workmen of Paris was a good example of the use of special lighting (for Paris by moonlight) and mechanical contrivances. A Steam Hammer and Engine were on stage in 'full operation'. Audiences looked forward to spectacular productions and the management took care to advertise them in detail. Boucicault's *The Octoroon, or Life in Louisian* (1866, 1868, 1870), specifically on the Terrebonne plantation in the Mississippi Delta, had

three set pieces, a Slave Sale or Auction, A Ship on Fire and the Destruction of a River Steamer.

There was great excitement during one April week in the Theatre Royal in 1869, packed houses bringing a 'silver shower' to the managers. Audiences were captivated by *The Flying Cloud*, a racing drama culminating on Derby Day on the Epsom Course. The stage was filled with a crowd of jockeys, trainers, betting men, card sharps, 'Glasgow Jacks', negro melodists and a donkey with a Cockney costermonger. Two well-trained carriage horses appeared on stage to represent the Epsom 'blue bloods'. Mechanical horses rushed around the stage, presumably on a track … and all in 'our pretty little theatre' – amazing!

The 'tableaux vivans' of scenes from Tam O'Shanter were also thought to be remarkable at the time. Mr Rice in 1865, and Mr Jem Mace, an ex-champion boxer, and his cousin Leopold in 1869, turned themselves into 'sculptured stones' and Greek and Roman statuary, showing off their muscular development and symmetry of form as a Dying Gladiator, as Hercules struggling with a lion and as Ajax defying the lightning.

Pantomimes took adult audiences into a fantasy world of pantaloons and pierrots, fairies and demons, mermaids and monsters, slapstick and mayhem. The audiences in July 1863 and April 1867 were given *Jack the Giant Killer, Maid Marian and the Miller of the North*, which took them into a strange world of elfland and players hidden behind grotesque masks. *The Prince and the Peri* was advertised in February 1866 as an 'Extravaganzaical, Comic Operatical, Terpsichorean, Burlesque-ical, Pantom-ical, Eastern Spectacle', in a fantasy kingdom occupied by mortals and immortals.

The Glasgow pantomimes in December 1871, *Tam O'Shanter* in the Theatre Royal and *Harlequin and the White Fawn* in the Prince of Wales Theatre, perhaps indicate just how different these were from 20th Century children-orientated productions.

A burlesque or travesti treatment of a play or of an opera was an unpredictable entity. Mr Davis turned Shakespeare upside down in his *Othello Travesti* (July 1862) and in his comic operetta *Othello* (February 1865). It was difficult for audience to know what to expect, except the unexpected. Was the operetta *Othello* a Minstrel musical? Did actors and actresses reverse roles? Audiences could be fairly certain that they would see a good deal of slapstick comedy, perhaps loosely scripted, much buffoonery, mayhem and mischief, and ridicule and caricature which might be wasted unless one had a good knowledge of the original texts or scores. Burlesque extravaganzas in the Theatre Royal included *Ixion or the Man at the Wheel, The Field of the Cloth of Gold, Fair Rosamund, Ivanhoe, Kenilworth, Bluebeard, La Somnambula, Ill-Treated Il Trovatore,* Schiller's *William Tell, The Doings at Do the Boys Hall,* and *Rip Van Winkle* with Mr Davis in the title role and, on the same evening, as Hardrupp the Hundredth in *The Gnome King*.

Three more professional companies were in the South-west at this time. Mr Duckenfield's Dramatic Company & Instrumental Band appeared in Stranraer, Whithorn and Castle Douglas between December 1865 and March 1866. They arrived in Stranraer (from Ireland?) with their own 'large and commodious establishment capable of holding 1,000 persons and entirely covered with wood'. They advertised themselves as performing in the 'Theatre, Breastwork, Stranraer'. Their repertoire was the standard fare: *Rob Roy,*

Hamlet, The Collen Bawn. The Advertiser praised the members of the company not just as actors, but as 'citizens' whose conduct in Castle Douglas had been 'respectable'. 'They lived soberly and paid their way honourably'.

The London Frou-Frou Company, which was primarily a vehicle for Miss Plessy Mordaunt as Gilberte (Frou-Frou), was in the Dumfries Theatre Royal and Castle Douglas Town Hall in October 1870. They performed *Still Water Run Deep, The Lady of Orleans, Leah, The Octoroon* and several farces.

The London Star Dramatic Company was very different. More like a small repertory company with five or six or eight players, it was managed and directed by Margaret Howard, who had been a principal tragedienne in the Princess Theatre in London, and John Wylsone, lately of the Theatres Royals in Leeds, Hull, Bath, Bristol, Edinburgh, etc., etc..

Between June and October 1870 and July and September 1871, they moved between Castle Douglas, Kirkcudbright, Newton Stewart, Whithorn, Port William, Glenluce and Stranraer. In 1870 they were based in Kirkcudbright in June and for two weeks in October, in Castle Douglas for perhaps six weeks in July and August, in Wigtown for two and in Whithorn for two weeks in September and October, in Newton-Stewart variously in June, July and September, in Port William for twelve nights in October, and in Glenluce also in October. In 1871 they were in Thornhill in May, Castle Douglas in July and August, Newton Stewart in August and September and in Wigtown and Whithorn in September. Did they move at other times north into Ayrshire or into eastern Dumfriesshire or Lanarkshire?

They went to a great deal of trouble to integrate their company into the communities in which they were based, giving readings and recitations in the parish schools, taking part in fund-raising concerts and perhaps tuition in public speaking and elocution. In turn, local organisations became their patrons - the Provost and Magistrates and Town Council in Wigtown, the Lodge of St Cuthbert in Kirkcudbright, Sir George Abercrombie's Lodge of Oddfellows in Castle Douglas, the Castle Douglas Cricket Club and the Quoiting Tournament Committee, the Thornhill Free Templars and Star of Hope Lodge.

The list of their plays is very similar to the standard favourites performed by the companies in the Theatre Royal. There were some unusual titles: *The Female Detective, Green Bushes or Ireland 100 Years Ago, Almost Too Good To Be True, A Sheep in Wolf's Clothing,* and a burlesque entertainment called *How to Win The Game*.

John Wylsone did himself 'speak Scotch' and some of his players could make 'a fair attempt'. The company included Charles Smith, who had been in Castle Douglas in the 1830s with Mr Breyer's Company, which performed for more than a decade in Kirkcudbright, Gatehouse and Whithorn. It may have been Charles Smith who suggested going back to take on board some of the local plays in Mr Breyer's repertoire.

The London Star Company routinely localised plays, so that Boucicault's *The Streets of New York* became *The Streets of Kirkcudbright* or *Castle Douglas Streets*. Other titles included *The Fair Maid of Castle Douglas* and *The Idiot of Gatehouse*.

Breyer's Company in the 1830s had performed *The Gypsies and the Smugglers of Kirkdale Glen* (a take on *Guy Mannering*), *Mons Meg or the Fair Maid of Galloway,* and, in May 1835 in Kirkcudbright, *The Levellers or Galloway 113 Years Ago*. *The Levellers* is especially interesting as it was written by the Kirkcudbright publisher, bookseller, historian, antiquarian and folklorist, John Nicholson (1777 -1866). His play dealt with the 'popular effervescence' in Galloway in 1722. The London Star Company performed it as *The Levellers or Galloway 150 Years Ago* in Kirkcudbright in June and July and in Castle Douglas in August 1871. John Mactaggart's farce, *Look Out For Squalls*, written for the Covent Garden Theatre, did not feature in the 1830s or in the 1870s revivals.

Mr Wylsone and Miss Howard had a fine eye for local prejudices and sensibilities. The programme on a Wednesday night in Newton Stewart in August 1871 included *Did you ever send your wife to Stranraer?* with *Guy Mannering* and *Bachelor's Buttons*.

There was another world beyond the professional theatre in which local amateurs took to the stage and neighbours, relatives, friends and enemies flocked to the village halls and barns to enjoy, as the late Joyce Grenfell put it, 'an unkind pleasure in watching bad amateurs'. Some groups were sufficiently keen to risk taking the Theatre Royal in Dumfries for one or two nights. The Kingholm Mills Dramatic Company was in Castle Douglas Town Hall in June 1863 performing *The Rose of Ettrick Vale* and *Cramond Brig* and in the Theatre Royal in March 1864 with *Guy Mannering* and *Boots at the Swan*. The Burns Dramatic Club took the Theatre Royal for two nights in March and again in October 1863 with a very ambitious repertoire – Sheridan's *Pizarro*, Buckstone's *The Rough Diamond, The Lady of the Lake, The Dead Shot,* and *The Charcoal Burners*. Their costumes were borrowed by arrangement with Mr Davis from the Theatre Royal in Newcastle-upon Tyne. The Nithsdale Dramatic Club was in the Theatre Royal on 11 and 12 April, 1864 with *Ruth or the Lass that Loves a Sailor* and *The Seven Clerks or the Three Thieves and the Denouncers*. The Company of Dumfries Amateurs took the Theatre Royal on 15, 16 and 18 December 1871 to perform *Ten Nights in a Bar-Room: A Tale of Woe, Sorrow and Repentance, Time Tries All,* And *The Two Poults*. All these amateur companies imitated the professionals in including interludes with singing and dancing.

The Advertiser, reflecting the editor's personal interest, was particularly good in reviewing amateur theatrical productions. In more or less chronological order, these included in 1861 a party from New Abbey performing *The Gentle Shepherd* in a building at Cavens near Kirkbean and the Tongland Amateurs giving *Patie and Roger* and *The Soldier's Return* in barns at Meiklewood near Ringford and Dunjop near Bridge of Dee on 29 March and 5 April.

A group from Minnyhive was in the Dalry Hall on 30 and 31 January, 1862 with *The Gentle Shepherd*. The hall was packed on the first night, with some who had come many miles having to be turned away. The performance was more successful on the second night when the stage had been raised. The Balmaclellan Dramatic Company also gave *The Gentle Shepherd* in their village schoolroom on 21 January and 2 February 1863, with a prologue written by one of the pupils at the Free Grammar School.

In 1864 Captain Wilson's ships' carpenters performed *The Gentle Shepherd* in Palnackie in January. A party of young men from Auchencairn and area gave *The Gentle Shepherd*

and *The Soldier's Return* in a barn at Bluehill and in the Mason's Hall in Kirkcudbright in March. The Crossmichael Amateurs gave the same two plays in Castle Douglas Town Hall and at Mains of Greenlaw in March with proceeds, as was so often the case, going to the poor of the parish. The Town Hall was packed within minutes of the doors opening and more than half of those assembled had to leave before the show, which lasted 3½ hours, could begin. The Rerrick Comedians gave their last performance of the season at Fagra at the end of March, and a party from Dalbeattie performed *Douglas* in the ballroom (full to overflowing) of Mr Harris' Steam-Packet Hotel in Carsethorn in April.

In April 1866 a group of 'young lads and other worthies' gave *The Gentle Shepherd* on two nights in Mr Hyslop's barn at Lochrutton Gate, raising £9 for a family whose breadwinner had been off work for months, and *Patie and Roger* for one night in the barn at Milton of Urr, from which £5 was taken to be given to three deserving people. The Lochrutton Amateur Dramatic Company took the Theatre Royal for one night, Friday 5 March, 1869, performing *The Gentle Shepherd* to raise funds towards pleasure boats for the loch.

A number of young men in Wigtown formed an amateur theatrical group and performed *Douglas* in January 1868. In Newton Stewart, the young ladies and gentleman from the Ewart Institute gave a Christmas entertainment on 21 December, 1868 (admission by invitation card only) during which they performed *Diamond Cut Diamond, Box and Cox* and *A Regular Fix*: Mr St Clair's young gentlemen boarders gave *The Merchant of Venice* and *High Life Below Stairs* in Mr Black's hall in January 1870.

The Dundrennan Amateurs were in Captain Wilson's Store in Palnackie and the Town Halls in Castle Douglas and Dalbeattie on 26 February and 5 and 9 March, 1869 performing *Douglas* and *Fortune's Frolic or The Ploughman Turned Laird*. The Urr Theatrical Amateurs gave *The Gentle Shepherd* in the parish school in Hardgate and in a barn in the village in February, the proceeds going towards the working poor and the purchase of books for the school. A prologue and an epilogue were written by Andrew Welsh, a labourer, and Thomas McLellan, a dyker.

In April 1871, the Kirkcudbright Amateur Dramatic Company performed *The Levellers of Galloway* and a farce, *Watching and Catching*, in Kirkcudbright, in Gatehouse Music Hall and in Rhonehouse.

Circuses, Menageries and Living People

Circuses in the 1860s were still essentially what they had been originally: shows based on equestrian acts, albeit with the addition of clowns, merrymen, gymnasts and acrobats, and perhaps some small animal acts with dogs. Menageries were not usually attached to circuses, as if they were an afterthought, but were distinct entities, displaying wild animals rather than performing with them. Both circuses and menageries sometimes exhibited living people with exceptional attributes (too large, too small, too primitive), Russian grotesques and Japanese sorcerers and the 'wild men' from the island of Jesso or Hokkaido in the Japanese Empire who had arrived in Hull of 29th January 1865.

Sanger's Classical Circus (Dumfries July 1862 and 1867) was an exception with a Menagerie and a Hippodrome for horses, ponies, performing camels, Bedouin Arab and Japanese trapeze artists, and Mr Crockett, the lion tamer, with six lions. The parade through Dumfries included a Lilliputian carriage drawn by a tiny pony and a Newfoundland dog, and a car with a woman dressed as Britannia holding a trident in one hand and in the other a belt with a chain and a maned lion at the end.

It is difficult to estimate the size and calibre of a circus from the publicity material it generated. Nearly all the circuses visited all the towns from Stranraer and Glenluce, Whithorn, Wigtown, Newton Stewart, Gatehouse, Castle Douglas, Kirkcudbright and Dalbeattie to Dumfries. There were occasions when too many small circuses were itinerating at the same time. When Swallow's Circus was in Newton Stewart in July 1862, they found Sanger's Circus putting up their posters announcing their imminent arrival. The Star Circus found the London Star Dramatic Company in Wigtown on the same night as them in April 1870. Swallow's, Samwell's, Manley's Great Chinese and the Star Circus all seem to have been small establishments. They parked their tents in various places – the Dock in Dumfries, the Cattle Market Park in Stranraer, either the Common near Carlingwark Loch or the Market Hill in Castle Douglas, etc..

Samwell's Circus was wrecked while at the Whitesands at the foot of Bank Street in Dumfries on 12 September 1864. A crowd of trades' lads and boys, perhaps disappointed by the afternoon performance, got into a dispute with the circus folk that night about their looking through gaps in the tent. A mob of forty or fifty locals cut some of the ropes fastenings the canvas to stakes in the ground. The tent collapsed on the 100 people inside; the show resumed after repairs; the ropes were cut again; the Burgh Police were unable to control the mob who tried to pull the tent into the river. The tent was later sold for rags. Four of the ringleaders were tried at the Sheriff Court on 4 November. John Galloway and Pat Donnelly were given 40 and 30 days in prison, but John Taylor and William Glover escaped with Not Proven verdicts.

There was another riot at Howe & Cushing's American Circus in September 1860 when the mob tried to pull one of the circus caravans into the Nith after a dispute about whether a local lad should have been given a sovereign for riding a mule three times round the ring. This circus had crossed the Atlantic with 100 horses and had appeared for 112 nights at the Alhambra Palace in London. They had more success in Dumfries in July 1861 when the pugilist Tom Sayers, a veteran not to say battered 'champion of the world', attracted at least 1,500 people to see two exhibitions.

Pinder's New Exhibition Circus (1862), the International Circus of 60 Men and 60 Horses (1865) and the Great Hippodrome and Oriental Circus (1869), which included lady equestrians in the spectacle of *Mazeppa* and clowns riding on one-wheeled velocipedes, were highly acclaimed. The Great Alliance Circus (1871) included a performance of Turpin's Ride to York or the Death of Bonny Bess.

There were other smaller travelling shows with animals, for example Professor Evans, the Wizard of the West, and his Troupe of Performing Dogs and Monkeys, Male and Female Coloured Minstrels, and The Lady Clairvoyant, who were all in the Mechanics' Hall in Dumfries in April 1870.

The Wombwells and the Manders menageries came through the South-west on various circuits, one was arriving from New Cumnock and Ayrshire and visiting Sanquhar, Thornhill, Dumfries and Annan (August 1860) or vice versa if going north from Carlisle for the Glasgow Fair (June 1869), and the other from Girvan and Ballantrae for Stranraer, Glenluce, Port William, Whithorn, Newton Stewart, Gatehouse, Castle Douglas and Dumfries to Annan (August 1862) or vice versa (June 1864).

These were large organisations that required a very considerable commitment of capital resources. The menageries each employed between 30 and 60 people. Maintenance and replacement costs were high. Careful planning and research on local resources was vital. There were frequent and often daily changes of site and all sorts of problems could and did arise when 30, 40 or 60 draught horses were pulling heavy waggons (or 'caravans') over muddy country roads. The commissariat in Wombwell's Menagerie in Dumfries in March 1868 had to find grass and stabling for 40 draught horses, 2 elephants, 3 dromedaries and 5 camels, and 2 cwt of meat daily for 5 lions, 2 tigers and 8 leopards. Manders' Menagerie arrived in Stranraer in June 1864 with 22 lions, 5 tigers, 2 elephants, a tribe of camels and 500 other living specimens.

There were several changes of ownership during the 1860s. James Edwards, who had worked for George Wombwell for around 40 years, became the proprietor of Wombwell's Royal Windsor Castle Menagerie. He claimed that he had acquired the whole collection of the Royal Zoological Gardens in Edinburgh and had added more stock in Manchester in April 1862. He died in 1869, his widow and niece becoming the new owners. Mrs Wombwell took her Royal National Mammoth Menagerie on a farewell tour in 1866. She had previously acquired the principal animals from Scholy's Menagerie in Frankfurt. The new owner, Mr Fairgrieve, was a nephew of George Wombwell. He claimed in 1869 that the new Wombwells had been assembled at a cost of £75,000, including £3,000 on a 6 ton rhinoceros, and that his was the most extensive zoological collection in the world, a 'Wandering Teacher of Natural History'.

His standard menagerie ensemble of animals included lions, tigers, leopards, zebras, llamas, alpacas, gazelles, White Bears from the North Pole (a sideline for adventurous whaling crews), European wolves, pelicans from the Wilds of Tartary and, less commonly, hyenas, a Tasmanian Devil (in 1868) and 'Grey and Black Squirrels from North America' (in 1862)! The most outrageous claims were made for the acrobatic skills and mental aptitude of the performing Indian elephants. Wombwell's (1868) said that their musical elephant was a prodigy and played operatic and popular airs 'by Handle' (sic), which 'beats creation and any other oratorio'.

All the menageries seemed to be fascinated by the idea of being the first to have a gorilla and indeed there were several claims to have one, but there seems to have been a great deal of calculated confusion between orang-utans, chimpanzees and 'black gorillas'. A real live gorilla was not seen in Britain until 1876 and another was exhibited at the Crystal Palace in 1879. The Gorilla Quadrille is one of the most splendid Concanen music sheet covers – the gorilla is shown conducting a full orchestra!

The menageries visiting Dumfries certainly had baboons and smaller monkeys. One small monkey escaped in August 1866, got past the pig-carts into Mr Symon's orchard and was hunted along the banks of the Nith until recaptured.

Manders Menagerie had between 20 and 22 lions and Macomo the Lion Hunter and Tiger Tamer (1864) and Massarti, the one-armed lion tamer (in 1871). One arm had been taken by a lion in Liverpool in November 1862. Massarti entered the lion's den in Dumfries dressed as a Roman gladiator and replicated the story of Androcles and the Lion. He also appeared as a Nubian chief and as an Aztec Warrior on a Giant War Elephant.

The Wombwell Menagerie included various 'Living People'. In August 1862, there were two Zulu Kaffirs or 'wild Men of Africa', who performed war dances and signals and songs. Comparisons were drawn between the miserable Hottentots, the fearsome Zulus and the Saxon (Dutch) race. In 1869, the Prince Bouth Workly, aged eleven, perhaps the third son of the late King Theodore of Abyssinia, was travelling with the menagerie and holding court. Abyssinian relics were on display as also Hamel, the King's war charger, captured at the storming of Magdala.

