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The Society may make small grants for excavation or research. Applications should be made prior to 28 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 the Mouswald Trust should be made to Primrose and Gordon, Solicitors, 1 Newall Terrace, Dumfries, DG1 1LN. The Society may also be able to assist with applications for funding from other sources.

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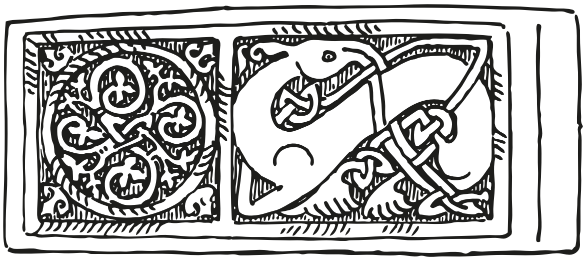

The illustration on the front cover is of the Wamphray cross-slab from the article 'The Early Church in Dumfriesshire' by W.G. Collingwood, in Volume 12 (1926) of these *Transactions*.

THE TRUCKELL PRIZE

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

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

- The prize is open to all-comers for a research paper on a human or natural-history topic relating to the geographical area covered by the three former counties of Dumfriesshire, Kirkcudbrightshire and Wigtownshire.

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

- Entries must meet the editorial standard required by these *Transactions* to qualify. The current Notes for Contributors are available on the Society's website: `www.dgnhas.org.uk`.
- The winning paper must be made available for publication as an article in these *Transactions*.
- The prize will be awarded annually. Entries may be submitted at any time but the deadline for submission is the first day of October each year.
- The prize-winning author(s) will receive £500.

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

HERBARIUM OF MATTHEW JAMIESON

David Hawker[1]

In 2011, Pauline Williams of Dumfries passed a leather-bound octavo volume of seventy-nine plant specimens, dated between 1880 and 1886, to me. It had passed to her from her husband who had been given it by Dorothy Jamieson in June 1974. Dorothy was the second wife of Matthew Jamieson who died in 1929 at Hazeldean, Moffat Road, Dumfries. Matthew was born in Kirkmichael, Ayrshire in 1847, before the family moved to Balker in Inch Parish, Wigtownshire. Several of the specimens bear the name of Old Hallss near Glenluce where the family subsequently farmed 200 acres. At the time of the 1881 census, John Jamieson and family were at Cormaddie Farm, Holywood Parish, near Dumfries. Matthew did not go into farming but worked for the Inland Revenue, beginning his career in Dumfries and then working in various locations including Boston and London. He advanced to the rank of Supervisor of Customs and Excise and it was in this capacity that he returned to Dumfries in 1894.[2] In 1891 he married Sarah Elizabeth Cornish of Bedford Street, London; she died at Dumfries in 1916.

The majority of the specimens are dated 1880, from Wick in Caithness, and single specimens from Kirkwall in Orkney and Kew Gardens. Specimens from Dumfries and Galloway are dated 1881 (Glenluce, one only), 1884 (Irongray, near Dumfries, one only; and Glenluce, four) and 1885 (Glenluce; Ellisland, near Dumfries; and Maxwelltown, near Dumfries, one each). A further 10 specimens from 1884 came from Kew, Epping Forest and Willesden in London; while in 1885 he collected six specimens near Chingford, Willesden and Marylebone Road, London. The 1884 and 1885 specimens were collected prior to his first marriage when he may have been a boarder with the Cornish family. There were forays to Calais in 1881 and Belfast in 1886. Seventy-six species are covered, with five specimens being incorrectly identified (see the list below for details).

Species range from the common (daisy *Bellis perennis* and dandelion *Taraxacum* agg) to those now considered scarce through changing agricultural practices over the past century (corn marigold *Glebionis segetum*, Scottish primrose *Primula scotica*). Those from Dumfries and Galloway are heather *Calluna vulgaris*, bell heath *Erica cinerea*, cross-leaved heath *Erica tetralix*, cranberry *Vaccinium oxycoccus*, harebell *Campanula rotundifolia*, round-leaved sundew *Drosera rotundifolia*, herb Robert *Geranium robertianum*, woodruff *Galium odoratum* and bird's-foot trefoil *Lotus corniculatus*, all species still common and widespread in the region.

There is a frontispiece of flowers entitled 'Fleurs de Bethlehem' dated July 1879 and with the inscription 'Received the above flowers of Bethlehem from Mr N. Dempster who purchased them of Jewish (girls) when travelling in Palestine.'

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[1] Vice-County Recorder for Kirkcudbrightshire, Botanical Society of Britain and Ireland (BSBI); Windywalls, Gatehouse of Fleet, Castle Douglas DG7 2DE.

[2] Obituary Notice; Dumfries and Galloway Standard and Advertiser, 31 August 1929.

Wherever the locality is sufficiently precise to allow a 4-figure grid reference to be allocated, the historical information for these specimens has been passed to the relevant Vice County Recorders of the Botanical Society of Britain and Ireland. The herbarium has been passed to Dumfries Museum for safe keeping and for future reference.

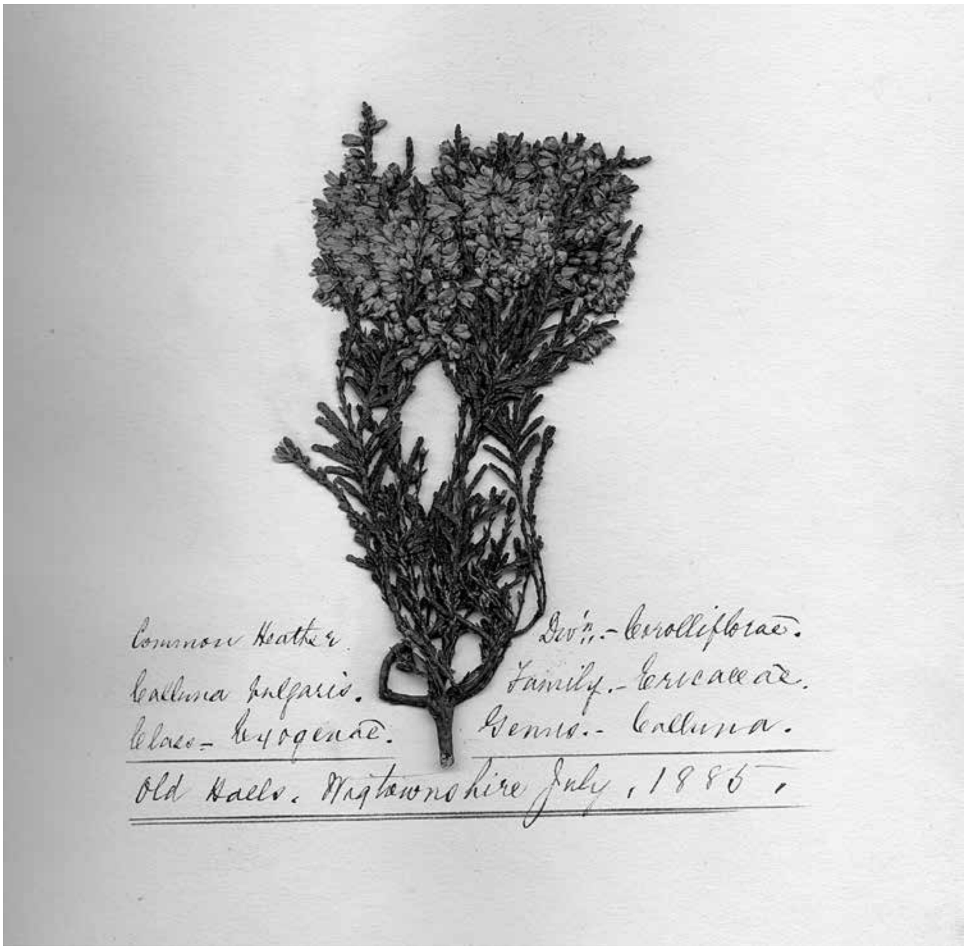
Common Heather.
Calluna Vulgaris.
Class.- Exogenae.
Divn.- Corolliflorae.
Family.- Ericaceae.
Genus.- Calluna.
Old Halls. Wigtownshire July, 1885.

Figure 1. Heather *Calluna vulgaris*, collected in July 1885 at Old Halls near Glenluce where the Jamieson family farmed.
(Courtesy of Dumfries Museum: DUMFM: 2014.10)

List of Plant Specimens

For each plant, the first name is that given on the sheet, followed by the modern name in parentheses, if different, and then its common name. For each locality in the British Isles, the Vice County is given and the grid reference if the information is precise enough. An item prefixed by an asterisk indicates a specimen collected in Dumfries and Galloway.

**Calluna vulgaris*, Heather
July 1885, Old Hallss, Glenluce, Wigtownshire, VC74, NX 1459

**Calluna vulgaris*, Heather
Aug 1884, Old Halls, Glenluce, Wigtownshire, VC74, NX 1459

**Calluna vulgaris*, Heather
Aug 1884, Old Halls, Glenluce, Wigtownshire, VC74, NX 1459
Comment: White form.

**Erica cinerea*, Bell heath
Aug 1884, Old Halls, Glenluce, Wigtownshire, VC74, NX 1459

**Erica tetralix*, Cross-leaved heath
Aug 1884, Old Halls, Glenluce, Wigtownshire, VC74, NX 1459

Hypericum pulchrum, Slender St John's wort
15 July 1880, Wick River, Caithness, VC109

Bartsia odontites (Odontites vernus), Red bartsia
6 Aug 1880, Gillock, Wick, Caithness, VC109, ND 2159

Linaria vulgaris, Common toadflax
28 Sept 1885, near Chingford

Euphrasia officinalis, Eyebright
6 Aug 1880, Gillock, Wick, Caithness, VC109, ND 2159

Valeriana officinalis, Common valerian,
6 Aug 1880, Gillock, Wick, Caithness, VC109, ND 2159

Calystegia sepium, Hedge bindweed
17 July 1884, Kew Gardens Railway Station, Surrey, VC17

**Campanula rotundifolia*, Harebell
3 Aug 1885, Maxwelltown, near Dumfries, Kirkcudbrightshire, VC73

Humulus lupulus, Hop
30 Sept 1885, 187 Marylebone Road, London, Middlesex, VC21

Atriplex hastata, Spear-leaved orache
11 June 1884, Kew Gardens, Surrey, VC17

Senecio jacobaea, Ragweed
14 July 1880, Hempriggs Loch, Wick, Caithness, VC109, ND 3043

Bellis perennis, Daisy
16 Aug 1880, Milton, Wick, Caithness, VC109

Chrysanthemum segetum (Glebionis Segetum), Corn marigold
16 Aug 1880, Milton, Wick, Caithness, VC109

Senecio vulgaris, Groundsel
18 April 1881, Calais, FRANCE

Artemisia vulgaris, Mugwort
6 Aug 1880, Gillock, Wick, Caithness, VC109, ND 2159

Achillea ptarmica, Sneezewort
6 Aug 1880, Gillock, Wick, Caithness, VC109, ND 2159

Centaurea nigra, Knapweed
12 Aug 1880, Old Man, Wick, Caithness, VC109

Bellis perennis, Daisy
18 April 1881, Calais, FRANCE

Leontodon taraxacum (Taraxacum agg*)*, Dandelion
16 Aug 1880, Milton, Wick, Caithness, VC109

**Oxycoccus palustris (Vaccinium oxycoccus)*, Cranberry
Aug 1884, Old Halls, Glenluce, Wigtownshire, VC74, NX 1459

Solanum tuberosum, Potato
12 Aug 1880, Old Man, Wick, Caithness, VC109

Solanum dulcamara, Nightshade
24 Sept 1885, Willesden Green, Middlesex, VC21

**Drosera rotundifolia*, Round-leaved sundew
Aug 1881, Old Halls, Glenluce, Wigtownshire, VC74, NX 1459

Armeria maritima, Thrift
13 July 1880, Old Man, Wick, Caithness, VC109

Lapsana communis, Nipplewort
14 July 1880, Hempriggs Loch, Wick, Caithness, VC109, ND 3043

**Fumaria officinalis*, Common fumitory
18 Aug 1884, Irongray Churchyard, near Dumfries, Kirkcudbrightshire, VC73, NX 915 796
Comment: Wrongly identified — should be *Geranium robertianum.*

Thymus serpyllifolia, Thyme
17 July 1880, Riverside, Wick, Caithness, VC109

Stachys palustris, Marsh woundwort
16 Aug 1880, Milton, Wick, Caithness, VC109

Lamium album, White deadnettle
2 July 1880, Kew Gardens, Surrey, VC17

Stellaria glauca (?) (Stellaria palustris), Marsh stitchwort
15 July 1880, Riverside, Wick, Caithness, VC109
Comment: Wrongly identified — difficult to determine now.

Lychnis flos-cuculi (Silene flos-cuculi), Ragged robin
16 July 1880, Riverside, Wick, Caithness, VC109

Sagina procumbens, Procumbent pearlwort
17 July 1880, Hempriggs Loch, Wick, Caithness, VC109, ND 3043

Stellaria holostea, Greater stitchwort
5 May 1881, Dorking, Middlesex, VC21

Ranunculus ficaria (Fircaria verna), Lesser celandine
18 April 1881, Calais, FRANCE

Ranunculus acris, Meadow buttercup
4 June 1884, Willesden Green, Middlesex, VC21

Ranunculus lingua, Greater spearwort
15 July 1880, Riverside, Wick, Caithness, VC109
Comment: Wrongly identified — should be *Ranunculus flammula*.

Viola tricolor, Field pansy
6 Aug 1880, Gillock, Wick, Caithness, VC109, ND 2159

Primula scotica, Scottish primrose
12 Aug 1880, Old Man, Wick, Caithness, VC109

Primula veris, Cowslip
18 April 1881, Calais, FRANCE

Parnassia palustris, Grass of Parnasus
13 Jul1880, Old Man, Wick, Caithness, VC109

Myrtus communis (Luma apiculata), Chilean myrtle
2 Aug 1880, Kirkwall, Orkney, VC111

Cardamine pratensis, Cuckoo-flower
5 May 1881, Dorking, Surrey, VC17

Sisymbrium alliaria (Alliaria petiolata), Hedge mustard
5 May 1881, Dorking, Surrey, VC17

Sinapis arvensis, Charlock
12 Aug 1880, Old Man, Wick, Caithness, VC109

Oxalis acetosella, Wood anemone
10 May 1884, Epping Forest, Middlesex, VC17

**Asperula odorata (Galium odoratum)*, Wood ruff
24 July 1885, Old Halls, Glenluce, Wigtownshire, VC74, NX 1459

Galium palustre, Marsh bedstraw
15 July 1880, Riverside, Wick, Caithness, VC109

Scabiosa succisa (Succisa pratensis), Devil's bit scabious
12 Aug 1880, Old Man, Wick , Caithness, VC109

Potentilla, Cinquefoil
14 July 1880, Hempriggs Loch, Wick, Caithness VC109, ND 3043
Comment: *Potentilla erecta.*

Potentilla communis (Comarum palustris), Marsh cinquefoil
15 July 1880, Riverside, Wick, Caithness, VC109

Alchemilla vulgaris, Lady's mantle
6 Aug 1880, Riverside, Wick, Caithness, VC109

Potentilla anserina, Silverweed
26 June 1884, Thames riverside, Kew, Middlesex, VC17

Spiraea ulmaria (Filipendula ulmaria), Meadowsweet
15 July 1880, Riverside, Wick, Caithness, VC109

Fragaria vesca, Strawberry
2 July 1884, Kew Gardens, Surrey, VC17

Trifolium repens, White clover
22 July 1886, Belfast, County Down, VCH38

Lathyrus pratensis, Meadow vetchling
15 July 1880, Riverside, Wick, Caithness, VC109

**Lotus corniculatus*, Bird's foot trefoil
  3 Aug 1885, Ellisland, near Dumfries, Dumfriesshire, VC72

Sarothamnus scoparius (Cytisus scoparius), Broom
  15 July 1880, Gillockbraes, Wick, Caithness, VC109, ND 3452

Lathyrus
  6 Aug 1880, Riverside, Wick, Caithness, VC109
  Comment: Wrong genus — *Epilobium* (willowherb).

Ulex europaeus, Gorse
  15 July 1880, Gillockbraes, Wick, Caithness, VC109, ND 3452

Trifolium repens, White clover
  24 July 1885, Willesden Green, Harrow-on-the-Hill, Middlesex, VC17

Lotus corniculatus, Bird's foot trefoil
  13 July1880, Old Man, Wick, Caithness, VC109

Vicia sativa, Common vetch
  19 Aug 1880, Old Man, Wick, Caithness, VC109

Vicia cracca, Tufted vetch
  13 July 1880, Old Man, Wick, Caithness, VC109

Anthyllis vulneraria, Kidney vetch
  13 July 1880, Old Man, Wick, Caithness, VC109

Plantago major, Greater plantain
  12 Aug 1880, Old Man, Wick, Caithness, VC109

Plantago maritima, Sea plantain
  12 Aug 1880, Old Man, Wick, Caithness, VC109

Plantago lanceolata, Ribwort plantain
  12 Aug 1880, Old Man, Wick, Caithness, VC109

Polygonum persicaria (Persicaria maculata), Redshank
  28 Sept 1885, Wood Street Railway Station, near Chingford

Polygonum aviculare, Knotgrass
  28 Sept 1885, Wood Street Railway Station, near Chingford

Polygonum convolvulus (Fallopia convolvulus), Black bindweed
  6 Aug 1880, Riverside, Wick, Caithness, VC109

Polygonum aviculare, Knotgrass
  6 Aug 1880, Westerseal, Wick, Caithness, VC109

Rumex crispus, Curled dock
  16 Aug 1880, Milton, Wick, Caithness, VC109

Rumex acetosa, Common sorrel
  16 Aug 1880, Milton, Wick, Caithness, VC109
  Comment: Wrongly identified — should be *Rumex acetosella.*

Stachys ambigua (Stachys x ambigua), Woundwort (hybrid)
  6 Aug 1880, Gillock, Wick, Caithness, VC109, ND 2159

HISTORIANS, LINGUISTS, AND PICTS

Andrew Breeze[1]

Archaeology is making the 'Picts of Galloway' famous: in contrast are historians and philologists, who denounce them as mythical, fictitious, non-existent, and (in short) being for Galloway what Monsters are for Loch Ness. However, since the supposed Picts of Galloway refuse to vanish from journalism and popular culture, what follows gives accounts of them over the years. Readers can then put the evidence of archaeology besides that of history and linguistics, and decide for themselves.

Two sets of documents are cited for the existence of Galloway Picts. First are early Latin lives of St Cuthbert (d. 687); second are Latin chronicles of the twelfth century, all by Englishmen (not Scots). The lives of Cuthbert describe how he visited Picts called 'Niduari', a word related (very dubiously) to the Nith, and so to the Galloway region, even though careful reading of the texts indicates a place far from the Nith.[2] More specific are twelfth-century historians. Describing the invasion of England in early 1138, Richard of Hexham (d. 1154) spoke of a 'wicked army', composed of 'Normans, Germans, English, of Northumbrians and Cumbrians, of men of Teviotdale and Lothian, of Picts (who are commonly called Galwegians), and of Scots'. They came for loot, vengeance, or 'the mere desire to do harm' (the details make grim reading). Ailred of Rievaulx (d. 1166), describing the Battle of the Standard later in 1138, also mentions Galwegians. Before the battle (near Northallerton, Yorkshire) they demanded a place in the front line, the place of most danger, and were cut to ribbons by the heavily-armed English.[3] Whatever their origin, these warriors were no cowards.

As an example of confusion worse confounded, we quote Professor Eóin MacNéill (1867–1945) of Dublin. He saw Picts not merely in Scotland but Ireland too. 'We have abundant and clear evidence that the Picts were at one time widely spread throughout Ireland', he wrote, they being 'especially numerous in Ulster', occupying 'the counties of Armagh, Monaghan, Tyrone, and the greater part of Derry and Fermanagh'. There were more Picts in Connacht, and smaller pockets of them in Munster, Meath, and Leinster. MacNéill stated that in Ulster the territory from Carlingford Lough to the mouth of the Bann was ruled by a people called 'Picti' in Latin texts and 'Cruithni' or 'Cruithin' in Irish ones. All the same, he saw no reason to think that in historic times they spoke anything but Irish, unlike the Picts of Scotland's north-east.[4]

On MacNéill's Irish 'Picts', William Watson (1865–1948) of Edinburgh was to the point. He disbelieved him. The Cruithnigh of Ireland were 'no more Picts than they

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[1] C/- Monasterio de Urdax 38-8B, 31009 Pamplona, SPAIN; `abreeze@unav.es`.

[2] *Venerabilis Bedae Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. Charles Plummer (Oxonii, 1896), II, 128.

[3] A.O. Anderson, *Scottish Annals from English Chroniclers A.D. 500 to 1286* (London, 1908), 181, 198.

[4] Eóin MacNéill, *Phases of Irish History* (Dublin, 1919), 62–3.

were Caledonians', and should never be called 'Picts'. On Galloway, he considered both archaeology and language. He considered that brochs near Stranraer were built by Picts for raids on Britain and Ireland. Because excavation had revealed 'no prolonged occupation', he took the sites as 'pirate holds more or less temporary in character', doubtless built with the consent of local British chieftains (sharers of the spoils). The Picts of these brochs thus had no 'permanent influence on Galloway'. He then discussed the Latin lives of Cuthbert, which tell of the saint's visit to 'the land of the Picts, which is called Niduari'. But Watson thought this was in Fife, and had no connection with the Nith. So far, then, nothing definite. The sole evidence comes from English historians: Richard of Hexham (d. 1154), Reginald of Durham (active 1162–73), and Jocelyn of Furness (active in the 1180s). Even they conflict with other English chroniclers, who distinguish carefully the Picts of the north from inhabitants of Galloway. As for Scottish and Irish writers, they never mention Galwegian Picts. Nor do Scottish royal grants or other official documents. Watson thought that the error arose because of settlement, not by Picts of north east Scotland, but by Cruithnigh from Ireland. In support of this he quoted from a Galloway local historian the dialect word *creenie*, allegedly used for an inhabitant (descended from foreigners) of the Rhinns and beyond.[5] We shall explain below the links between Middle Irish *Cruithin* 'Pict', Welsh *Prydain* 'Britain; Britons', and Welsh *Prydyn* 'Picts', but must say at once that Watson's information is flawed. There is no real evidence for *creenie* as a dialect word, as we shall see (and as residents of Dumfries and Galloway will readily confirm). Watson, though a great scholar, was apparently the victim of a historical prank. Nevertheless, he helped clarify the position both for Celticists (who thereafter rejected the notion of Galloway Picts) and historians (who took longer to do the same).