There was one smaller No. 1 Menagerie (late the Liverpool Zoological Gardens Collection), which was in Stranraer, Glenluce and Ballantrae in May 1864. It claimed only to have the Largest Lion in the World, a Young Lion Queen, and 200 specimens of beasts, birds and reptiles. 'Prices Ladies and Gentleman 1s. Tradesmen 6d. Working Classes 3d'.

The display of Living People, freaks, monsters and medical marvels was one of the least attractive aspects of nineteenth century show business. It even included dead people, for example the 'Petrified Man' exhibited in a shop in Queen Street in Stranraer in June 1860. It was supposedly a limestone man embedded under forty feet of guano deposits in Ichaboe Island and perhaps the 'Christopher Delaney' of 400 or 500 years ago.

Inevitably, General Tom Thumb (impersonating as usual Napoleon Bonaparte), his Little Wife and Commodore Nutt brought their show with songs, dances and duets to the Mechanics' Hall in Dumfries in June 1867. They brought with them the 25-year-old Miss Lavinia Warren, 32" high and weighing 29lbs. It may have been some twenty years since the General's last visit to Dumfries. The *Herald* critic noted that he now looked like a rather stout miniature well-to-do paterfamilias claiming to be (the Courier had 'passing himself off as') only 29. Their show netted £150.

The epitome of bad taste was probably the visit to the same venue in February 1869 of more living curiosities, the Siamese Twins Chang and Eng. They were born in 1811 and had married two sisters from North Carolina, each of whom had nine children. Their last visit to Britain had been in 1830.

The levees in Glasgow round about the New Year 1871/72 of Christine-Millie, the Two-Headed Nightingale (two little negress girls, one a soprano and the other a mezzo-soprano) and of the two giants, the 8' plus Captain Martin Van Buren and his wife, the 7'7" Ana Swan was reported in great detail in the Standard and the Advertiser. The giants were married at St Martin-in-the-Fields Church in London in June 1871. The Advertiser noted that as a sensation it was 'as rare and interesting as the birth, at the Zoological Gardens, of a baby hippopotamus'. Ana Swan, who was born in New Annan in Nova Scotia, had cousins in Dumfries, her father being a native of Dalswinton in Kirkmahoe parish.

A better silly story was the opportunistic appearance with the Christy Minstrels in Dumfries in June 1866 of the Chinese Giant, Chang, 7'9" and 20 stone, supposedly to

make a stump speech. 'He' appeared dressed in a piece of faded drapery, very tall, but with some evident indications of a weakness in his spine, until with a horrible grin 'he' broke in two and two men wriggled out of the room.

The real Chang, the Chinese Giant from Fychow, was 19 years of age when he left Shanghai in April 1865. Chang and his wife King Foo were the most enormous sensation in London. He gave 600 levees from September in a Chinese Room in the Egyptian Hall and the Crystal Palace, in which there were lanterns and secretaries writing scripts and a dwarf at his feet. Variously described as 7'9" to 8'7" tall, he was magnificently dressed in robes and he was a gentleman, a scholar, fluent in French and in English (albeit with a Doric accent, no doubt acquired from an acquaintance with an Aberdonian in Shanghai), and a poet (for example his *Ode on the Crystal Palace*). The Concanen music sheet cover of the Chang (Great Fychow) Galop is quite exquisite.

He was in Dumfries on 16, 17 and 19 October, 1868, after a triumphant visit to Paris, giving levees in the Mechanics' Hall. He returned in June 1869, visiting Dumfries, Dalbeattie and Castle Douglas with the Chinese Oriental Circus.

There is another and perhaps even more extraordinary story in the role of Mr Marquis Chisholm, a Glasgow pianist and a composer, who was in the Castle Douglas Mechanics' Institute in February 1862 playing the harmonium at one of Miss Aitken's Literary Evenings. Chisholm left Liverpool on 12 June, 1862 for a tour of Australia (Ballarat, Tasmania, Melbourne, Sydney), China and Japan. He was in Japan, first in Nagasaki and Yokahama (September-November 1865), and then (July-October 1864, March-April 1865) in other parts of a country still very difficult for Westerners to visit. Intervening periods were mainly in Shanghai, where he met Chang and was able to advise him on his plans for visiting Britain and help him with letters and legal documents. He returned to London via San Francisco, New York and Liverpool in the summer of 1865.

In Japan he not only gave concerts and tuition in European music but also learned a great deal about Japanese music, singing, dancing, theatrical conventions, manners, customs, traditions and architecture. Back in Britain he was something of an expert on Japan and gave 250 performances, including Japanese music and songs, at the Egyptian Hall in London, and concerts and illustrated talks at the Glasgow City Hall.

This interest in Japanese customs and traditions and the theatre predated Gilbert and Sullivan's *Mikado* by nearly twenty years. There was an astonishing evening in the Dumfries Mechanics' Institute on 2 May, 1870 when the Royal Tycoon Japanese Performers - four men and three girls, acrobats, jugglers, dancers and musicians - gave performances and demonstrations of Top Spinning, Archery, Fire Eating, Bamboo Balancing, Butterfly Fanning, Brick Balancing, Japanese Streamers, and the Yeddo Fly Wheel.

Figure 2. Chang, the Great Fychow Galop. Music sheet cover by Alfred Concanen.

The Pseudo-Sciences: Mesmerists, Phrenologists, Ventriloquists and Spectral Dramatists

The most dangerous false prophets were the mesmerists and the phrenologists, all the more so because some or many of them believed implicitly in what they were doing. The 'Science' of Mesmerism or Phreno-Somnambulism or animal magnetism had many believers and practitioners in Britain between the 1830s and the 1860s. There were Mesmeric Institutes offering course in 'Electro-Biology and Animal Magnetism' and Infirmaries offering cures by hypnosis. There were Mesmeric Tea Parties and experimental Conversaziones. The Professors thought that they transmitted their thoughts and will power through the powerful magnetic forces present in all animated bodies. They hypnotised members of the pubic in halls and theatres, and private fee-paying clients in their own rooms. The scope for fraudulent manipulation and profiteering was obvious.

Both Mr Jackson from Castle Douglas and Mr Morgan in Dumfries organised Mesmeric Tea Parties. *Mr* Jackson in May, June and September became *Professor* Jackson by November 1861. His meetings, whether in the Ballroom of the Commercial Hotel in Dalbeattie, Gatehouse Masonic Lodge, Auchencairn Free Church School or the Haugh of Urr Parish School, seem to have been filled with laughter, recitations and tricks. He claimed that his patients could 'be made to walk, speak ... dance and perform … at the will of the operator'.

Phrenologists gave public lectures and courses on electro-biology and physiology, on the predetermined 'laws of life and health', and delineations of character in halls, theatres and private examinations. Skulls and busts and paintings of great men and the heads of criminals and murderers were examined to explain their life history, successes, triumphs, weaknesses and failures. Phrenological charts were sold showing how to calculate the probability of individuals developing excessive animal propensities or criminal behaviour patterns or sound and admirable moral sentiments and character traits – all this from an examination of the appearance and shape of the head. Suitability in terms of marital compatibility and career potential could be predicted. Of course performers might find it advantageous to give the 'correct' answers in terms of the dress and perceived social background of members of their audiences.

Phrenologists also worked out a hierarchy of 'races,' 'a science of race' on the same theoretical basis and applied to Chinese, Irish, Africans, Anglo-Saxons, etc. The results were entirely predictable. When Mr Thomas Adair from Creetown addressed the Dalbeattie Mechanics' Institute in December 1872 on The Phrenology of the Poet Burns, using a plaster cast of his head, the results were certain to be 'correct'.

There were other local believers and activist, for example the Rev. D.C.A. Agnew and the surveyor, Mr Gordon, who gave talks in Wigtown and Gatehouse. There were some far-travelled professional phrenologists, notably L.N. Fowles of Fowles & Wells of New York and his wife, Dr Lydia Fowles. He gave five lectures on Phrenology and Physiology in the Dumfries Mechanics' Hall in January 1864 and his wife gave three talks on the Laws of Life and Health for women. The public meetings and the private delineations were cleverly marketed as being especially relevant and important for 'Philanthropists, Social Reformers and Religious Teachers' and included advice on 'How to Rise in the World'.

A Professor Lowes from Liverpool addressed audiences in schools and Mechanics' Institutes and in halls in towns and villages in Dumfries and Galloway and Ayrshire on annual tours between 1861 and 1864. He was patient and persistent, taking eight days in April 1863, for example, to visit families in their own homes in Whithorn and area and converting a few unbelievers – possibly a good and decent man. Professor G.W. Stone, who was in the Mechanics' hall and in private rooms at 37 Irish Street in Dumfries for two weeks in May 1867 seems a little too much like a genuine charlatan. His talks and experiments in the mesmeric and phrenological arts were combined with special attractions, competitions with prizes for comic and sentimental singers and for the making up of conundrums and, much worse, the distribution of 'free' gifts, including gold rings and gold and silver watches.

Ventriloquists occasionally appeared in Saturday Evening Concerts, but they mostly made a modest living before audiences in village halls and schoolrooms. Professor Ewart and Professor David Burgess and John Henry Devon (Valentine Redivivus) went out beyond Dumfries and Castle Douglas to Durisdeer, Dunscore, Minnyhive and Tynron, to Balmaclellan, Barnbarroch, Borgue, Kirkbean, Kirkpatrick-Durham, Palnackie, Parton, Rhonehouse and Twynholm, to Drummore, Grange School, Kirkcowan, Kirkinner, Meoul, Port Logan, Sandhead and Isle of Whithorn. Professor Burgess' admission chargers were 'Front Seats 1s. Back Seats 6d. Children Half Price. Babies One Guinea"[6].

They sometimes enhanced their performances with songs and ballads or by introducing conjuring tricks and magic (Ewart), the Davenport Brothers rope-tying act (Burgess), and séances and spirit rapping (J.H. Devon and Professor Cristo). Most depended on their ability to produce a congress of voices, not least of the inhabitants of the farmyard, always popular when appearing at fairs and markets. Devon added his own pseudo-science: he claimed that he had been able to perfect his vocal versatility through the study of astrology, phrenology and gastrology and the 'actions', Constellation, Distillation, and Starvation. Professor Cristo added lectures on witchcraft, sorcery and clairvoyance.

The work of the most princely of illusionists and spectral dramatists, Professor Pepper and M. Gompertz, specialists in the creation and exhibition of ghosts and phantoms, was brought to the South-west by one of their lessees, William John Burles, in annual tours between 1864 and 1871[7] Some new words were temporarily added to the English language to describe their invention, the spectroscope, and their spectroghost- ophantrodrama and ambidexterogical prestigitation.

The company – thirteen actors, musicians, dancers and technicians – would take a hall in Dumfries or Castle Douglas, Kirkcudbright or Newton Stewart for five or six nights at a time. The advertisements for their performances filled the columns of the local newspapers and in turn the reviews were generous and comprehensive. As the shows had been touring for years it may well be that many in their audiences knew how the ghosts were produced using magnesium lights, special cabinets and mechanical contrivances. Their advertisement in the *Standard* in July 1864 claimed that their scientific entertainment actually dispelled old 'absurd notions about Ghosts, Hobgoblins, etc.'

6 Burges married Jane Coupland from Dalbeattie in June 1861. Ewart's wife was staying in Castle Street, Kirkcudbright when she had a daughter in February 1862

7 W.J. Burles, lessee and manager of Pepper and Gompertz's entertainment, was a witness to the marriage *by declaration* of Charles Bruce, comedian and Miss Isabella Marie Marshall, danseuse, in Newton-Stewart in October 1871.

Evenings with Pepper and Gompertz were an extraordinary mixture of High Art and Literature, from Dickens' *The Haunted Man* and a Greek myth, *The Lamp of Love*; to Schiller's *The Storm of Thoughts* in thirty tableaux including mortals and immortals in a forest in Bohemia and with sublime effects for an 'Apotheosis of Love and Beauty'; to Reinagle Barnett's adaptation of Goethe's *Faust* (1808) with music from Gounod's opera (1859) and an examination of sorts of the crimes and longings and punishment of Faust, with scenes in the castle and cathedral of Heidelberg, in Faust's studio and Marguerite's cottage, and of the death of Marguerite. There might be Shadow Pantomimes, or farces, for example about a pleasure excursion on Loch Ryan, or about *the Haunted House*, or *Muddlehead in a Fix* about an alcoholic police sergeant tracing Slippery Sam from Carlisle to Dumfries hoping to collect a £100 reward. There might be fairy dances. There certainly would be living heads floating through the air, sphinxes, the ghost of Lord Dundreary, ghosts walking on the ceiling and running up and through walls, and a grand finale, the Revolt of the Ghosts.

Panoramas and Dioramas

The first panorama was the painting by Robert Barker (1739-1806) of Edinburgh from Calton Hill, exhibited in Edinburgh and Glasgow in 1788. The term panorama was first used in 1791 and The Panorama in the Leicester Square Rotunda in London was opened in 1793. Viewers stood on a raised platform (just as we do to-day in Alice Springs in Australia) in the centre of a cylinder to examine a 360° panorama of landscapes, or battles on land or at sea, or towns or river systems.

The moving or rolled panoramas seen in theatres and halls in Dumfries and Galloway were huge paintings on some thousands of square feet of canvas wound onto two poles – moving as it was slowly unrolled. Bacchus's Great Panoramic Mirror of the War in America on 18,000 square feet of canvas with paintings from sketches by artists with the Northern and Southern Armies, to be seen in Stranraer Town Hall and later in Newton-Stewart and Castle Douglas in April 1863, began each night when the 'Picture Moves at 8.'

The panorama might be accompanied with the sounds of thunder or cannon fire and explosions and machines might add steam and smoke. The experience was variously enhanced by soloists or choirs singing patriotic songs or anthems, supported by a brass band or an orchestra or something as simple as a harmonium. There was usually a running commentary or lecture.

In the diorama, invented by Daguerre and Bouton in Paris in 1822, special gas lighting and concealed colour glasses were used to create 'marvels of scenic illusion,' to suggest movement within and across the canvas paintings, or, in the language of the Music Hall, 'a series of Kaleidoscopic scintillations'. Landscapes could seem to be transformed from summer to winter, from bright daylight to pale silvery moonlight; avalanches could seem to pour down over mountain villages, Vesuvius to erupt, fog and mist and smoke to appear across landscapes and townscapes. Other special effects could be created by placing flat cut-outs in front of the canvases or moving them across on rollers. In Professor Groves'

Mechanical Theatre of the Arts and Grand Moving Diorama of the Holy Land (1865), marionettes, i.e. puppets operated by strings, and mechanical figures or automations were used so that little people, carriages, horses, elephants and polar bears seemed to move across the pictures, to the delight of children in the audiences. In their views of Captain Ross's vessels among icebergs in the Arctic 'ice, mast high, went floating by, as green as emerald' with basking walruses and polar bears on it, while Esquimaux walked and sled across the ice.

The touring companies brought their own mechanicians with them, but a John Gordon from Castle Douglas was employed to operate the gas apparatus used for Joseph Hamilton's Illuminated Excursion to the Continent (Europe), which ran for six nights in Castle Douglas Town Hall in September 1867. A guide lecturer, Charles Peyton, introduced the scenes supported by a five piece Continental band.

The panoramas and dioramas were first, part of the entertainment industry, show business; propaganda, history with a patriotic Music Hall bias towards enthusiastic celebration of British expansion overseas and the growth of the Empire in Asia, Africa and Australia; but also a real and valuable educational experience, in particular in terms of lessons in world geography, about river systems and mountain ranges, sheep walks and gold fields, ships and trains, and great cities and new technologies.

The audiences in the Market Hall, the Theatre Royal or in Mechanics Institute Hall in Dumfries, the Town Hall in Castle Douglas, the Victoria Hall in Newton Stewart, the Assembly Rooms in Wigtown, and in the Queens Hall or the Academy in Stranraer were introduced to the wonders of the world – the Overland Route to India, Livingstone's Travels in Africa; taken 14,000 miles to and through Australia on 600 feet of canvas; invited on Excursions to the Continent and Back in Two Hours, visiting France, Germany, Switzerland and Italy, including Pompeii and Vesuvius, Heidelberg and Grindelward and the Jungfrau, with the addition of some probably old canvases of Napoleon crossing the Alps with 50,000 men; taken to the Holy Land, Palestine, Syria and Egypt on 80,000 square feet of canvas; to the Crimean War, the Indian Mutiny and Garibaldi's Campaign in Italy; and, in May 1871, to explore Scotland with two competing companies offering a Grand National Diorama and a Royal Diorama of Scotland, trips through 'Bonnie Scotland' with singers and pipers and dancers and colloquial comics and delineators of Scottish character, with the Royal or the Original Scottish Minstrels, and even a Gathering of the Clans.

Special arrangements were often made to enable poor children to see the exhibitions, for example in 1862 during the last week of Hamilton's Excursion to the Continent, when children in the Dumfries Workhouse and children of dependents on the Poor Roll in Troqueer parish were admitted free.

By 1870 it was not unusual to come across presentations with a magic lantern, usually to local societies and charitable organisations. Mr Dawson's Dissolving Views in Dalbeattie in September 1869 and Mr Kay's Dissolving Views in The Queens Hall in Stranraer in December 1869 may be examples. Using a 10 feet square screen, Mr Kay showed local views, including Castle Kennedy, Lochinch Castle, Lochnaw Castle and Dunragit, plus Puss in Boots and Little Red Riding Hood, and a Christmas Tree with (always the sign of the charlatan) hundreds of presents to be given away and prizes to be drawn.

Panoramas and dioramas included:

June 1861	Dumfries: Gompertz's Panoramas of Garibaldi in Italy
June-July 1862	Dumfries: William Hamilton's Excursion to the Continent
April 1863	Stranraer and Dumfries: Bacchus's Panorama of the War in America
April 1863	Dumfries: Clark's Panorama of the Life of our Saviour on Earth
May 1864	Dumfries: Lancaster's Panorama of Italy and India
Oct-Nov 1864	Dumfries, Castle Douglas and Stranraer: Edwards and McFarland's Diorama of the Holy Land
Dec 1865-Feb 1866	Dumfries and Castle Douglas: Groves' Mechanical Theatre of the Arts and Diorama of the Holy Land and of the War in India
January 1866	Newton Stewart, Wigtown and Stranraer: Panorama of Livingstone's Travels in Africa
Sept-Oct 1867	Castle Douglas and Dumfries: Joseph Hamilton's Excursion to the Continent
April 1870	Dumfries: Diorama of the Overland Route to India
April 1870	Dumfries: Catherwood's Diorama of the World
May 1871	Stranraer and Dumfries: Birrell & Lamb's Royal Diorama of Scotland
May 1871	Newton-Stewart: Arons' Grand National Diorama of Scotland, with paintings of Glasgow, Dumbarton, Stirling, Aberdeen, Balmoral, Lochnagar, Aberfeldy, Burns Cottage, Abbotsford, Melrose Abbey, Ailsa Craig, Greenock, Loch Lomond, Inverness, Peebles, and Edinburgh on the Marriage Night of the Princess Louise and the Marquis of Lorne.

'I HAVE THE PROSPECT OF GOING TO GALLOWAY': THE REV. WALTER GREGOR AND THE ETHNOGRAPHIC SURVEY OF THE UNITED KINGDOM

By Stephen Miller[1]

INTRODUCTION

'I have the prospect of going to Galloway on an Ethnological Survey proposed by the British Association & other Societies,' wrote the Reverend Walter Gregor to William Blackwood on 9 September 1895.[2] He continued, '[a]s I will require a good deal of help from people of influence in the district, I thought you might have it in your power to introduce me to some that would be willing to help.'[3] This was Blackwood the Edinburgh publisher, who was well known to Gregor as he was the honorary treasurer of the Scottish Text Society of which Gregor was the honorary secretary and also its founder in 1883.

On 23 September 1895, Gregor heard that money had been voted through by the British Association for the Advancement of Science (BAAS) and he wrote again to Blackwood that '[i]f it is convenient for you, I would come to 45 George Street on Wednesday morning to consult you about what we spoke of the last time I called.'[4] The topic was a letter of introduction from Blackwood, one most likely addressed to Herbert Maxwell, Gregor writing later in 1897 that '[t]he best thanks of the Committee are due to Sir Herbert and Lady Maxwell, as well as to the Misses Maxwell for their helpful kindness.' Sir Herbert Maxwell (1845-1937) was the author of 'Studies in the Topography of Galloway' (1887) and an active member of the Ayrshire and Wigtonshire Archaeological Association.

The Rev. Walter Gregor was to conduct fieldwork in Galloway in his native Scotland under the auspices of the Ethnographic Survey of the United Kingdom, which was sponsored by the BAAS between 1894 and 1902.[5] His activities were mostly concentrated in the Rhins of Galloway where he carried out two collecting tours, the first one during October and November of 1895, followed by a second visit in April and May of the following year, 1896.

THE REVEREND WALTER GREGOR (1825-97)

Gregor was born in 1825 at Fogieside, in the parish of Keith in Banffshire, the son of James Gregor, a tenant farmer. Educated at King's College in the University of Aberdeen,

1 Mag. Stephen Miller, Oesterreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Centre for Cultural Research : Austrian Academy Corpus, Sonnenfelsgasse 19/8, A-1010 Wien, Austria.

2 Letter from Rev. Walter Gregor to William Blackwood, 9 September 1895, National Library of Scotland, *William Blackwood Papers*, MS 4630, fos. 30-31, see fo. 30r.

3 Letter from Rev. Walter Gregor to William Blackwood, 9 September 1895, National Library of Scotland, *William Blackwood Papers*, MS 4630, fos. 30-31, see fos. 30r-31v.

4 Letter from Rev. Walter Gregor to William Blackwood, 23 September 1895, National Library of Scotland, *William Blackwood Papers*, MS 4630, fos. 32-33, see fo. 32r.

5 James Urry, 'Englishmen, Celts and Iberians: The Ethnographic Survey of the United Kingdom, 1892-1899,' *Before Social Anthropology: Essays on the History of Social Anthropology* (Reading: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1993).

he graduated in 1849 and subsequently taught at Macduff Parish School in Gamrie for ten years. Taking Divinity classes during that time, he was eventually licensed to preach by the Presbytery of Turriff in 1857 and was appointed in 1859 as the minister to the coastal parish of Pitsligo where he was to preside until 1891 when he went in semi-retirement and moved to Bonnyrigg, near Edinburgh, where his brother lived.

While Gregor later came to prominence as a folklorist, his first publications were in the field of natural history, a series of eighteen contributions to the *Naturalist* appearing between 1854 and 1857 having recently been traced.

In 1864, he became a member of a committee 'for the purpose of dredging the Coasts of Aberdeenshire' which was granted the sum of £25 from the BAAS to carry out the survey.[6] This was to be the same body that would employ him some three decades later and when the results of his research would once again appear in its annual reports. He was further active in this period as a marine biologist, gathering specimens for Jeffreys' *British Conchology*, Bowerbank's *Monograph of the British Spongiadæ*, and Spence *et al*. *A History of the British Sessile-Eyed Crustacea*.

Gregor later abandoned these interests, turning at first to the study of the Banffshire dialect, his collection of material published in 1866 as 'The Dialect of Banffshire: with a Glossary of Words not in Jamieson's Scottish Dictionary,' in the *Transactions of the Philological Society* (1866) and appearing that year as a separate book publication. In 1874, *An Echo of the Olden Time from the North of Scotland*, its content having previously appeared in the *London Scotsman,* and the *Peterhead Sentinel*. Interspersed was folklore material, particularly on the life cycle, and this was to be the direction that Gregor was to follow from then on as seen in his seminal *Notes on the Folk-Lore of the North-East of Scotland* that appeared in 1881.

GREGOR AS FOLKLORIST

Gregor was a founding subscriber to the Folk-Lore Society founded in London in 1879; he was later to serve as its secretary for Northern Scotland. It was with the publication in 1881 by the Society of his *Notes on the Folk-Lore of the North-East of Scotland* that readily established his reputation as a folklorist of the first-rank. As his obituary by Edwin Sidney Hartland in *Folk-Lore* recounted:

> To know this book is to recognise its value as a transcript of the superstitions and traditions of a district rich in remains of the past up to that time unrecorded. Its author, however, was by no means content to rest on the reputation its publication immediately won, for he was an indefatigable collector. Frequent communications to the Folk-Lore Society and to the Société des Traditions Populaires, of which he was also a member, attest his continued industry.[7]

6 The British Association for the Advancement of Science, 'Recommendations adopted by the General Committee at the Bath Meeting in September 1864,' *Report of the Thirty-Fourth Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science* (London: John Murray, 1865). See, 'Involving Grants of Money,' xlviii-li, specifically, xlix.

7 Anon. [Edwin Sidney Hartland], '[Obituary] Rev. Walter Gregor, M.A., LL.D,' *Folk-Lore* viii.2 (1897).

Gregor published in a variety of spheres: regionally, for instance, in the *Transactions of both the Banffshire Field Club* (1880-) and *Buchan Field Club* (1887-); nationally, in the *Folk-Lore Journal* (1883-90), continued by *Folk-Lore* (1891-); and internationally, in the *Revue des Traditions Populaires* (1886-). Moreover, he also published extensively in his lifetime as his obituary notice alluded to: looking simply at the *Folk-Lore Journal*, and its successor, *Folk-Lore*, there are 35 pieces there alone attributable to him.

Crucially, what separated Gregor from other folklorists active in Scotland, and elsewhere in the British Isles for that matter, besides being remarkably productive in publication, was his exclusive focus on fieldwork. This caused a certain amount of perplexity amongst some. For example, consider the attitude of the unsigned reviewer in *Folk-Lore* of Gregor's *Kilns, Mills, Millers, Meal and Bread* (1894):

> When we see Dr Gregor's name attached to any work, we know what to expect, namely, original collections from the mouth of the folk, set down in business-like catalogues, and with unrivalled precision of detail as to localities and variants, and withal not a word from the writer himself, nothing to show what is the special purpose or the outcome of the collection.[8]

Incidentally, there can be no better summing up of Gregor's method and style than the above. An earlier review of the *Notes* was similarly critical: 'It is simply a museum of details: but they are details accurately given by a competent collector, and arranged in an apt and orderly sequence.'[9]

No doubt, this was what brought Gregor's name to the attention of the Survey, both a competent fieldworker and one who could speedily bring material to publication. Now being semi-retired, he also had the flexibility to work for the Survey.

THE ETHNOGRAPHIC SURVEY OF THE UNITED KINGDOM

The Ethnographic Survey of the United Kingdom was established in 1894 and ran until 1902, although it delivered what was to be its self-stated final report in 1899. It was sponsored by the BAAS, who provided financial support throughout its existence to the amount of £305.[10] The Survey grew out of a committee created in 1893 in Scotland with the purpose of simply collecting place names. It soon merged with the committee that was to initiate the Ethnographic Survey.[11]

In 1895, it was decided to 'to arrange for a special survey of the district of Galloway, during the latter part of September and the month of October 1895,' with the view of 'ascertaining the special divergences in dialect, the prehistoric monuments, the old cultivation sites, the folklore, the physical types of the people, and objects of obsolete culture

8 Anon, '[Reviews] *Kilns, Mills, Millers, Meal and Bread* (London: David Nutt, 1894),' *Folk-Lore* vi.4 (1895).

9 A.J. Munby, 'Two Books on Folk-Lore,' *The Academy* xx.487 (1881): 175 col. c.

10 O.J.R. Howarth, *The British Association for the Advancement of Science: A Retrospect 1831-1921* (London: British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1922). See Appendix i, 'Classifed List of Grants paid by the British Association in aid of Research, 1834-1921,' 256-81, specifically, 275.

11 For a contemporary account, see E.W. Brabrook, 'On the Organisation of Local Anthropological Research,' *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* xxii (1893).

in domestic and agricultural occupations.'[12] This shows well the overarching aims of the Survey, ones which could never be carried out on the ground by a single individual, in the case of Gregor, nor by the patchwork of local societies and associations working with the Survey who relied on amateur enthusiasts. Gregor was allocated £20 to cover his expenses and it was also hoped that after visiting Galloway, he would go on to do further work for the Survey in Caithness, Morayshire, and Nairn.[13]

GREGOR IN GALLOWAY

AUTUMN 1895 [14]

Gregor first arrived in Galloway on Wednesday, 16 October 1895, at Airlour in Mochrum, where he was hosted by Sir Herbert Maxwell, no doubt bearing his letter of introduction from William Blackwood. His first named informant, John Thomson, aged 71, was one of Maxwell's workers, and Gregor collected a folk tale titled 'Marget Totts,' and a story about the Brownie of Aikendrum from him, as well as other items of folklore, and a description of the cutting of the last sheaf (known in Galloway as cutting 'The Hare'). On Monday, 21 October, Gregor moved on to Alticry House, to stay with Mr Wright, its owner. Here there is the first mention of Gregor measuring heads, in this case, two local farmers and the gamekeeper of Alticry House, the last also providing folklore to Gregor. He had, however, previously taken measurements as the total for the parish of Mochrum (which he was to leave the next day) was seven, with another obtained in the neighbouring parish of Glasserton, making eight in all.

The next day (Tuesday), 22 October, Gregor departed for Soulseat, to the manse of Inch, to lodge with the Rev. Paton. In Stranraer and Stoneykirk parishes, eleven sets of measurements were made, from nine men and two women. As regards these parishes, Gregor comments that '[t]he difficulty met with in those parishes is the mixture of modern Irish.' In the parish of Inch, '[w]ith the help of Mr and Mrs Paton those whose ancestors were Irish either on the father's or mother's side were avoided as much as possible in the parish of Inch, though it was not always convenient to do so.'

Given the premise of the Survey, the supposed static nature then of the rural population of the United Kingdom, and, further, one onto which could then be projected an essentially prehistoric settlement pattern, it was not surprising that such disappointments would arise. Of course, it was the wider notion that the 'modern Irish,' in Gregor's words, were 'diluting' the indigenous population of the United Kingdom that had led to the Survey being established in the first place.

Gregor stayed with the Patons for a week, moving on the following Tuesday, 29 October, to the Manse of Minnigaff, 'and was most cordially received by Mr and Mrs Reid.' Gregor remained here for an unknown time but seemed not to have moved on to another manse

12 The Ethnographical Survey of the United Kingdom, 'Third Report of the Commitee,' *Report of the Sixty-Fifth Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science* (London: John Murray, 1895) 511.

13 'Third Report of the Commitee,' 511.

14 This section is drawn from Rev. Walter Gregor, 'Preliminary Report on Folklore in Galloway, Scotland,' *Report of the Sixty-Sixth Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science* (London: John Murray, 1897) 612-13.

to stay. He paid fulsome tribute to his host: 'Mr Reid spared no pains to meet my wishes, both by driving me for miles through the wild Galloway moors and by taking me to those he considered able to help me both in Minnigaff and in Newton Stewart.'

In writing of 'the *wild* Galloway moors,' Gregor lets slip his neutral tone of reportage and shows something of the impact that the landscape of Galloway was having on him. Travelling by horse and trap can never have been comfortable and especially not with the weather to be expected in Galloway in the months of October and November. But this was also Gregor's return to folklore collecting.

Gregor's account of this visit, titled 'Preliminary Report on Folklore in Galloway, Scotland,' appeared the following year in the *66th Report* of the BAAS, appended to the 4th Report of the Survey.[15] 'It is full of interesting details,' reported the *Folk-Lore Society* in its Annual Report, referring to Gregor's presentation of the folklore material he had collected while in Galloway.[16] This was presented as a numbered list of items, 167 in total. In effect, these are Gregor's original notes and must be what he collected in 1895. A summary *précis* of the 'Preliminary Report' appeared in *The Scotsman* for 21 January 1897 as 'Curious Superstitions in Galloway.'[17]

(2) SPRING 1896 [18]

Gregor returned in 1896 for a second (and final) visit to Galloway. This time he went earlier in the year, in April rather than October. Gregor started this time in the parish of Kirkmaiden, on Tuesday, 14 April, staying with James McDonall of Logan who was to become a helper. Gregor was ecumenical in seeking help, both Episcopalian and Free Church ministers coming to his aid—the Rev. Guttridge, the Episcopalian minister at Logan, as well as the Free Church minister at Dromore, the Rev. Cavan.

Gregor then made a repeat visit to the Reids at Minnigaff, on Monday, 20 April, remaining there until Friday, 24 April, when he once again returned to Mochrum, this time staying at the manse with the Rev. Allan whose daughter was also to help out Gregor. Next to be visited was Balmaghie, where he was put up by Rev. Reid, the minister there, arriving there on Tuesday, 28 April. He ended his collecting tour in Kells, again staying with the minister there, in this case, the Rev. Philip, turning up there on 6 May.

Again, Gregor duly reported on his second visit, his findings appearing in 'Further Report on Folklore in Galloway, Scotland,' in the *67th Report* of the BAAS in 1898.[19] This contained the folklore material collected in 1897, the numbered items running from 168 to a remarkable final figure of 753. This is the material collected in 1896 and its sheer quantity from a short period of time in Galloway shows Gregor collecting folklore intensively while he was there.

15 Gregor, 'Preliminary Report on Folklore in Galloway, Scotland.'
16 The Folk-Lore Society, 'Nineteenth Annual Report of the Council, 19th January, 1897,' *Folk-Lore* viii.1 (1897): 23.
17 Anon, 'Curious Superstitions in Galloway,' *The Scotsman* 21 January 1897.
18 This section is drawn from the Ethnographical Survey of the United Kingdom, 'Appendix ii, Report on the Ethnography of Wigtonshire and Kirkcudbrightshire,' *Report of the Sixty-Seventh Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science* (London: John Murray, 1898).
19 Rev. Walter Gregor, 'Further Report on Folklore in Galloway, Scotland,' *Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science* (London: John Murray, 1898).

Part of this material had been published earlier, in the *Architect and Contract Reporter* for 3 September 1897 as the 'Folk-lore of the House.'[20] The text is essentially the same as that presented as items 241-57 in the 'Further Report.' According to the *Reporter*, '[t]he following records relating to the customs and traditions in Galloway, of which the dwelling-house in Galloway, of which the dwelling-house is the subject, were found among his papers […].'[21] Quite how Gregor came to the notice of the *Reporter* is unknown; it does, however, show how widely Gregor was published and the difficulty of tracking down all that he wrote.

GREGOR'S COLLECTIONS FROM GALLOWAY

Gregor's two visits resulted in him amassing data on the anthropometry and folklore of Galloway. The anthropometric data that Gregor was tasked to acquire was surprisingly that of head measurements only and not eye and skin colour (among other characteristics) that were the feature of previous surveys of this nature. Those measurements required were laid down by the Survey. As regards folklore to be collected, reference was made to the *Handbook of Folklore* (1890) compiled by the *Folk-Lore Society*. A number of sample questions were outlined in the *63rd Report* (1894). The material collected by the Survey was destined for the Folk-Lore Society where John Rhŷs, the Professor of Celtic at Jesus College, Oxford, would oversee its analysis.

(1) THE ANTHROPOMETRIC MEASUREMENTS

Gregor's primary role was, to put it in somewhat simplistic terms, to measure heads, as he duly did. In total, he delivered 116 sets of measurements, made up of 82 males and 34 females, broken down between Wigtonshire and Kirkcudbrightshire with 67 of both genders from the former and 49 for the latter. As regards the gender split, the 82 males break down into 46 from Wigtonshire and 36 from Kirkcudbrightshire, and with the females 21 from Wigtonshire and 13 from Kirkcudbrightshire.

(2) CHILDRENS GAMES FROM GALLOWAY

Of the many genres of folklore that Gregor was interested in, one major preoccupation of his was the folklore of children, especially counting out rhymes and games. He was a major contributor of Scottish games to Alice Gomme's monumental two volume *The Traditional Games of England, Scotland, and Ireland (1894 and 1898)*. That said, as Gregor was tasked to find adults as part of the Survey's work, rather than children, the material he contributed from Galloway is slight: in fact, just two items, namely the game known as 'Green Gravel' from New Galloway (ii, 426), and 'Shuffle the Brogue' from Crossmichael (ii, 454).

20 'Folk-lore of the House,' *Architect and Contract Reporter* 3 September 1897.
21 Gregor, 'Folk-lore of the House,' 159 col. a.

(3) FOLK LIFE OBJECTS COLLECTED BY GREGOR

Gregor was an early collector of folk life objects, his collection deposited variously in the National Museum of Scotland, the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford, and the Folk-Lore Society's own collection held by the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Cambridge. Part of this collection came from Galloway.

The first of these objects was shown at the December meeting of the Folk-Lore Society in 1895, where 'Mr Gomme […] exhibited […] (2) A sacramental cake from the parish of Minnigaff, Kirkcudbrightshire, sent by the Rev. Dr Gregor.'[22] He also read out a note Gregor had sent with the sacramental cake, which was later published in *Folk-Lore* in the report of the meeting.[23] This show a certain keenness on Gregor's part to disseminate his findings as soon as he had the opportunity.

Other objects collected in Galloway were displayed personally by Gregor at a meeting of the Folk-Lore Society the next year in June 1896:

> Dr Gregor exhibited and explained a number of folklore objects from […] Galloway, including […] a meal bason for baking oatcakes, a fairy bottle, a witch bottle, an old-fashioned reel for winding yarn, and specimens of treacle cakes from Galloway. All these objects were presented by Dr Gregor to the Society.[24]

He also gave an account of the fieldwork he had conducted to date in Galloway 'and a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to him.'

The Society was also to receive another Galloway item collected by Gregor, namely a wooden mould for making horn spoons. This was given after his death to the Survey jointly by his widow and daughter: 'This interesting relic of the domestic arrangements of the past has been handed to the Folklore Society, and deposited by them in their case in the Cambridge University Museum.'[25]

From Gregor's Galloway collection, eight objects now survive: the horn spoon and mould, a reel for winding yarn, a meal bason for baking oatcakes, a sacramental cake, a number of treacle cakes, a fairy bottle, and, finally, a witch bottle. These items accord with those mentioned in print and represent the scope of his collecting. Seven of the eight objects are held by the Folk-Lore Society, the eighth, the horn spoon (for some reason) was transferred by the Society to the Pitt Rivers Museum in 1964.

(4) GALLOWAY FOLKLORE

Gregor's folklore collection from Galloway was published in two parts, the first in 1896 and the second in 1898. In terms of presentation, '[t]he items of folk-lore which follow are

22 The Folk-Lore Society, '[Proceedings at Meeting of] Tuesday, December 17th, 1895,' *Folk-Lore* vii.1 (1896): 3.

23 Rev. Walter Gregor, '[A Sacramental Cake from Minnigaff, Kirkcudbrightshire] in [Proceedings at Meeting of] Tuesday, December 17th, 1895,' *Folk-Lore* vii.1 (1896).

24 The Folk-Lore Society, '[Proceedings at Meeting of] Tuesday, June 16th, 1896,' *Folk-Lore* vii.4 (1896). See too, 'Nineteenth Annual Report of the Council, 19th January, 1897,' 24.

25 Ethnographical Survey of the United Kingdom, 'Sixth Report of the Commitee,' *Report of the Sixty-Eighth Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science* (London: John Murray, 1899) 713.

numbered for facility of reference, and the place where each was obtained is indicated at the commencement of the paragraph.'[26] Items 1 to 167 appeared in 1896, the material from the 1895 visit, with items 168 to 753, the result of the 1896 visit, in 1898. The actual count of enumerated items is 757, as there is an item 122a, 174a, 438a, and 507a. A number of items were noted as being found in other places so taking the total of folklore items collected up to 782.

But Gregor had even more material to hand that he was holding back: '[s]ome items of folk-lore have not been communicated to the Committee, as I wish to make further investigation into them.'[27] He had also collected folklore from those who were not born in Galloway, '[i]t may be stated that when natives of other districts were met with, they were questioned, and what information was obtained was noted down, and the county it comes from was stated.'[28] This was definitely outside of the remit of the Survey, as he was meant to be concentrating on what was deemed to be the 'aboriginal' population of Galloway.

A summary précis of the material collected in 1896 appeared as 'Curious Superstitions in Galloway,' *The Scotsman* for 21 January 1897.[29] This was later referred to in Gregor's obituary in the same newspaper for 6 February 1897:

> A work at which he was engaged up to the times of his death related to the folk-lore of Galloway, upon which he had entered at the insistence of the British Association. An interesting outline of the investigations which in due course was intended for publication in book form appeared in the *Scotsman* on the 21st January.[30]

This is the only mention there is of a publication of the Galloway material outside of the Reports of the BAAS, but given that Gregor lived just outside of Edinburgh where *The Scotsman* was published, likely this is a true report of Gregor's intention.