O'Rahilly (a Celticist) hence discussed at length the Cruithni of Ulster and Picts of northern Scotland, but made no mention of Galloway.[6] Rees (a historian) as late as 1951 placed Picts by Loch Ryan, on a map of Britain in about 600.[7] Other historians gave comment. Richard of Hexham's account of how an 'infamous army' including 'Picts, commonly called Galwegians', committed atrocities in Northumberland figures in a major handbook.[8] Quoting him, Austin Poole correctly described the half-naked warriors of 1138 as 'men of Galloway'.[9] In a lucid paper, Kenneth Jackson (1909–91) referred to settlement of Galloway and Carrick in the ninth and tenth centuries by the Gall-GhoÁdhil (whence 'Galloway'), a people of mixed Norse and Gaelic stock, most of whom apparently came from Argyll and Bute (not Ulster). They remained semi-independent of the kings of Scotland until the middle of the thirteenth century. Despite their Norse blood, they spoke Gaelic, which survived in Galloway up to the seventeenth century. Jackson did not discuss Picts in the region.[10] That was left to Wainwright. He noted that they were taken seriously at late as 1949 in a posthumous book by H.M. Chadwick (1870–1947) of Cambridge. Wainwright referred to Reginald of Durham (who said that Kirkcudbright was *in terra*

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[5] W.J. Watson, *The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1926), 67, 174–80.

[6] T.F. O'Rahilly, *Early Irish History and Mythology* (Dublin, 1946), 341–52.

[7] William Rees, *An Historical Atlas of Wales* (London, 1951), plate 20.

[8] *English Historical Documents 1042–1189*, ed. D. C. Douglas and G. W. Greenaway (London, 1953), 314–15.

[9] A.L. Poole, *From Domesday Book to Magna Carta*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1954), 271.

[10] K.H. Jackson, 'The Britons in Southern Scotland', *Antiquity*, XXIX (1955), 77–88.

Pictorum) and his contempories for them, as also the Latin lives of St Cuthbert, and the Pictish symbols on rock at Anwoth, Kirkcudbrightshire. Of these, he took the last alone as substantial evidence. Yet he discounted even that on the grounds that the symbols are not on a symbol-stone. He declared that Scotland's south west 'has not yet produced a single example of the symbol-stone monument that is so characteristic of Pictland.' The Anwoth symbols are therefore 'obviously sports or strays'. He observed further that there was no place-name evidence for Pictish settlement in Galloway, such as the forms in *Pit*- typical of the north east.[11]

His conclusions took a while to seep through. Speaking of 'Picts' of Galloway, Geoffrey Barrow noted merely how some English chroniclers of the time used the term to distinguish Galwegian from Highlander.[12] Each spoke Gaelic, but the former was from the south west, the latter from the north. Celticists were more alert. Jackson, quoting Jocelyn of Furness on how St Kentigern drove idolatry from 'the country of the Picts which is now called Galloway', describes the passage as 'obviously late and spurious', for it was now generally 'agreed that "the Picts of Galloway" are an invention of the twelfth century', on which he cited Wainwright.[13] As forthright is Dr Henderson. She speaks of 'the firm laying of the ghosts of the so-called Galloway Picts, who are now generally taken to have been a medieval myth', adding on the Anwoth carving that the 'similarity of the terminals of the Z-rod on the double disc symbol makes it quite clear' that it dates from when 'there was no Pictish settlement in Galloway. It can therefore be safely dismissed as an outlier.'[14]

A place-name comment interesting in the light of how the Gall-GhoÁdhil made Galloway their own is that of Nicolaisen, on *slew* 'hillock' (from Irish *sliabh* 'mountain') in the Rhinns of Galloway. This Irish form is in Scotland otherwise familiar in Argyll, Bute, and Arran only.[15] Galloway being settled from their regions, no surprise. It is therefore no evidence for Watson's hypothesis of how Ulster Cruithnigh settled in the Rhinns. Elsewhere, Majorie Anderson of St Andrews accorded with Wainwright, Jackson, and Henderson, 'On the whole I am inclined to agree with Professor John MacQueen's conclusion … that the twelfth-century "Galloway Picts" can be explained away.' As for Irish 'Picts', she suggests that this translation of *Cruithnigh* is unknown before the seventeen century. It has no medieval authority.[16] Professor Byrne of Dublin says of the Cruithnigh in north-east Ulster that their name corresponds exactly to Welsh *Prydyn* 'Picts', though they should not be called Picts, and that their kings were selected on the Irish model, not the matrilinear one of true Picts. Their territories were around Connor (north of Antrim town) and Dromore (south east of Loch Neagh).[17] Professor Duncan of Glasgow calls the 'Picts' of Galloway 'a fiction of the twelfth century'.[18]

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[11] F.T. Wainwright, 'The Picts and the Problem', in *The Problem of the Picts,* ed. F. T. Wainwright (Edinburgh, 1955), 1–53.

[12] G.W.S. Barrow, *Feudal Britain* (London, 1956), 116.

[13] K.H. Jackson, 'The Sources for the Life of St Kentigern', in *Studies in the Early British Church*, ed. Nora Chadwick (Cambridge, 1958), 273–357.

[14] Isabel Henderson, *The Picts* (London, 1967), 72, 114.

[15] Charles Thomas, *Britain and Ireland in Early Christian Times* (London, 1971), 55–7.

[16] M.O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1973), 129–30.

[17] F.J. Byrne, *Irish Kings and High-Kings* (London, 1973), 108.

[18] A.A.M. Duncan, *Scotland: The Making of the Kingdom* (Edinburgh, 1974), 65.

The slightly intricate relation between Middle Irish *Cruithin* ‘Pict’, Welsh *Prydain* ‘Britain; Britons’, and Welsh *Prydyn* ‘Picts’ was summarized by Rivet and Smith. Pre-Roman Britons will have called themselves *Pritani* and *Priteni* (of which Latin *Britanni* ‘Britons’ is a corruption). From the first came Welsh *Prydain* ‘Britain’. From the second (a variant of the first), at a later date used solely for peoples north of the Antonine Wall, came Welsh *Prydyn* ‘Picts, Pictland’. However, this second form was earlier adapted by the Irish to give *Cruithin* in medieval texts. By this the Irish designated the Picts proper. But it was also used in Ireland as the name of our Ulster peoples, retaining its older sense of ‘Britons’, presumably because they were of British (not Pictish) descent, having migrated to Ireland in Iron Age times. The Cruithnigh of Ireland should thus not be called ‘Picts’. They must have called themselves *Priteni* ‘Britons’, using the word in its older and more general sense, before it was restricted in Britain to the Picts of the north east. As regards the meaning of the forms, it is often linked with tattoos.[19] Yet this may be rejected. It may mean ‘fair-shaped people, handsome people’, because Welsh *pryd* means ‘shape’ (not ‘tattoo’).

After the slightly abstruse technicalities of the above, later books give us a sense of a battle won. Watson’s suggestion on the supposed Galloway dialect word *creenie* is fatally undermined by lexicography, which knows nothing of this word or of *gossok* or *fingaul*, other alleged Celtic terms for local peoples known solely from Trotter’s *Galloway Gossip*.[20] They must be bogus. Watson was surely misled by the equivalent for linguistics of Piltdown Man for archaeology: learned forgery and deceit. What was said by Rivet and Smith is repeated with the full apparatus of philology, and the comment that *Cruithin* was used ‘des peuples venus de Grande-Bretagne (leur origine en fait est controversée)’.[21] The Pictish language, known mainly from place-names, is the subject of a pamphlet.[22] These names are discussed further in a standard study, together with Gaelic and Cumbric forms, including those of Galloway (where true Pictish toponyms are unknown).[23]

So completely have the Picts of Galloway been exploded or disproved that recent histories do not so much as mention them. Historians press on to other matters. *Niduari* is now definitely placed in Fife, a Pictish territory, and is related to the rivers Nidd of Yorkshire and Neath of South Wales (but not the Nith of Dumfries).[24] However, Dr Woolf of St Andrews (citing work by Richard Oram) now proposes why twelfth-century Englishmen should have thought of Galwegians as ‘Picts’. He thinks that they were influenced by Gildas (writing in the sixth century) and Geoffrey of Monmouth (in the early twelfth). Both writers had told of Pictish barbarism and aggression. The real Picts described by Bede having disappeared, and Galwegians (of whom Bede said nothing) being all too evident, Richard of Hexham and others made a historical *non sequitur*, identifying savage

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[19] A.L.F. Rivet and Colin Smith, *The Place-Names of Roman Britain* (London, 1979), 280–2.

[20] *The Concise Scots Dictionary*, ed. Mairi Robinson (Aberdeen, 1985).

[21] Joseph Vendryes, *Lexique étymologique de l’irlandais ancien: Lettre C* (Paris, 1987), 254.

[22] W.F.H. Nicolaisen, *The Picts and their Place-Names* (Rosemarkie, 1996).

[23] W.F.H. Nicolaisen, *Scottish Place-Names*, 2nd edn. (Edinburgh, 2002), 156–221.

[24] Andrew Breeze, ‘St Cuthbert, Bede, and the Niduari of Pictland’, *Northern History*, xl (2003), 365–8.

Galwegians as savage Picts.[25]

So we finish in robust terms. Historians of recent decades stand shoulder to shoulder in a phalanx. They deny completely the existence of Pictish communities in Galloway, or for that matter in Ireland. There is no basis for this in written sources, where we lack any evidence for the Pictish language as being spoken in Galloway, or for other Pictish 'symptoms', such as matrilinear succession or symbol-stones. Equally resolute are linguists. The place-name forms characteristic of Pictland are unknown in Galloway. In the face of such vigorous and confident denial, defenders of Galwegian Picts will find their work cut out to prove that matters are anything other.[26]

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[25] Alex Woolf, 'Geoffrey of Monmouth and the Picts', in *Bile ós Chrannaibh: A Festschrift for William Gillies*, ed. Wilson McLeod, Abigail Burnyeat, D.U. Stiùbhart, T.O. Clancy, and Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh (Ceann Drochaid, 2010), 439–50.

[26] They might now start with Tim Clarkson, *The Picts* (Edinburgh, 2010), 196–8, who emphatically dismisses Galwegian Picts as a fiction.

A TRAVELLER'S END? — A RECONSIDERATION OF A VIKING-AGE BURIAL AT CARRONBRIDGE, DUMFRIESSHIRE

Shane McLeod[1]

A collection of metalwork — a sword, penannular brooch, and sickle — was found close together in 1989 at Carronbridge in north-central Dumfriesshire and they are thought to have been deposited in the ninth or tenth centuries. In the published report it was suggested that they belonged to a 'lone traveller', and a later review of the burial concluded that it should be raised 'to the category of pagan Norse burials marked as "uncertain"'.[2] *Having reconsidered the evidence and viewed the location of the Carronbridge burial I suggest that it should be moved to the 'certain' category. A short review of the evidence for Scandinavians in Dumfriesshire is also given, including the circumstances that may have led to the burial.*

During excavations of Roman and Iron Age features at Carronbridge in Dumfriesshire the remains of a sword which had been in a scabbard, a silver penannular brooch of Insular manufacture (a Pictish/Irish hybrid) (Figure 1), and a sickle were found close together in the ploughsoil.[3] Although the brooch is thought to be of late eighth or early ninth century date, it was possibly old when it went into the ground and the objects are thought to have been deposited in the ninth or tenth centuries.[4] As no evidence of other post Iron Age activity was recovered, and no evidence of a grave was found, it was suggested by Olwyn Owen and Richard Welander that the objects belonged to a lone traveller who died unexpectedly at Carronbridge.[5] In briefly reviewing the evidence in the Eighth Whithorn Lecture in 1999 James Graham-Campbell noted that if these finds had been 'found elsewhere in Scandinavian Scotland or north-west England, [they] would be categorized immediately as a pagan Norse grave'.[6] He also commented on the peculiarity that someone dying alone (and therefore not buried) would not have had their sword and silver brooch taken by strangers happening across the body.[7] It could be added that someone of high enough status to be wearing a sword and a silver brooch is unlikely to have been travelling alone. The survival of organic material on all of the metalwork also strongly suggests that they were buried, and therefore the individual who wore them was buried.[8] Consequently, the original suggestion of the deceased being a lone traveller can be dismissed and it can be presumed that there was at least one other person present to bury them. Indeed, Graham-Campbell notes that sickles are well-known in Scandinavian burials in Britain but that they are usually interpreted as belonging to settlers.[9] The period of accompanied ('pagan') Scandinavian burial in Scotland lasts primarily from c.850–950, which fits well with the date suggested by Owen and Welander for the individual at Carronbridge.[10]

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[1] University of Stirling, Stirling, FK9 4LA.

[2] Owen and Welander 1995, p.768; Graham-Campbell 2001a, p.18 for quote.

[3] Owen and Welander 1995, p.753–70. Graham-Campbell 2001b, pp.34–35.

[4] Owen and Welander 1995, p.764. Graham-Campbell 2001a, p.17.

[5] Owen and Welander 1995, p.764.

[6] Graham-Campbell 2001a, p.18.

[7] Graham-Campbell 2001a, p.18.

[8] Caroline Paterson, personal communication.

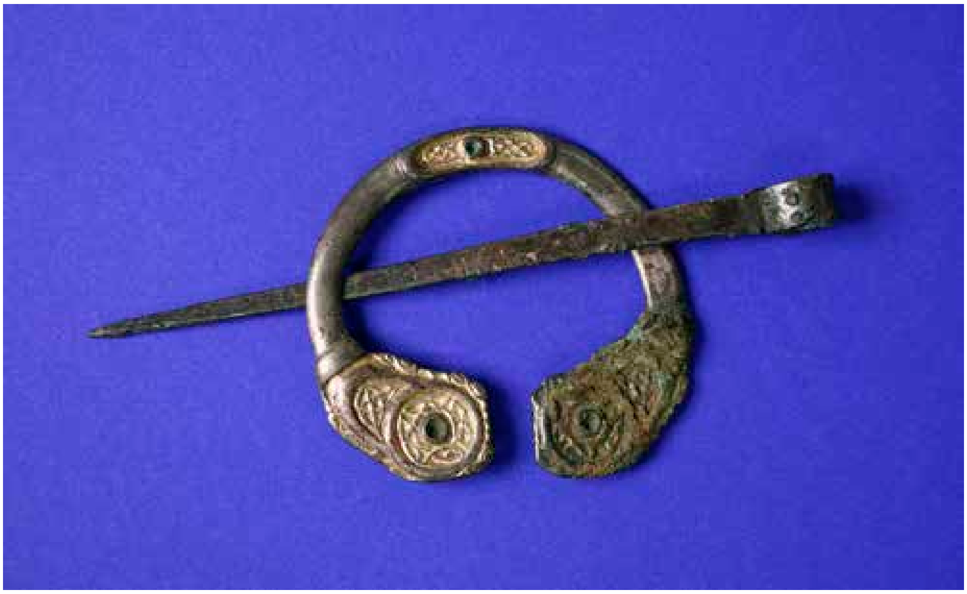

Figure 1. The silver penannular brooch found with the remains of a sword and a sickle at Carronbridge. (Courtesy of Dumfries Museum; DUMFM:1995.1.100)

The finds came from a penannular enclosure which contained a round building, both of which are dated to the first or second century, c.145–245 AD.[11] A few metres to the east was a cobbled road, probably Roman and in use at the same time as the penannular enclosure.[12] These features are obviously much earlier than the metalwork deposited in the ninth or tenth century, but this does not mean that they were not visible features in the landscape at the time of the burial. The road is estimated to have been up to three metres wide and is thought to have continued north to cross the Carron Water and then the River Nith on its route to the Roman fort at Drumlanrig.[13] Roman roads are known to have remained in use for centuries in Britain and considering that the one in question marked the route to local river crossings it is likely that this road remained in use into the Viking Age.[14] Roman roads are also known to have had Scandinavian burials placed nearby elsewhere in Britain, for example at Adwick-le-Street, South Yorkshire; Camp Hill near Bedale, North Yorkshire; and Hesket-in-the-Forest, Cumbria.[15]

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[9] Graham-Campbell 2001a, p.18.

[10] Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998, p.154.

[11] Johnston 1994, pp.279–80.

[12] Johnston 1994, p.286.

[13] Johnston 1994, pp.235, 259.

[14] For example, the A76 through Nithsdale now follows part of the route of the Roman road. The Roman road Watling Street remained in use and became a boundary marker used by Scandinavians and Anglo-Saxons in the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries. See McLeod 2014, pp.221–12.

Although it is not known how far the metalwork may have moved due to agricultural activity, the area of ploughsoil in which they were found was slightly off-centre and extended from the rear inner edge of the enclosure ditch and across and into the building. As with the road, it is probable that aspects of the v-shaped ditch with a 2.4 metre wide entrance that formed the boundary of the penannular enclosure which was up to 17.3 metres in diameter internally, and the round deep ring-grooved building (up to 80cm deep and 85cm wide) inside which had an internal diameter of 10.1 and 11.6 metres, were also visible as surface features.[16] Indeed, the enclosure is still visible in aerial photographs today. The use of earlier features for the location of Scandinavian burials is well known in Britain, for example at Castletown, Caithness and the Broch of Gurness, Orkney where burials had been added to brochs, and Aspatria and Claughton Hall in north east England, where Bronze Age mounds were used for secondary burials. The Carronbridge burial quite likely belongs to the same general category of visible manmade landscape markers being used for a Scandinavian burial.

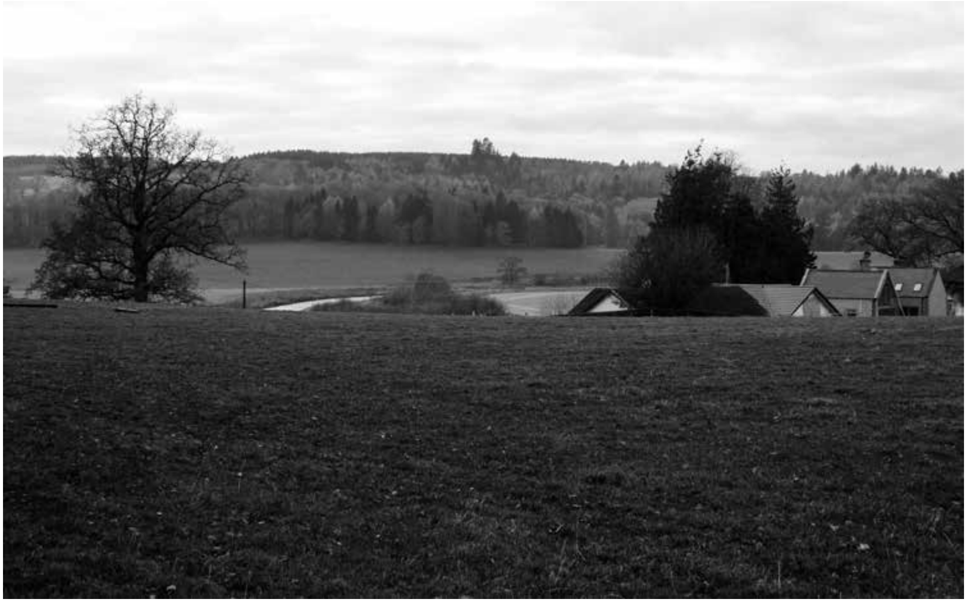

Figure 2. View of the River Nith from the approximate burial location.
(Photograph by Shane McLeod)

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[15] Speed and Rogers 2004, pp.88–89; Redmond 2007, pp.93, 95.

[16] Johnston 1994, p.250 for the measurements.

The surrounding landscape also needs to be taken into account when considering this burial. The Carronbridge burial is somewhat unusual in the corpus of Scandinavian burials in Scotland as it is not close to the coast and in this respect its location is similar to burials in eastern England.[17] It is located on elevated flat ground overlooking the River Nith and the Nithsdale valley to the west, which are reached via a steep slope. The Nith is visible from the burial site (Figure 2). The Carron Water is to the west and north of the burial below a cliff, but it is not visible from the burial site.[18] Scandinavian burials overlooking water are extremely common in Britain, such as the Repton mass burial and churchyard burials and the Heath Wood cremation cemetery, which overlook the River Trent, burials at Reading and Sonning on opposite banks of the Thames, the Viking-Age cemetery on the Cnip headland on the Isle of Lewis, and the Scar boat burial on Sanday, Orkney, both overlooking the Atlantic.[19] Indeed, there are very few Scandinavian burial sites known which do not overlook water, making it highly likely that the burial at Carronbridge was purposely placed to have a view of the River Nith.

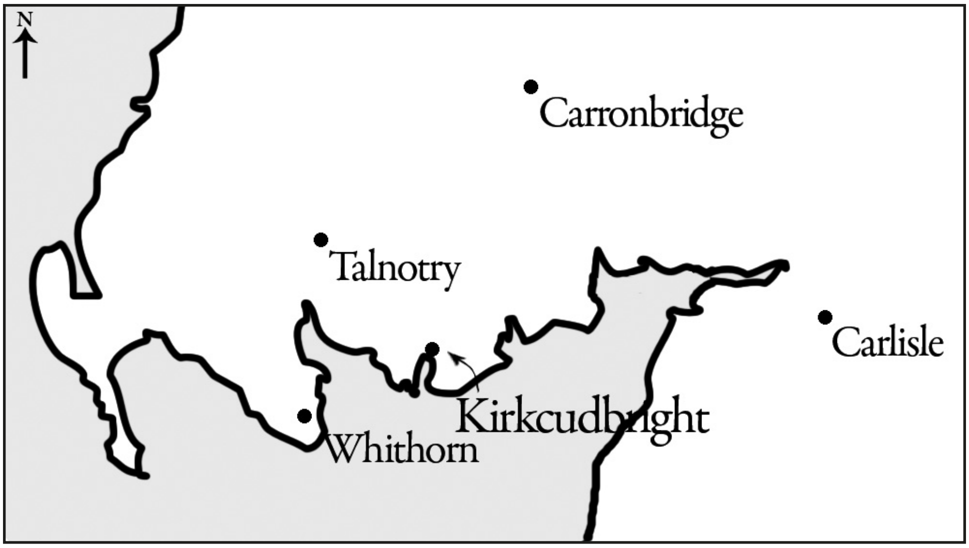

Figure 3. Map of the main places named in the text. (Map by Aurore McLeod)

All of the positional evidence for this accompanied burial (the use of a man-made landscape feature near a Roman road and overlooking a major river) resonates with other known Scandinavian burials in Britain. This makes it a coincidence too far to consider this not to have been a deliberately chosen location, even if a degree of expediency may have been required which resulted in no grave pit being identified. Other than its distance from the coast, one possible reason for Owen and Welander avoiding such labels as 'Scandinavian',

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[17] Harrison 2007, p.175.

[18] Johnstone 1994, pp.233–35.

[19] Biddle and Kjolbye-Biddle, 2001, pp.45–47; Richards, 2004, pp.23–25; Graham-Campbell 1996, p.38; Dunwell et al. 1995, p.719; Owen and Dalland 1999, p.3.

'Norse', or 'Viking' in the description of their lone traveller is the general lack of evidence for Scandinavians in the region (Figure 3). The nearest confirmed burial is at Kirkcudbright: a warrior burial above and overlooking (Old) St Cuthbert's Churchyard, which is also likely to have been overlooking water, in this instance the River Dee and Kirkcudbright Bay.[20] There is also no Scandinavian-styled sculpture in the vicinity of the Carronbridge burial. There are a few Old Norse-derived place names nearby, but these are difficult to date and many may date to after the Viking Age. For example, the burial overlooks the Nithsdale valley, a compound word made by adding the Old Norse *-dalr* 'valley' to the British river name, but this is first attested in the twelfth century.[21] Name-forms considered to be evidence of early Scandinavian settlement by Gillian Fellows-Jensen are those using the elements *-by* 'settlement' and *-bekkr* 'stream' (the latter if compounded with another Old Norse word).[22] Of these Elbeck is east of Carronbridge but none of the *–by* names on her distribution map are as far north.[23]

It must remain uncertain if the individual buried at Carronbridge was a settler or a traveller. Graham-Campbell's note that a sickle is an unusual item for a traveller to carry and that when they are found in burials they are usually associated with settlers, perhaps estate owners, is certainly worth bearing in mind.[24] Fellows-Jensen argues that the earliest Scandinavian settlers in Dumfriesshire came via settlements in Cumbria and across the Carlisle plain, having earlier migrated from the Danelaw.[25] Considering that the historically attested settlement of Northumbria around York did not occur until 876 then the earliest settlers in Dumfriesshire must have arrived sometime after that date, with Fellows-Jensen suggesting that Scandinavian settlement around Whithorn occurred sometime between 882 and 927.[26] It is possible that settlers also arrived in northern Dumfriesshire at a similar date, but the proposed reason for their settlement around Whithorn (as mercenaries to defend the enclave and coast)[27] makes less sense.[28] If the proposed late ninth/early tenth century settlement date is correct then the paucity of definite pagan burials in Dumfries and

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[20] Graham-Campbell 2001a, pp.13–15. The exact site of the burial is unknown but the river and bay are both visible from its likely location either on or on top of a steep slope at the back of the original cemetery.

[21] Fellows-Jensen 1985, p.383.

[22] Fellows-Jensen 1985, pp.287–88; Fellows-Jensen 1991, pp.82–83.

[23] Fellows-Jensen 1985, map 9b p.290.

[24] Graham-Campbell 2001a, p.18.

[25] Fellows-Jensen 1991, p.92.

[26] Swanton 2000, 875, p.74; Fellows-Jensen 1991, p.80.

[27] Hill 1997, p. 54.

[28] Since submitting this article I have been informed of the Anglo-Saxon cross-shaft at the Nith Bridge river crossing west of Thornhill, less than 1.5 miles from the burial site. The cross is thought to date to the mid-ninth century, suggesting that an important settlement, and probably church, existed in the vicinity at least just prior to the time of the burial at Carronbridge. This increases the possibility that the Carronbridge burial was associated with settlement as suggested by Graham-Campbell. For the cross see D.J. Craig, 'The distribution of pre-Norman sculpture in South-West Scotland: provenance, ornament and regional groups', PhD Thesis, Durham University, 1992, pps. 148–9. Available at Durham E-Theses Online: `http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/1553/`. I would like to thank Caroline Paterson for bringing this to my attention.

Galloway (along with Carronbridge and Kircudbright the only others are at Whithorn) is somewhat surprising as it suggests that the immigrants quickly, or had already, acculturated to Christian burial practices.[29]

Alternatively, the person buried at Carronbridge may have arrived in Dumfriesshire earlier than those who coined the place-names containing Old Norse elements. If this were the case then the migration route suggested by Fellows-Jensen could have been used by earlier Scandinavian groups. The written historical record for Dumfries and Galloway is virtually non-existent for the Viking Age,[30] but there are notices in English and Irish material that may be relevant to Dumfriesshire. In 870 the *Annals of Ulster* report that the fort of the Strathclyde Britons at Dumbarton was besieged by the Scandinavian kings Olaf and Ivar of Dublin for four months.[31] After it fell they returned to Dublin with Anglo-Saxon, British, and Pictish slaves in their large fleet.[32] That Picts and Angles were captured may suggest that Ivar and Olaf had also been campaigning both north and south of the British kingdom of Strathclyde. There is good reason to suppose that Ivar of Dublin (Ímhar) was the same person as the Ivar (Inwære) who led the great army in England, probably from 865–869.[33] If this were the case then he may have led an army at least in part overland from England to western Scotland rather than first going to Dublin. In 875 the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* reports that another great army leader, Halfdan, based himself on the River Tyne and then raided north and west against the Picts and Strathclyde Britons, with the attack on the Picts also being recorded in the *Annals of Ulster*.[34] Once again, it is possible that Halfdan's force entered Scotland via the Carlisle plain to attack the Strathclyde Britons. I have suggested elsewhere that Halfdan's movements in 875 may have also led to the deposition of the Talnotrie (Talnotry) hoard in Galloway, which is dated to c.875 and included Anglo-Saxon metalwork, a Viking-type lead weight, Anglo-Saxon coins, and fragments of two Arabic and a Frankish coin.[35] The movements of either Ivar or Halfdan could have led to the death of a warrior at Carronbridge, who was then quickly buried in an auspicious location before the army moved on. Furthermore, it has been suggested that from c. 870 the same Scandinavian group controlled not only Dublin and parts of England, but also Strathclyde, northern Wales, and possibly parts of Pictland.[36] If this were the case then there may have been other opportunities for a Scandinavian burial at Carronbridge. Considering that the brooch is of a type manufactured in the late eighth/early ninth century but is thought to have been 'of some age when deposited in the ground', a deposition half a century or more later in c.875 is plausible.[37] However, any effort to link the Carronbridge burial with the meagre written historical record must remain speculation.

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[29] For Whithorn see Hill 1997, p. 189.

[30] Hill 1997, pp. 27–28.

[31] Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill 1983, 870.6, p. 327.

[32] Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill 1983, 871.2, p. 327.

[33] Smyth 1977, pp. 224-39; Downham 2007, pp. 64-67; McLeod 2014, pp. 113–15.

[34] Swanton 2000, 875, pp. 72, 74; Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill 1983, 875.3, p. 331.

[35] McLeod 2014, p. 150, n. 252; Graham-Campbell 2001a, pp. 20–26. The latter considers the hoard to have belonged to a Northumbrian metalworker who had access to material obtained from Scandinavians. For the dating see Fitzwilliam Museum, no. 46.

[36] Dumville 2005, pp. 85–86; Dumville 2002, pp. 226–27; Downham 2007, pp. 142–43.

[37] Graham-Campbell 2001a, p.17 for quote. Graham-Campbell notes that the brooch pin may not have been replaced as Owen and Welander suggested, 2001b, p.35.

Whatever the historical circumstances behind the accompanied burial at Carronbridge, the inclusion of a sword in its scabbard, an Insular brooch, and a sickle make it highly likely that the person buried was culturally Scandinavian. Furthermore, the location of the burial: near a road, overlooking a river, and on/in an earlier manmade landscape feature, are all well attested for other Scandinavian burials in Britain. This makes it highly likely that the person at Carronbridge was a Scandinavian who was not alone, and that the location of their burial was purposely selected.

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CUMBRIC *TREV* IN KYLE, CARRICK, GALLOWAY AND DUMFRIESSHIRE

Alan G. James[1]

This paper reviews the evidence for the important Brittonic/Cumbric place-name element trev *as it exists within south-west Scotland, and suggests how it might be interpreted in the light of current thinking on the development of landholdings during the first millennium AD and the central middle ages.*[2]

Trev, a Key Cumbric Element[3]

Trev (Welsh *tref*), was identified by William J. Watson (1926, 357) as a British (i.e. Brittonic) element, a key piece of evidence for the presence of a P-Celtic language in northern Britain, as its cognate *treb* is virtually unknown in Goidelic place-names in Ireland or Scotland.[4]

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[2] Material from this paper was presented to Kirkcudbright Historical Society on 13 February 2013 and to the Society for Name Studies in Britain and Ireland on 7 April 2013. The writer is grateful to members of both societies for several helpful questions, comments and information.

[3] The terminology used for the P-Celtic languages discussed here is based on that employed by Jackson 1953. An approximate chronology for the various stages of linguistic change in SW Scotland is:
BC early Celtic;
1st–5th cents. early Brittonic (Roman British, but with some 'Northern P-Celtic' features);
6th–8th cents. neoBrittonic (Cumbric emerging, co-existing with Northumbrian Old English from the 7th cent.);
9th–11th, perhaps 12th, cents. Cumbric (co-existing with late Northumbrian OE > early Scots, and from 9th cent. with Middle Irish > Gaelic, as well as Old Norse in 10th–11th cents., Norman-French in the 12th, and ecclesiastical Latin).
Note that I reserve Jackson's term Cumbric for the Brittonic of the North during the 9th–12th centuries, contemporary with Old Welsh, and also that, in accordance with philological convention, I mark hypothetical words or name-forms with an asterisk. Strictly speaking, any Cumbric word must be hypothetical, but in the case of words like *trev* which are recorded in Old Welsh, I omit the asterisk.

[4] Watson's assertion (loc. cit.) that *treabh* does not occur as a noun in Scottish Gaelic is contradicted by Dwelly 1902–11, s.v., who gives the meaning 'farmed village'. However, *treabh* is extremely rare in Irish place-names (Watson loc. cit.), and seems so in Scottish Gaelic toponymy too, though for possible occurrence of *treabh* in place-names in Fife, see Taylor 2013, 152 and 516; it is likely that this reflects Pictish influence on Gaelic usage. In a few of the names discussed in the present paper, such as Trabboch, Tralorg and Tranew, the specific has at least been influenced by Gaelic, and there is a possibility, albeit remote, that they are Gaelic formations, but they would likewise have been created in the context of a Cumbric perception of the meaning of the term.

The meanings of the words derived from **trebā*- in the Celtic languages[5] reflect two Indo-European roots, one, **trē-bs*-, associated with (house-) building, the other,**tṛ*- (zero-grade of **ter*-), referring to a territory, an area of land. So *trev* may be understood as 'a farm', both a habitation and the land associated with it.

A Roman-period name involving this root in a prefixed formation, **ad-trebē* (Welsh *athrefi*) 'dwelling-places', occurs somewhere in southern Scotland, to judge by its listing in the Ravenna Cosmography (compiled around 700, but based on administrative documents from the late Imperial period): ***Locatreve***.[6] The first element, **locā*- (Welsh *llwch*), is 'a lake or marsh', so the name referred to 'lake or marsh-dwellings'. It was probably a Roman fort named after a place with crannogs, possibly the one on the Dee opposite Glenlochar Kcb.[7] However, surviving or recorded place-names with *trev* in the sense of 'a farm' date from considerably later.

Places still named with *trev* in south-west Scotland, as in Wales and Cornwall, are typically good-sized farms, some are on record as substantial mediaeval estates, and most show continuity of settlement from at least the later middle ages. Three in our area became the centres of mediaeval parishes, though this did not occur very commonly in Wales or Cornwall, **Ochiltree**, **Troqueer** and **Terregles**.[8] But when were these and other place-names with *trev* first formed? And what can they tell us about the contexts of land-use, landholding and governance in which they were formed? Detailed examination may help us towards at least some provisional answers to these questions.

Trev as 'Chief Farm'

Some names based on this word carry an implication of status within a district or large estate:

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[5] Roman British (also Gaulish and Iberian Celtic) *trebā*- (Falileyev 2010, 32) > Old Welsh *treb* > Middle to Modern Welsh *tre[f]*- (GPC s.v., Owen and Morgan 2007, lxxv), Old Cornish *trev*- (Padel 1985, 223) > Middle to Late Cornish *tre[v]*, Old Breton *treb* > Modern Breton *trev*; Old Irish *treb* 'a house, a landholding, a family' (DIL s.v.) > Scottish Gaelic *treabh* 'farmed village' (see note 4); cognates may include Latin *trabs* 'a wooden beam', Classical Greek *téramna* 'enclosed chambers', and possibly Germanic ?**þorpam* > Old East Norse *þorp* > Middle English *thorp* 'a dependent settlement' (Smith 1956, II 205–12, Cullen, Jones and Parsons 2011). In Roman-British names *–treb*- occurs in suffixed forms, perhaps influenced by unrelated Latin *tribus*, that may extend to whole population-groups as well as the lands and settlements they occupied (e.g. *Atrebates*); see Falileyev loc. cit., and Sims-Williams 2006, 115–16 and map 4.10 for continental examples.

[6] Rivet and Smith 1979, 394–5, not listed by Sims-Williams, loc. cit., presumably because it has *v* for *b*, but this is common in the Ravenna Cosmography. See also Falileyev loc. cit. for *ad-trebā*.

[7] Alternatively, Ptolemy's *Loukopibía* has been thought to refer to Glenlochar, so Rivet and Smith op. cit., 390, endorsed by Breeze 2001. The first element of that is Roman-British **louco*- 'bright, shining'; scholars read the remainder as a garbled version of a naming suffix *-owjā*. It was a *pólis* of the *Novantae*, so unlikely to be associated with the Luggie Water Lnk-EDnb (though that river-name is probably < **louc-owjā*) but it could well have been the high-status site at the Isle of Whithorn.

[8] See Padel, 1985, 223–9.

1. Simplex *trev* > ‘Threave’

This occurs in four locations in south-west Scotland:

Threave farm in Kirkmichael Ayrs *Treyf* 1504.[9]

Threave, North, East and South farms, with Threave Hill, all in Kirkoswald Ayrs.[10]

Threave Castle, House and estate in Kelton Kcb *Treif* 1422, *Trefe*, *le Treffe* 1440x1, *Treve* 1456, *Treif*- 1550, *Treef* Blaeu.[11]

Threave, High, Middle and Low farms, with Threave Hill, all in the southern part of Penninghame Wig *Trave* 1557, *Treef* Blaeu.[12]

Such simplex forms, though not necessarily the earliest, are likely to denote a settlement that was perceived as being in some sense ‘prototypic’, ‘*the* farm’, having a specific role or status within an estate; it may well have been the ‘home farm’ of the local chieftain, in later Scots terms, the ‘mains’.[13] It is impossible to judge the original extent of the landholdings originally designated by this name, even where it has evidently been subdivided (as in Kirkoswald and Penninghame), but all are located on good farmland reasonably close to what became “central places” within later mediaeval parishes.[14]

2. Compounds with *–tre[v]* indicating ‘chief farm’

A similar implication may be carried by **Rattra** farm in Borgue Kcb: *Rotrow* Blaeu. In Welsh and in northern P-Celtic (Cumbric and Pictish) the early Celtic word **rātis*, ‘an earthen rampart’, thence ‘a fortified enclosure’, came to be used (in the form **rawd*, spelt *rawt* in early Middle Welsh) for the home of a chieftain, and thence for an estate or a district administered from such a residence. So **rawd-drev* would have been ‘the principal farm of a district or estate administered from a chieftain’s fort’, doubtless the neighbouring Roberton Motte.[15]

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[9] Watson 1926, 191 and 358. See further under ‘*Trev* as “independent farm”’ below.

[10] Watson 1926, 358.

[11] Ibid., and Maxwell 1930, 259.

[12] Maxwell 1930, 259, MacQueen 2008, 12, McLay *et al*. 1998, 185.

[13] For an important discussion of such ‘prototypic’ names see Hough 2007. That all four share the modern form Threave is doubtless due to the fame of the Black Douglas’s castle at Threave Kcb.

[14] One possible *trev* about which little can be usefully said is *Trail* (the ancient name of St Mary’s Isle, Kirkcudbright) *sic* 1165x1214. Maxwell 1930, 261, spells it ‘Trahill’, and interprets it as **traigh choille* ‘strand of the wood’, but Brooke 1991 may be right in seeing *trev* here. It must remain very uncertain.

[15] Cf. the two Rattrays, in Blairgowrie Perths and Buchan Aberdeens, see Watson 1926, 364, and Maxwell 1930, 233. Both Watson and Maxwell mention the ‘fort’ here, Watson spells it ‘moat’. Breeze 2003, 162–3, explained correctly that Middle Welsh *rhath* ‘a ringfort’ cannot be relevant here, being a late borrowing (back) from Irish *rath*. However, MacDonald, 1982 showed that **rawd* must have been current in the north with the sense above, influencing the meaning of *ràth* in Scottish Gaelic. In late Middle/early modern Welsh *rhawt* came to mean ‘a troop of armed men’ raised by an estate; see also Taylor 2011, 107–8. Breeze’s alternative proposal, the intensive prefix *rö*- (Modern Welsh *rhy*-), would give **rö-drev* ‘great farm’, implying much the same.

Another such name may be ***le Contref*** Kcb, a substantial landholding probably in Balmaclellan, recorded in 1408.[16] The first element is likely to have been Cumbric *pen[n]*- (Modern Welsh *pen*) Gaelicised as *cenn*- (modern Gaelic *ceann*).[17] *Pen[n]*, like *cenn*, is literally 'a head', but carries a wide range of senses in compound words and in place-names, including 'chief, principal', so **pen-trev* would have been 'chief farm', or more correctly 'farm at the chief place', cf. Modern Welsh *pentref* 'a village'.[18]

Trev in 'Positional' and Other Compounds

Rattra, **Contref**, and those to be discussed below in this section, with Brittonic qualifying elements followed by *–trev*, are compounds. Such formations *may* be early place-names,[19] but this is not a certain rule, especially where the qualifier is an adjective, and where there is no evidence of mutation (i.e. the final element appears as *–tre[v]* not *–dre[v]*). [20] It should also be remembered that terms like 'high farm' and 'crossing farm' could have remained in use as common nouns well after they were first coined, so it is quite possible that they were applied by Cumbric speakers in place-naming during the period of Northumbrian rule (late seventh century to 869) or even later.[21]

While the distinguishing element in most of these refers to the position of the farm, most also suggest some kind of specialised role and/or relationship with the chief place within a substantial territory. Examples in our area include:[22]

1. Compounds formed with *ŭ̄chel*- (Welsh *uchel*) 'high' or *ŭ̄ch*- (Welsh *uwch*) 'higher': these may well signify locations originally associated with annual stock-movements. However, as a place named with *trev* is likely to have been more than a seasonal dwelling, such names imply established farms with some degree of specialisation, engaged mainly in livestock rearing and hill-pasturing. They include:

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[16] Brooke 1991 at 302.

[17] Replacement of *pen[n]* by *ce[a]nn* is evidenced at Kinniel WLo Kirkintilloch EDnb, and Kilrymont (= St Andrews) Fif, see Watson 1926, 347–8, and Taylor 2009, 478; on ***Contref*** see further under '*Trev* as "an independent farm"' below.

[18] Other senses of *pentref* include 'a settlement and/or portion of land on a headland', or 'at the "end" (in some sense) of a landholding'; neither seems so appropriate to an apparently large holding. The reason for the preferred interpretation is explained at note 20 below.

[19] cf. *Locatrebe* above, and see Jackson 1953, 225–7.

[20] *Pentref*, like *trawstre* (see below), is technically a 'loose compound', without mutation, and could have been formed at any stage in the history of Brittonic in the north. As such, the exact sense is 'farm at X' rather than 'X-farm'. I am grateful to Dr Oliver Padel for guidance on this point.

[21] On formations of this type in north-eastern Scotland, see Nicolaisen 2001, 214–19, id. 2011, 321–2, and Hough 2001.

[22] Monreith House, Mochrum Wig: *Mureith*, *Murheth* 1481, *Murithe* 1491, has been compared to Moray, which Watson 1926, 115-16, interpreted as **mōr-drev* 'sea-farm', but in view of early forms is more likely to be *mureb*, 'low-lying land near the sea'; that is appropriate for Moray but not Monreith, which remains mysterious, though there is no reason to suppose it was formed with -*trev*.

> **Ochiltree** settlement and parish in the Cumnock valley, Kyle Ayrs: *Uchiltrie* 1406;[23]

> **Ochiltree** farm, with Ochiltree Loch, at the northern, and highest, extremity of Penninghame parish, Wig. *Ochtre* 1455, *Uchiltre* 1475.[24]

Both these are **ŭ̄chel-trev* (cf. Welsh *ucheldre*).[25]

> **Currochtrie**, High and Low, farms in Kirkmaiden Wig: *le duae Currochtyis* 1492, *Corrouchtrie* 1550, with neighbouring **Garrochtrie**, *Garrachty* Blaeu,[26] can be considered alongside **Kirroughtree** House and Forest in Minigaff Kcb, *Caruthtre* 1487, *Kerrochrie* etc. 1570.[27] The first two may be + *-tī* 'a bothy', which would imply a seasonal dwelling, a shieling.[28] However,**ŭ̄ch-trev* might underlie all three,[29] Currochtrie and Kirroughtree being preceded in a secondary formation either by Cumbric *cair*- or Gaelic *cathair*-, 'a fort', or by Gaelic *ceathramh*- 'a quarterland'. Nevertheless several other etymologies have been proposed.[30]

2. Compound formed with *traws*- (Welsh *traws*) 'across':

Trostrie farm, with Trostrie Loch and Moat (= motte), in Twynholm Kcb *Trostaree* 1456, *Trostre* 1481, *Trostari* Blaeu, *Trostary* 17th cent.[31] Formed with **traws*-, 'across', so 'farm at a crossing-place',[32] cf. Troustie Crail Fif,[33] and *Trawstre* or *Trostre* in eight places in Wales, common enough to suggest it may have been current as a common noun. Trostrie stands where the road north from Ross Bay through Twynholm and on to Glengap crosses a high sandstone ridge, and the boundary between Twynholm and Girthon parishes. It is less clear whether this implies specialism, but its location — like those of Ochiltree Wig and Kirroughtree — suggests a hill-farm near the edge of a territory and quite remote from its 'central place', which was perhaps the Doon at Twynholm.[34]

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[23] Watson 1926, 209, Nicolaisen 2001, 216. On a possible relationship with *trev* names in neighbouring Drongan parish see below under '*Trev* as "an independent farm"'.

[24] Watson 1926, 35, 209, Maxwell 1930, 218, McLay et al. 289, Nicolaisen 2001, 216–17, MacQueen 2008, 12; see also Barrow in Taylor 1998, 59–63 with map 2.5; on Penninghame as an early Northumbrian estate-name, see James 2010, 117–20, and on **ōchel-* versus **ŭ̄chel-*, id. 2013, 52–3.

[25] Cf. Ochiltree in West Lothian (Linlithgow), Macdonald 1941, 61, and Ucheldre in eight places in Wales (Archif Melville Richards). Note however that the Welsh formation is a 'close' compound, the absence of any evidence for mutation in the Scottish examples suggests a 'loose' compound, 'farm at a high place', see note 20 above.

[26] Maxwell 1930, 101–2 and 143, MacQueen 2002, 10.

[27] Watson 1926, 367, Maxwell 1930, 174.

[28] See also **Terrauchtie** below, and note 30.

[29] Comparative adjectives do not generally cause mutation, so the compound may be 'close' +'loose'. Compare also *Crachoctre* Bwk (Coldingham), but see Breeze 2000, 125–6, for a different interpretation, and note that **u[w]chtre[f]* seems not to occur in Welsh place-names.

[30] For Currochtrie Maxwell suggests *currach*- 'bog'+ *-uachdar* 'upper' or *-Ochtradh*, i.e. Uhtred, Lord of Galloway (1161–74), MacQueen Gaelic *còrr*- 'out-of-the-way, a remote place', or *-ochdamh* 'eighth part (of a davoch)'. Garrochtrie may be identical in origin to Currochtrie, or else preceded by Cumbric *garw*- or Gaelic *garbh*- 'rough'; however, Márkus's discussion (2012, 191–4) of Garrochty Bute (Kingarth) is important, the evidence there suggests that the final syllable may be a late, fortuitous, development from Gaelic *garbhach* 'a rough place', assimilated to *garbhachd* 'roughness', in a Scots plural form, *Gariteis* 1498*,* *Carrauchteis* 1500, cf. *Currochtyis* above. At Kirroughtrie, Watson, Maxwell, and Brooke 1991, 319, all see *-Ochtradh*, Uhtred. At the time of Uhtred's struggle with his half-brother Gillebrigte across the Cree, Kirroughtree would have been a strategic location, and a Cumbric name not impossible even in the 1160s. Local legends of Uhtred may at least have influenced the development of this name, as well as those of Currochtrie and Garrochtrie, and also Cave Ochtree Wig (Leswalt), Maxwell 1930, 66.