Obviously, Gregor's death put paid to any idea of a book, but fortunately the source material did make it into print as the body of his reports to the Survey. Incidentally, it shows that the material from his second visit in 1896 had been prepared ready for publication before his death in 1897, as there is no mention in the 'Further Report' of editorial intervention being needed. This was, in effect, a posthumous publication and the Committee of the Survey paid tribute to Gregor:

> The data for this Report were collected with great care by the late Dr Walter Gregor, and the Committee regret that our esteemed colleague did not live to receive the congratulations which they feel are due for this valuable piece of work.[31]

Material has been lost, as seen not all the material collected passed into the hands of the Survey. Part of Gregor's papers survive, as they were acquired by J.E. Crombie and passed

26 Gregor, 'Preliminary Report on Folklore in Galloway, Scotland,' 613.
27 'Preliminary Report on Folklore in Galloway, Scotland,' 613.
28 Ethnographical Survey of the United Kingdom, 'Appendix ii, Report on the Ethnography of Wigtonshire and Kirkcudbrightshire,' 501.
29 Anon, 'Curious Superstitions in Galloway.'
30 'The Late Rev. Dr Gregor,' *The Scotsman* 6 February 1897.
31 Ethnographical Survey of the United Kingdom, 'Appendix ii, Report on the Ethnography of Wigtonshire and Kirkcudbrightshire,' 500.

with his papers to the Folk-Lore Society. It was Mary Macleod Banks who first recognised this situation and she made use of a large number of Gregor's manuscript notes throughout her three volume *Scottish Calendar Customs* (1937, 1939, 1941).[32] Sieving this material, as well as the more daunting task of working through the sizeable deposit that are the Crombie Papers, may bring to light some of this extra Galloway material.

Gregor's surviving notes are an insight as to how he recorded and manipulated his material. They show a keen organising spirit: essentially, they are large paper slips, regular in size, one per topic, the heading of which is written in red ink, the text in black. This format allowed for easy sorting, and the ability to speedily gather together slips on a common theme when writing up a piece for publication.

Nevertheless, there is a considerable amount of material to hand. James Urry in an essay on the Survey comments on the publication of Gregor's material so:

> Gregor, a noted folklorist, had published a number of books and articles on Scottish folklore, and was highly regarded by the Folk-Lore Society. Although he included a few physical anthropological measurements, the bulk of his work was concerned with folklore and magical cures, doubtless to the consternation of many Association members, accustomed as they were to accounts of oceanography, chemistry, geology, and zoology rather than the superstitions of Gaelic Highlanders.[33]

Obviously, it was not 'Gaelic Highlanders' that Gregor was investigating, rather the Scots-speaking plain folk of Galloway, but Urry is shrewd enough to recognise that Gregor's concern in Galloway was collecting folklore how ever much he was obliged to obtain sets of physical measurements. Nevertheless, the Committee did state very clearly the purpose of publishing, and in full, the material collected by Gregor:

> The collections contained in the Appendix to the present Report, added to those published in that to the fourth Report, will supply an excellent model for observers as to the manner of making and recording collections of folk-lore, and they are accordingly printed *in extenso*.[34]

While the items were printed 'in extenso,' they were not printed verbatim, save for material such as rhymes, though the odd line of dialogue does appear from time to time. Taking the material down in Scots would have been an extra layer of difficulty in fieldwork and it is certain that if Gregor had done so, it would not in any case have been published in verbatim form.

Gregor appears to be totally unconcerned that his informants lived daily lives into which intruded people with the evil eye, fairy folk, witches who stole the churning, and where everything was looked upon as an omen, from tomorrow's weather, who you were going to marry, to those fated to die. Little, if anything, of the Christian faith, in contrast, that

32 Mary Macleod Banks, *British Calendar Customs: Scotland,* 3 vols. (London & Glasgow: The Folk-Lore Society, 1937-41).

33 Urry, 'Englishmen, Celts and Iberians: The Ethnographic Survey of the United Kingdom, 1892-1899,' 94.

34 Ethnographical Survey of the United Kingdom, 'Fifth Report of the Commitee,' *Report of the Sixty-Seventh Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science* (London: John Murray, 1898) 454.

Gregor represented intruded into these lives. He certainly had none of the ambivalence experienced by those clergymen who collected in the Gaelic-speaking areas of the west of Scotland as discussed by Deborah Davis.[35]

Of his collecting ability, E.W. Brabrook, the President of the Anthropological Society, wrote that '[t]here can be no doubt that few men possess the faculty he had of drawing forth the confidence of the villagers and getting them to tell him their superstitions and their old customs.'[36] He also added, somewhat wryly, about the printed collections that '[t]hey […] form exceedingly pleasant reading, such as is perhaps not met with in a British Association report […].'[37]

Turning to this 'pleasant reading,' Gregor wrote that '[t]he place where each was obtained is indicated.' The number of localities is 34 (there is a singular item recorded as being 'General'). This figure is reduced by three, as Gregor noted that several items were known widely at a county level (Ayrshire also appears in the listing). This leaves a grand total of 31 localities within Galloway proper from where Gregor physically collected or located informants who originated from those places. From these 31 localities then were recorded 769 of the total of 782 items.

Close on half of these were recorded from just three localities: Kirkmaiden (198), Mochrum (106), and Minnigaff (63). The remaining places were Balmaghie, Corsock, Dalry (42); Rerrick (37); Inch (32); Kells (29); Portlogan (25); Laurieston (20); Crossmichael (17); Balmaclellan (13 Borgue (13); Tungland (9); Dundrennan (5); Girthon, Kirkpatrick-Durham, Portwilliam (4); Kelton, Newton Stewart (3); Kirkcowan, Penninghame, Port Patrick (2); Carsphairn, Dalbeattie, Georgetown, Kirkcudbright, Parton, Whithorn (1). It must be said that Gregor did not visit all of these places, often encountering individuals in other villages who had moved from their original places of birth.

Gregor's collection opens with 'Marget Totts,' an international folk tale better known as 'Tom Tit Tot,' Aarne-Thompson Type 500 (The Name of the Helper), collected from Mochrum, followed by a tale about the supernatural figure of the Brownie of Aikendrum. Somewhat lengthy in recounting, these are the exception to the rest of the printed material. Given the time spent in Galloway and the number of items presented, it is not surprising that few narrated items appear. The only exception to this is the full text of a guising, or Galoshin, play from Balmaghie.

Besides 'Marget Totts' and Galoshins, there is a wide range of folklore presented. Among numerous topics is the life cycle of birth, marriage and death, calendar customs such as first footing, seasonal customs connected with the harvest, and festive foods; general superstitions, the belief in lucky and unluck, the evil eye, and the use of divination to see your future husband; folk remedies and cures; weather signs; the folklore of animals, domestic and wild, birds and insects; apprenticeship and occupational customs including lead mining; witchcraft and fairy folk; the Brownie, the Black Dog, Giants, and the Devil; local legends and place rhymes; counting out rhymes, dangling and body rhymes.

35 Deborah Davis, 'Contexts of Ambivalence: The Folkloristic Activities of Nineteenth Century Scottish Highland Ministers,' *Folklore* 103.ii (1992).

36 Ethnographical Survey of the United Kingdom, 'Fifth Report of the Commitee,' 634-35.

37 'Fifth Report of the Commitee,' 635.

One feature of Gregor's presentation of all his material is an attempt to acknowledge at least some of those who provided him with material. Typical wordings from the Galloway material are: 'My informant's father used to say […]'; 'My informants have seen this cure carried out'; 'My informant has done this'; 'Said a woman aged eighty-five'; 'Said an old woman to me'; '[M]y informant has often heard the saw repeated within the last months (September 1896).'

Some attempt was made to gather like material together, and occasionally subheadings appear, such as 'The Hare,' 'Whooping Cough,' or 'The New Year.' On the whole though, there is a loose structure to the way the material was presented. While each item is numbered, the collection was not indexed.

GREGOR'S DEATH

The Rev. Walter Gregor died 6 February 1897 at his home in Bonnyrigg, Midlothian. In the time from his return from Galloway he had been reappointed by the Survey in September 1896 to carry on his work, this time in Ayrshire. Obviously, his death put paid to this design. The Committee paid a full and touching tribute to Gregor's passing:

> The Committee much regrets to record that Dr Gregor, who was an accomplished observer, died on February 4th last, while actually engaged in his work on its behalf. The special qualifications which he possessed for that work, and the manner in which he set about and performed it, have impressed the Committee with a deep sense of the loss it has sustained. The Committee has endeavoured to express this in a communication which has been addressed to Dr Gregor's family.[38]

The Rev. Reid, the minister of Balmaghie, who Gregor had stayed with in 1896, was appointed to carry on Gregor's work in Galloway.[39] Reid did some limited collecting, the 6th Report of the Survey in 1898 noting 'the Rev. H.M.B. Reid has sent some notes of customs, in anticipation of a fuller report.'[40] This never appeared and the notes are lost. Gregor never spent all of the £20 allocated to him for expenses, and the unspent portion was returned to the BAAS.[41]

THE END OF THE ETHNOGRAPHIC SURVEY OF THE UNITED KINGDOM

The Ethnographic Survey of the United Kingdom was voluntarily wound up by its own Committee in 1899. They had come to the conclusion that was truly needed were 'other hands possessing the necessary organisation and more adequate means.'[42] In one sense,

38 'Fifth Report of the Commitee,' 454.
39 'Sixth Report of the Commitee,' 713.
40 'Sixth Report of the Commitee,' 713.
41 'Fifth Report of the Commitee,' 455.
42 'Seventh and Final Report of the Commitee,' *Report of the Sixty-Ninth Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science* (London: John Murray, 1900) 494.

they recognised that the days of the amateur observer were over. Even here though, Gregor's name still appeared:

> In other reports, the Committee have published at length specimen collections of physical observations and folklore observations, the principal of which collections were made by the lamented Dr Walter Gregor. These are intended to serve as models for other observers, as it was not the intention of the Committee to print at length in their reports the records of observations contributed to them by the several collectors, but only a digest of the results.[43]

A pocket notebook and pencil was the only way in which material of interest could be taken down and horse and trap were the only way to travel the countryside. The folklorist needed drive and stamina to succeed: 'In all the districts I visited every opportunity of collecting the folk-lore was laid hold of, and a good deal of it, some of which will prove of interest, was gathered.'[44] He was certainly true to his own words, delivering to us the folklore he gathered on his drives 'through the wild Galloway moors.'

43 'Seventh and Final Report of the Commitee,' 494.
44 'Appendix ii, Report on the Ethnography of Wigtonshire and Kirkcudbrightshire,' 501.

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A NEOLITHIC ROUGHOUT AXEHEAD FROM DUNRAGIT

By John Pickin[1]

In 2005, Mr Walter Kerr of High Boreland, Glenluce discovered a roughout stone axehead while ploughing at No2 Holdings, Dunragit (NX 149713). It has been claimed as Treasure Trove and allocated to Stranraer Museum (accession number WIWMS 2008.28).

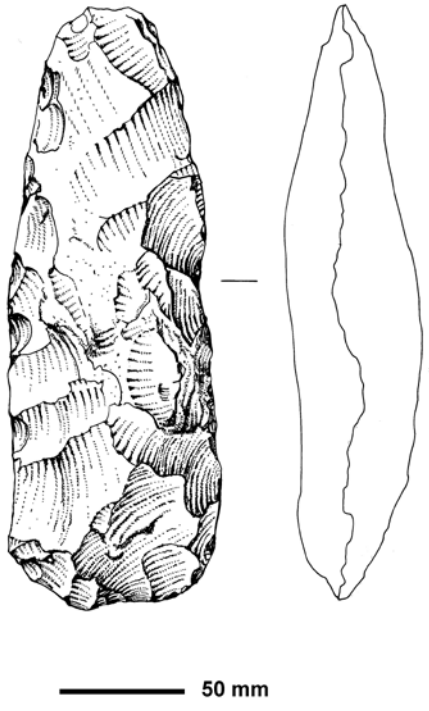

Figure 1 The roughout.

The roughout is complete and measures 244mm (length) x 86 mm (width). It has been worked to shape by bifacial heavy hammer flaking with some finer retouch along the sides. The blade end is straight with angled sides, the butt is curved and the body is roughly oval in section. One face is higher and more irregular than the other and this gives the object a slightly humped profile. The flake scars are sharp on one face but appear less well defined on the other indicating that the implement has been exposed to some form of weathering. The surface is covered with a thin grey patina but recent flake damage shows the stone beneath to have a grey-green colour; from surface texture and colour it appears to be a volcanic tuff similar to that used in the production of Group VI Cumbrian axes. There is no evidence of polishing or grinding.

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

The overwhelming majority of Neolithic stone axeheads found in Dumfries and Galloway are Group VI products (Williams 1970, 111) and Ritchie and Scott (1988, Table 32) estimated that 111 of the 115 grouped axes recorded in the region at the time of their survey belonged to this group. The distribution of Group VI axeheads in the region shows a marked coastal pattern with concentrations around Annan, the lower reaches of the Nith, the southern Machars, Luce Sands and the Rhinns. There is also a small cluster in upper Nithsdale with another group in central Annandale.

Roughouts are axe blanks or preforms produced at the quarry site. The Group VI axe quarries were in the Langdale-Scafell area of the central Lake District and roughouts were taken to settlements or workshops in the surrounding lowland for completion by polishing. In Cumbria roughouts have been found in the Furness peninsular, along the south-western coastal strip, around Keswick and in the Penrith area of the Eden Valley (Manby 1965). There is also a small group in north-west Cumbria including finds from Anthorn, Allonby and Kirkbride; the last two find-spots lie close to the historic crossing points over the Solway.

Group VI roughouts are comparatively rare outside Cumbria. Only nine have been recorded in Scotland and seven of these are from Dumfries and Galloway.

Find-spot and implement Petrology number	**NGR**	**Dimensions**	**Collection**	**Reference**
Annan, Beckfoot Farm (DMF2)	NY217657	137 mm (length)	Dumfries 1952.72	Williams 1970,114
Lochar Moss (DMF20)	NY0082	160 x 30 mm	Dumfries 1969.96	Williams 1970, 115
Terregles, Cairnsmore (KRK7)	NX943778	200 x 84 mm	Dumfries 1964.154	Williams 1970, 117
New Abbey	NX981638	305 x 100 mm	Dumfries 1977.56	Truckell 1977-78
Landberrick, Mochrum	NX363455	235 x 63 mm	Nat.Mus. Scot AF 640	Anon 1916
Dunragit	NX149713	244 x 86mm	Stranraer 2008.28	This volume
Wigtownshire (WIG66)	unknown	260 x 89 mm	Nat.Mus. Scot AF 237	Clough & Cummins 1988, 242
Crawford, South Lanarkshire	NS9520	396 x 120 mm	Hunterian B 1951.906	Manby 1965
Ballure, Argyll and Bute (ARG 14)	NR715495	270 x 73 mm	Campbeltown CAPTM 0128	Manby 1965

Table 1 Group VI stone axe roughouts from Scotland

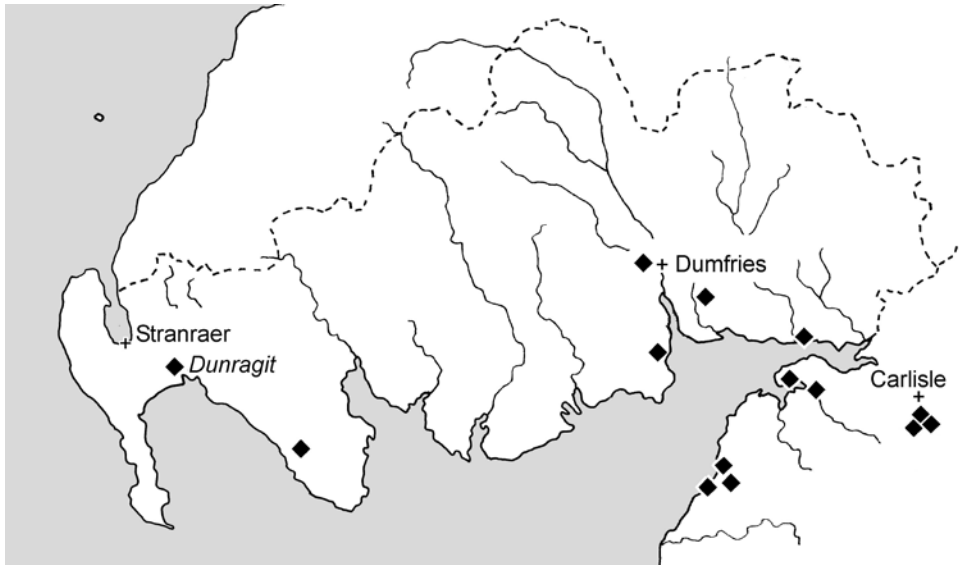

Figure 2 Group V1 roughouts in Dumfries and Galloway and in north-west Cumbria.

The four roughouts from Dumfriesshire and Kirkcudbrightshire (Annan, Lochar Moss, New Abby and Terregles) can best be interpreted as an extension of the Cumbrian – and especially the Solway Plain - distribution pattern, and may also represent axehead finishing sites. Annan, for instance, is only 35km from the axe quarries on Scafell Pike and could have been within the primary zone for axe distribution and finishing.

The other three Dumfries and Galloway roughouts are from Wigtownshire. Unfortunately, one of these has no detailed provenance and nothing is known of its find spot or associations. The example from Landberrick at Mochrum was found together with what were described as 'chips of similar material' (Anon 1916) suggesting that axes were being finished or reworked there. Significantly, perhaps, a polished Group VI axe is recorded from the same site (Williams 1970,119). The Dunragit area – and more specifically Luce Sands – has also produced extensive evidence for axe working. There is a major concentration of stone axes around Luce Sands and significant numbers of Group VI axe flakes have also been found in this area. Of particular interest are the sites at Star and Torrs which have produced over 100 chips and fragments from Group VI axes and it has been suggested (Williams 1970, 120) that these may have been workshops where damaged axes were re-sharpened and re-polished. Further evidence for local axe finishing or reworking is provided by a polishing or sharpening slab from the Stoneykirk section of the Sands which was found with a Group VI axe (Wilson 1880-81, 263). The Dunragit roughout described above may be another example of local axe working and suggests the direct import to Luce Bay of unfinished Cumbrian axes.

The Dunragit roughout can also be interpreted in a non-functional manner. It is an isolated discovery but its find spot lies immediately south of the recently excavated Neolithic pit-defined cursus and palisaded enclosure (Thomas 2004). There is growing local evidence for the use and reuse of Group VI axes and axe fragments in a ceremonial or ritual context. Excavation of a pit circle at Fox Plantation near Dunragit revealed a possible Group VI axe head in the base of one of the pits (MacGregor 1996. 14) and similar structured pit deposits containing fragments of Group VI axes in association with pottery and worked flint/pitchstone have been recorded at Carzield and Blairhall Burn (Sheridan 1998). Of course, it may just be fortuitous that the Dunragit roughout was found

close to a concentration of major Neolithic monuments but it is worth noting that another Group VI roughout was found at or near to the Mayburgh henge in Cumbria (Manby 1965,7).

The Dunragit roughout, in common with the other examples from Dumfries and Galloway, is a chance find and there is a limit to what can be inferred from its discovery. It does, however, add to the growing evidence that Dunragit and Luce Sands played a major role in the movement, distribution and consumption of stone axes.

Acknowledgements

Thanks to Jane Murray and Alison Sheridan for information on other roughouts from southern Scotland.

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THE LOCHENKIT MOOR COVENANTERS – A NEWLY DISCOVERED ACCOUNT OF A 'KILLING TIMES' INCIDENT

David F. Devereux[1]

The killing of four Covenanters by Crown forces on Lochenkit Moor near present-day Crocketford in Kirkcudbrightshire in early 1685 was one of the most notorious events of the 'Killing Times'. Today, a walled enclosure protects the site of their grave and an impressive obelisk nearby records the circumstances of their killing[2]. However, an account of the incident has been recently discovered in a manuscript book held in the Stewartry Museum in Kirkcudbright, which, if accurate, offers an alternative interpretation of the event.

The earliest published accounts of the incident are those given in *A Cloud of Witnesses, for the Royal Prerogatives of Jesus Christ*, first published anonymously in 1714, and in *The History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland* by Rev. Robert Wodrow, first published in 1721/22, which later accounts have largely followed[3]. Wodrow's account dates the incident to February 19th 1685, when Captain Bruce leading a party of soldiers came upon 'six of the suffering wanderers', and shot four of them on the spot, namely William Heron from Glencairn parish, Dumfriesshire, and John Gordon, William Stuart and John Wallace, all from Galloway. The other two, Alexander McCubbin from Glencairn and Edward Gordon from Galloway, were taken prisoner and led to Sir Robert Grierson of Lagg, who was then at Bridge of Urr hearing Oaths of Abjuration from the local populace. The two refused to swear the oath, and next day were taken by Grierson and his soldiers to the parish of Irongray, where they were hanged from an oak tree at Hallhill near Irongray Kirk.