[31] Watson 1926 180 and 350 (I think Watson's reference to a Trostrie Wig is a mistake), Maxwell 1930, 262.

Trostan or Troston occurs very frequently in our area: Trostan Hill (Straiton) Ayrs, Trostan, with Little Trostan, (Minigaff) on the watershed between Loch Trool and Loch Dee, Troston Knowe, Trostan Burn and Hill, and another Troston Hill at the head of the Shinnel Water, are separate locations to the NW, NE and SE of the Cairnsmore of Carsphairn Kcb, Troston with Troston Rig lie west of Sanquhar Dmf, Troston with Troston Burn and Rig are on the ridge running north-east from Dalry Kcb, Troston Hill and Loch are further along the same ridge, in Tynron Dmf, Troston is on the ridge between New Abbey and Loch Arthur Kcb, Bartrostan with Bartrostan Burn and Moss at the south end of Penninghame parish Wig. Watson (1926, 350), asserted that at Troston Dmf (Glencairn, recte Tynron), *trev* had been translated by English *tūn*, but it is hard to believe this happened so frequently. Trostan is quite common in Irish hill-names (e.g. Trostan mountain near Cushendal, Layd, Co. Antrim) and has been taken there as a metaphoric use of *trostán* 'a staff, a crozier' (MacQueen 2008, 96, gives the same explanation for Bartrostan), but that too seems far-fetched for such a common name. An adopted form from Latin *transtrum*, British Latin **trāstrum*[35] 'a cross-beam' would make more sense in such names, indicating a 'cross hill, transverse ridge'. **Trāstrum* becomes Welsh *trawst*, so a Brittonic formation with the noun-forming suffix *-an* could explain these, but McKay 1999, 142, sees an Irish cognate in the Ulster hill-names, and a Gaelic origin is possible for the Scottish ones too.

Trusty's Hill Anwoth (Trusty Knowe in Maxwell 1930) might perhaps be **traws-* 'across' + - *tī* 'a bothy, a seasonal dwelling' (W **traws-ty*, cf. Terrauchtie above). It forms part of the ridge between the Fleet and Cree estuaries, and overlooks the old route through Anwoth. Maxwell loc. cit. refers to associations with the Pictish ruler Drest, Gaelicised Drust; these are antiquarian speculations rather than genuine folklore, let alone reliable etymology.[36] Personal names are rare in Brittonic place-names in the north, there are certainly none with a personal name in first position. However, the idea could well have been prompted by a pre-existing place-name.

3. A compound possibly implying specialisation:

Guiltree farm in Kirkmichael Ayrs, *Giltre* 1511, also *Giltre Makgrane*.[37] This might be formed with *gwel[t]-* (Welsh *gwellt*) 'grass, pasture', or less likely *gweli-* (Welsh *gwely*),

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[32] Again, a 'loose compound', see note 20 above.

[33] Márkus 2007, 89–90, and Taylor 2009, 231–3. On Twynholm as an early Northumbrian estate-name, see James 2010, 116–17.

[34] On this important Anglian place-name, see James 2010, 117.

[35] Jackson 1953, 86.

[36] I am grateful to Ronan Toolis for information about their probable nineteenth-century origin.

[37] Watson 1926, 362. See Kirkmichael parish, below.

‘a bed’, extending to a bed for planting crops; either could imply a specialised farm within an organised estate.[38]

Trev as ‘an Independent Farm’

In both Wales and Cornwall *tre[f]*- occurs predominantly, and very commonly, as the first element in name-phrases, which are formations where the qualifying element is in second position. These are usually thought to be later than the compound forms considered above, though as explained above this generalisation should be treated with caution. Still the rarity of such *tre[f]*- name-phrases elsewhere in England, even in Devon and in districts away from the Welsh border in Cheshire, Shropshire and Herefordshire, implies that its use in such formations is unlikely to be earlier than the late eighth or early ninth century in Cornwall or Wales, and in the north it may well originate from the post-Northumbrian period (tenth to eleventh centuries) rather than earlier. This is all the more likely to be true of names with the form ‘noun + definite article + noun’: these are no earlier than the eleventh century in Cornwall, Ireland, and Gaelic Scotland, and the same is almost certainly true in Wales and the Cumbric north.[39]

There are groups of *trev*- name-phrases, along with other names involving the element, in Ayrshire and the Stewartry. They might again suggest that the word denoted a settlement and landholding with a specific status or role within a complex estate, but it could well have referred to holdings established when such estates were broken up.[40]

1. Drongan parish, Ayrs.

In this parish in Kyle, there are three *trev*- names:

> **Trabboch**, now commemorated in Trabboch Avenue, opposite Drongan Primary School. *Trebathe* 1303, *Trabeathe* 1451.[41] The second element is obscure, perhaps -**bedu* (Welsh *bedw*) ‘birches’, or -**beδ* (Welsh *bedd*) ‘a grave’, either influenced by Gaelic *beitheach* ‘of birches’.
>
> **Tarelgin** farm 3 km north-east of Drongan, also West Tarelgin farm. *Trarelgin* 1449.[42] This is a formation with the definite article - *ïr*- (Welsh *yr*), so unlikely to be much earlier than the eleventh century (see above). The specific is -*helïgen* (Welsh *helygen*) ‘a willow tree’.
>
> **Treesmax** farm 2km east of Drongan, also Treesmax Bridge 1km south of Tarelgin,

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[38] In the Welsh Laws, Middle Welsh *gwely* acquired a very distinct sense, invoked by Brooke, 1991, 320, ‘a land-owning kinship group’ (and in Modern Welsh, ‘family’) see Jenkins 1986, 260–1, n100.5, and Jones 1996. However, names formed with *Gwely*- in Wales invariably have a personal (kinship-group) name as specific. Moreover there is no trace of this sense in Cornish, it is a mediaeval development in Welsh.

[39] These include Tarelgin, and possibly *Treyvinax* and *Trarynȝeane*, all in Kyle, Trochrague in Carrick, Terregles and *Trevercarcou* in the Stewartry, all discussed below.

[40] Note that forms with Tra-, Tro-, Tar-, Tor- show vocalisation of [β] **trev* > **trew* > **tro*- > **tra*-. Metathesis can lead to confusion with *torr* ‘a heap of rocks’.

[41] Watson 1926, 362.

[42] Ibid. 360 and 362, Breeze 2002, 110.

> *Treyvinax* 1511.[43] Though this is pretty certainly a *trev*- formation, the second element is very obscure. It may have been another formation with the definite article, in the Gaelic-influenced form -*ïn*-,[44] the specific might be -*ǭch* (Welsh *awch*) 'a sharp point, an edge', the final –s is probably the Scots plural –*is*, implying that the holding was at some time divided into two or more units.

It may be significant that **Ochiltree** discussed above is only 4km east of Tarelgin, and lost *Trarynȝeane* in Cumnock parish, to the east of Ochiltree, might also have been associated with these.[45]

2. Kirkmichael parish, Ayrs.

Watson 1926, 362, refers to 'a group of five [*trev* names] around' Barbrethan, Gaelic *bàrr Breatann* 'the Britons' height', which is in Kirkmichael parish in Carrick. Two, **Threave** and **Guiltree**, have already been mentioned, two others are:

> **Tranew** farm 2 km south-east of Kirkmichael, also Tranew Flushes and Linn on the Water of Girvan.[46] The specific is probably –*nöwïδ* (Welsh *newydd*) 'new', replaced by Gaelic –*nuadh*, and subsequently English –*new*.
>
> **Troquhain** farm 3 km east of Kirkmichael, also Troquhain Wood, *Treu[e]chane* 1371,[47] This is an intriguing name, as it occurs again at **Troquhain** in Balmaclellan Kcb (see below), and is probably identical in origin to Torquhan in Stow MLo[48] and maybe Troughend in Otterburn Ntb.[49] For the specific, Breeze 2002, 111–12, suggests -**hwaen* (Welsh *chwaen*) 'a chance, an occurrence, an exploit'. This occurs in place-names in eight parishes across north Wales from Flintshire to Anglesey, but its precise meaning in toponymy is unclear; Breeze suggests 'a battle-site', but any notable event, stroke of luck etc. might equally well be invoked.

I am not sure which place Watson counted as the fifth *trev*. Not far to the west of this cluster in Kirkmichael is **Tradunnock** farm in Maybole parish, 5km south of Maybole, *Trudonag* 1404,[50] and, as we have seen, there is another **Threave**, in Kirkoswald parish.

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[43] Watson 1926, 362.

[44] See Jackson 1953, 10, and ibid. §198(2), 656–7. The early Brittonic definite article was **ind*-, surviving as the Welsh demonstrative adjective *hyn*, and the Cornish and Breton definite article *an*. It is sometimes supposed that *ïn* remained as the definite article in the north, but *ïr* is considerably more common, and possible cases with *ïn* are all in areas where Gaelic influence is likely, as here.

[45] Watson 1926 360. It is another very obscure formation, the definite article -*ïr*- might again be involved. For the final element, Watson suggested - *föntǭn* (Welsh *ffynnon*) 'a spring, a well', but the loss of *f*- rather than –*r*- would be exceptional (*f*- lenites in Gaelic but not in the Brittonic languages; I am grateful to Prof. T. O. Clancy for pointing this out). The saint's name *Ringan*, i.e. Ninian, would be surprising in a *trev*- name-phrase, implying early currency for that form (first definitely recorded in 1301, and probably of Scots rather than Gaelic origin, see Watson 1926, 295–6).

[46] Watson 1926, 361.

[47] Ibid. 362. Blairquhan castle and estate, 4km to the south in Straiton parish, seems likely to contain the same specifying element, and may have had some early association with Torqhain. I am grateful to Dr. Leonie Dunlop for bringing this to my attention.

[48] Dixon 2011, 370.

[49] Mawer 1920, 201.

3. Girvan and Old Dailly parishes, Ayrs.

Watson's (1926, 362) 'group of five *trev*- name-phrases near Girvan with a sixth a few miles to the south-east of them' refers to the following:

Trochrague House, dating back to 1572, and Nether Trochrague farm, in Girvan parish 5km north-east of the town, *Trewchreg* 1498, *Trochreg* 1593.[51] This is another formation with the definite article *–ïr*-, the specific being -*creig* (Welsh *craig*) 'a crag';[52] cf. Travercraig Dmf below.

High **Tralorg** farm, with Tralorg Hill, 4 km east of Girvan, in Old Dailly parish.[53] The specific is probably **lurɣ* (Welsh *llwrw*) 'a path, a track' (a routeway crosses Tralorg Hill), or else the homonym meaning 'a club, a shank' referring to the hill-shape, either way influenced by the Gaelic cognate *lorg*.

Tralodden, now a cottage in Old Daily parish, with Tralodden Bridge and Tralodden Hill, lying immediately south-west of High Tralorg, *Troloddan* Inq. ad Cap.[54] The second part is obscure, perhaps it preserves a lost stream-name from -**lǭd*- (Welsh *llawd*) 'rut, animal heat' which occurs in Leeds YWR, or -**lud*- (a cognate of Irish *loth*) 'mud, mire, mucky water'. In either case, the termination would be the nominal or locative suffix -*an*.

A lost *Trogart* is listed in the *Inqisitiones ad Capitem* immediately before *Troloddan* and was probably adjacent.[55] The specific is probably -*garth* (Welsh *garth*) 'an enclosure for livestock or cultivation'.

Trowier, High, farm in Girvan parish is immediately south of Tralodden, 4km ESE of Girvan, with Trowier Hill, and Low Trowier House beyond it, to the west. *Trowere*

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[50] Watson 1926, 361–2. For the specific, Breeze 2000, 55–6 suggested **dantǭg* (Middle Welsh *donnog*); literally, 'toothed', this was applied in Middle Welsh and Cornish to betony (*Stachys officinalis*), a plant which is near the northern limit of its natural distribution in southern Scotland, so local abundance might have been noteworthy. The BSBI *Atlas of British and Irish Flora* at http://www.brc.ac.uk/plantatlas/index.php?q=plant/stachys-officinalis (accessed 23 April 2013) shows pre-1970 records for this species in hectads in the coastal part of Carrick and in southern Kcb; it is currently present (summer 2013) at Kelton Mains on NTS Threave Estate. However it should be noted that the appearance of this plant in mediaeval and early modern herbals probably derives from a misidentification of Pliny the Elder's *betoníka*. It is doubtful whether betony was really much used, let alone cultivated, as a medicinal herb, see Allen and Hatfield 2004, 212–13. Like English 'betony', **dantǭg* might well have been used for other plants, especially those with dentate leaves.

[51] Watson 1926, 360–1; *Trevercreigeis* cited by Watson has Scots plural *–s*, referring to Trochrague House and Nether Trochrague together.

[52] Being feminine, *creig* should be mutated to **greig*, cf. Tref y Graig, Llandefaelog Crd ; mutation is very inconsistent in Brittonic place-names in the north.

[53] Watson 1926 361.

[54] Ibid, 361.

[55] Ibid. 362.

> 1430, *Traver* 1505.[56] This probably preserves a lost stream-name, perhaps of the Saughill Burn.[57]

Watson's sixth is doubtless **Traboyack** farm in Girvan parish, on the Stinchar Water near Kilpatrick; it is 7km south-east of Girvan and 4 km south-east of Trowier. *Trabuyage* 1413:[58] the specific may be -**biw* 'cattle', archaic plural of *bǖch* (Welsh *buwch*) with an adjectival suffix *–awg*. This could imply a specialised cattle-farm, but might have been another stream-name (now Traboyack Burn); in either case it has been influenced by Gaelic *bàthaich* 'a cowhouse'.

Well to the south-west, so unlikely to be associated with these, is **Troax** in Lendalfoot parish;[59] *Trowag* 1549, seemingly formed with -*wag* (Welsh *gwag*) 'empty, vacant', with Scots plural *–is* added later.

4. The Glenkens Kcb.

There may be traces of another group of *trev* names in Balmaclellan, and possibly Dalry and Parton, parishes. We have already noted the lost ***Contref***; there is also:

> **Troquhain** farm in Balmaclellan. *Trechanis* 1466x7, *Trochane* 1501, *Trowhain* Blaeu,[60] a substantial mediaeval estate; cf. Troquhain Ayrs above.
>
> *Trevercarcou Sic* c1275 in Bagimond's Roll might be an earlier name for Balmaclellan (settlement and parish), or for Earlston in Dalry. [61] This is a formation with the definite article -*ïr*-, cf. **Trarelgin** above, so it is unlikely to be early. The next element is probably *–carrawg*- or *–carreg*-, 'a rocky place, a hard river-bed', which again could be a lost stream-name. The final syllable is problematic, it might be a plural ending, *–öü* (Welsh *–au*), or Scots -*howe* 'a hollow' added later.[62]

In the eastern part of Parton parish, overlooking the River Urr, so not in the Glenkens, *Tralallan* is recorded as an alternative name for Glenlair.[63] It is surely another *trev*-, and may preserve a lost stream-name of the ‘Allen’ type for what is now the Glenlair Burn.[64] It is doubtful whether it can be associated with the possible cluster to the north-west, but it is worth noting that there are two other settlements with probable Brittonic place-names nearby in the upper Urr basin, the east side of Parton parish: **Mochrum** *Mochrumm* Blaeu, in origin a hill-name *moch-* (Welsh *moch*) ‘pigs, swine’ + *-drum* (Welsh *trwm*) ‘ridge’, so the name applies primarily to Mochrum Fell at the head of the Glenlair Burn,[65] and **Corsock**, *Corsok*, 1527.[66]

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[56] Ibid. 361.

[57] Either from an ancient root **wei*- 'moving, flowing', or **[g]weir* (Welsh *gwair* in compounds, also *gwŷr*) 'a bend, something curved or twisted'; cf. **Troqueer** below, and Traquair (Innerleithen Pbl), also probably R. Wear Drh (*Vedra* > **weir*, but the range of early forms is complicated) and possibly R. Wyre Lanc, see references at under **wei*- in James 2006–11.

[58] Watson 1926, 359, 361. Traboyack House, the former manse in Straiton, built 1795, with Traboyack Wood, is presumably a transferred name.

[59] Ibid. 362.

[60] Ibid. loc. cit., Maxwell 1930, 262.

[61] Watson 1926, 359. See Brooke 1984, 41–56, citing Barrow at 54n, Breeze 2005, 91, and Findlater 2008 , 72–3. Barrow, followed by Brooke and Breeze, suggested this was an earlier name for Earlston, but there is no other evidence for a separate parish there; Findlater argues that it was for Balmaclellan.

[62] Findlater proposes reading **Trevercarcon*, with -**cair*- (W *caer*) 'a fort' and a final element being a variant of the personal name *Can[e]*, but such a combination of *trev* with *cair* seems unparalleled in Wales or Cornwall.

[63] Watson 1926, 363; *Tralallane alias Glenlair* RMS vi no 1334 1558, cf. RMS viii no 1067 1627, Inq ad Cap no 57 1604, and RMS vii no 1415 1616. I am grateful to Michael Ansell for identifying Watson's source.

5. Troqueer and Terregles parishes, Kcb.

The presence of two adjacent parishes named with *trev-* phrases in a well-defined district of the Stewartry is of particular interest:

> **Troqueer**, with Troqueer Mote, *Treverquyrd* c1120, *Treucoer* 1154x86, *Trequere* 1372x4, *Traquire* 17th cent., *Troquyir* Pont.[67] The second element is probably the same as we met in Trowier Ayrs, above, perhaps preserving an earlier name for the Cargen Water.[68]
>
> **Terregles** *Travereglis* c1275, *Treueger* 1214x49, *Travereglis[s]* 1359, *Travereglys* 1365, *Trareglis* 1426, *Trareglis*, *Trareclis* 1457, *Toregills* Blaeu.[69] This is another formation with the definite article *-ïr-*, so it is not one of the early Brittonic *eglẹ:s* names, being unlikely to date from any earlier than the tenth century, by which time *-egluis* (Welsh *eglwys*) had come to mean ‘a church building’.[70] **Trev-ïr-egluis* might well have been a Cumbric equivalent of Scandinavian *kirkju-bý* ‘church-farm’: Anglo-Scandinavian *bý* corresponds in usage to Cumbric *trev* and, following the adoption of Christianity by the tenth century Viking settlers, the *kirkju-bý* became an important form of estate that included a church building among its assets and proprietary rights.

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[64] These, from **al-went-*, form a substantial group of ancient watercourse-names in Britain (especially the north) and on the Continent. For **al-* in river-names, see Rivet and Smith 1979, 243–7, Parsons and Styles 1997, 7–8, and in James 2006–11.

[65] Maxwell 1930, 212, also Brooke 1991, 320. Cf. Mochrum parish Wig, Mochrum Hill Ayrs. It is a close-compound formation, potentially early, though **mochdrum* could have remained current as common noun; it is nevertheless more likely to be Brittonic than Gaelic (**muc-druim*).

[66] Maxwell 1930, 79. There is another Corsock, in New Abbey. *Cors-* ‘reeds, rushes, sedge’ + adjectival suffix *-awg*; maybe **Corsawg* was an early name for the upper reach of the Urr. Alternatively **crois-awg* ‘place with a cross’ or ‘crossing-place’.

[67] Watson 1926, 362, Maxwell 1930, 261.

[68] See note 57 above. As *trev* is a feminine noun, Traquair, and presumably Troqueer, should have been **tre[v]-weir* like Trowier rather than **tre-gweir*, but in these cases the river-name would have counteracted the mutation.

[69] Watson 1926, 359, Maxwell 1930, 258.

[70] Earlier Brittonic *eglẹ:s* (from Latin, and ultimately Greek, *ecclesia*) meant ‘the Church, the/a Christian community’, and probably referred to the home and landholding of an early monastic community, as at Eccles (OE **Eclēs*) in Nithsdale (Penpont Dmf), and Ecclefechan Dmf, where *egluis-vechan* ‘small church landholding’ may imply a territory associated with the important Anglian monastery just across the Annan at Hoddom. Eaglesfield nearby is OE **Eclēs-feld* ‘tract of open land called (by the Britons) **Eclēs*’, but this may be a transferred name from Eaglesfield Cmb. See James 2009 at 136–7.

> In the areas between the Solway and the Wirral there are at least forty-five 'Kir[k]by' place-names.[71]

As well as these two parish-names, there are two *trev*- named farms on the side of Castle Hill (a northern extension of the Criffel granite) overlooking the Cargen and Cluden valleys, both in Troqueer parish:

> **Terrauchtie** *Traachty* 1457 RMS, *Terauchty* 1497 RMS, *Terachty* Pont.[72] This is evidently a secondary formation, implying an earlier *ǖch*- 'higher' + -*tī* 'a bothy' (Welsh *uwchty*) associated with annual livestock-movements.[73] Subsequently an independent farm was established named after the earlier shieling with *trev*- prefixed.
>
> **Tregallon**, with Tregallon Mote, lies about a kilometre south-west of Terrauchtie. I have found no early record.[74] The specific seems to be -*gālon* (Welsh *galon*) meaning 'enemies' or 'hostilities', or it could have been *galanas*, 'compensation for a killing', corresponding to Middle Irish *galannas*, with the final syllable mistaken for a meaningless plural and so dropped. This latter word occurs in the fourteenth century document (of probable twelfth-century origin) misleadingly called by nineteenth-century scholars *Leges inter Brettos et Scottos*, as *galnes* and *galnys*.[75] Along with a couple of other words in the same text that may be Cumbric, it is the only surviving non-onomastic trace of that language.

These two parishes occupy a well-defined territory comprising most of the New Red Sandstone country west of the Nith. It would seem that, at some point, probably around the end of the first millennium AD, this was divided between two major units, Troqueer, centred on the Cargen Water, and Terregles, on the Cluden Water; with a third, Terrauchtie, established on former seasonal hill-pasture, and a fourth, Tregallon, associated with some disagreement.

A Possible Historical Context

This observation regarding the group of *trev*- name-phrases in the south-east of Kirkcudbrightshire may help towards a more general contextualisation for the place-names considered in this paper. What follows is a very much simplified model for the development of landholdings during the first millennium AD and the beginning of the second, based on views broadly current, though by no means universal, among landscape archaeologists and historians.[76]

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[71] Ibid. 146; on the dating, id. 2011, 74–5, cf. the very different view of MacQueen 1953–4. On *kirkju-bý*, see Fellows-Jensen 1985, 34.

[72] Watson 1926, 201, Maxwell 1930, 258.

[73] Cf., perhaps, **Currochtrie** and **Garrochtrie** discussed above, with notes 20 and 25 on compound formations.

[74] Watson 1926, 362, Maxwell 1930, 261.

[75] Seebohm 1911, 313; in this document, it refers specifically to compensation paid to the husband of a free woman unlawfully killed.