There appears to be no reference to the incident in the Registers of the Privy Council of Scotland, although Captain Alexander Bruce is mentioned in October 1684 when it was noted that he was rounding up 'delinquents' in the Borders for transfer to the Edinburgh Tolbooth[4]. In 1686, the Privy Council recommended that he be rewarded for apprehending and bringing in rebels[5].

An alternative account of the incident has recently come to light in a bound manuscript book held in the Stewarty Museum in Kirkcudbright[6] According to the Stewartry Museum's accession register, and a note written inside the cover of the book, it was written by Andrew Innes, the last surviving member of the Buchanite sect, who died in 1846 in Crocketford[7]. The book is undated but must have been compiled over a period between 1831 (see below) and 1846. It originally consisted of 260 pages, but some ten pages in the middle of the book are missing. The text largely consists of essays reflecting on religious matters and church history. All the pages are closely written in ink.

The section of particular interest here runs from pages 140 to 159. On these pages there is an essay entitled *Remarks on Mr. Burnsides Sermon on Ha'hill*. The Rev. George M. Burnside was Minister of the parish of Urr from 1837 to 1855. He preached a sermon at Hallhill on September 31, 1831 on the subject of the Irongray Martyrs (McCubbin and Gordon) which was published as a forty page booklet soon after[8]. It is possible that Innes was present to hear the sermon, but it is more likely that his remarks were written after reading the published sermon. Several of his other essays

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

2 For details of the grave and monument, see *Standing Witnesses: An illustrated Guide to the Scottish Covenanters*, Thorbjorn Campbell, (1996).

3 See for example *History of the Church of Scotland*, Crookshank (1762); some later accounts refer to eight Covenanters being present, rather than six.

4 *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, 3rd Series, Vol. X

5 *Ibid*. Vol. XI

6 Stewartry Museum accession number 0513. The manuscript book was presented to the museum in 1880 by Malcolm Harper, Castle Douglas.

7 'The Buchanites and Crocketford', Dr. Archibald Chalmers, *TDGNHAS* Series III Vol. 1 (1913)

8 Published in Dumfries by J. Anderson in 1831. Copy held in the Ewart Library, Dumfries.

in the manuscript book were clearly prompted by his reading. The section of the essay referring to the Lochenkit Moor incident (page 145-146) is used by Innes as an argument against Burnside's description of McCubbin and Gordon as 'Martyrs'. It is reproduced below, with the original spelling and punctuation retained:

> *'as to the path these men trod in the former part of their lives I do not pretend to know, but according to the best information that I have received these two men were in companey with other four who were killed upon Mickel Larg hill, who were all assembled there from difrent pleaces, not to avoid their persecuting enemeys, but knowing that a partey of horsemen were to pass that way that day, they lay concealed among the heather armed with guns in purpose to diminish their number, and when the horsemen did apear they lay concealed until the main body was past for near half a mile, if not more, and when some few straglers apeared following after, they imeadatley started and fired on them, and the noice of the firing between the parties, made the main body of the troops return speedily, who joined their comrades and killed four of these men upon the spot, and took the two prisoners whom they hanged at Hahill, altho their death is seldom reported to happen in this maner, I hade it posatively reported by several old men in the very neighbourhood, who got it from their parents, who were alive at the time it hapened, and saw the horsemen taking the prisoners with them, and hade conversation with them at the time who told a great many other particulars that took place and my informers were not men of the enemys partey but men who sympathised with the suferers, and told me the storey with the greatest respect, when I was imployed in planting trees within the inclosure on Larg Hill where these four men were buried about forty years ago, so whatever claim these men may have hade in the former part of their lives to persecuted saints, I cannot see how their conduct at their death intitles them to the character of Marters, one of my informers lived in little Marwhirn, and another in Margrig and their account was never contradicted to me by aney that I recolect,…...'*

The hanging is mentioned in an earlier article in these *Transactions* by the Rev. Thomas Underwood[9]. He gives a slightly later date for the incident, following the inscription on the memorial stone over the graves of McCubbin and Gordon at Hallhill, which gives the date as March 3rd 1685. He also expresses regret at the erection of railings and a further monument around the grave.

Although Innes' account of the Lochenkit Moor incident is based on potentially unreliable reminiscence, it is credible in that there were other occasions during these times when Covenanters initiated attacks against Crown forces. For example, the assault on the Tolbooth in Kirkcudbright in December 1684 resulted in the death of a guard and the liberation of Covenanter prisoners held there. Innes' account of the tactical ambush on Lochenkit Moor has a parallel with the earlier attack at Enterkin Pass in Dumfriesshire in July 1684, when a party of twenty-eight soldiers escorting nine Covenanter prisoners from Galloway to Edinburgh were ambushed by at least twenty known Covenanters. As in the Kirkcudbright Tolbooth incident, the motive behind the attack appears to have been to liberate prisoners. The Covenanters had the advantage of the higher ground above the narrow pass, and after an exchange of fire, seven of the nine prisoners were able to escape[10]. Three of the Covenanters known to have taken part in the Enterkin attack – James McMichael, William Herries and Robert Grier, were also wanted for the murder of George Rowan. Similarly William Heron, one of the four Covenanters killed at Lochenkit, was present at the murder of Peter Pearson, the Curate at Carsphairn in January 1685. Lochenkit Moor, like the Enterkin Pass, was on one of the routes from Galloway to Edinburgh. Unlike Enterkin, there is no evidence to indicate that this

9 'Relics of Covenanting Times in the Parish of Irongray', Rev. Thomas Underwood, *TDGNAHS* Series I, Vol. 5 (1869)
10 'Enterkin and the Covenanters', David Ford *TDGNHAS* Series III, Vol.36 (1958)

might have been an attack on a prisoner convoy, rather Innes' account suggests this was a guerrilla action based on prior intelligence of the soldiers' movements, which was intended 'to diminish their number'. The execution of the attack on the rearguard of the column clearly went disastrously wrong for the six Covenanters.

Despite its dependency on oral reminiscence recorded around 150 years after the event, Andrew Innes' description provides a credible account of the Lochenkit Moor incident of 1685. It is fundamentally contrary to the version presented within just 30 years of the incident by the Presbyterian historians of the early Church of Scotland. However, perhaps their accounts preferred to stress an example of Covenanter martyrdom rather than Covenanter militancy, in the interest of establishing the moral credentials of the Church.

KIRK SESSIONS AS BRIDGE BUILDERS - LOCHFOOT & TWYNHOLM.

by Alex Anderson & James Williams.

Recent perusal of the Kirk Session Minutes of the Parish of Lochrutton has revealed an interesting record of one of the more unusual functions of that body – the building of a bridge across the Lochfoot Burn in 1740-41. This venture has been compared with a contemporaneous bridge-building exercise by the Kirk Session of Tynholm .

The Lochrutton Minutes for 1740-41 include the following.-

Loose Document – A scroll minute in the hand of the Rev George Duncan – obviously taken at the time of the meeting therein described as at Auchinfranco – and intended for later insertion into the formal Minute Book: The formal Minute Book has pages seven and eight missing – no doubt reflecting where the 'loose' minute should have been properly engrossed.-

Moat of Auchinfranco 4. Aug. 1740.

At a Meeting of Mr Geo Duncan Min^{tr}, James Affleck of Armannoch, Rob^{t} Nelson in Barnbachil, W^{m} Cannan, R Milligan, J Heslop, Threecroft, J Brown, Jo^{s} Clark, John Milligan, W^{m} Crockat, Bourike, Jo^{s} Carson, Jo: Heslop, Barwhar, Jo: Duncan, Ed: Maxuel, Ja: Scott, Ed Sloan, Dav: Anderson, Jo: Clark.

Agreed anent carrying and laying on a large stone for a Bridge at the Lochfoot Burn by the fors^{d} Persons in Name of the Parish with James Gemry, Ephraime Corry, Alexander Waugh and James Wood.

That the s^{d} four Persons shall carry the s^{d} Stone from the Loch to the Lochfoot Burn, lay it over the s^{d} Burn where the Timber Bridge was so as to be a Sufficient Bridge for Man and Horse and that twixt and Hallow day next.

For which the above Persons engage that they shall be payed thirty shillings sterling at s^{d} Hallowday.

The s^{d} four Persons engage the s^{d} Bridge shall be made sufficient at the sight of W^{m} Cannon in Stepend, Th: Scott in Merkland, R^{t} Welsch in Barnbachel, R^{t} Milligan in Merkland.

The formal Minute Book takes up the story at an undated Page 9 – but clearly at a date subsequent to 4th August.-

… s^{d} Meeting had done and in order to make pay^{tt} to the s^{d} Workmen did aggree y^{r} should be a Voluntary Collection.

Therefore the Session taking to y^{r} Serious Consideration that the Road leading thro the Lochfoot Water is the Kings high Road thro which yearly Great Droves of Cattle are carryed. That it is the Common road both to Church and Mercat. That in the Winter Season and even in Summer after Excessive Rains people on foot are obliged to wade the water oftimes A great inconveniency p[resent]ly to those that

attend the Church. That those who carry the Corps at Burials are pntly obliged to wade the Water. Therefore that a Bridge over s^d^ Water is a great Conveniency to the Parish and Country in ge[nera]ll. For these Reasons they appoynt a voluntary Collection to be made in the Parish on Thursday the 28^th^ inst. from House to House. And they earnestly recommend to the Parishioners to contribute liberally in so pious and beneficial [a] Design [for] a Publick Good for the Parish & Country in general.

And the Parish being divided into four Quarters, Appoynt an Elder and Head of Family for each Quarter, who are to go throw the day appoynted in order to receive the voluntary Contributions of the Parishioners and faithfully mark down the names of the Contributors and the sums given.

And recommend to the Minr to intimat this from the Pulpit next Lds day Forenoon, with proper Exhortations.

In performance of the s^d^ Act the Session appt^d^ the following Elders with the Heads of Familyes assigned to each q^r^.

1 Q^r^	Hills & Nunland	Jo. Duncan , W^m^ Cannon
2 Q^r^	Corsuadda include[ing] The 18 Merk Land	W^m^ Crocket, W^m^ Kilpatrick
3 Q^r^	Nithsdales Land one the Northside	E^d^. Maxwel, R^t^ Milligan
4 Q^r^	Barnbachil, Auchen-franco, Barwhare	John Heslop, R^t^ Welsch

Kirk of Loch , 18 Aug 1740

Yesterday the Collection for the Bridge over Lochfoot Burn intimat to be Thursday the 28 inst.

Kirk of Loch^n^ 26 Octr 1740

Reported by the Elders appted fore the Collection fore the Bridge over Lochfoot Water The s^d^ Collection was made and amounted to One Pound fourteen shillings and six pence Sterling Money.

That the s^d^ Bridge was finished and the Men employed payd One Pound ten shillings sterl.

Also reported by the Mod^r^ and some Elders that they had adventured to make a new Aggree^t^ w^t^ [the] Workmen for filling up the Hollow and making a suff^t^ Road to the s^d^ Bridge and for laying a Bridge over the Mill Lade for twelve shillings sterl. — That they were encouraged thereto by information they had that the Fleshers in Drumfries were willing to give Money for that End.

Accordingly the Modr produced & read a Letter he had writt to James Goldie late Deacon of the Fleshers desiring their Assistance therein.

All which the Session approve and the Letter was given John Heslop to deliver.

Kirk of Loch^{n} 25th Jan^{r}y 1741

Reported by the Elders that the Company of Fleshers had promised ten shillings sterling for Lochfoot Bridge but have not given it.[1]

The Mod^{r} and some Elders having aggreed with James Gomry [Garmory] in Lochfoot and others for laying a Bridge over the Mill laid, for twelve shill. Sterling. The Session approves thereof.

The Work being now finished the Session aggree that the Treasurer give from the Box eight shill & Six p. which with three shil. & Six-pence formerly received being the Rem[nant]^{t} of the Collection – make in all twelve shill. Sterling. Their full paytt. Expecting what is given of the Poors Money will be refunded by what the Fleshers promised

Finally, the Kirk Session **Distribution Book**, for January 13, 1741, shows an entry paying the local smith.-

Ephrem Corry for putting up the little bridge in Lochfoot 8. 6.

In all paid 10s.

Approximately 23 years later, in connection with the making of the Military Road, Alexander Lawrie gave an estimate of £31 9s. for 'Lochruton Burn and Milnrace Bridges'.[2]

The Lochfoot bridges are included in the Commissioners' list of bridges dated 15th. May 1780. A plan of about 1855 indicates that this bridge was at right angles to the burn but skewed to the road. A further reference occurs in the Road Trustees' minutes on 30th. April 1855, when the Trustees express their concern that the Dumfries and Maxwelltown Water Commissioners have replaced the bridge with one built of 'iron and wood', of which they did not approve.[3] Nothing more is recorded regarding this dispute, but the 'wood and iron' bridge was presumably replaced at some time by the present structure, which has recently been strengthened. Unlike Lawrie's bridge, this is aligned to the road and skew to the burn. The mill lade is now conveyed in a concrete pipe.

The proceedings at Lochfoot are analogous to and almost contemporary with a similar enterprise by the Kirk Session of Twynholm. This was referred to briefly in a previous paper by the first-named writer,[4] but it is relevant to reproduce here in full the transcript as originally supplied around 1963 by the late Rev. John Good, then Minister of Twynholm:-

Excerpts from Twynholm Kirk Session minutes relating to rebuilding of the bridge over the Kirk Burn.

1 The extant records of the Fleshers have been examined and no entries for either the agreement itself or the payment of any funds located: The Kirk Session accounts show no subsequent receipt of any monies received.

2 M. C. Arnott, 'The Military Road to Portpatrick, 1763.' *TDGNHAS* , III, 27, p. 133.

3 Minutes of the Road Trustees of the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, vol. 12, p.631, 13/4/1855 (Ewart Library, Dumfries)

4 A. D. Anderson, 'The Development of the Road System in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, 1590-1890.' *TDGNHAS*, III, 44, p. 208.

July 21, 1740.

The session is appointed to consider how and in what manner the bridge over the Kirk Burn should be rebuilt.

August 7th. 1740.

Session met according to appointment after several of them had prayed.

Session taking into their consideration how inconvenient it would be if the bridge over the Kirk Burn was not rebuilt before the ensuing winter as also that if it was not soon seen about the season would soon be over for building it they did agree that John Mack mason in Compstown should be spoke to that he might make an estimate how much money it would take to rebuild it as also that he might, (if the demands and estimate were reasonable) be employed in building the same.

The minister in the meantime informing the session that some time agoe he had asked John Mack to estimate what he could build the same for, all materials included, and that John Mack's estimate amounted to £6. 13. sterling.

The session declared that they were well pleased with what the minister had done and that they thought John Mack's estimate was reasonable did therefore resolve that said John Mack should be ordered without any longer delay to begin the work and provide materials with all expedition and that he should have the assistance of some horses from the several members of the session for bringing home the stone and lime to said bridge seeing that he had no horse of his own.

November 2nd. 1740.

Session also considering that the bridge of the Kirk Burn was now near built they therefore resolved to take some way in order to defray the charges thereof. Accordingly they resolved that the elders should use their endeavours in their several quarters through the parish to collect what money they could for that purpose and to report their diligence at the next meeting of session.

In the meantime every member of session subscribed to give for building the bridge as follows.

Mr Boyd (minister) 10/ sterling, Barwhinnock 10/ said money, Ninian McNae 2/6, Patrick Rain 3 pence, William McConche 2/6, Thos. McNae 2/6, William Kingan 1/, Thos. Sproat, ditto, John Sproat ditto, James Stewart ditto, Robert ditto, John Taggart ditto, William Dickson 1/6, John McKie 6 pence, John Milvae, ditto, John McKinnel, schoolmaster, 2/6. Which money subscribed for amounted to £1. 18. 9. sterling and shall be paid upon demand or at least against the next meeting of session.

Lawrie does not include Twynholm Bridge in his estimate, suggesting that John Mack's bridge was still serviceable. No further reference to Twynholm Bridge has been found in the minutes of either the Commissioners of Supply or the Road Trustees of the Stewartry, and it is not known whether it has been incorporated into the present bridge which is almost certainly wider.

Discussion.

1. The bridges themselves.

(a) Lochfoot.

The 1740 bridge at Lochfoot was clearly a stone clapper footbridge replacing a previous timber one on the same or reconstructed abutments. The dimensions of the bridge are not stated, but consideration of the circumstances suggests that the span was unlikely to exceed 6 feet (1.83 metres), comparing with approximately 8 feet (2.4 metres) (measured square to the burn) for the present bridge, while the width would not be likely to be more than 3 feet (about 1 metre). The reasons for these conjectural sizes are given in the Appendix.

The reference to cattle droving and the offer by the Fleshers are interesting. As Haldane makes clear,[5] drovers frequently avoided bridges, preferring to drive their beasts through the water. This would be due to the difficulty of persuading cattle to cross a narrow bridge and the danger of beasts jumping the often low parapets. The proceedings described by S. R. Crockett at Hensol in *The Raiders* are pure and, unfortunately, improbable fiction - the most likely result of using fire to goad the beasts over would be to precipitate most of the herd onto the rocks below. However, the main reason for building the bridges at Lochfoot appears to have been to allow of foot traffic and the carriage of coffins and, presumably, to allow the drovers and others to cross dry shod if on foot.

(b) Twynholm.

Although the Twynholm bridge is on the line of the Military Road, it is not included in Lawrie's estimates. This could be explained by the fact that Rickson and Debbieg's orignal survey[6] intended that the Military Road should follow approximately the old main route over Irelandton Moor, whereas Rickson, in organising the actual making of the road, altered the line to pass through Twynholm.[7] It is probable that Rickson, as Debbieg's superior officer, was not involved on site with the survey but merely countersigned the report. However, it is unlikely that Rickson would have altered the line in this way had it involved the building of an additional bridge and it may therefore be concluded that Twynholm Bridge was in servicable condition in 1763. The underside of the bridge is difficult to access and has not been examined.

2. The role of Kirk Sessions in connection with bridges.

It must first be noted that, while, by chance, only two examples of bridge construction by Kirk Sessions have come to light in this area, there are possibly many others awaiting discovery. One analogous case is the building of Clatteringshaws Bridge in 1703 by the Synod of Dumfries after an ineffectual appeal to the Privy Council, and referred to by C.H. Dick, who unfortunately does not state his source.[8] However, although Lochfoot and Twynholm are by definition in Inglis' category of 'collection bridges', that is, constructed to facilitate access to churches and financed by collections, he relates this category to the period 1600-1680 and goes on to say that '... practically every bridge in close proximity to a church was erected at this time. ... But this happy and almost continuous period of bridge-building, from 1605 to 1650, came to an end ...'[9] It seems that it persisted rather longer, at least in the Stewartry, although both bridges were on through routes and Twynholm was a rebuild.

5 A. R. B. Haldane, *The Drove Roads of Scotland*. Edinburgh, 1952. pp. 38-39.
6 Scottish Record Office reference Nos. 9010/546/1&2 and 9010/547 (Broughton and Cally Muniments.)
7 Arnott, *op. cit.*, p. 124.
8 C. H. Dick, *Highways and Byways in Galloway and Carrick*, London, 1927, pp. 470-471.
9 H. R.G. Inglis, 'The Ancient Bridges in Scotland and their Relation to the Roman and Mediaeval Bridges in Europe.' *PSAS*, 46, vol. X (1911-12), pp. 151-177, and especially pp. 162 and 172.

It is, however, clear that the sessions concerned considered that their responsibilities extended to the general welfare of the community as well as to matters of religion and morality. At this time, the Commissioners of Supply were responsible for bridges, but seem to have confined themselves to the larger structures. It would be interesting if any other examples were to be found.

Appendix.

An estimate of the dimensions of the 1740 bridge at Lochfoot.

The minute of 4th. August 1740 refers to 'carrying and laying on a large stone'. It may reasonably be assumed that 'carry' is used in the archaic sense of 'convey' - by any means - especially as in the second minute there is a reference to cattle being 'carryed'. However, it would obviously be necessary for the four named men - presumably the strongest available - to lift at least part of the weight of the stone at some time. There were no 'health and safety' rules in those days restricting what might be lifted. Assuming that each man could lift his own weight and estimating this at 200 pounds (c90kg.) we get a total weight of 800 pounds (c364kg.). Allowing for the possibility of a greater weight being handled by means of levers, rollers and the like a weight of 1200 pounds might be possible.

It is not known what type of stone was used. The country rock at Lochfoot is Silurian shale and greywacke, but large rectangular slabs of this are unusual. However, sandstone occurs a relatively short distance to the east and it is also possible that a suitable piece of sandstone might have been brought in in earlier years for some large building. Mitchell[10] gives a density of 153.7 pounds per cubic foot for Corsehill sandstone (equivalent to a specific gravity of 2.46) and applying this gives a maximum practicable volume of 7.8 cubic feet (c 0.22 cubic metres) Estimating the thickness at 4.5 inches (114mm.) gives an area of 20.8 square feet (c 1.93 square metres). The width could hardly be less than 3 feet (c 0.9m.), giving a total length of 6.93 feet (c 2.11m.), permitting a span of 6 feet (1.8m.) with a 5.5 inch (140mm.) seating at each end.

Further information would be necessary before it could be ascertained whether a 4.5 inch slab would have been sufficiently strong for the purpose. If it was not then then either the span or the width might be reduced or the weight to be handled increased. There are many imponderables, nevertheless, it may be concluded that (a) a span of 6 feet is within the bounds of possibility and (b) the hydrological conditions suggest that anything much less than this would be unsuitable. A 6 foot span slab would be easily comparable with the sandstone slabs, spanning cellars, which form the footpaths in George Street, Dumfries – which are typically 2feet 9 inches by 7 feet 9 inches. Closer to the country environment is should be noted that typical mid eighteenth century churchyard sandstone thruch stones frequently reached dimensions of 3 feet 6 inches by 6 feet 6 inches by 6 inches in thickness – and these were high quality, high status objects, requiring care and attention in handling.

10 G. A. & A. M. Mitchell, *Building Construction*, Part 2, Advanced Course., 15th. Edition, London, 1946, p. 95.

ELSHIESHIELDS RECORDS

By Dr J B Wilson[1]

Fresh information has recently come to light about this historic tower and the family who occupied it in *The Barony Court Book and the Rental and Estate Book of Elshieshields, 1655 to 1682*.

In 1662, after the Restoration of Charles the Second the lands of Elshieshields and Esbie (Esbie was passed to the Maxwells of Barncleugh in 1693) were granted by a crown charter to the Earl of Annandale to be administered by a Barony Court presided over by the Laird. The records of this court (SRO, CS96/2256) afford a fascinating insight into the social conditions which prevailed at that time. Many of the cases dealt with by the court concerned small debts though a 'blood' and a 'ryot' are also recorded. The rents were often paid in 'kain' (a payment in kind, a portion of the produce of a tennancy paid as rent) for money was scarce.

A list of the tennants of the Barony and the feues they paid are among the many interesting details that emerge from these records. Other lists, of the clothes and furnishings, left in her will by the Lady Elshieshields in 1670, a 'compt' of the furniture of the house, and of the various animals on the estate, 129 sheep, 79 cattle, 11 oxen and 3 horses, provide a glimpse into the domestic and rural economy of the time. On the 15th December 1680 the court was held in the Mansion House of Elshieshields so by that time the accomodation in the Tower must have been replaced by a more modern building. No mention is made in the Lochmaben Town Council Minutes 1612 to 1721 to the Barony of Elshieshields though in 1680 two townsfolk were found guilty by an inquest of cutting the wood at Elshieshields and next year a tennant of Elshieshields was accused before the Barony Court of cutting wood, and fishing but no relationship between the two cases can be decerned.

The Elshieshields Portraits

The present whereabouts of these portraits has till recently been unknown but information on their fate has now come to light. In 1937 the proprietor of Elshieshields, Lt Col Gavin Byrne, sold them to his cousin. The portraits were of.-

Theodore Edgar (1716 - 1784), a chirugion in London
His wife, Ester Pearson, d. 1792
John Edgar Dickson (1804 -1858)
Christine Bethune, d. 1826, wife of John Edgar Dickson
Marion Dickson, sister of John Edgar Dickson, who married William Byrne.

According to some sources the portrait of Theodore Edgar was presented to the Burgh of Dumfries, probably because of Theodore's connection with the town through his father, Robert, the author of *An Introduction to the History of Dumfries*, which he wrote about 1746. Unfortunately the present council, in spite of extensive searches, have not been able to locate the painting.[2] These portraits are of descendants of the Johnstones of Elshieshields — Marion Johnstone married to Robert Edgar, a writer; Theodore Edgar, their son married to Ester Pearson; Marion, Theodore's sister, married to John Dickson and their daughter married William Byrne. Several generations of the Byrnes occupied the tower until 1941.

1 Dr J B Wilson, The Whins, Kinnel Banks, Lochmaben, Lockerbie DG11 1TD

2 The late A E Truckell reported in 2001 that 'this portrait' i e the painting of Theodore Edgar 'did not come to the Museum, nor was it among those in the Town Hall [Municipal Chambers] in Buccleuch Street.'Subsequent searches have not revealed its presence in the Gracefield Catalogue (a collection built up by our late President R C Reid, in the 1950s), at the County Buildings, nor is it mentioned in the Dumfries Council Minutes. The painting has been atributed by some sources to Kneller, or his school, and against such an attribution and inferred dating Mr Truckell suggested that the portrait might well be that of Robert Edgar – the father of Theodore: Robert Edgar was for many years Clerk to the Seven Incorporated Trades and it was he, in his old age who wrote his excellent *History of Dumfries*, in 1746. [Ed.]

WALTER NEWALL AND MOFFAT BATHS (NOW MOFFAT TOWN HALL)

Antony Wolffe, MBE [1]

The pediment over the centre of Moffat Town Hall has a date of 1827, presumably when it was built, but without indication of a builder or architect. In 1996 the Transactions[2] marked the centenary of Birrens excavations by James Barbour, architect, civil engineer and archaeologist in Dumfries. His architectural works include Moffat Baths, which, according to his plans, he altered in 1881 by adding a new entrance hall at the north side, a stage to the south and a Billiard Room at the rear. The bathrooms were also changed and an attendant's flat included. There are two drawings by Barbour: one showing the proposed new Entrance Hall with a new passage to the Billiard Room at the northeast corner (RCAHMS – 072333)[3]. The second drawing omits the passage and shows a new entrance Lobby and W.C. to a larger Billiard Room. This drawing is more detailed and with the signatures of John Henry, P.Drummond & Son, J. Johnstone and Robert Proudfoot, apparently was executed after 1881 (RCAHMS -D7235-Moffat Baths No. 1). The Barbour drawings differentiate alterations and additions in a darker shade but it is not easy to be certain of the full extent of works and to deduce the shape of the Baths originally built (RCAHMS-D7234-Moffat Baths No 3).

In 2008, the Moffat Town Hall Redevelopment Trust invited architects to submit fee quotations for updating the Town Hall for present use and functions. The author was asked by a large firm from the south to provide local input for this project. With date stone 1827 on the centre pediment, we checked previous records to establish who designed and built the original Baths. Graham Roberts of the Dumfries Archive agreed that Walter Newall could have been the architect, but the Newall Archive and other source did not confirm this. Cathy Gibb assistant at the Archive then found a notice in the *Dumfries Weekly Journal* of July 1825 as follows: -

> **NOTICE TO CONTRACTORS**
>
> **ESTIMATES are WANTED for BUILDING HOT and COLD BATH-ROOMS in the Village of Moffat**
>
> Estimates will be received for the mason and joiner work, either jointly or separately, as contractors may incline. The building being upon an extensive scale, merit the attention of contractors possessed of capital.
>
> The plans and specifications may be seen on applying to Mr. Newall, architect, Dumfries, or to Mr. Richard Johnstone, writer, in Moffat: and as the estimates are to be examined and decided upon on the 10th September next: it is requested that those proposing to contract for the building will lodge their offers sealed, either with Mr. Newall or Mr. Johnstone.

This was a breakthrough and established a firm link with Walter Newall but did not provide particulars of the designs.

As the Assembly Rooms in Dumfries were known to have been built by Walter Newall at about the same time as the Moffat Baths, we thought that the plans could have some similarities. A look

1 The Tollhouse, Gatehouse of Fleet, DG7 2JA
2 Wolffe, A. 1996. 'James Barbour, Architect, Civil Engineer and Archaeologist', *TDGNHAS*, Series III, Vol. 71, 139-158.
3 RCAHMS = Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland.

at the Assembly Room drawings in the Walter Newall Archive revealed the plan and elevation for the Moffat Pump Room and Baths, which had been put in the same folder without being identified and without a title. (See Figure 1 & 2)

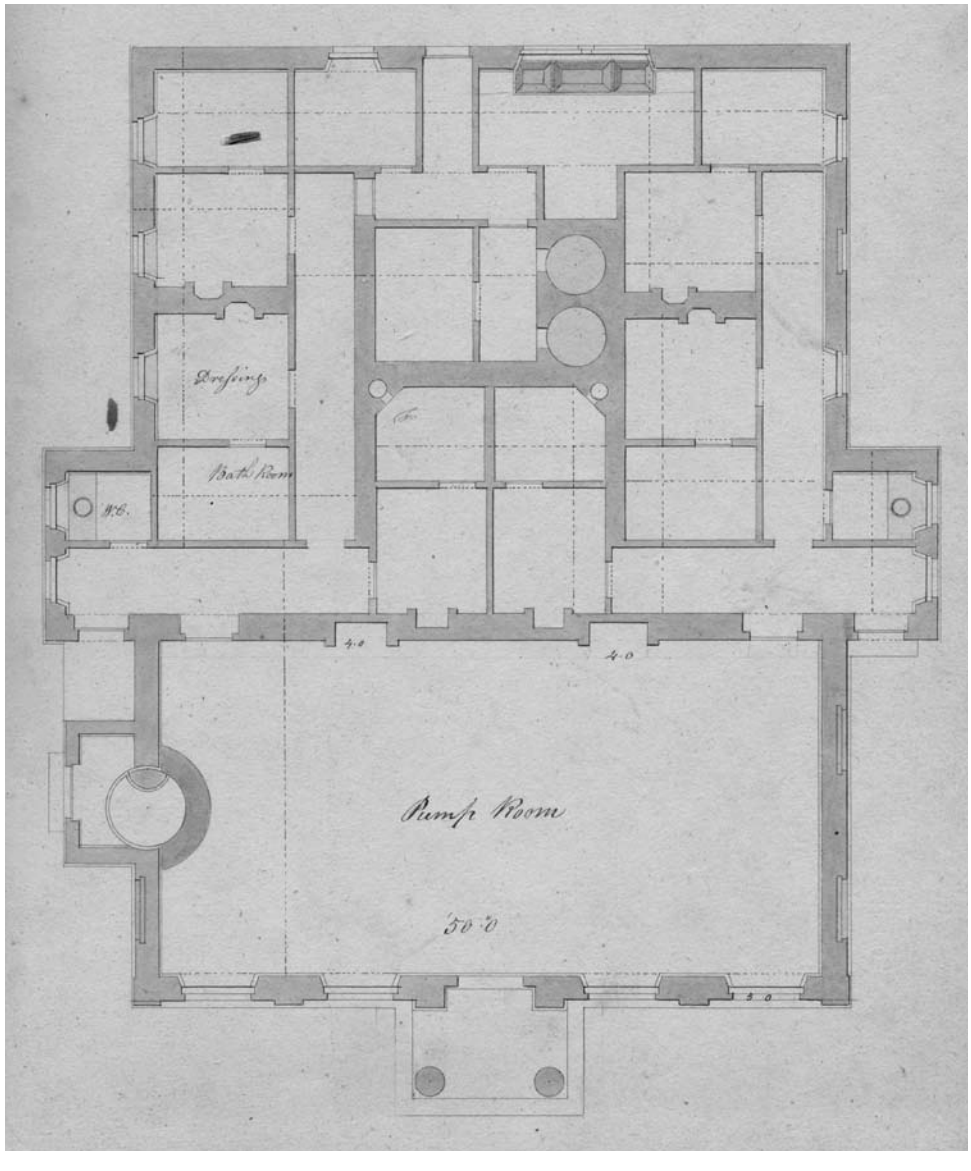

Figure 1 Plan of Moffat Pump Room and Baths

The design has a five bay front with Doric entrance portico in the centre of the main front. The Pump Room is 50ft wide, a double square on plan. The circular pump with counter is on the south side and there are two 4ft wide fireplaces on the back wall with two of the four chimney heads on the elevation.

The Hot and Cold Bath-Rooms of the advertisement are at the back with separate entrances to male and female baths on north and south sides. One W.C. is shown on each side and the baths consist of three suites each having a dressing room with open fire and bath room. It is not clear if all the baths had hot water and the Newall drawing does not show a Billiard Room.

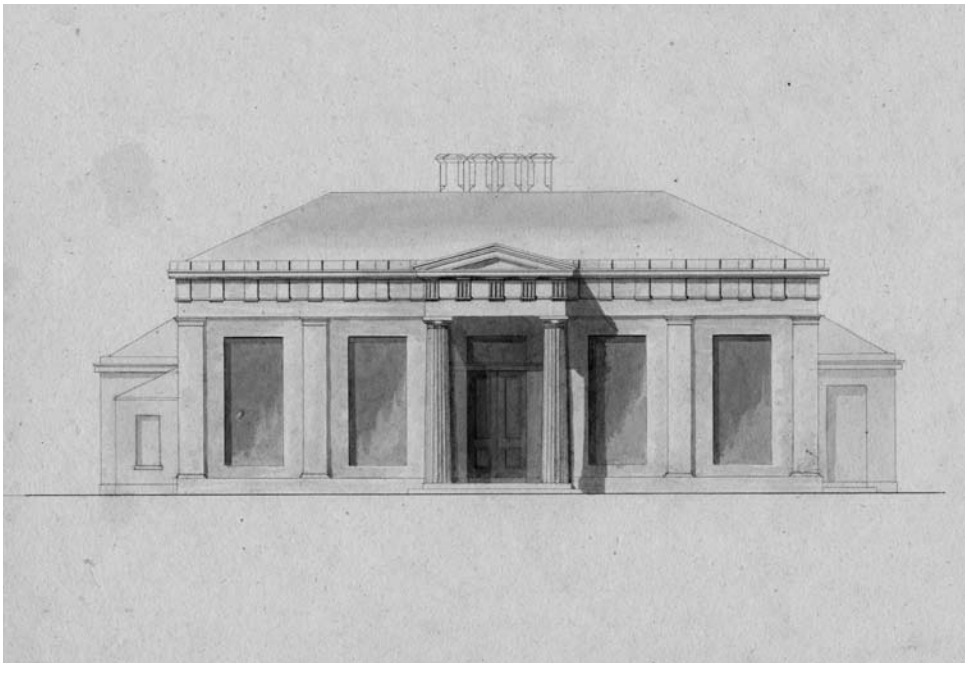

Figure 2 Front elevation of Moffat Pump Room and Baths

The plan and front elevation are two separate sheets drawn to different scales but unmistakably by the hand of Walter Newall. The only stated measurements are the 50ft width of the Pump Room with two 4ft wide fireplaces. One W.C. and one dressing room and bath room *en suite* are also identified. The position of doors and windows, fireplaces, boilers and vents are clearly shown with structural walls and partitions differentiated. The elevation with central portico is beautifully drawn with colour wash on walls and roof. The classical detail of Doric porch is as crisp in the drawing as in Newall's buildings be it at Moffat, the Lodge at Carnsalloch or at Moat Brae, the Assembly Rooms or others in Dumfries.

The Pump Room and Baths were financed by the Moffat Bath Company, which still managed the enterprise when James Barbour altered the building into the Assembly Room with entrance Porch at the north end, stage at the south and bathroom facilities modernised. The Bath Company was wound up in 1897 when the Town Council took over the lease with Annandale Estates.

The building of the new Pump Room and Hot and Cold Bath-Rooms should be seen in the context of Moffat as a Spa, which originated in the Seventeenth Century. [4]

It is 21 years since Walter Newall was reviewed by Aonghus McKechnie in the *Transactions* of 1988. This was before the Walter Newall papers from Canada were acquired and lodged in Dumfries in 1991, which has made it possible to identify many Newall buildings and confirm previous attributions. Cathy Gibb at the Archive has done valuable research into Newall's history, which throws unexpected light on his training when his niece, Agnes Blacklock, writes to her cousin Bella in Canada in 1889: 'Uncle Walter Newall was a celebrated architect[5]. He studied in Rome and was high up in his profession...' In 1829, on the occasion of the King's Birthday, at a dinner party at the King's Arms Hotel (now Boots in High Street), Dumfries), a townsman, Mr. Dunbar, a local artist, replied to a speech in his honour on the 'improvements that had taken place in the architecture of Dumfries and indeed the whole district' and ascribed much of the change to the genius and taste of his friend Baillie Newall. (*Dumfries Courier* 28th May 1829).

Since the acquisition of the Newall Archive, the range and quality of his work is becoming more widely known but it is deplorable that several of his churches and residential buildings are disused and seriously at risk. Moat Brae in George Street, Dumfries and Ladyfield West on Glencaple Road (formerly Hannafield) have been neglected for years and are in urgent need of repair and attention, both fine late Georgian buildings.

A new evaluation of Walter Newall is called for: a special article in a volume of the *Transactions* on his Life and Work could achieve this.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

James Williams, Joint Editor of the *Transactions* was at the Dumfries Archive when the Moffat drawings were identified and he asked me to contribute this article. Without his invitation this story would not have been written..

The Newall Archive is a most valuable resource with the Record of Personal Papers and Drawings prepared by Marion Stewart and printed in December 1992. Her successor, Graham Roberts, MA and his assistant, Cathy Gibb BSc. Dip Arch (Edin.) have carried forward the research into the Newall family in both Scotland and Canada and their assistance is gratefully acknowledged.

4 Prevost, W. A.J. 'Moffat Spa in the 17th and 18th Centuries', *Transactions*, Series III, Vol 43, 137-146
5 Murray, Marland (1987) *The Canadian Glen Falloch Murrays*, Martintown, Ontario, p 129-131.

From Caledonia to Pictland: Scotland to 795, by James E. Fraser. The New Edinburgh History of Scotland, vol. 1. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. 2009. xii + 436 pp. £70.00. ISBN 978-0-7486-1231-4 (hardback). £19.99. ISBN 978-0-7486-1232-1 (paperback).

From Pictland to Alba, 789-1070, by Alex Woolf. The New Edinburgh History of Scotland, vol. 2. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. 2007. xvi + 384 pp. £80.00. ISBN 978-0-7486-1223-5 (hardback). £19.99 ISBN 978-0-7486-1223-5 (paperback).

Scotland has many monuments; with these volumes she now has two more. They are imposing entities and will attract visitors for years to come. Their popularity is already been shown by reprints of the first volume in 2009 and of the second in 2008 and 2009. Both authors thus deserve congratulations in dealing with exceptionally difficult periods of history, or even of no-history, since they admit that much of Scotland in this period is recordless. Even those sources which we have, such the *Chronicle of the Kings of Alba*, can seem little more than accounts of unknown kings fighting battles in unknown places. To make a narrative from this material might daunt even a robust historian. Yet these two writers have extracted meaning from documents that others might gladly have left in obscurity.

Let us look at each separately. Dr Fraser divides his material into three parts. The first sets out the Passing of Caledonia, from AD 69 to 597; the second, on the domination of Northumbria, runs from 576 to 692; the third, on the 'Pictish project', from 692 to 789. So we start with the Ancient World, the Romans, the beginnings of Christianity, 'Ninian', and Columba; then the (often gory) doings of Anglo-Saxons; then (similarly gory) doings of Picts and Gaels. Two points need stressing. Although we hear of St 'Ninian' (now taken as Uinniau, Gildas's sixth-century correspondent) and St Columba, this is primarily a secular history. We thus never hear (for example) of Kentigern, patron of Glasgow. For Christianity in this period we are referred to a forthcoming volume by Professor T. O. Clancy, which will be keenly awaited. Secondly, the volume is not only a history of Scotland but in many ways a history of Ireland and Northumbria as well. This is partly because much of Scotland's history is known only from Irish or Northumbrian texts. If it is a pity that so few documents survive from pre-Norman Scotland, it is fortunate (as the author points out) that the neighbouring lands both possessed rich historiographical traditions.