[76] This section largely restates the case put forward in James 2011, 88–93, with some updating and revision. With regard to south-west Scotland in particular, while the emphasis I placed there on the development of large-scale transhumant farming is still relevant, the location and distribution

It is a three-stage model, beginning with what I would call a 'chieftain's territory'. From well before the start of the Christian era, the basic unit of land-control — and, for the great majority of the population, their life-world — was a very largely self-sufficient territory, varying in size according to the nature of the land, but typically one that could be comfortably ridden around in a day, comprising enough arable for a crop of oats or barley, seasonal pasturage, meadow, woodland and fresh water to support a population of at most a few hundred, farming at a subsistence level but producing sufficient surplus to maintain a local chieftain and his war-band. In much of our region, such territories are naturally defined by watersheds between the major river-catchments.[77]

A second stage saw the development of these territories to maintain a perhaps somewhat larger population at a rather higher standard of living, especially for the local lord and his retinue, enabling him in turn to engage in competitive 'gift exchange' with rival chieftains in the area, and later to pay renders to some established higher authority, a regional king or other powerful figure, or, when conversion had occurred, to the Church. Characteristic of this phase is the increasingly complex organisation of the 'multiple estate', with a valuable portion of the territory reserved as the lord's own, and other units tending to acquire more specialised functions, albeit within a local economy that was still redistributive and more or less self-sufficient.[78]

The third stage saw the break-up of these self-contained territories and their replacement by more compact farming units paying renders directly to the king or the Church. This was associated with the beginnings of a market economy (initially barter, eventually monetary), replacing the internal redistributive economy within individual territories, with trade among farms able to produce surpluses of marketable specialities. Throughout England, Wales and Scotland (outwith the highlands and islands of the north and west), albeit at different times and in varying ways, these changes entailed widespread abandonment or relocation of older settlements, and the establishment and naming of new settlements with their associated landholdings.[79]

In south-west Scotland, I see the first stage continuing well into the first millennium

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of the *trev* place-names suggest participation in a rather more localised pattern of mainly pastoral farming.

[77] See Roberts 2008, chapter 6.

[78] See Barrow 1973, 7–68, Jones 1979, Winchester 1985, Roberts 2008, 14–28 and 151–72; for critique of the concept of 'multiple estate', see Wickham 2005, 319–33, but his valid doubts about the patterns of tenure and render implied by that model do not prevent him from accepting Barrow's concept of 'extensive lordship' (325, n58) and seeing such self-contained units as the fundamental building blocks of emergent regional kingdoms like Northumbria. For discussion of such a socio-economic substructure in upland Scotland, developing Wickham's concept of 'peasant society' and drawing on Icelandic comparanda, see Oram 2011, 197–209. Fraser's concept of 'farmer republics' (developing that of 'fully civil societies', Charles-Edwards 2000, 80, and adumbrated at Fraser 2009, 30–42) is comparable, but unfortunately its implications are not fully explored in his reconstruction of developments southern Scotland in the fifth-seventh centuries (ibid. 124–38, 149–54, 176–7, 179–82).

[79] See James 2009 at 145–7.

AD.[80] Subsistence farming was the economic basis of life in the north.[81] In the fifth and sixth centuries, any economic advantages to our area from the proximity of the Roman military zone, and from Roman strategic interference in the politics of the region, quickly vanished with the end of Roman rule.[82] So, in those centuries, the chieftain's territory, typically focused in our area on the major river valleys and controlled from strongpoints like Trusty's Hill, The Mote of Mark and Tynron Doon, would have been the basic, indeed for much of the time the only, permanent political units. The ability of a few chieftains controlling coastal strongholds with occasional access to prestige goods to maintain a hint of *Romanitas*, along with the anachronistic projection into this period by later historians and poets of regional 'kingdoms',[83] should not blind us to the reality of rule by (very) local warlords. A 'kingdom' is an extensive polity with established borders surviving over several generations, with rulership passed on through rule-governed succession. While confederations of warlords under some successful leader may have emerged from time to time, the economic substructure and machinery of organised government simply did not exist for the formation or maintenance of anything more extensive or permanent.[84] For the people of our region, the day-to-day reality was a struggle to raise enough to feed the family and to supply a small surplus to a local warlord and his band of fighters in exchange for protection.

In mediaeval Welsh law, the *tref* was the basic unit of settlement and landholding.[85] Laing and Longley (2006, 159–60) and MacQueen (2008, 14–15) have rightly drawn attention to the light such Welsh legal usage can cast on the significance of **trev* in Cumbric-speaking areas, but caution is necessary.[86] In Welsh legal texts (mainly from the thirteenth century) the *tref* is the building-block of the *cantref*, a territorial unit peculiar to post-eleventh century Wales. Though Welsh *cantrefi* probably represent a rationalisation of older land-divisions in terms of mediaeval fiscal arrangements, and may in their boundaries have preserved the geographical extent of earlier chieftains' territories, we cannot assume that the patterns of settlement, forms of landholding, or systems of render described in the Welsh laws existed as early as the fifth to seventh centuries even in Wales. There is no evidence for *cantrefi* in Cornwall or Brittany, and no reason to suppose they ever existed in the 'Old North'.

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[80] For varying opinions, see Alcock 1987, 286–307, Woolf 2007, 17–23 and Fraser 2009, 61–7.

[81] Fowler 2002, 62–5, Woolf 2007, 16–17.

[82] Esmonde-Cleary 1989, 138–61, and even (despite his espousal of 'continuity') Dark 2000, 81–8.

[83] Such as Rheged, discussed by Breeze 2012: for a range of recent scholarly opinion on the (mis)use of mediaeval Welsh poetry as primary source material for the history of the 'Old North', see the papers collected in Woolf ed. 2013; on the impossibility of locating Rheged, Haycock at 10–11, Padel 134–7, Clancy 156–7 with the detailed notes accompanying all these.

[84] See note 78 above.

[85] In Jenkins 1986 see references at 387 s.v. *tref* and at 423 s.v. 'townland'.

[86] Laing and Longley also refer to the Irish *Senchas Fer n-Alban* (a record of naval levies from territories in the Scots' kingdom of Dalriada) and the Anglo-Saxon *Tribal Hidage* (listing military levies from territories in the English midlands); both are notoriously opaque documents whose historical contexts are matters of great controversy. Suffice to say in this context that, beyond their apparent consistency with the proposed model of relatively small, self-contained and self-sufficient territories forming the 'building blocks' of emerging kingdoms, they cannot be regarded as reliable sources of light on the situation in our region in the 5th–7th centuries.

As we have seen, there are good linguistic grounds for dating name-phrases with *trev-* no earlier than the tenth century, and no reason to assume that simplex forms or those with pre-positioned adjectives are necessarily much earlier. To suppose that the *trev* names in our region are traces of some system of landholding and tribute-payment comparable to that of the *cantref* as early as the fifth to seventh centuries would be to ignore the evidence both for linguistic change and for changes in settlement and landholding during the subsequent half-millennium.

The conditions for any developments towards stage two in the schema above are unlikely to have existed in our region until such chiefdoms as I have described were incorporated into the developing state of Northumbria[87] from the late seventh century, either surviving as small sub-kingdoms (Bede's *regiones*), or appropriated as royal, ecclesiastical or aristocratic estates. It is in this period that I would place the trev names indicating 'principal farm within an estate', like **Threave** and **Rattra**, and probably the compounds referring to farms at some distance from the estate centre, typically on higher land, like **Ochiltree** and **Trostrie**, or suggesting some specialised role, as at **Guiltree**. Again, it would be a mistake to assume that the status of these settlements, and of the individuals or (family?) groups holding them, was comparable to that of *trefi* and their holders in later Welsh laws, we can only infer that they played a distinct and significant part in the, still self-contained, redistributive, economies of emergent 'multiple estates'.

For the transition to stage three in south-west Scotland, the catalyst was the impact of the Vikings. The falls of York (868–9) and Alclud (870) were doubtless catastrophic for the victims of Viking vengeance and slave-trading, and the implosion of the two kingdoms created a power-vacuum that must have led to a reversion to rule by local warlords for some decades in all regions west of Dere Street. But by the second quarter of the tenth century the picture was sunnier. In the first place, literally — the climate was improving, the empty hills and thinly populated upper valleys now offered opportunities for more productive farming, especially livestock rearing, using the extensive hill-pasture for large herds in summer. And, while the kind of cash economy that was flourishing in the south was still no nearer than York, there were opportunities at very least for farmers raising a marketable surplus of livestock and dairy products to barter with those with more productive arable land producing a surplus of grain, both sectors benefiting from their ability to feed a growing regional population.

It is only in this third period that we can suppose that the term *trev* may have acquired some legal/ fiscal sense comparable to (though not necessarily the same as) that of *tref* in the Welsh laws. It would have been in this context that the name-phrases with *trev-* were given to new, more compact, units within what had been extensive estates. In some places, such as Kirkmichael Ayrs, pre-existing simplex and compound names (**Threave**, **Guiltree**) survived alongside the newer phrasal names (**Tranew**, **Troquhain**, and probably **Tradunnock**), though the landholdings they referred to may well have changed in extent and character. In others, such as Girvan and Old Dailly Ayrs, they were replaced by a wholly new local toponymy employing name-phrases with *trev-* (**Trochrague**, **Tralorg**, **Tralodden**, *Trogart*, **Trowier**, **Traboyack**). At **Terregles** and **Troqueer** we can see a very interesting case of a self-contained territory divided between two holdings associated with major settlements in the two valleys, along with a pair of upland farms (**Terrauchtie** and **Tregallon**).

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[87] And also, presumably, into the polity ruled from Alclud (Dumbarton), though the extent of that 'kingdom' at any date up to the fall of its citadel in 870 is wholly unknowable, cf. Clancy in Woolf ed. 2013, 159–60.

This same period saw substantial demographic and linguistic changes in south-west Scotland, prompted both by 'push' factors in the form of political instability and frequent warfare around the Irish Sea, and 'pull' factors in the form of such new opportunities for profitable farming. The movement of the Gall-Ghàidheil southwards into Galloway was the most significant,[88] and the eventual replacement (or perhaps more accurately, absorption) of Cumbric may have been reinforced by other Gaelic-speaking settlers.[89] Late Northumbrian Old English (becoming Older Scots) was still current, there was also settlement by Scandinavian (West and East Norse) speakers, and very probably by Cumbric speakers moving out from Clyde basin too.[90]

In the groups of *trev* names I have described, we may see traces of ancient territories where, at the time of their eventual break-up, the Cumbric language was, for one reason or another, still dominant. In these places, several, perhaps all, of the newly-formed units were held and named by Cumbric speakers, though whether the *trev-* names were given by locals whose ancestors had spoken Brittonic throughout the time of Northumbrian rule, or by refugees/economic migrants from Strathclyde and elsewhere, is impossible to judge. In some parishes, such as Penninghame Wig, Borgue, Kelton and Twynholm Kcb, names from the second phase (late seventh to mid-ninth centuries) are the only surviving relics of *trev*, subsequent changes in landholding patterns are reflected in names in other languages — early Gaelic, English/Older Scots, and Scandinavian — implying kaleidoscopic variety and ongoing change in the linguistic geography of Galloway and Ayrshire during the tenth and eleventh centuries.

This historical proposal is, of course, speculative, a hypothesis to be tested as and when much more comprehensive surveys of place-names in south-western Scotland are undertaken, and against growing bodies of archaeological evidence and historical interpretation. Nevertheless, it suggests a credible context for the creation of a range of new settlements, new kinds of landholding, new patterns of land-use, and, in particular, it suggests how simplex and compound names formed with *trev* may reflect the development of chieftains' territories into 'multiple estates', and the subsequent disintegration of these into more compact, independent units, typified by those named with *trev-* as the generic in phrasal formations.

Coda: some (very?) late *trev-* names in Dumfriesshire

There seem to be only two well-documented *trev-* names in Dumfriesshire, not close to each other, but of interest as both were mediaeval parishes, and there are reasons for thinking their name-formations late, perhaps very late. Both have *trev*- with the definite article; they may well be Cumbric formations of the eleventh or even twelfth century; indeed, one wonders whether they could even be evidence of settlers from Wales in the time of David's Princedom of the Cumbrians (probably 1113–24):

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[88] Clancy 2008, 19–50.

[89] For evidence of the 'Irish-Norse' contribution in Galloway, see Livingstone 2010.

[90] James 2008, 201–3.

> **Trailflat** church and farm, a mediaeval parish joined to that of Tinwald in 1650, is *Traverflet* 1165x1214.[91] It may be formed with -**lad*, a variant of **lẹid* (Welsh *llaid*) 'mud, mire', and *–fl*- could be an Anglicised trace of devoiced [ɬ] (Welsh *ll*).Traces of this distinctive Welsh consonant are rare in Anglicised place-names, and date at the earliest from the transition between Old and Middle Welsh, around 1100.[92]
>
> **Trailtrow**, a settlement (Trailtrow Smithy), with Trailtrow Moor, is again a former parish, joined to Cummertrees in 1609. It is *Trevertrold* in the Inquisition of David, ca. 1116.[93] Latin *trulla* 'a wine-ladle' was adopted as Brittonic **trullo*-, becoming Welsh *trull*, from which was formed Middle Welsh *trulhiad*, Modern *trulliad* 'steward'.[94] Breeze (1999) sees the latter as the specific here. Though we know very little about the Cumbrian polity, and nothing at all about its governance, judging by parallels in Wales, Ireland and England, the elevation of court offices like butler and steward to honorary, hereditary titles associated with land-grants would have been a development no earlier than the late eleventh or twelfth centuries,[95] so Trailtrow may even date from David's princedom.

A few other Dumfriesshire place-names are more or less likely to be *trev*- formations:

> **Trabeattie** in Torthorwald might, like Trabboch in Drongan Ayrs (above), have -**bedu* (Welsh *bedw*) 'birches', or -**beδ* (Welsh bedd) 'a grave', here influenced by the Scots surname Beattie (a hypocorism for Bartholemew, according to Black (1946) Hanks and Hodges 1996[96]). However, it lacks early documentation.
>
> *Travercraig* is listed by Johnson-Ferguson in Durisdeer parish, *sic* 1315,[97] though I cannot find it on 1st edition or current OS maps. It is pretty clearly formed with the definite article + *–creig* 'a crag', making it identical in origin to Trochrague in Girvan, above.
>
> *Trawgirel* 1580 in the Dumfries Sheriff Court Book (Johnson-Ferguson 1935, 138) might be another, but its location is unknown and its origin opaque.

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[91] Watson 1926, 359, Johnson-Ferguson 1935, 119.

[92] See Jackson 1953 §93, 473–80; cf. *Polthledick* a lost field-name in Burtholme Cmb, Ekwall 1928, 329–30, Armstrong et al. 1950, I.73: **pol-łẹid-īg* 'muddy beck', again apparently showing a trace of unvoiced [ɬ], coincidentally in an adjectival form of the same word.

[93] Watson 1926, 359, Johnson-Ferguson 1935, 19.

[94] *Trull* occurs in *Canu Aneirin*, so was probably current in Old Welsh by the eleventh century, though not necessarily as early as the supposed sixth century date of the verses attributed to Aneirin; *trulhiad* is first evidenced in Welsh Laws from 13th century.

[95] Oram 2011, 301–11.

[96] Followed by Hanks and Hodges 1996, and Reaney and Wilson 1997, though the latter mention, s.n. Batt, Old Norse *bati* 'dweller by the fat pasture', which could have relevance for this Borders surname.

[97] Johnson-Ferguson 1935, 34.

Trigony, with Trigony Wood, in Closeburn lacks documentation. Tregony (Cuby) in Cornwall is thought by Oliver Padel (1988, 166) to be *tre*- + a personal name *_Rigni_.[98]

Trohoughton (Dumfries): Johnson-Ferguson (1935, 26) says 'the first syllable is probably W[elsh] *tref yr*', but given that it is listed as *Rahothton*¸ a beacon site, in 1488, a form like Ratho Midlothian[99] seems more likely, the initial /r/ > /tr/ being an early modern alteration. It would involve Gaelic *ràth* with a vocalic suffix, perhaps replacing *_rawd_ (see Rattra Kcb above) with a plural suffix *–öü*, and *–tūn* added by late Old English/ early Scots speakers. As at Ratho where there are two hill-forts, *_rawdöü_ might indicate 'forts'.

Finally, we should note **Troloss** at the head of the Potrail Water in south Lanarkshire (Elvanfoot). Watson (1926, 362) interprets this as *_trev-lost_, the second element being a word that may have originally meant some kind of hunting weapon,[100] though it is chiefly used in the Celtic languages (metaphorically?) for 'a tail' (as Middle Welsh *llost*). Watson compares Gaelic *gasg* 'a tail', 'often applied to "a tail" of land, i.e. a place where a plateau ends in an acute angle and narrows down to vanishing point'; this seems doubtfully appropriate here, but other senses such as 'butt, back end' could be relevant. In the absence of early records, it must remain doubtful.

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[98] This would be formed from the root *_rīgo_- 'rule, kingship' which occurs in Old Welsh personal names and is present in *Rerigonion*, a *pólis* of the *Novantae*, preserved in the name of Loch Ryan, but the suffix of *_Rigni_ would have been *–njo-*, not *–onjo-*.

[99] Dixon 2011, 349–50.

[100] If it is from NW Indo-European *_luh_$_x$- (zero-grade of *_leuh_$_x$- 'hunt') + -*st*-; cf. Old Norse *lustr* 'a cudgel', and *ljóstr* > northern English and Scots *leister* 'a two-pronged fishing-spear'.

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THE HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF SANQUHAR

Martin Allen[1]

This essay sets out to trace the development of Sanquhar from the earliest times to the close of the nineteenth century, with a glance at its more recent expansion, a section on its outlying dependency of Crawick and a look at the roads which may have been the main reason for the town's existence. Conclusions are drawn from maps, observation on the ground, the historical record — mainly the comprehensive 1891 work of local historian James Brown — and information from local residents.

Two Castles

The Ordnance Survey shows 'Sean Caer' — Gaelic for 'old seat' or 'old fortress' and the origin of Sanquhar's name — as an earthwork outside the present town, about a quarter-mile north of the parish church and approached by a steep climb from a farmyard behind the present Sanquhar Academy. It has a flat top of about 60 by 30 yards and stands at the southern end of a fairly level hilltop outlined on the modern map by the 150m contour. It was probably raised in the Iron Age for defensive purposes, being protected by steep slopes on the south, east and west sides. On the north side it is separated from the rest of the hilltop by a gully, which may have served the dual purpose of providing material for the fort and acting as a dry moat which would have been filled with a thicket of sharpened stakes and traversed by a path to what may be the site of the original settlement. Such a settlement may have been continuously occupied for fifteen centuries — say from 100BC to AD1400 — but a walk over the ground shows no sign except of recently abandoned hedgerows, and without archaeological evidence its existence can only be regarded as conjectural.

At the other end of the town are the ruins of Sanquhar Castle, which was likewise detached from the built-up area until approached by a twentieth-century housing development, its principal street named Deerpark Avenue from a former use of the land. On the age of the castle and its builders there are differences of opinion: one authority, John Gifford, states 'In the 14th century the barony of Sanquhar passed by marriage to the Crichtons, who probably began the present complex a little before 1400';[2] while Sanquhar's historian, James Brown, puts it earlier, having '… no reason to doubt that it was the work of the Edgars or their predecessors in the twelfth century'.[3] Both could be right; Gifford's mention of 'the present complex' does not preclude the possibility that it replaced an older fortress on the same site.[4]

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

[2] John Gifford, *Dumfries and Galloway* in the series The Buildings of Scotland, London, Penguin Books, 1996, p.514.

[3] James Brown, *The History of Sanquhar*, Dumfries, J. Anderson & Son, 1891, p.54.

[4] A photograph of Sanquhar Castle taken by John Rutherford occurs as Figure 11 in the article 'John Rutherford, Society Member And Photographer In Nithsdale' which is to be found in the present volume of *TDGNHAS*.

The castle overlooks the broad valley of the Nith, but is some 500 yards from the river. Standing on a bluff, it was well placed to withstand attack from that side. The then undrained flat valley land would have presented an additional obstacle to an attacker, but would also have hindered a defender seeking to prevent a crossing of the river itself. According to Brown, '[the castle] was built on the verge of the plateau … overlooking what has once been the course of the river',[5] but this seems unlikely. Old river-channels can be seen elsewhere — in particular on the south[6] side of the present course, between Blackaddie Bridge (NS 775096) and the mouth of the Euchan Water — but none on its north side in the vicinity of the castle.

The Deerpark

If, despite appearances, the river once flowed close to the castle, it must have adopted a more southerly course before establishment of the 70-acre deerpark which lay to the south and west of the castle. The date of its construction is not known; the area was shown as 'Deer Park' on the nineteenth-century Ordnance Survey maps,[7] although by then it was divided into five fields of ten to sixteen acres each. The last known mention of deer in connection with the park was made two centuries earlier, when the then Earl of Buccleuch gave orders for 'both the old Bucks' to be killed and the meat sent to him in Edinburgh.[8]

The park, now partly occupied by twentieth-century housing, was bounded by a high wall known as the Deer Dyke, most of which still stands although generally reduced in height. On the east side, the dyke runs beside a stone-surfaced track, a continuation of the lane from the A76 to the ruined farmstead of Castle Mains (NS 787092). Some 300 yards from the farmstead, the track and the wall part company, the track turning left to approach the site of a ford leading to South Mains (NS 784082), the wall turning right to approach and then follow the river-bank. From the river-bank, the boundary climbed the steep slope to the Braehead, where a short length of the wall has been restored to its original state. From there the wall continues northwards and ends a few hundred yards from the primary-school playground, where the boundary turned east, running through the site of Queensberry Court and along the north side of Lovedale. The wall reappears behind the houses on the north side of that street, and again behind those on the north side of Forsyth Avenue where it forms a common boundary with the plots on the south side of Castle Street. At the end of Forsyth Avenue the land dips down to the Townfoot Burn. On the west side of the castle the boundary crossed the burn and continued down to the valley floor, finally turning east and running along the foot of the steep crag below the castle.

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[5] Brown, *loc.cit.*

[6] In fact south-west. Both the Nith and the main street run approximately NW-SE, but for simplicity, here and elsewhere, we follow Brown and others in treating both as running west-east.

[7] 1850 and 1899 25-inch Ordnance Survey maps of Dumfriesshire, sheets VI.14 and VI.15. These and the other early maps mentioned in this article may be viewed on the National Library of Scotland website, `maps.nls.uk`.

[8] Letter dated 31 August 1688, quoted by Brown, pp.61–2.

The Medieval Town

In 1484 Sanquhar was created a Burgh of Barony. The acquisition of that status — in fact the conferral of that privilege on the landowner — implies that it was already, in effect, a town with a settled population and such urban attributes as markets, a body of traders, a court and its adjunct, a prison, its rights to all of which were merely confirmed. Its privileges were spelt out in detail when in 1598 it became a Royal Burgh.[9]

Both the deerpark and the town were products of a time of peaceful conditions when the laird could treat the castle as his residence rather than his stronghold. If the deerpark did not precede establishment of the town it was probably already planned, and its northern boundary running alongside what later became Castle Street effectively prevented the growth of a town in the immediate vicinity of the castle. Instead, it was allowed to develop on the site further west that became the nucleus of the present-day town.