Excellent though Dr Fraser's work is, it requires some corrections and additions. They include the following. *Bodotria* (p. 17) as the ancient name of the Forth is corrupt. Read *Bodra* 'She Who is Dirty' (compare Welsh *budr* 'filthy, foul'), alluding to Forth's swamps and mud flats, once major obstacles to invaders and others. Attempts to locate Mons 'Graupius' near Duncrub in Strathearn (p. 21) must, on linguistic grounds, be rejected. There are compelling reasons to take the battlefield as below Bennachie, west of Aberdeen. Readers of this journal may note that the 'Calidonian Forest' (p. 49) grew on the hills north of Beattock (though Dr Fraser does not say this). Aeron in early Welsh poetry (p. 124) is the region near Ayr, and not that in Yorkshire by the river Aire, now with a post-Celtic name. (The original Celtic one, meaning 'spear', is shown by British-Latin *Lagentium* or Castleford.) Dr Fraser carefully gives *Medcaut* (pp. 128, 169) as the Old Welsh name of Holy Island, but fails to note papers by Professor Richard Coates and others showing a derivation from Latin *Medicata* 'island of healing'.

Bamburgh in Northumberland was known to the Welsh (p. 149) as *Din Guoaroy*. This means 'theatre fortress', is a late scholastic coinage, and is hence no evidence for any British settlement there. Dr Fraser is correct in taking *Bernicia* (p. 152) as Brittonic, but it hardly means 'gap people' (= dwellers in mountain passes). It is fiercer. It will refer to warriors who storm gaps in an enemy's battle-line, a position of danger and honour. An Irish saga about an attack on Dun Guaire or Bamburgh (p. 160) cannot be historical, since the Gaelic form here is late, deriving from Old Welsh *Din Guoaray*. It is misleading to say that Old Welsh *Liu* (p. 168) means 'plough'. The basic sense is 'rudder' and so 'leader'. Of the *Niuduera regio* in Fife, visited by St Cuthbert (pp. 184, 196, 201),

Dr Fraser may note that a Celtic form here is surely confirmed by the rivers Nidd of Yorkshire and Neath of South Wales. This reviewer was surprised to read (p. 187) that the river *Winwaed*, where the Northumbrians wiped out a Mercian army, is 'unidentified'. He thought he identified it some years ago as the Went, which the old road from York crosses a few miles north-west of Doncaster. (He here followed the Ordnance Survey *Map of Britain in the Dark Ages*, which made the same point in the early sixties.) Treasure-hunters may be interested to learn that, since the Mercians had extorted enormous loot from the Northumbrians at Stirling, the meadows of the Went may conceal items as impressive as those lately found in Staffordshire.

Now for Dr Woolf. His narrative has two parts. The first deals with events; the second with process. So we begin with chapters on the advent of the Vikings, their transformation of Northumbria, the end of the Pictish kingdom in 839-89, and the turbulent story of one ruler after another, especially Gaelic ones. Part two is less of a succession. It takes in turn Scandinavian Scotland, and then the transformation of Pictavia into Albania, with emphasis on questions of language and toponymy. Once again, the paucity of sources and difficulty in interpreting those we have (so that the author compares Norse sagas on Scotland to Hollywood movies about World War II), bring curious consequences. Here are two. Whereas Dr Fraser had much to say about events in Ireland and Anglo-Saxon England, Dr Woolf gives details on the internal history of Scandinavia as well. Another point, significant for this journal, is the rather poor showing of Galloway and the South-West in the story, where pre-Norman sources are in especially short supply.

Dr Woolf has, like Dr Fraser, done a magnificent job on intractable materials. Amongst the few corrections one may put forward are these. The site of the Viking triumph at *Alutthèlia* in 844 is not 'unidentified' (p. 70). This reviewer showed several years ago that it was surely Bishop Auckland, where *Auck-* lies behind corrupted 'Alut' and 'thèlia' is from the Old English for 'wooden bridge'. In 844 there must have been a dramatic conflict at the bridge on the river Wear. The Welsh 'Leolin' (p. 183) who invaded Scotland with Edmund of Wessex was identified (in print) as Hywel Dda by this reviewer in 1997 and before him by Professor Wendy Davies. He now also argues that the 'unidentified site of *Iudanburh*' (p. 189) may have been Stirling. On King Edgar's famous diplomatic conference at Chester in 973 (pp. 207-8), the writer has recently argued that two of the obscure 'Welsh rulers' there were, rather, Breton counts. Hence the failure to identify them. They suggest the significance that Edgar gave at Chester to questions of international security.

Together, *From Caledonia to Pictland: Scotland to 795* and *From Pictland to Alba, 789-1070* are epoch-making additions to our knowledge of Scotland. Not the least of their excellences is that they provide material that allows us to go further. If one has any regret (apart from the historical accident that means we hear little of Galloway and beyond), it is the circumstances of what might, without disrespect, be called a Scottish 'gang of four'. It consists of Drs Fraser and Woolf, and Professors Dauvit Broun and T. O. Clancy (with Professor D. N. Dumville as an older associate). These four admirable professional scholars work closely together and refer constantly to each other's publications, sometimes even before their publication. There is nothing wrong with that. The quality of the result allows no reasonable complaint. Nevertheless, this should not blind these four writers to the possibility that there are scholars in England, Wales, and Ireland, who may also well have things to say as regards the oldest history of Scotland.

Andrew Breeze, University of Navarre, Pamplona

REV. DAVID EDWARD MARSDEN MA, BA, DPS
1929 - 2009

David Marsden was born in Liverpool and studied History at Glasgow University, where he met his wife Mary. They were both members of the Student Christian Movement, later becoming involved in the Iona Community. They married in 1954 at Laurieknowe Parish Church, Dumfries, Mary's home church.

After studying Theology at Westminster College, Cambridge, David was ordained a Minister of the Presbyterian Church. He took up his first charge in Stanley, Co. Durham, in 1954 before moving to Richmond Presbyterian Church in Surrey and then to Singapore in 1967 to what later became Katong Presbyterian Church.

David, Mary and family returned from Singapore in 1973 when he undertook a Diploma in Pastoral Studies at Birmingham University. In 1974, they moved to Redditch New Town, and in 1985 David joined the four United Reformed Church Congregations which formed the South Leeds Team Ministry. Again there were overseas links, here with the Church in South India.

Retirement and a move to Kirkcudbright came in 1994. He served as a locum on different occasions in Kirkcudbright Parish Church. He was for many years the driving force behind the World Church Team in Kirkcudbright and in the One World Week activities. David and Mary visited China twice and were pleased to see how the Church had grown since their time in Singapore.

His community interests were extensive. For many years he was a member of our Society, and he and Mary were regular faces at our lectures until his health in later years prevented his attendance.

An interest in the history of his house in Castle Street, Kirkcudbright, led David into research which culminated in the publication of two papers in our *Transactions*, viz. 'The Development of Kirkcudbright in the late 18th Century – Town Planning in a Galloway Context' in Vol.72 (1997) followed by 'The Development of Kirkcudbright in the early 19th Century by the Emergence of Voluntarism' in Vol. 81 (2007). Both made a significant contribution to our understanding of the processes behind the spatial expansion of Kirkcudbright in the late 18th/early 19th centuries, and particularly the operation of the early Kirkcudbright building societies.

David also served as a volunteer in the Stewartry Museum from 2003 – 2005. His main project was sorting and cataloguing bundles of 18th and 19th Century Burgh Court papers, Treasurer's Accounts and other Kirkcudbright Burgh Records that had been re-discovered in Kirkcudbright Town Hall in 1991. His invaluable work in making an inventory of this extensive collection and reorganising its storage has allowed other Museum volunteers to progress on to more detailed cataloguing, particularly of the Burgh Court records. The collection is becoming an important source for local and family historical studies, and will no doubt be a source for future papers in these *Transactions*.

David is survived by his wife, Mary, three sons, six grandchildren and a great-granddaughter.

Dr David Devereux and Rev. Douglas Irving

10 October 2008
Annual General Meeting.
David Hawker, D H Ecology.
Climate Change and Birds of the Region.

Scotland's average annual temperature has risen by about 1°C in the past 20 years and is predicted to rise by 3°C by 2080. Work by Durham University in particular indicates that this climatic change will significantly affect bird habitats, leading to the disappearance of many species currently breeding in the Region. These include Golden Eagles, Dunlin, Goosander, Osprey and Eider. Several others will be at the southern edge of their UK breeding range e.g. Black Guillemot, Red Grouse, Common Sandpiper and Common Gull. To balance this, there are likely to be gains, following the recent colonisations by Reed Warbler, Osprey and Nuthatch. In 2008, Spoonbills were found at Kirkcudbright, their first breeding in Scotland. Egret, Cetti's Warbler, Quail and possibly Dartford Warbler may follow, perhaps even some Mediterranean birds joining Scotland's current list of 561 bird species. On the down side, current re-introduction and conservation efforts for Sea Eagle, Osprey and Red Kite are likely to prove temporary, all being predicted to become extinct in Scotland by 2080. Black Grouse, the subject of intense conservation effort, may also decline and disappear from the Region through climate change. Migration patterns may also change unpredictably – already, Icelandic Greylag and Pink-footed Goose are showing significant changes in their wintering areas, while Greenland White-fronted Goose numbers are declining due to invasion of their Arctic breeding grounds by the more aggressive Canada Goose, leading perhaps eventually to the loss of the current Stranraer and Loch Ken wintering populations. As a note of caution, however, past prediction models have notably failed to foresee some changes, specific examples being the Dartford Warbler and the Kirkcudbright Spoonbills.

24 October 2008
Diana Murray, Secretary, Royal Commission Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland.
RCHAMS: 100 years young: Exploring Scotland's Places – Past, Present and Future.

In 2008, the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland celebrated its Centenary. Inadequacies in The Ancient Monuments Act of 1882 had led to pressure for a Royal Commission for Scotland, the RCAHMS receiving its Royal Warrant in 1908, ahead of Royal Commissions for England and Wales. Until 1948, the new body's remit to study the historic landscape was limited to before the Union of Parliaments in 1707 - anything more recent was considered to lack historic merit. RCAHMS's first Chairman was the formidable Sir Herbert Maxwell, the subject of a happily apposite article in the 2008 Volume of *TDGNHAS*. A.O. Curle, the first Secretary, completed the first inventory after three months travelling around Berwickshire by bicycle. This inventory (initially without illustrations) was published in 1909, with illustrated volumes of the rest of Scotland following regularly until Argyll in 1992 when the cost (£120 per copy) made printing non-viable. Information is now issued on *Canmore*, an on-line database which also aims to make accessible the rest of the Commission's collection, a total of 14.5 million items, including the largest archive of historic aerial photography in the world. These photographs, providing a unique record of hidden archaeological remains and the changing landscape, include the work of *Aerofilms* from 1928 onwards, the RAF from the 1940s to 1990s, Keele University's archive of wartime reconnaissance photographs and even the Luftwaffe's 1938-1939 collection (the lecture included a German photograph taken over Heathhall Aerodrome). Over time, the work of the Commission has continued to expand, examples being extension of its remit in 1992 to include maritime heritage surveying, the pressure to record industrial sites before they are lost, and the greater information that modern investigative techniques yield. It is hoped that *Canmore*, by providing a framework for anyone interested in exploring their local environment and in extending the national database, will prove a lasting legacy of the Commission's centenary year.

7 November 2008
Peter Norman, Dumfries & Galloway Council.
Woodland History in Dumfries and Galloway.

It was once commonly believed that the natural vegetation of Britain after the last Ice Age consisted almost entirely of closed canopy, broad-leaved woodland, with pinewoods in some areas of Scotland, and that these woods were virtually cleared by man in recent centuries in order to exploit supplies of timber. It is now clear that the history of woodland in Britain is far more complicated, and factors operating in Dumfries and Galloway have resulted in a distribution and composition of woods today that are locally distinct. Natural factors such as the grazing of wild herbivores and natural climatic changes have resulted in, among other things, more open woodland structures and the loss of native pine in Galloway. But human influences have played a much bigger role than is often realised. Prior to the eighteenth century, enclosure evidence is sketchy and we can only speculate on the role of trees and woodland in the landscape in southwest Scotland. However, we can be reasonably certain that most of the woodland cover had been removed by 1700 to make way for farming, and that what remained was being deliberately managed by a range of techniques, including coppicing and probably pollarding, to provide a wide range of essential products. In the following 200 years, woodland management became an intensely planned and commercial activity with the permanent exclusion of stock from most woods. However, contrary to earlier beliefs, this industrial use of woodlands did not result in contraction and loss of woodland wildlife but led to the expansion of many woods, and a wide range of species prospered. With the advent of extensive plantation forestry in the twentieth century, native woods lost their commercial importance and became denser, darker and quieter places. But signs of their long history can still usually be detected and this history, as much as their soils and climate, is what governs their current structure and ecology.

21 November 2008
Derek Hall, SUAT Ltd: Archaeological Consultants and Contractors.
'A Loop in the Forth is worth an Earldom in the North'[1] – The Rediscovery of Scotland's Monastic Landscapes.

In today's modern Scottish landscape, ruined abbeys and churches stand as mute reminders of the enormous part that the major monastic orders once played in the development and control of society. Until the recent Historic Scotland funded monastic granges and industries projects, this subject had been little studied. David I encouraged the building of abbeys by the major Orders, bringing with them a range of agricultural and industrial activities. A total of 309 potential monastic granges, often some distance from the mother house and used as storage sites for farming enterprises, have been identified from building remains, earthworks, cropmarks, isolated churches (built to serve the grange) and place names. Dumfries & Galloway has 27 grange sites, including one at Shambellie where a gable survives. Wall skeps in East Lothian indicate bee-keeping, both for honey and candlewax. Sheep farming and cultivation terraces (possibly for vines) were common in the Borders. Newbattle Abbey undertook open-cast coal extraction and sought lead for their roofs and stained glass windows at Crawfordjohn but also silver. Monks built mills, managed orchards, diverted burns, created fishponds (including one at New Abbey), built highly productive fish traps on the Tay and even built causeways for land reclamation. At Glenluce, a complex water system with ceramic interconnections was constructed. As there is an identical system in Paris, it was once thought that the sophisticated ceramics had been imported but modern analysis has shown they were manufactured at Glenluce.

1 Quotation from the Register of Cambuskenneth Abbey

5 December 2008
THE CORMACK LECTURE
Roger Mercer, Prehistorian and former Secretary, RCHAMS.
Excavations and Field Survey of an Iron Age Landscape in Upper Eskdale, Dumfriesshire

Over Rig or Ring of Scaur is an enclosure set on a cliff over and against a meander of the river White Esk at the bottom of a steep-sided, conical depression taking the form of a natural amphitheatre. The enclosure comprises three concentric ditches with consequent banks on their outer sides. The ditches surround an internal platform upon which was a palisade enclosing two double ring-groove structures and a trapezoid setting of boulders. The ditches were dug in light blue/grey alluvial clay capped by peat that had formed between 5000BC and c.50BC, when the enclosure was built. Finds comprised a little iron working slag, fragments of coal and a series of whetstones and glass bangle fragments fairly closely dated to after 60AD. The notable absence of pottery and the site's wet and unstable condition exclude a settlement function, ceremonial activities being an alternative explanation. Over Rig is intimately associated with a series of earthworks controlling and subdividing some hundreds of acres of the White Esk valley from the confluence of the White and Black Esk up to the hillfort at Castle O'er, above Over Rig. Both the hillfort and at least part of the enclosure system were contemporary with Over Rig, the hillfort having been impressively refortified during the Roman period.

23 January 2009
Tim Padley, Keeper of Archaeology, Tullie House Museum, Carlisle.
Unearthing Carlisle's History.

Major building projects over the past 30 years have changed our understanding of Carlisle's Roman past, a subject previously neglected in favour of studies of Hadrian's Wall. In the 1970s, Dorothy Charlesworth excavated the route of the Castle Way dual carriageway, discovering the Roman Southgate. Later, Mike McCarthy's work at the Lanes Development and the site of Marks & Spencer's Food Hall in Blackfriars Street gave a much clearer picture of Roman Carlisle, beginning with a fort, known as Luguvallium, built in 72/73 AD in the reign of the Emperor Vespasian and situated not, as previously thought, under the Cathedral but between Tullie House and the Castle. Later, a new fort was built at Stanwix, the original fort surviving with modifications until the 5th Century and around which grew the only Roman city in the Northwest, its shape and size preserved into the medieval era. Among the finds, now on display in Tullie House, were writing tablets, basketwork, fragments of armour, altars, a solid amber ring – the only one found in Roman Britain – a statue of the goddess Diana, a slave manacle and an amphora that had once contained the famous Roman fish sauce.

6 February 2009
Chris Wood-Gee, Dumfries & Galloway Council.
Sulwath Connection in Dumfries & Galloway.

In spring 2007, the Sulwath[2] Connections Landscape Project (SCLP) started work. With support from local volunteers and sponsorship of £4 million, SCLP and its partners began a 4-year programme of investment in the landscape, environment and economy of the Solway coast and river valleys. Projects include consolidation of church ruins, management of riparian habitats, creation of a Robert the Bruce Trail and development of community biodiversity areas, with emphasis on the use of local contractors and people with the desired skills and of quality materials such as hardwoods and lime mortaring to ensure durability. Mersehead Farm Nature Reserve already attracts 27,000 visitors a

2 Sulwath, meaning muddy ford, is an ancient name for the Solway estuary.

year, with a new education centre now near to completion. The Annandale Way, scheduled to open in September 2009, will be a 54 mile route from Annan to Moffat, linking the coast with upland areas in the north of the region and, unlike the Southern Upland Way, passing through towns and villages for the mutual benefit of walkers and local businesses. To date, other projects have already undertaken 200 hectares of habitat management, improved 17,000 metres of riverside corridor. developed 12,700 metres of pathway, staged special events for more than 2000 people and seen 4000 school children take part in 226 school activities.

20 February 2009
Special General Meeting.
Trevor Cowie,
On the Shoulders of Giants: A Review of the Bronze Age in South West Scotland.

Trevor Cowie, Senior Curator of the Department of Archaeology at the National Museums of Scotland, paid a welcome return visit to Dumfries to give a review of the Bronze Age in South West Scotland. The Bronze Age dates from 2200BC when the material was first used and ended around 800BC. Studies of the period in South West Scotland split into two contrasting periods: mid 1950s to about 1980 and post 1980.

Unlike today, the number of people pursuing archaeological interests during the early period was not great. The *Transactions* of DGNHAS, said Trevor, is the premier county journal of Scotland. In the mid-1960s, the Society's President 1962-1965, Major-General James Scott Elliott, commissioned a number of papers for the *Transactions*. Fellow members, the late Alfie Truckell and the late Bill Cormack, were involved. A number of young scholars were persuaded to undertake research in the South West under the direction of Professor Stuart Piggott of Edinburgh University. Amusingly they were referred to as 'piglets' and 'students from the piggery!' For instance Derek Simpson, later to become Professor of Archaeology at Queens University, Belfast, studied food vessels. Other topics covered were metalwork, battle axes and axe hammers, beakers, cremation urns and pygmy vessels. These seminal works drew together information from sources such as the National Museum, Dr Grierson's Museum at Thornhill and Dumfries Museum.

Finds over the years came largely from ground disturbance caused by ploughing, for instance. Much that came to light merely disintegrated. Bill Cormack's discovery in 1964 of a bucket urn at Torrs Warren in Galloway, where the establishment of a range for the testing of cluster bombs, led to rescue efforts conducted on a shoe string. It was all very hit and miss. Since 1980, the in-depth fieldwork of the Royal Commission in Eastern Dumfriesshire, prompted by the spread of forestry posing a threat to hitherto largely undisturbed sites, has revealed pockets of Bronze Age settlements. Burnt mounds, once thought to be confined largely to the Highlands, have been revealed in South West Scotland too. Aerial surveys have added greatly to the fund of knowledge of settlements. Such information, provided by 'Canmore', the Royal Commission's website, is easily accessible.

Nowadays it is taken for granted that a threatened site will have rescue excavations taking place. Archaeologists work alongside developers. For instance when the gas pipeline to Ireland was being laid in the 1990s a burial urn, now expertly conserved, was unearthed at Kerricks Farm in Kirkmahoe. Radiocarbon dating is part of a raft of technical aids on which the archaeologist can rely for accuracy. Metal analysis can identify where the metal of an object was mined. John Pickin of Stranraer Museum is breaking new ground through excavations at Tonderghie in Wigtownshire by trying to identify where the resources of South West Scotland were being used in the early Bronze Age.

Responsible metal-detecting has been the main source of many recent discoveries. Parts of a sword, found at the northern end of Loch Ryan in the late 1990s, have proved to be Irish in type and form.

Another find near Penpont in 2005 of a striped gold ring, the first from Scotland, again makes the point that these prehistoric communities were in contact with the wider world. Analytical techniques proved that the stripes were of silver at a time when silver was virtually unknown in this area. The question of how movement took place arises. A boat found at Dover was capable of open sea voyages. A late Bronze Age log boat was found at Loch Tay a few years ago and Dumfriesshire provided its own 'respectable log boat from Catherinefield'. It was acknowledged that archaeology had certainly moved on in the last thirty years.

6 March 2009
Members' Night.

Joseph Thomson by Barbara Crichton
Barbara's interest in the explorer arose out of the fact that her grandfather was a contemporary of Thomson in the village of Thornhill, Dumfriesshire; and she herself spent a number of years in Kenya with her late husband, Patrick.

Joseph Thomson 1858-1895, explorer, gold medallist of the Royal Geographical Society and author, was born in Penpont. The family moved to Gatelawbridge , from which Joseph went to school in Thornhill. He studied Geology and Botany at Edinburgh University, after which he returned home to work alongside his stonemason father.

His dreams of following in the footsteps of Livingstone and Darwin were realised when he made a successful application to a local newspaper advertisement to serve with Keith Jackson, cartographer, as a geologist and naturalist on exploration from Dar es Salaam to Lake Nyasa in Tanganyika in 1878-1879. Six weeks into the safari Jackson died and Thomson, aged 21, was left in charge of what emerged to be a successful 3000-mile trip. Several other African trips of exploration followed. Passing through Masai territory, he discovered the beautiful Falls, later called after him. His keen eye spotted that there were two gazelles, differing only slightly. The one with the narrower white streak on the rump became Thomson's Gazelle, as distinct from Grant's Gazelle. A statue was erected to his memory in Thornhill at the eastern end of East Morton Street..

Glacial Rebound by Sheila Honey
Sheila was brought up in Hampshire. She and her husband retired to South-West Scotland a few years ago. She was intrigued to discover an amazing connection between the Isle of Wight in the extreme south of England and Stirling in Central Scotland. Archaeological finds in the Solent, such as a Saxon log boat, and the much later Mary Rose, raised and restored in recent times, have shown that mud and peat are excellent preservatives. An 8000-year-old forest with peat on top, discovered in that part of the world, demonstrated that the British Isles were once joined to Europe. At low water, axes have been discovered lying on the surface east of Portsmouth. Following the Ice Age when glaciers melted the sea level rose gradually. At the moment, the salt marshes are preventing the sea from encroaching on the south coast. Building is on-going. Nevertheless, an aerial trip demonstrates how vulnerable the land and these buildings are, especially to the rising levels predicted in the course of global warming. Meanwhile up around Stirling in the fertile Carse of Stirling a 9000 year-old sperm whale was dug up, proof positive that the area was once covered by sea and was flooded to a depth of 8 or 9 metres. The connection between these two parts of Britain is that, while in the south flooding was taking place, in Scotland the land was rising from the sea by a process called glacial rebound.

20 March 2009
Marion Aitken.
Papua New Guinea.

Marion Aitken chose as her subject Papua New Guinea, an account of her life there with her family from 1979 to 1982. She presented a fascinating and richly-illustrated account, further enhanced by unusual artefacts, including a distinctive bilum, a versatile carrying device, which some years later later when used by her grand-daughter for carrying her doll in Dumfries, was instantly recognised by a woman from Papua New Guinea, temporarily living in the town. P.N.G., as it is frequently called, is four times the size of Scotland but only has about six million people to Scotland's five million. Her talk was wide-ranging: she covered history; climate; geology; geography; character, appearance and dress of the people ranging from simple to extreme for special occasions; agriculture and food; industry; coinage; religion; flora and fauna; and customs.
Language in P.N.G. could take up a whole evening as a subject. English is widely spoken. Pidgin is much used, especially for business. Although hard to believe, there are 717 distinct native languages. The talk concluded with a brief lesson in Pidgin. A 'wantok' (literally one talk) is someone who speaks the same language and who being from the same tribe will be trusted implicitly. When Marion was involved in teaching English and court procedures to police cadets she found it almost impossible to make them grasp that evidence must be incontrovertible; but they would insist that it must be true 'because their wantok had reported it.' A most enjoyable evening concluded with 'tenkyu tru' (thank you very much).

4 April 2009
Creetown Meeting.
Tim Stevenson, Gemrock Museum.
Gemology and Geology in Dumfries & Galloway.

The annual meeting of the Society in Galloway took place at Creetown Gemrock Museum, where Tim Stevenson, the owner, gave a talk on Gemology and Geology in Dumfries and Galloway. The Gemrock Museum opened in 1971 in a former school, a building in itself a microcosm of the rise and fall of Creetown as a great centre for granite quarrying. More than 400 million years ago, final closure of the Lapetus Ocean by tectonic plate movement brought Scotland and England together. The same geological event resulted in Creetown's granite, an intrusive, igneous rock crystallised from molten magma below the surface of the Earth, and Greywacke, a submarine sedimentary sandstone. In addition to these rocks, Copper was also deposited at Cairnsmore, the mine there being for a time the largest copper mine in Galloway (in 1855, £36,000 worth of ore was extracted). Copper was also mined at Pibble, which yielded lead, zinc and some silver as well.

Creetown, was established as a model village in the 1840s to supply this local building material for Liverpool Docks. The school, built to serve the initial population of 450, was constructed of greywacke with granite features around doors and windows, but by the 1850s the population had risen rapidly, peaking at 2,500, and an extension to the school was built, this time in solid granite (which the local laird had persuaded the Mersey Dock Company to donate). In 1966, however, the by now over-large school had served its purpose and was closed, being converted to the Gem Rock Museum in 1971. After some years, the original museum closed, but the then vacant building was bought in 1981 by Tim's late father, a man with a lifelong passion for minerals and crystals, to house and exhibit his collection. With Tim, previously a teacher who had switched careers to become a Fellow of the Gemological Association of Great Britain in 1985, he undertook various expeditions to collect gems, an instance being at Knoidart. Tim succeeded his father to run and develop the Museum as well as certifying and identifying pieces for visitors. The Museum was also fortunate in receiving the huge

mineral collection of Bill Wilson from Wisconsin, including the largest gold nugget - Californian in origin - on display in Scotland. A tour of the Museum, including the imaginative Crystal Cave, reinforced the absorption of the geological elements of Tim's talk and brought home the reasons for the family's continuing dedication and fascination with their subject.

RULES OF DUMFRIESSHIRE AND GALLOWAY NATURAL HISTORY AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY

As revised and adopted at the Annual General Meeting held on 6th October 2006

NAME OF THE SOCIETY

1. The Society shall be called The Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society.

AIMS

2. The objects of the Society shall be to collect and publish the best information on the natural sciences and antiquities (including history, records, genealogy, customs and heraldry) of the three counties of Dumfries, Kirkcudbright and Wigtown; to procure the preservation of objects of natural science and antiquities relative to the district; to encourage local research and field activities in natural science and excavations by private individuals or public bodies and afford them suggestions and co-operation; to prevent, as far as possible, any injury to ancient monuments and records, etc.; and to collect photographs, drawings and descriptions and transcripts of same.

MEMBERSHIP

3. The Society shall consist of Life Members, Honorary Members, Ordinary Members and Junior Members.

LIFE MEMBERS

4. Life Membership shall be gained by a composition fee of such sum as may be agreed on from time to time by the Annual General Meeting or a Special Meeting, which shall entitle the Life Member to all the privileges of the Society.

HONORARY MEMBERS

5. Honorary Members shall not exceed twenty in number. They shall be entitled to all of the privileges of the Society, without subscriptions, but shall be elected or re-elected annually at the Annual General Meeting. Honorary membership shall, as far as possible, be reserved (a) for those who have aided the Society locally or (b) for those of recognised attainments in natural history, archaeology or kindred subjects.

ORDINARY AND JUNIOR MEMBERS, ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS, PRIVILEGES OF MEMBERS

6. Persons desirous of becoming members should apply to the Honorary Membership Secretary who shall have power to admit such persons as Members. They shall contribute annually on the 1st October or within three months thereafter such sum as may be agreed upon from time to time by the Annual General Meeting or a Special Meeting. All Ordinary Members shall be entitled to attend the Meetings of the Society and shall receive *gratis* a copy of the *Transactions* of the Society on issue.

When more than one person from the same family and residing in the same house joins the Society, all after the first may pay half the subscription rate or such sum as may be agreed upon from time to time by the Annual General Meeting and shall enjoy the privileges of the Society, except that they shall not receive *gratis* a copy of the *Transactions.*

Junior Members are those who have not attained the age of eighteen. They may join the Society in the same way as Ordinary Members, but shall pay an annual subscription of such sum as may be agreed upon from time to time. Junior Members shall be entitled to all the privileges of membership, except that they shall have no vote nor shall they receive *gratis* a copy of the *Transactions*. Junior Members shall be liable for the Ordinary membership subscription on the first day of October following their eighteenth birthday, or within three months thereafter.

Subscriptions from newly joined Members are due on their joining the Society.

OVERDUE SUBSCRIPTIONS

7. Members whose subscriptions are in arrears shall not receive the *Transactions*. If in arrears

for fifteen months and having received due notice from the Treasurer, they shall cease *ipso facto* to be Members of the Society.

VISITORS

8. A Member may introduce a friend to any Ordinary Meeting of the Society.

OFFICE-BEARERS, COUNCIL ELECTION

9. The business of the Society shall be conducted by a Council composed of a President, Past Presidents, four Vice Presidents, Secretary, Treasurer and twelve Ordinary Members, together with Membership Secretary, Librarians, Curators and Editors. They shall be elected at the Annual General Meeting and shall be eligible for re-election with the following provisos:

The President shall not occupy the Chair for more than three years consecutively and shall not be eligible for re-election until the expiry of one year.

Each Year one vice-President and three Ordinary Members shall retire and shall not be eligible for re-election until the expiry of one year. In deciding who shall be ineligible for re-election, the Council shall take into account length of service and attendance at Council Meetings, but if vacancies occur owing to voluntary retirement or death, these vacancies shall reduce the retiring quota.

The Council shall have power to fill casual vacancies, including that of the Independent Examiner of the accounts, occurring during the year. Any person thus appointed shall be subject to the same conditions as those applicable to the person whom he replaces.

QUORUM

Five members shall form a quorum at a Council Meeting.

FELLOWS

10. On retiring Presidents shall become Fellows of the Society. This honour may also be conferred upon Members of the Society who have provided meritorious service for the Society over a prolonged period of time. Such individuals shall be proposed by the Council for election at an Annual General Meeting. A Fellow shall be eligible for any office for which he is qualified.

COMMITTEES

11. The Council may appoint Committees for any specific purpose and with such powers as may seem warranted by the occasion; any such Committee to be composed of not less than three Members of the Society, exclusive of the president and the Secretary, who shall be *ex officio* members of all Committees. Every Committee shall have the power to co-opt.

SECRETARY'S DUTIES

12. The Secretary shall keep a Minute Book of the Society's Proceedings, shall conduct the ordinary correspondence of the Society and shall submit a report on the previous year's activities at the Annual General Meeting. The Secretary shall call all Meetings.

EDITOR

13. The Council shall appoint one or more Members of the Society as Editors of the *Transactions* who shall be *ex officio* Members of the Council.

TREASURER'S DUTIES

14. The Treasurer shall collect the subscriptions, take charge of the funds and make payments therefrom under the direction of the Council, to whom the Treasurer shall present an Annual Account made up to 31st March, to be approved by an Independent Examiner for submission at the Annual General Meeting.

The Treasurer shall arrange such insurance cover of the Society's property and for its potential liability to Members or to third parties as the Council may from time to time direct. The Council need only instruct such insurance cover and, if instructed, for such amounts as they in their sole discretion think fit.

INVESTED FUNDS

15. The invested funds of the Society shall be in the name of the President, Secretary and Treasurer, for the time being, conjointly

or held by the Nominee Company of the Society's Bank to the order of the said three Office-Bearers. Life membership fees are to be regarded as capital and are to be invested at the discretion of the above-named three Office-Bearers in any stocks known as Trustee securities or in a Bank Deposit.

MEETINGS

16. The Meetings of the Society shall be held as arranged by the Council and at such Meetings papers may be read and discussed, objects of interest exhibited and other business transacted.

FIELD MEETINGS

17. The Field meetings shall be held, as arranged by the Council, to visit and examine places of interest and otherwise carry out the aims of the Society.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

18. The Annual General Meeting, of which not less than fourteen day's notice shall be given, shall be held in October and at this meeting the Office-bearers, Members of Council and an Independent Examiner of the accounts shall be elected. Fifteen Members shall form a quorum.

Reports (general and financial) shall be submitted and any other competent business transacted. Office-Bearers and Members of Council shall be nominated by the outgoing Council; but it shall be competent for any two Members to make alternative or additional nominations, provided that they are in the hands of the Secretary, together with the consent in writing of the nominee(s), at least seven clear days before the meeting. A ballot shall be held if necessary.

SPECIAL MEETINGS

19. The Secretary or the President shall at any time call a Special Meeting of the Society on receiving instructions of the Council or a requisition by six Members. Every member of the Society must be informed of any such Special Meeting, of which not less than seven days' notice must be given. Fifteen Members shall form a quorum.

TRANSACTIONAL RIGHT TO PUBLISH PAPERS

20. The Council shall have the right to publish in the *Transactions*, or otherwise, the whole, or part, or a resumé of any paper read by any member or person at a meeting of the Society and the Council shall decide what illustrations, plates or diagrams shall be reproduced with any such papers.

SEPARATE COPIES OF PAPERS

21. Contributors of papers to the Society shall be entitled, if such papers be published in the *Transactions* to receive ten copies *gratis* of such papers as "separates" in pamphlet form.

LOANS

22. The Society is prepared to accept articles of interest for exhibition on loan but they will not be responsible for their damage or loss by fire, theft or any other cause. It is desirable that parties lending articles should state the value put upon them, that the Society (in their discretion) may insure the articles for a similar amount. The Council shall have the power to terminate or to refuse the loan of such articles as they may from time to time see fit.

RULES

23. These Rules cancel all other Rules previously passed. They shall be printed in Pamphlet form and a copy shall be supplied to every member and to every new member on his joining. They shall take effect from the date of the Meeting at which they were adopted.

ALTERATION OF RULES

24. Alterations of these Rules or the addition of any new Rule shall be made only with the consent of three fourths of the Members present and voting at an Annual General Meeting or at a Special Meeting, notice of such proposed alteration or addition having been given in writing to the Secretary, not less than eight weeks previous to such Meeting. The Secretary shall intimate to all Members resident in the British Isles that a change in the Rules is proposed.

Publications funded by the Ann Hill Research Bequest

The History and Archaeology of Kirkpatrick Fleming Parish

No.1 Ann Hill and her Family. A Memorial, by D. Adamson (1986)

No.2* Kirkpatrick Fleming Poorhouse, by D.Adamson (1986)

No.3* Kirkpatrick Fleming Miscellany
Mossknow Game Register 1875
Diary of J. Gordon Graham 1854
edited by D. Adamson and I.S. MacDonald (1987)

No.4* Middlebie Presbytery Records, by D. Adamson (1988)

No.5* Kirkpatrick Fleming Miscellany
How Sir Patrick Maxwell worsted the Devil
Fergus Graham of Mossknow and the Murder at Kirkpatrick
both by W.F. Cormack (1989)

No.6 Kirkpatrick Fleming, Dumfriesshire - An Anatomy of a Parish in South West Scotland, by Roger Mercer and others (1997) – Hardback, out of print; Reprint in laminated soft cover, 1997.

Nos.1 to 5 are crown quarto in size with a 2-colour titled card cover.
Publications marked * are reprinted from the *Transactions*

The Records of Kirkpatrick Fleming Parish

No.1 Old Parish Registers of Kirkpatrick Fleming, 1748-1854, indexed and in 5 parts

No.2 Kirkpatrick Fleming Census 1851

No.3 Kirkpatrick Fleming Census 1861

No.4 Kirkpatrick Fleming Census 1871

No.5 Kirkpatrick Fleming Census 1841

No.6 Kirkpatrick Fleming Census 1881

No.7 Kirkpatrick Fleming Census 1891

No.8 Kirkpatrick Fleming Graveyard Inscriptions

The Record series was duplicated in A4 size with a titled card cover but may now be obtained as Acrobat pdf files on CD-ROM.

Information on the availability and prices of Ann Hill Publications can be obtained from
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Transactions and Journal of Proceedings: 1st Series - (a) 1862-3*, (b) 1863-4*, (c) 1864-5*, (d) 1865-6*, (e) 1866-7*, (f) 1867-8*. **New or 2nd Series** - (1) 1876-8*, (2) 1878-80*, (3) 1880-3*, (4) 1883-6*, (5) 1886-7*, (6) 1887-90*, (7) 1890-1*, (8) 1891-92*, (9) 1892-3*, (10) 1893-4*, (11) 1894-5*, (12) 1895-6*, (13) 1896-7*, (14) 1897-8*, (15) 1898-9*, (16) 1899-1900*, (17) 1900-5 (in 4 parts)*, (18) 1905-6*, (19) 1906-7*, (20) 1907-8*, (21) 1908-9*, (22) 1909-10*, (23) 1910-1*, (24) 1911-2*. **3rd Series -** (i) 1912-3*, (ii) 1913-4*, (iii) 1914-5*, (iv) 1915-16*, (v) 1916-8*, (vi) 1918-9*, (vii) 1919-20*, (viii) 1920-1*, (ix) 1921-2*, (x) 1922-3*, (xi) 1923-4*, (xii) 1924-5*, (xiii) 1925-6*, (xiv) 1926-28*, (xv) 1928-9*, (xvi) 1929-30*, (xvii) 1930-1*, (xviii) 1931-3*, (xix) 1933-5*, (xx) 1935-6*, (xxi) 1936-8*, (xxii) 1938-40*, (xxiii) 1940-4*, (xxiv) 1945-6*, (xxv) 1946-7*, (xxvi) 1947-8*, (xxvii) 1948-9* (Whithorn Vol. I), (xxviii) 1949-50*, (xxix) 1950-1* (with Index of Vols. i to xxvii), (xxx) 1951-2*, (xxxi) 1952-3 (Hoddom Vol. I), (xxxii) 1953-4, (xxxiii) 1954-5*, (xxxiv) 1955-6* (Whithorn Vol. II), (xxxv) 1956-7*, (xxxvi) 1957-8*, (xxxvii) 1958-9, (xxxviii) 1959-60*, (xxxix) 1960-1* (with Index of Vols. xxvii to xxxviii), (xl) 1961-2* (Centenary Vol.), (xli) 1962-3, (xlii) 1965 (new format), (xliii) 1966*, (xliv) 1967*, (xlv) 1968, (xlvi) 1969, (xlvii) 1970, (xlviii) 1971, (xlix) 1972 (with Index of Vols. xxxix to xlviii), (l) 1973, (li) 1975, (lii) 1976-7, (liii) 1977-8, (liv) 1979 (Wanlockhead Vol.), (lv) 1980, (lvi) 1981, (lvii) 1982, (lviii) 1983, (lix) 1984 (with Index of Vols. xlix to lviii), (lx) 1985, (lxi) 1986, (lxii) 1987, (lxiii) 1988, (lxiv) 1989), (lxv) 1990 (Flora of Kirkcudbright Vol.), (lxvi) 1991 (Hoddom Vol. II), (lxvii) 1992, (lxviii) 1993, (lxvix) 1994 (Birrens Centenary Vol. with Index of Vols. lix to lxviii), (lxx) 1995 (Barhobble Vol.), (lxxi) 1996, (lxxii) 1997, (lxxiii) 1998, (lxxiv) 2000, (lxxv) 2001, (lxxvi) 2002, (lxxvii) 2003, (lxxviii) 2004, (lxxix) 2005, (lxxx) 2006, (lxxxi) 2007, (lxxxii) 2008.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Excavations at Caerlaverock Old Castle 1998-9 A4 format 128pp. £5 plus post and packing.

*** Indicates out of print, but see Editorial.**

Reprints

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

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

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

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

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