Castle Street probably originated as part of a route running westward to present-day Levens Road where it swung north; at the bend it was joined by another road leading to, and probably beyond, a church on the site of the present building. This road, between the junction and the area of the present Tollbooth, known as Townhead, became the principal street of the town. It is likely that from Townhead another street descended to cross the Nith at or near the present site of Blackaddie Bridge. That this was an ancient crossing-place is attested by its name: ‘addie’ is old Gaelic *ath duibh* ‘black ford’, to which English ‘black’ was added later,[10] perhaps to distinguish it from the ford further downstream which gave access to South Mains.

As shown on the nineteenth century 25-inch Ordnance Survey maps the site of the original town is characterised by long plots typical of medieval urban development, known as burgage plots, many of which can still be traced on the ground. Here, as in many other towns, boundaries first set out in medieval times have persisted into our own time; plots may be divided or developed as ‘courts’, buildings demolished and replaced again and again, but the boundaries between the original plots tend to remain constant.

The series of plots fronting the High Street between Laurie’s Wynd (Irving’s Wynd on the 1860 Ordnance Survey map) and St Mary Street, formerly Helen’s Wynd, is shown on the nineteenth-century maps as consisting of 13 plots with frontages averaging 29 feet; the six we measured ranged from 27 feet to 32 feet. The two plots at the eastern end of the series were cleared of their head-end buildings in the twentieth century to enable widening of Laurie’s Wynd and formation of a car park. The head-end buildings of the other eleven form a continuous row, but their various ages, styles, heights and ground-floor uses (in 2014, shops, a public house, a Chinese takeaway, a solicitor’s office and reputedly the world’s oldest post office) disguise the approximately equal width of all but two of them. (Figures 1 & 2) The exceptions are the public house and the adjoining takeaway, the former wider and the latter correspondingly narrower than the standard width, suggesting a post-medieval adjustment of frontages. The standard width of these plots reflects the widths of the houses that would originally have been erected at their head ends, each with its

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[9] The text of the 1598 Charter is given in Brown, pp.155–157.

[10] Brown, p.47 of Appendices.

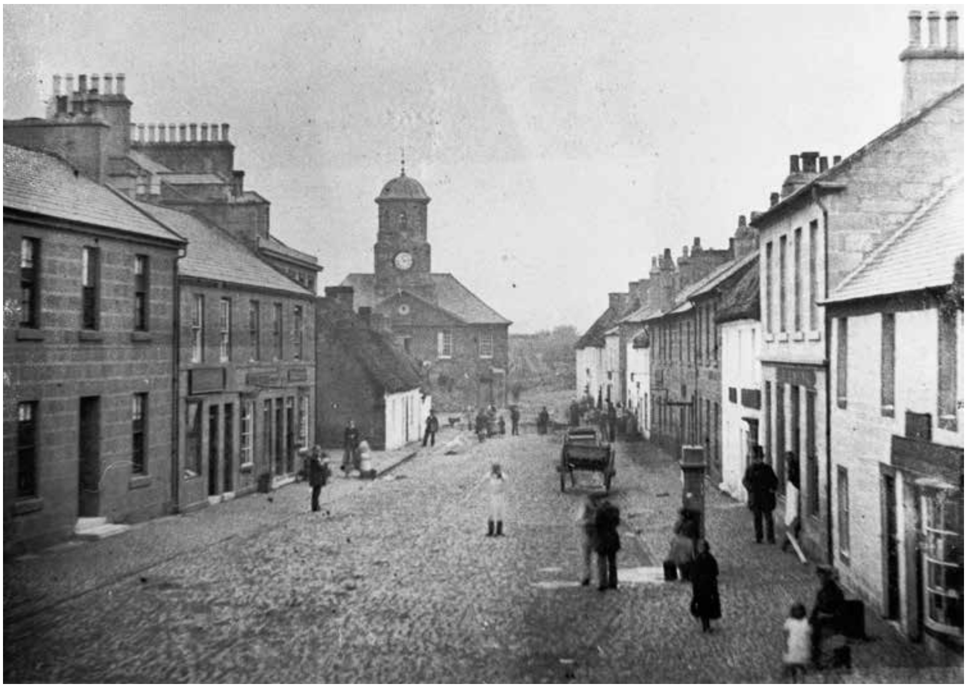

Figure 1. An early photograph of Sanquhar High Street, facing north-west. The photograph is believed to date from the 1860s and certainly predates construction of the Town Hall, completed in 1882, which stands beyond and to the right of the 1735–7 Tolbooth. On the extreme right of the picture is the bow-windowed Post Office, and the frontages on that side of the street are those described on the previous page. On the opposite side, the tall building set back from the road is shown on the Ordnance Survey 25-inch map of 1860 as a branch of the Western Bank of Scotland, acquired by the Royal Bank when the Western Bank collapsed in 1857. The thatched house beyond it is the first in a row of three, as shown on the 25-inch map; as late as 1837 such single-storey thatched houses were common in Sanquhar[11]. (Courtesy of Dumfries Museum)

ridgepole supported by a pair of crucks at each end and an intermediate pair, giving a total width of around two rods.[12]

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[11] Dates of Town Hall and Tolbooth: Gifford, *op. cit.*, p.514. Royal Bank acquires Western Bank branches: `http://heritagearchives.rbs.com/companies/list/western-bank-of-scotland.html`. Thatched houses in 1837: these are mentioned *en passant* by Brown (p.270) in his description of a heavy snowfall in that year.

[12] The following description of the medieval houses in Alnwick, where the layout of burgage plots was similar to that of other historic towns in both Britain and continental Europe, applies equally to those of Sanquhar: 'Earlier [pre-eighteenth century] building construction … depended widely on the use of timber as a skeleton. This not only carried the roof but determined largely the organization of internal space on the principle of "bays", i.e. the spaces between different pairs of "crucks". Although these bays were not necessarily of standard size, the ordinary agricultural unit known as the rod or pole was used in setting out the building plan on the site.' In the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries 'the houses of Alnwick were generally low and small single-storey thatched buildings' mostly with frontages ranging from 28 to 32 feet. From M.R.G. Conzen, *Alnwick,*

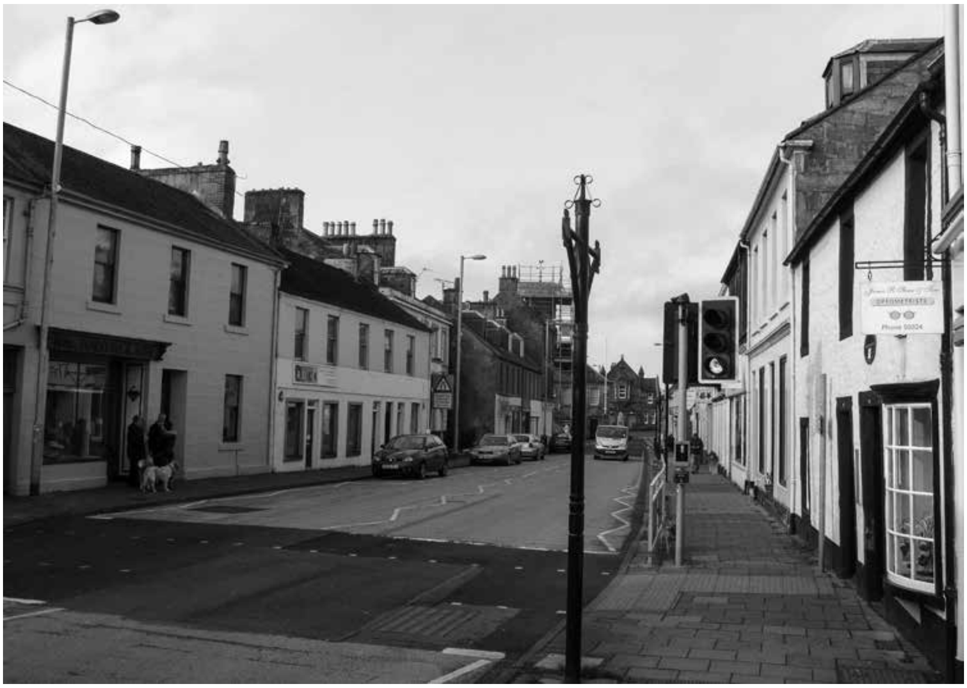

Figure 2. Sanquhar High Street in 2014. (Photograph: Martin Allen)

Along the tail (upper) ends of the plots ran a Back Lane, so called on the 1860 Ordnance Survey map and now Simpson Road. The eight plots nearest to St Mary's Street were about 200 feet in length, but the continuation of boundary lines on the opposite (north) side of Simpson Road suggests that they may once have been longer, the road originating as a path across them. From about the mid-point of Simpson Road to its junction with Laurie's Wynd the plots were progressively shorter, diminishing to about 170 feet at the junction. At the tail-ends of some of the plots the maps show ancillary buildings that existed in the nineteenth century, probably on the sites of earlier buildings some of which would have been cowsheds, since it is known that cows were kept in the town and taken out daily to graze on common land, a practice that continued into the early years of the nineteenth century.[13]

East of Laurie's Wynd another lane runs along the tail-ends of a series of shorter plots, with ancillary buildings on some but not all of the plot tails. Here the boundaries between the small fields between the lane and the railway line, as shown on the nineteenth-century maps, continue down to the High Street as plot boundaries; this suggests that the fields originally ran right down to the High Street and pre-date the formation of plots at their lower ends.

Northumberland (Institute of British Geographers Publication No. 27), London, George Philip & Son, Ltd., 1960, pp.32–33. The medieval rod was thus shorter than the 'rod, pole or perch' of 16½ feet adopted with other English units of measurement by the Parliament of Scotland in 1685.

[13] Brown, p.171.

As well as the long plots between St Mary's Street and Laurie's Wynd, the 1860 Ordnance Survey map shows some indication of others between St Mary's Street and Buccleuch Road (then Gibbie's Row), two of which later became the site of the houses along the west side of St Mary's Street and their back gardens. These two plots seem to have been unusually long, extending as far as the southern boundary of the former Free Church, a length of 440 feet.

On the south side of the High Street the plots were generally shorter, their length restricted by proximity to low-lying ground which was probably undrained marshland. The longest were those behind Nos. 44–50, presently (2014) Norman's Furnishings and formerly an inn where the large area to the rear accommodated such facilities as coach-houses and stables. Eastward from there the plots become progressively shorter, their tail-end boundaries forming almost a straight line between them and the adjoining small fields which abutted on the Deer Dyke. As on the north side, the continuation of some of the boundaries between plots as field boundaries suggests that here, too, the plots were formed from pre-existing fields.

The series of plots on the north side of the main street ended about 60 yards west of the junction with Levens Road. Between the plots and the junction a spur of high ground projected southwards, known as the Corseknowe or Crossknowe, where a market cross stood. The spur extended across the main street, causing a hump which was levelled in 1852,[14] the previous level evident from the raised pavement on the north side of the street. East of the hump the road dipped to the small Corse Burn, which formerly ran across the road[15] and was probably culverted at the same time. Present-day Levens Road, which now bends to pass under the railway line, was the foot of the Cow Wynd, the path taken by the cowherd and his charges to and from Sanquhar Common.

The earliest extant town plan — the Reform Act map of 1832 (Figure 3) — shows the built-up area extending eastward from the bend in the main street to a point near its present junction with Howie's Road. Here (and also on the south side of the street opposite the Crossknowe), although the plots are of approximately the same width as those in the main part of the town, they are very much shorter, suggesting that they are somewhat more recent in origin although in existence by the beginning of the sixteenth century. Of this we have contemporary evidence: Gordon Donaldson, a former contributor to these *Transactions*, quotes from the protocol book of James Young, notary public, a record of the acquisition in 1508 by Robert, Lord Creichtone of Sanchare, of various properties from John Menzeis of Castalhill (Castlebrae, NS 789098).[16] One of these is certainly in this part of the town, described as being on the north side of the high street and bounded on the east by 'the Marche Burn of the Mains of Sanchar', now the Townfoot Burn. Mention of 'the high street' as adjoining this plot indicates that the town extended this far; if in open country it would have been perhaps 'the road to the Castle'. Young defined other plots by reference to adjoining owners or occupiers, mostly by name but two by their functions in the as yet unreformed parish church, chaplains respectively of the altar of St Andrew and of the Blessed Virgin. One property adjoins a ‘common wynd’ identified by Donaldson as present-day Laurie’s Wynd.

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[14] Duncan Close, *Walks around Sanquhar*, 2nd Edition, Royal Burgh of Sanquhar Heritage Society, n.d. (c.1980), p.8.

[15] Brown, p.205.

[16] Gordon Donaldson, 'The Burgh of Sanquhar in 1508', *TDGNHAS*, Vol.26 (1947–8), p.119.

Post-medieval Development

The 1832 Reform Act map shows the parliamentary burgh as bounded on its west and east sides by the Crawick Water and Townfoot Burn respectively; on the south by the River Nith; and on the north by a straight line from the Crawick bridge to a point on the Townfoot Burn 250 yards upstream from the main street.[17] The parish church is almost at the centre of the burgh with the whole of the continuously built-up area to the east and only the manse and the riverside farm of Blackaddie (formerly the manse, now a hotel) in the western half. The built-up area is shown by thickening of the street-lines with no indication of buildings away from the main street apart from a meeting-house on the east side of present-day St Mary’s Street and a solitary building on the east side of Howie’s Road. By contrast the 1860 25-inch Ordnance Survey map (Figure 4) shows many buildings, on side streets, along the length of plots and on plot tails, many of which must date from before 1832.

Between the dates of these two maps came two significant events: the building of the railway prior to its opening in 1850, and the foundation of the Crichton School (now Queensberry Nursing Home) sometime after 1838. Of the railway Brown has little to say except about the tensions between its builders and the townspeople.[18] When the Crichton School was established there was already a parish school on the site of the present ruin at the west side of Queensberry Square, shown as an unlabelled building on the Reform Act map. As its surveyors omitted to show development which must have taken place away from the main street, and as the lineal development along the main street is virtually the same on both their map and the 1860 Ordnance Survey map, nothing can be deduced from them about development in the intervening years. The only apparent consequences of the building of the railway are construction of Station Road and blocking of the side street fronted by the parish school, shown on the 1832 map as a northern approach to the town.

Comparison of the 1860 and 1899 25-inch Ordnance Survey maps shows that the brickworks which formerly existed on the north side of the railway date from the intervening years, and that there was a small increase in the number of buildings on plot tails but no major development comparable with those of more recent times.

Recent Development

The extent of Sanquhar as shown on the 1899 Ordnance Survey map is scarcely greater than its extent in the late Middle Ages. In the intervening centuries there had been much change *within* the original area — subdivision of plots, increased building density and repeated replacement of buildings, so that those of the core area now almost all date from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries — but very few additions outwith that area, all at the western end of the town except for the Crichton School. The railway station was

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[17] A delineation of the parish boundary is given by Brown, p.170.

[18] Brown, p.282.

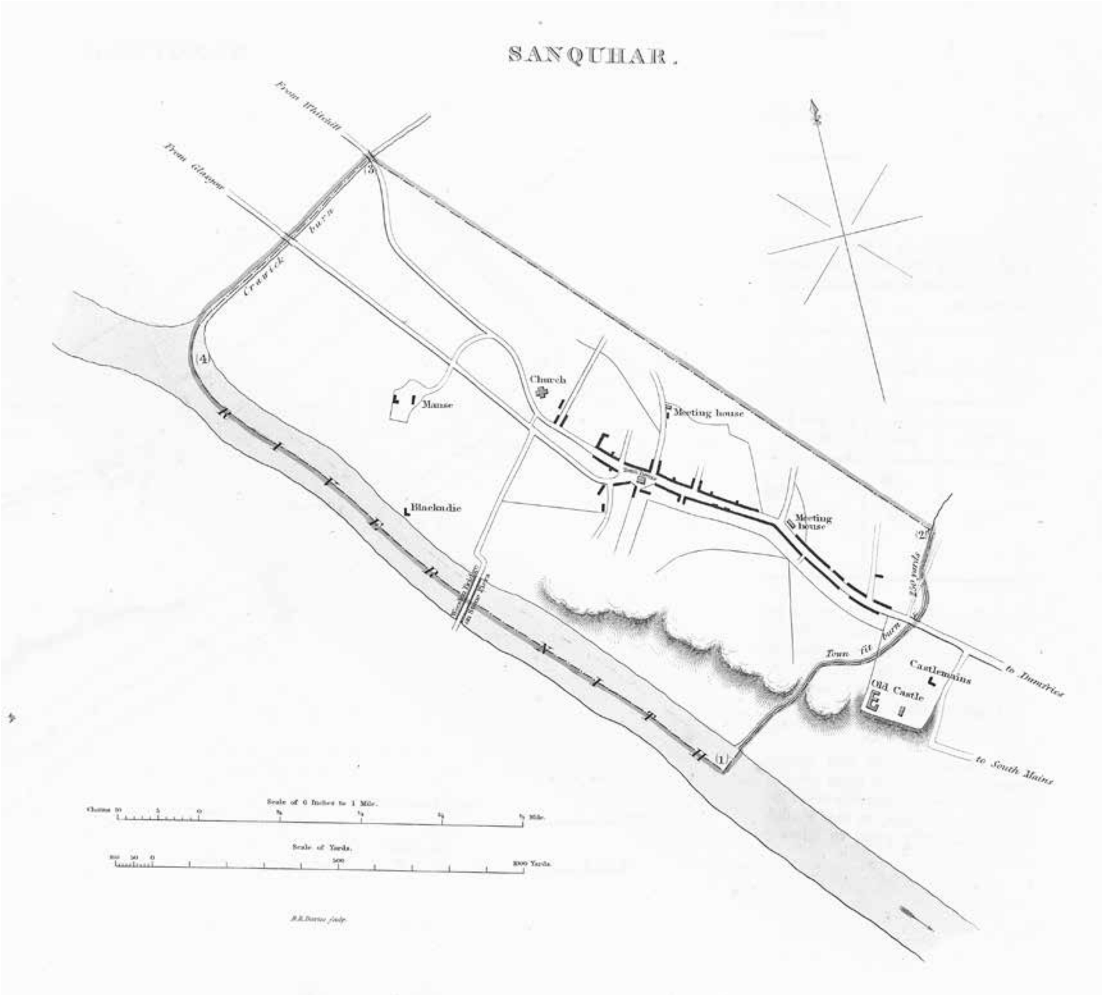
SANQUHAR.
From Whitehill
From Glasgow
Crawick burn
Church
Manse
Meeting house
Meeting house
Blackadie
250 yards
Town fit burn
Castlemains
Old Castle
to Dumfries
to South Mains
R I V E R N I T H
(1)
(2)
(3)
(4)
Scale of 6 Inches to 1 Mile.
Chains 10 5 0 ¼ ½ ¾ 1 Mile.
Scale of Yards.
100 50 0 500 1000 Yards.
R.B. Davies sculp.

Figure 3. Sanquhar: 1832 Reform Act Plan, six inches to the mile. Detailed maps and reports were drawn up regarding 75 towns in Scotland for the purpose of implementing the Reform Act (Scotland) of 1832. (Reproduced by permission of the National Library of Scotland)

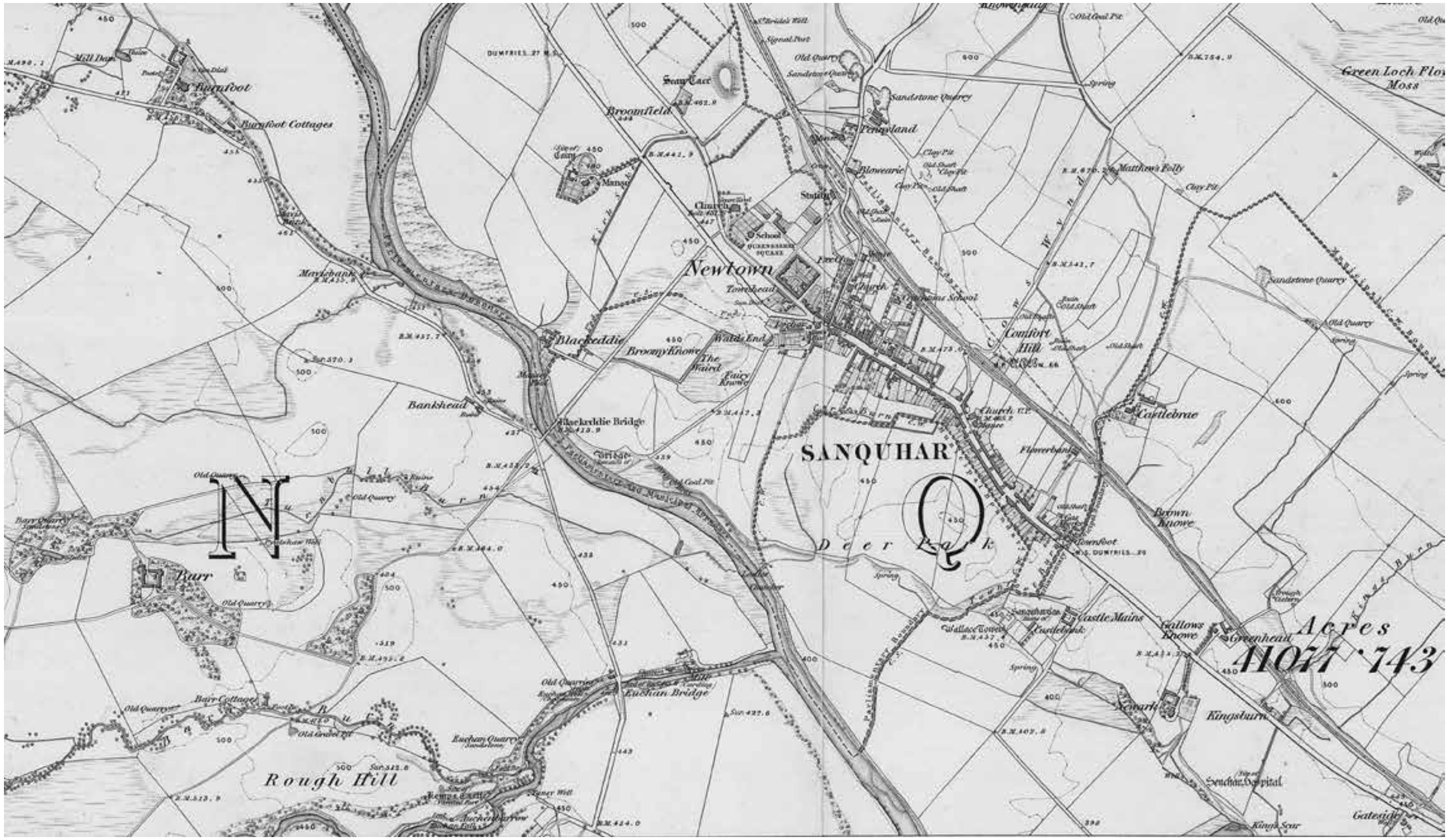
SANQUHAR
Newtown
Deer Park
Acres
11077·743
Rough Hill
Barr
Burnfoot
Burnfoot Cottages
Broomfield
Blackeddie
Blackaddie Bridge
Broomyknowe
Bankhead
Euchan Bridge
Euchan Quarry
Comfort Hill
Castlebrae
Castle Mains
Castlebank
Brown Knowe
Gallows Knowe
Greenhead
Kingsburn
Sanquhar Hospital
Gateside
Townfoot
Flowerbank
Wallace Tower
Pennyland
Blowearie
Sandstone Quarry
Matthews Folly
Green Loch Flow Moss
Old Quarry
Church
School
Queensberry Square
Townhead
The Waird
Fairy Knowe
Walls End
Manse
Station
N
Q

Figure 4. Sanquhar from the Ordnance Survey of Scotland, First Edition, Sheet VI, Dumfriesshire, surveyed in 1856 and published in 1860, six inches to the mile. (Reproduced by permission of the National Library of Scotland)

of course new, and there had been some development around it, notably the evanescent brickworks and a forge on the site of the present health centre. A square block of small houses, now mostly demolished, had been built at the east side of Station Road; a terrace of Victorian houses stood opposite the curling pond in Queen's Road, and construction had begun of villas in the same style on the north side of Glasgow Road.

In Sanquhar as elsewhere the two world wars caused breaks in the continuity of building, both followed by the adoption of new kinds of construction, such as cavity walls and damp-proof courses after the first war, and after the second increased use of concrete, with street layouts designed to accommodate widespread car ownership. Some 'Victorian' houses date from the early years of the twentieth century, and inter-war developments such as Renwick Place and Queen's Crescent are readily distinguishable both in street-plan and in constructional detail from the later maze of streets built over the former deer park. All these were built on greenfield sites, as were the few private housing developments, the industrial buildings and swimming pool on Blackaddie Road and the two schools.

The Church Site

The present parish church was built in 1827 on the site of an ancient church which presumably dated at least from the medieval development of the town. One may wonder why it stood apart from the town. One possibility is that the use of its site for religious purposes dates from a time before the town existed, a time when the Sean Caer earthwork was inhabited. With a fort on one knoll, another knoll nearby might be dedicated to a protective deity, supplanted by a patron saint with the coming of Christianity; such adaptations of pre-Christian religious sites were not uncommon, such as that of St Michael's Church in Dumfries.[19] Another possibility is that the original church was sited to serve both the medieval town and the postulated settlement on the Sean Caer hilltop, which may have co-existed with the town for a century or more before being abandoned.

Crawick

If the Sean Caer hilltop settlement existed, it probably extended down the slope to the bank of the Crawick Water, leaving, when the rest was abandoned, a remnant at the riverside which eventually became Sanquhar's industrial satellite. The 1860 Ordnance Survey map shows it to have been a busy place with about thirty cottages and a corn mill, a woollen mill and a sawmill, all water-powered, and two small factories, one making carpets, the other unspecified. Water was diverted from the river by two cauls, one for the three mills and the other for a forge on the far side of the river. Sanquhar would certainly have had a corn mill from the Middle Ages onwards, on the fast-flowing Crawick Water rather than the slower Nith, so it can be assumed that the mill that was there in 1860 had existed — or at least that a mill had stood on its site or close by — for some four centuries; the settlement was named Crawick Mill on the 1860 map as on William Roy's map of a century earlier, but does not appear on the Reform Act map because it is nearly all outwith the parliamentary burgh. Cows were kept there as at Sanquhar, and Crawick Mill had its own cowherd.[20]

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[19] A.E. Truckell's chapter in William McDowall, *History of Dumfries*, 4th edition, Dumfries, T.C.Farries & Co.Ltd., 1986, pp. Dum 6–7.

[20] Brown, p.171.

By the end of the nineteenth century it had become plain ‘Crawick’ and was already in decline. On the 1899 map the only evidence of improvement is the appearance of a post office, now closed, but its position marked by a postbox let into the front wall of a cottage near the viaduct. The woollen mill and the forge were still there, but the corn mill and sawmill, if still working, were no longer so labelled. A pair of semi-detached houses stood (and still stands) on the site of the carpet factory, and the other factory had been either converted into or replaced by a row of five cottages.

There is no industry at Crawick now. The forge has gone and where there were once mills there is now waste ground: rough grass and brambles on the site of the corn mill and sawmill, a wasteland of rubble and road-planings where the woollen mill stood. The cauls have been dismantled and most of the cottages that formerly lined the west side of the single street demolished, some of them replaced by former council houses standing back from the road. The cottages were miserably small: one surviving cottage fronting the street appears to be the product of knocking four together. Beyond the right-angled bend a large new bungalow occupies the site of six old cottages, and after the next bend the row that fronted the curved road has gone. There is not much left of Crawick, and what remains is entirely residential.

Communications

The earliest map showing the roads around Sanquhar is that of William Roy, dated 1752–55. Roy shows Sanquhar as situated at the junction of three roads. The road from the east, marked ‘Road to Sanquhar’ (ultimately from Dumfries), keeps to the south side of the Nith from Drumlanrig Castle (NX 851992) to Eliock Bridge (NS 804083) which it crosses and then follows the line of the present A76. Its westward continuation, marked ‘Road to Air [Ayr] by Old Cumnock’, leaves the town by present-day Church Street and crosses the Crawick Burn at the site of the modern footbridge. From there it seems to have continued to Kirkconnel by way of three farmsteads which lie in an almost straight east-west line, though now approached separately from the A76: Sunnyside (NS 764120), Tower (NS 756120) and Bankhead (NS 746120), which last Roy names ‘Bank’; the others are not shown and may post-date construction of the road. Although possibly planned as a straight line, in practice the road had to make considerable diversions to avoid deep cleuchs: at Tower the old road surface is clearly discernible beneath the sward of the field to the east of the farmstead, where it now provides a hard standing for sheep troughs, and in the next field in that direction; west of the farmstead a track runs northward to avoid the deeply incised Tower Burn and shows every sign of being an old road, cut into the hillside and, near where it crosses the burn, blasted out of solid rock and the spoil cast into the cleuch to reduce its depth.

In the last decade of the eighteenth century the Revd William Ranken, Minister of Sanquhar parish, wrote: ‘The great road from Dumfries to Ayr runs through the town of Sanquhar. The late Duke of Queensberry first cut out this line of road through his estate, for, at least, the space of 22 miles …’.[21] The ‘late Duke’ was the third of that title, who came of age in 1719, having acceded in childhood, and lived until 1778. Brown, writing a century after Ranken, states that the Duke's road was built 'towards the beginning of last century',[22] implying that this is the road shown on Roy's map. It was not until 1824–26 that the road was realigned to leave Sanquhar by Glasgow Road and to cross the Crawick Water at the site of the present bridge, although it seems from Brown's description that by that time the present course of the A76 was already in use westward from Whitehill Farm (NS 772110).[23]

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[21] William Ranken, ‘Parish of Sanquhar’ in Sir John Sinclair, *The Statistical Account of Scotland, Vol. IV, Dumfriesshire*, reissued by EP Publishing Ltd, Wakefield, 1978, p.481*n*.

Roy's third road heads north from the west end of the town and is marked 'Road from Sanquharr by Crawford John to Douglas and Lanark'. Beyond Dinanrig (NS 800115) this road becomes a track. On Roy's map it dips down to cross the Crawick Water no fewer than five times before reaching its confluence with the Spango Water (NS 822179) where it becomes the modern B740.

Surprisingly, Roy's map shows no bridge at Blackaddie and no southward road. In 1661 the Parliament of Scotland had passed an Act authorising the building of a bridge to replace an older one that was 'now totallie fallen down and ruined', so that, when the river was in spate, travellers had to wait three or four days before they could cross. The Act stemmed from representations made on behalf of the Burgh by an official who may have exaggerated the importance of this crossing in persuading Parliament to require the raising of contributions from every parish south of the Forth.[24] A century later, in 1760, the new bridge was repaired after being 'in ruinous Condition', but did not last long; in about 1810 a footbridge was built,[25] replaced in 1813 by the timber bridge shown on the Reform Act map.[26] This last bridge was built at a site some 50 yards downstream from the present bridge, where the remains of the stone abutment on the south bank still exist. The 1661 bridge was a few hundred yards further downstream, its site marked on earlier 6-inch Ordnance Survey maps and a remnant on the north side still discernible in Brown's time.[27]

The present bridge was built in 1855 and continues the line of Blackaddie Road, which, as the Reform Act map of 1832 shows, the previous one did not. Blackaddie Road was formerly the Coal Road, constructed early in the nineteenth century to bring coal from mines on Drumbuie Farm (NS 747108). A reason for the non-alignment of the bridge could be that the haulage of coal began when there was no usable bridge, so that the laden carts had to cross by the 'black ford' after descending to the valley floor by the slope cut into the bluff that can still be seen in the field to the west of the present bridge.

Prior to the 1760 repair the crossing seems to have been of only local importance, being of no strategic significance and so ignored by Roy's surveyors. However, later in that century Ranken wrote: 'There is a new line of road suggested, by a cross cut through this country to the stewartry of Kirkudbright [*sic*], and from thence to Galloway;

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[22] Brown, p.205.

[23] Brown, p.206.

[24] The wording of the Act is given by Brown, pp.250–1.

[25] Brown., p.252.

[26] James Robertson, *The Public Roads and Bridges in Dumfriesshire 1650–1820*, Wigtown, G.C. Book Publishers Ltd., 1993, pp.240, 248.

[27] Brown, p.251.

which, if carried into execution, would open a much shorter and easier communication from Ireland and that country to Edinburgh'.[28] Rankin's recommendation was probably for reinstatement of a route that had already existed in 1661, and indeed in the previous century if the tradition cited by Brown is correct: according to this, Mary Queen of Scots, on her flight from Scotland in 1568, lodged for a night at Lord Crichton's town house in Sanquhar (on the site now occupied by the Royal Bank), and then, 'Having crossed the bridge, she was conducted over the Whing, continuing her flight by the Ken and Dee to the sanctuary of Dundrennan Abbey …'.[29] From Sanquhar this route ascended by what is now a long-distance path leading from Ulzieside Farm (NS 776088, pronounced 'Yuliside') to Polgown (NS 719039) and on up the Scar Glen road to Polskeoch (NS 602021), where the modern road ends. The route continued down the Ken by what is now another metalled road, separated from the Scar road by a 1½-mile stretch of forestry road and footpath.

This was not the only road southward. In 1808 payment was made 'for building a bridge over Kirkconnell Burn on the road from Minnyhive [Moniaive] by Holmhouseford to Sanquhar'.[30] This road, shown as a footpath on the Ordnance Survey one-inch map but omitted from the more recent metricated editions, ascended from South Mains to reach the Scar road at Glenwhargen (NS 769026).[31] The route then followed the line of the modern road down the glen and crossed the Scar Water near Arkland (NX 803980). From there it crossed the intervening high ground to reach the Shinnel Water close to its confluence with the Kirkconnell Burn at Holmhouse (NX 781945). Its continuation to Moniaive was by way of Upper Bardennoch (NX 780920), shown as a continuous footpath on the one-inch map but only in part on the newer editions.

To return to the town, a noticeable feature of the main street is the bend where it is joined by the former foot of the Cow Wynd, which not only gave access to Sanquhar Common but is shown on modern maps as a footpath continuing northward for a considerable distance: it is likely to have been the main northern route before the northward road of Roy's map came into being. At its foot it formed an acute angle with the upper (western) part of the main street and an obtuse angle with its lower part, giving rise to our suggestion that it formed more of a continuous route with the lower than with the upper part. This is consistent with what is known of Sanquhar's early history — that the Barony of Sanquhar was divided between two families with their separate headquarters both south-east of the present town, one at the castle and the other near the Ryehill motte (NS 794086)[32] — and with the assumption that the medieval town with its burgage plots came later. With that development there seems to have been what in today's terms would be a 'change of priorities', the present High Street and Castle Street becoming the main route but with no great alteration to the shape of the junction.

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[28] Ranken, *loc.cit.*

[29] Brown, *loc.cit.*

[30] Robertson, p.246.

[31] I am indebted to Mr Duncan Close for the information that this was the route by which the road to Moniaive attained the Scar glen. It is described in Close, *op.cit.*, p.13, but is difficult to follow as it has left few traces.

[32] Brown, pp. 48–9 etc.

Conclusion

Sanquhar has probably reached the limits of its growth. Physically it is squeezed between the railway and the floodplain of the Nith and could not expand, except lengthways, without overcoming those barriers. With little industry at present and probably none in prospect there is likely to be only limited demand for more houses. None are being built at present although we are informed[33] that planning permission has been obtained for no fewer than 97, almost all on sites within the present built-up area. With its narrow traffic-choked main street of unassuming buildings, Sanquhar does not aspire to be a pretty town; yet, unlike larger towns where the twin forces of economics and the bulldozer have wiped out ancient boundaries to replace them with shopping malls and car parks, it has retained the tangible record of its historic origin. Some might deplore its acres of nondescript modern housing; but living conditions there are vastly superior to those in squalid cottages such as those of which we found evidence at Crawick.

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[33] by Mr Duncan Close on 25th January 2013.

THE CASTLES OF DUMFRIES AND GALLOWAY DESCRIBED BY MACGIBBON AND ROSS 1887–92: WHAT HAS BECOME OF THEM SINCE?

Janet Brennan-Inglis[1]

In 1887–92 The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland *was published in five volumes.*[2] *This was the magnum opus of two Edinburgh architects, David MacGibbon and Thomas Ross, a monumental work of reference describing and illustrating 769 Scottish castles and lamenting their neglect. In the three counties of Dumfries and Galloway — Dumfriesshire, Kirkcudbrightshire and Wigtownshire — MacGibbon and Ross described fifty-eight castles, out of a total of around 100 (see Appendix 1 for the list). This paper compares the condition and future outlook of those fifty-nine castles in 1892 and 2014. It was concluded that, with a few notable exceptions, the current situation and outlook for the castles of Dumfries and Galloway which were described by MacGibbon and Ross has improved overall. However, there is no room for complacency, with two of these castles on the Buildings at Risk register and several others which are cause for serious concern. Overall, more than a quarter of the castles surveyed by MacGibbon and Ross have deteriorated — although, happily, nearly half are in a significantly better condition than in 1892. Those castles of Dumfries and Galloway which were missed by MacGibbon and Ross show a similar pattern of improvement since the late nineteenth century, but several important buildings are also still at risk of further decay.*

Danger of Decay and Demolition?

The aim of MacGibbon and Ross was not simply to provide a detailed description of the state of Scotland's castles, however thorough; this statement in their preface was a *cri du coeur* based on dismay, a precursor of the late twentieth century heritage campaigns:

> It is greatly to be regretted that most of our ancient edifices are rapidly passing away, either from natural decay or other destructive causes. Even since our sketches were made, many have disappeared either in whole or in part. … We are not without hope that this work may serve to direct the attention of proprietors and others to the value of our ancient domestic remains, and may thus help to preserve some of them from the decay and demolition which at present threaten speedily to overtake the greater number. Such a result would be most gratifying, not only to us, but to everyone interested in our national history.[3]

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[1] Barholm Castle, Gatehouse of Fleet, Castle Douglas, DG7 2EZ; `barholmcastle@gmail.com`.

[2] MacGibbon, David and Ross, Thomas, 1887–92, *The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland from the Twelfth to the Eighteenth Century*, Vols. 1–5 (Edinburgh: David Douglas). This can be accessed on-line at `www.electricscotland.com`.

[3] MacGibbon and Ross, 1887–92, Vol.1, Preface, p.vii.

Were MacGibbon and Ross correct in their assessment that most of Scotland's ancient edifices were at risk from decay and demolition? Their five volumes included not only castles, but town houses, ecclesiastical buildings and sundials, so they paint a comprehensive picture of the state of historic buildings at the time. Many of the castles they described were ruinous, or at least uninhabited (34 out of 58 in Dumfries and Galloway), particularly the great fortresses, such as Threave and Caerlaverock. Of those, a large proportion was in danger of further deterioration unless action was taken. MacGibbon and Ross were outspoken about those in particular danger, such as Comlongan, near Annan, about which they commented, 'The building is in a good state of preservation, but no special care has been taken for a long time to maintain it, so that cracks and fissures are beginning to develop themselves in various parts of the building, which unarrested will soon bring about its ruin.'[4] Comlongan was finally rescued and restored, but not until nearly a century later, in the 1980s. It is now part of a hotel and weddings venue.

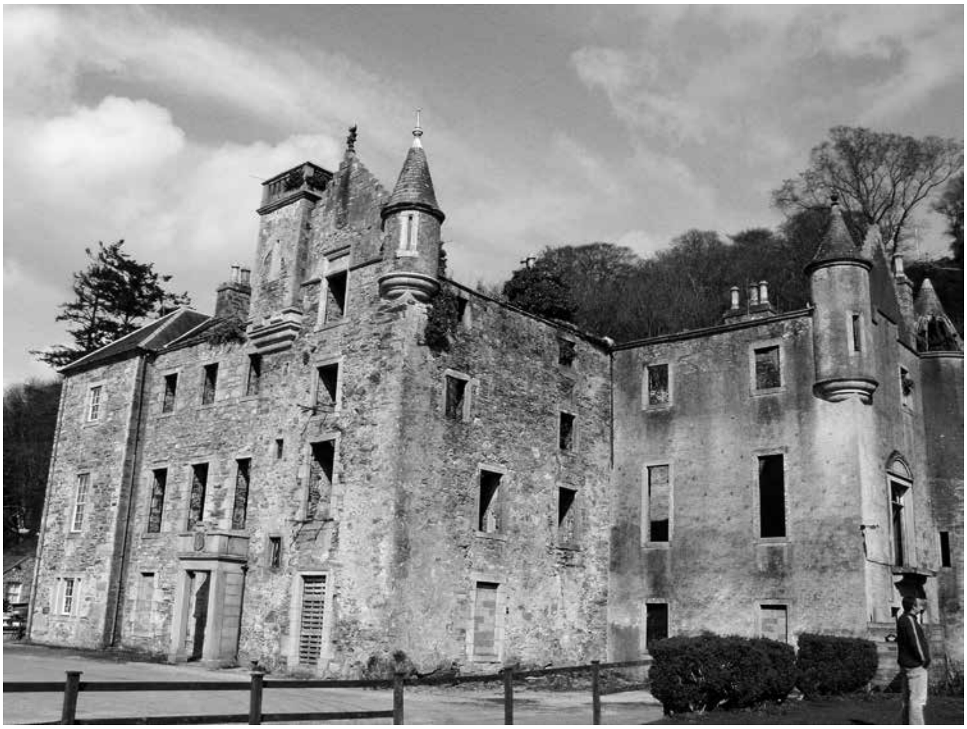

Figure 1. Cassencarie Castle.

The state of Earlstoun Castle was also cause for concern to MacGibbon and Ross: 'It is to be regretted that this work has been allowed to fall into such a state of decay, and that within recent years, as people not yet old, who were born in the house, remember it in perfect preservation.'[5] In 2005, The Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic

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[4] MacGibbon and Ross, 1887–92, Vol.1, pp.237–8.

[5] MacGibbon and Ross, 1887–92, Vol.3, p.522.

Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS) reported: 'The castle has now fallen into a state of disrepair and the internal structures are in danger of giving way. The upper floors have collapsed, leaving walls without proper lateral ties.'[6] The good news is that the Vivat Trust is in the process of restoring Earlstoun and the RCAHMS website shows a photograph dated 24 May 2013 with the caption: 'Earlstoun Castle … here shown in final stages of restoration (ARP Lorimer) to role of private residence.[7] In this century, Cassencarie is an example of a house that is remembered as being inhabited up until the 1960s but is now in a state of terrible and dangerous decay (Figure 1).

Sanquhar Castle has also had a difficult history: 'Sir William Douglas, the first Duke of Queensberry, (1637–1695) who built Drumlanrig, stayed in Sanquhar Castle till his death, preferring it to the splendid structure he himself had reared, and within which he is said to have slept only one night. On his death the second Duke abandoned Sanquhar, and it then fell a prey to the depredations of the burghers, from whose rapacity the few remaining ruins have been saved in comparatively recent times.'[8] Sadly, this is again the case currently, with vandalism posing a serious threat to the structure. When MacGibbon and Ross mention it being saved in comparatively recent times, they are probably alluding to what turned out to be an unlucky near-miss when Sanquhar was *almost* restored by John Crichton-Stuart, 3rd Marquis of Bute. He had successfully restored Cardiff Castle and Castell Coch in Wales and in 1895 he purchased Sanquhar Castle and started to plan and execute its restoration. Unfortunately, the work was abandoned after his death in 1900 and its future is now at risk.

Early Interventions

In 1882, just before MacGibbon and Ross published, the Ancient Monuments Protection Act had been passed, which provided the first State protection for ancient monuments in the United Kingdom. However, despite the passage of the wider-ranging Ancient Monuments Protection Act 1900, contemporary campaigners argued that a Royal Commission was also needed, similar to the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts. In 1908 the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS) was established, with the aim of compiling detailed lists of significant historic monuments. Thomas Ross was appointed a founder member and threw himself into its activities, writing reports with enthusiasm, although he was not a salaried employee — unlike David MacGibbon's son, Fred, who was paid a salary of £200 per annum for three quarters of his time.

The two Ancient Monuments Protection Acts undoubtedly focused attention on the preservation of historic buildings and guaranteed the subsequent security of those ruined castles which were taken into the care of the State; the first acquisitions were made in 1906 and between 1906 and 2000 sixty castles were taken into care, the majority in the 1930s and 1950s. In Dumfries and Galloway eight ruined castles are in the care of the

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[6] C. Francoz, 2005, reported on: `http://canmore.rcahms.gov.uk/en/site/64287/details/earlstoun+castle/`.

[7] Website as detailed in footnote above.

[8] MacGibbon and Ross, 1887–92, Vol.1, p.417.

Government agency, Historic Scotland, (soon to merge with RCAHMS and become the provisionally named Historic Environment Scotland). These are Caerlaverock, Carsluith, Threave, Maclellan's Castle, Morton, Lochmaben, Drumcoltran and Cardoness.[9] However, care and protection for other ruins was limited and it is certain that a great many historic buildings throughout Scotland were lost during the twentieth century, particularly in the 25 years after the Second World War, when neglect and destruction were common. Dumfries and Galloway got off relatively lightly, losing only two castles in the postwar period: Lockerbie Tower, which was demolished in 1967 to make way for the new police station and Terregles Castle, blown up by the army in 1961, although neither features in the accounts of MacGibbon and Ross. Halleaths Castle, a nineteenth century baronial mansion designed by David Bryce, was also demolished and in addition two eighteenth century wings of Castle of Park near Glenluce (Figure 2) were demolished in the 1950s.

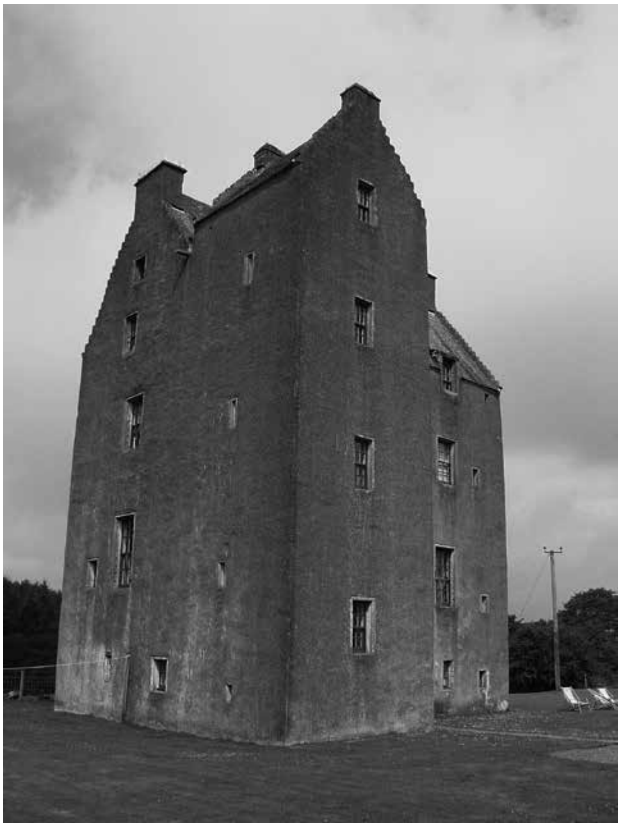

Figure 2. Castle of Park.

McGibbon and Ross suggested that the reason for the neglect of Scotland's castellated buildings 'probably arises, to some extent, from their bearing on the architectural and natural history of Scotland not being sufficiently understood and appreciated.'[10] In 1939 Scott-Moncrieff proposed a more robustly expressed explanation: 'all over the Lowlands the survivors of such houses [i.e. towers and mansions] are still left to fall into ruin: an *awful reflection of our aesthetic sluggardliness*.'[11] (Italics added.) This wonderfully trenchant phrase reflects the carelessness with which historic buildings were treated in the post-Second World War period, at risk from those whom Nigel Tranter described as 'the improver, the modernizer, the demolisher and the vandal'[12] Tranter campaigned vigorously to save many Scottish towers, or 'fortalices' and was instrumental in finding new restoring owners for several:

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[9] Castle of Park in Glenluce is also in care, but is leased to the Landmark Trust, who rent it out for holiday accommodation.

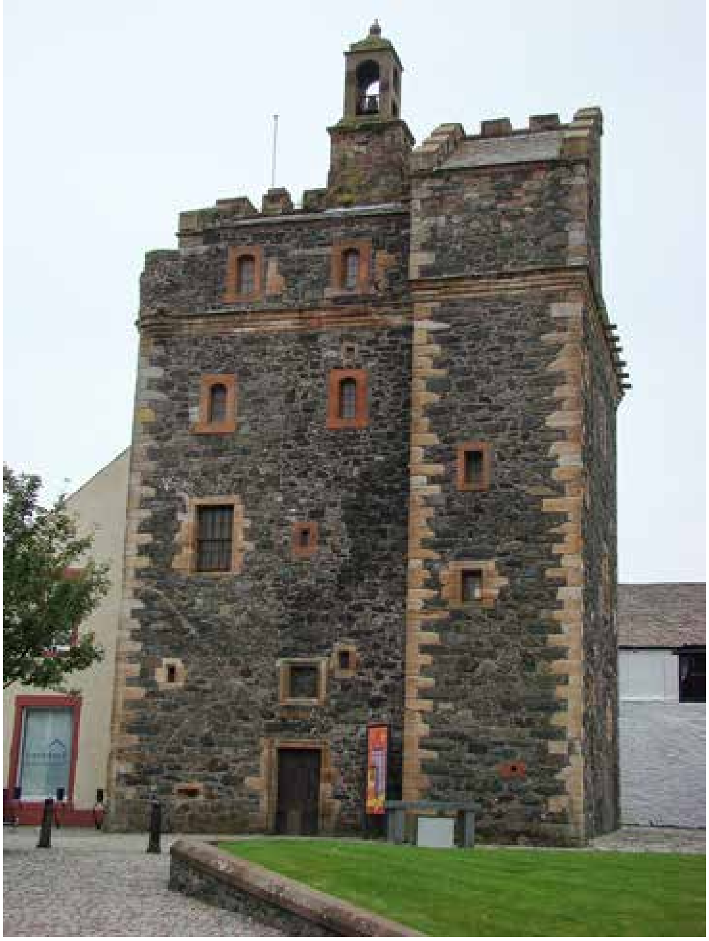

Figure 3. Castle of St John, Stranraer.

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[10] MacGibbon and Ross, 1887–92, Vol.1, Preface, p.vii.

[11] George Scott-Moncrieff, 1939, *The Lowlands of Scotland* (London: B.T. Batsford Limited) p.66.

[12] Nigel Tranter, 1965, *The Fortified House in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Mercat Press) Vol.2, p.6.

> Although there were, and are, so many of these buildings, the wastage in them today is grievous and deplorable, indeed disgraceful. They are very much a waning, though irreplaceable, asset. Although we are the envy of so many from lands less favoured in this respect, all too few of our own people either know, appreciate or care for them. Especially, unhappily, local authorities, into whose hands many of them fall.[13]

But although other counties of Scotland suffered some tragic losses of castles at the hands of local authorities, in Wigtownshire an enlightened council rescued Stranraer Castle (aka the Castle of St John) in the 1970s, stripping away the buildings that hemmed it in, and in the late 1980s, turning it into a fine town centre museum highlighting its past as the town prison (Figure 3). Other castles, mainly in private ownership, were not so fortunate. To start with, a very simple statistical analysis: in 1892, 35% of the Dumfries and Galloway castles described by MacGibbon and Ross were inhabited; 58% were roofless ruins and 7% were uninhabited but nevertheless consolidated and well cared for. The last category includes Amisfield, Fourmerkland and Repentance Towers. Breaking this down into the three counties, Dumfriesshire had 8 inhabited castles, 15 roofless ruins and 2 uninhabited but consolidated castles; Kirkcudbrightshire had 6, 10 and 1 respectively and Wigtownshire 6, 8 and 1 respectively. These and the comparative figures for 2014 are displayed in Tables 1 and 2 and can be seen as pie charts in Figures 4 and 5 below.

1892	**Dum.**	**Kirk.**	**Wig.**	**Total**
Inhabited	8	6	6	20
Roofless ruins	15	11	8	34
Roofed but uninhabited	2	2	1	5

Table 1. The state of Dumfries and Galloway castles described by MacGibbon and Ross in 1892 (n=59).

2014	**Dum.**	**Kirk.**	**Wig.**	**Total**
Inhabited[14]	8	7	9	24
Roofless ruins	12	12	5	29
Roofed but uninhabited	5	0	1	6

Table 2. The state of the same set of Dumfries and Galloway castles in 2014 (n = 59).

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[13] Ibid.

[14] This includes buildings which are not lived in by a family, but are rented out to holidaymakers or used as hotel and wedding accommodation.

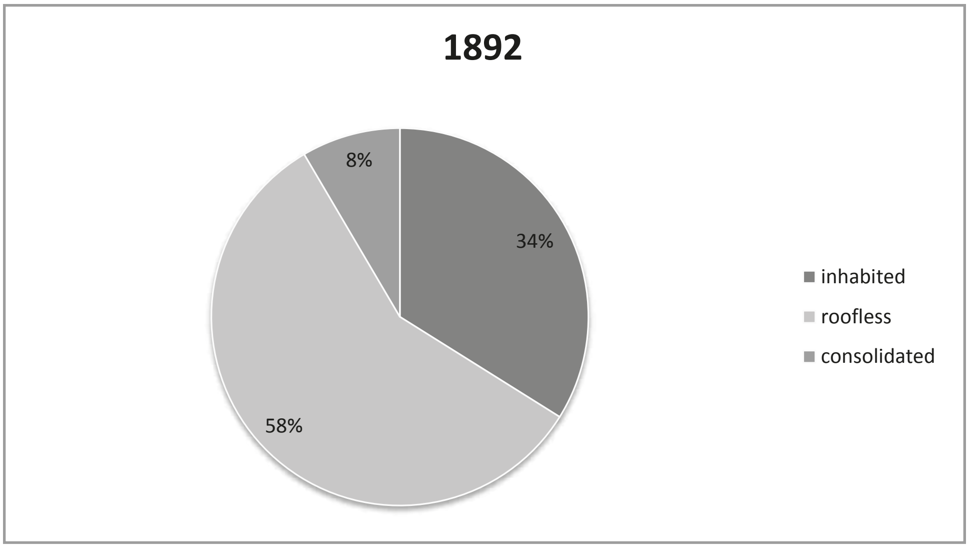

Figure 4. Pie chart showing the state of Dumfries and Galloway castles described by MacGibbon and Ross in 1892 (n=59).[15]

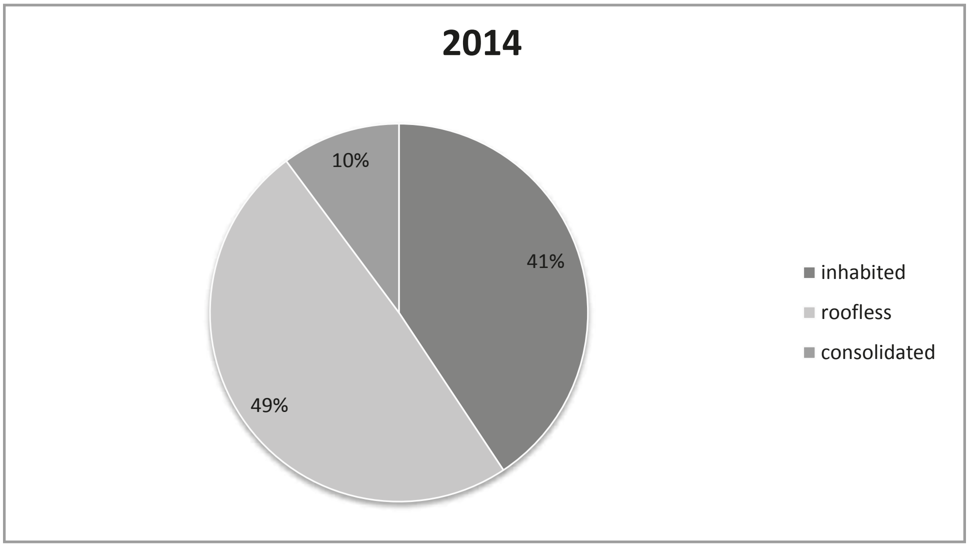

Figure 5. Pie chart showing the state of the same set of Dumfries and Galloway castles in 2014 (n = 59).[15]

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[15] Read chart clockwise from 12 o'clock to match legend.

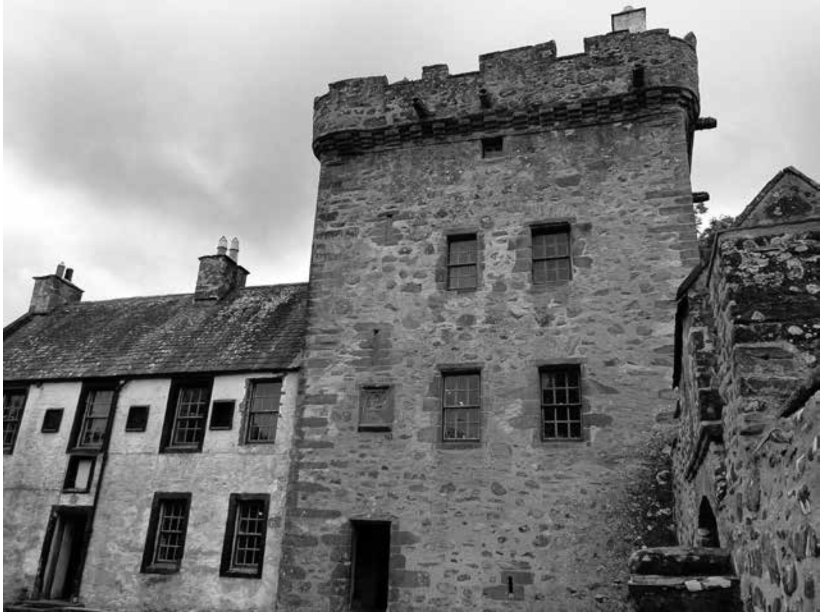

Figure 6. Hills Tower in 2014.

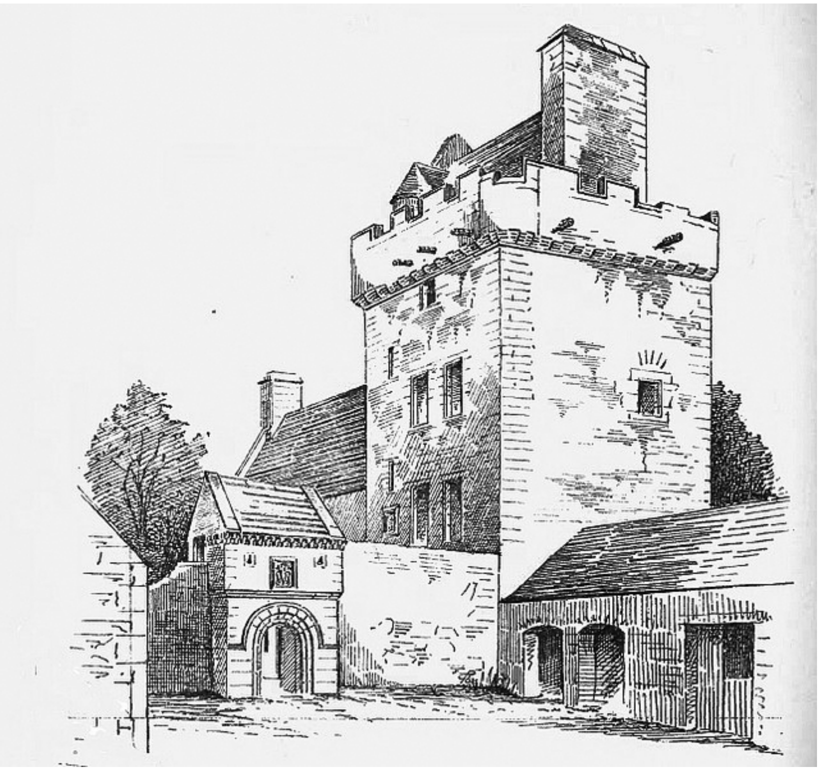

Figure 7. Hills Tower as illustrated by MacGibbon and Ross.

It can be seen from this rather crude tripartite analysis that the overall picture has improved somewhat, if habitation is counted as a positive measure, in that more castles are now inhabited than in MacGibbon and Ross's time and fewer are roofless ruins. Those castles that are now inhabited, but were ruinous in the nineteenth century, have all been restored in the last fifty years. These include Abbot's Tower near New Abbey; Barholm Castle and Rusco Tower, both near Gatehouse of Fleet; Spedlins near Lockerbie and Hills Tower near Dumfries (Figures 6 & 7)**,** all restored by individual couples.

Better?

However, there are several caveats to the figures above. Firstly, they do not give any indication as to whether the castles and towers, the majority of which were roofless ruins in 1892, are now more or less safe from decay than they were 120 years ago, and whether they have deteriorated since 1892. Have their *individual* situations improved? In order to assess this, each building was assigned a label of 'better', 'worse' or 'same' to describe its condition now in comparison to 1892. Clearly, subjective judgments had to be made. 'Worse' is relatively straightforward — if castles have deteriorated through loss of stone and other features, then they are clearly worse off. 'Same' has been applied when a building has been occupied throughout the period and also to the few ruins in private hands (e.g. Castle Kennedy and Repentance Tower) which have not deteriorated further since 1892. 'Better' is the most difficult call to make. All of the eight castles on MacGibbon and Ross's list that have been taken into the care of the State under the Ancient Monuments Act of 1900 have been designated 'better', on the assumption that having their long term care and maintenance assured is an improvement on the precarious position of being left to the individual commitment, resources or whim of their owners, whose circumstances may change at any time. MacLellan's Castle in Kirkcudbright, for example, was almost completely covered in ivy in 1900 (Figures 8 & 9) which, while picturesque, must have posed a threat to the structure. All eight are now open to the public with, at the very least, a few interpretation panels for visitors; Caerlaverock, Threave, MacLellan's Castle and Cardoness are regularly staffed and sell informative guidebooks.

2014 compared to 1892	**Dum.**	**Kirk.**	**Wig.**	**Total**
Same	11 (44%)	3 (16%)	5 (33%)	19 (32%)
Better	9 (36%)	12 (63%)	4 (27%)	25 (42%)
Worse	5 (20%)	4 (21%)	6 (40%)	15 (26%)
Total	25	19	15	59

Table 3. Comparison between 1892 and 2014.

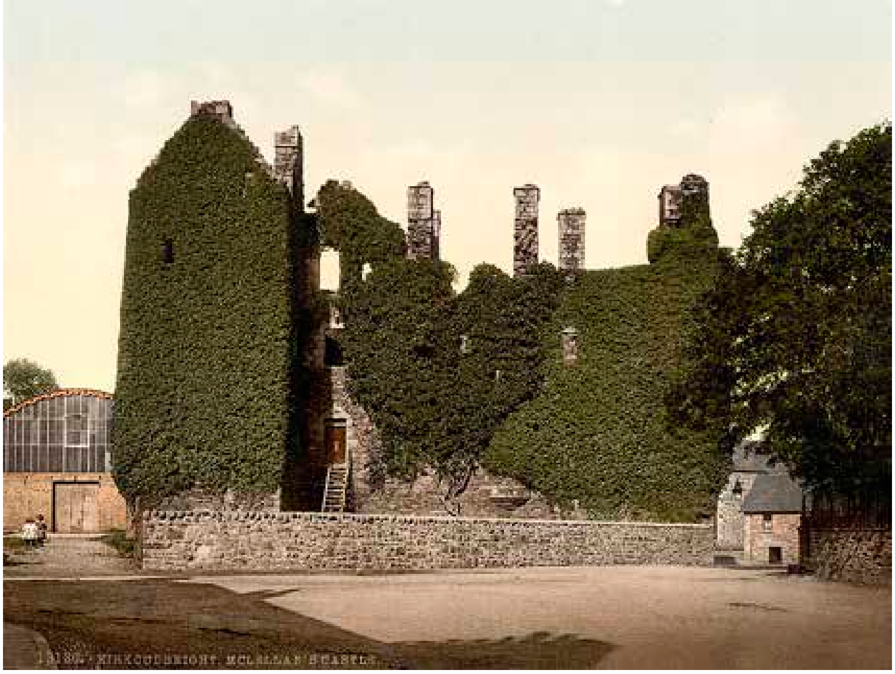
13186. KIRKCUDBRIGHT. MCLELLAN'S CASTLE.

Figure 8. MacLellan’s Castle, Kirkcudbright in 1900.

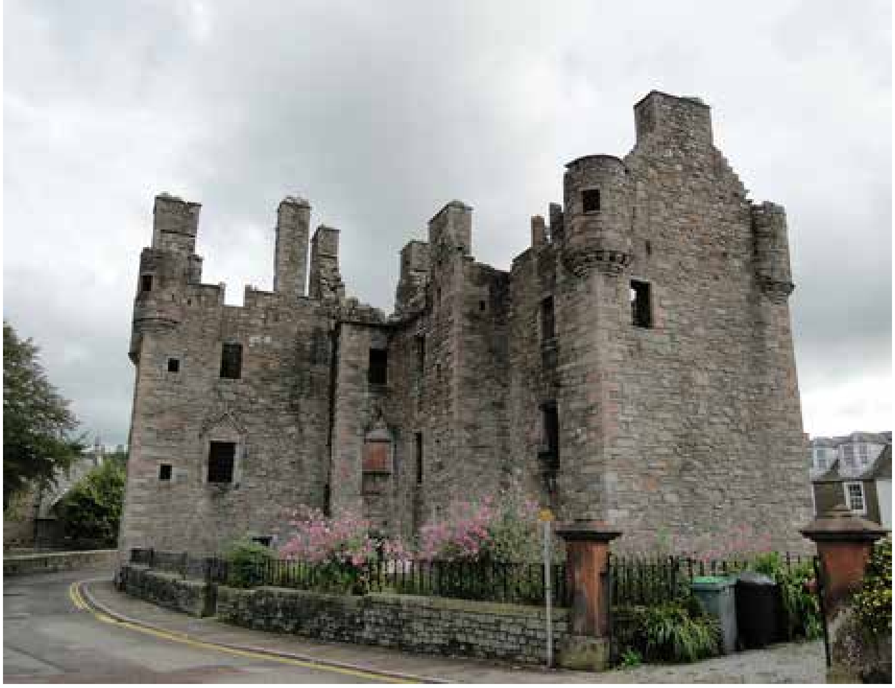

Figure 9. MacLellan’s Castle, Kirkcudbright in 2014.

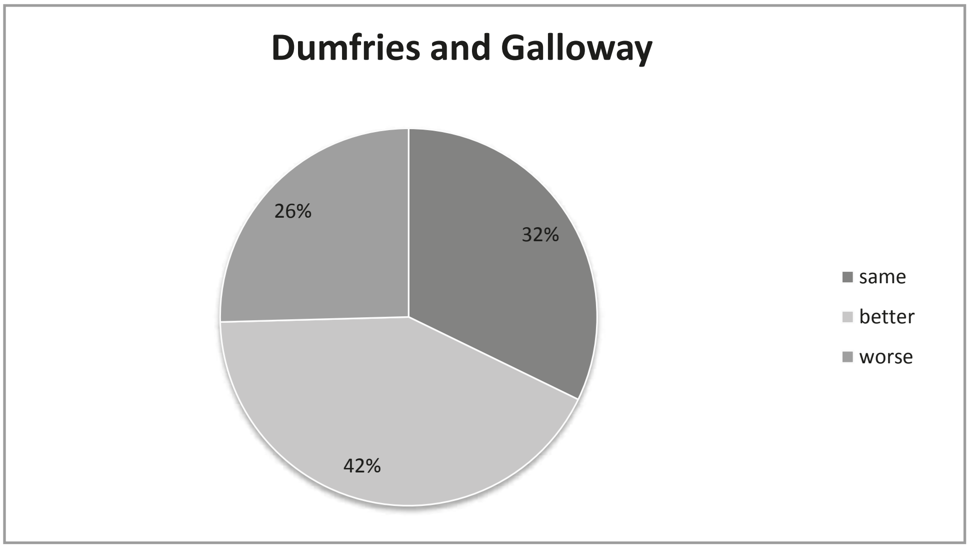

Figure 10. Pie chart showing comparison between 1892 and 2014.[16]

The Restored Castles

What of the restored castles? Are they 'better'? It is argued here that restoration to a family home or holiday accommodation offers the best means of ensuring the long-term survival of many ruined castles. Barscobe Castle near Loch Ken was restored by Sir Hugh Wontner, chairman of the Savoy Hotel Group and of the Savoy Theatre and Lord Mayor of London. He bought the estate on which the ruinous Barscobe Castle stood in 1961, having rented Barscobe House as a holiday home in previous years. He was advised in his restoration project by Dame Bridget D'Oyly Carte, who was the first tenant once the restoration was finished and who lived there until her death in 1985. Spedlins was rescued in the late 1970s and refurbished in the 1980s. In 1979 Graham and Buffy Carson restored Rusco Tower near Gatehouse of Fleet (Figure 11) as a family home and won a Saltire Award for their project. Abbot's Tower, near New Abbey, home of the last Abbot, Gilbert Brown, was restored from a very ruinous state as a do-it-yourself project in the 1990s by Peter and Lesley Kormylo. Barholm Castle was described by the Historic Scotland archaeologist as being in a 'perilous condition' with its south wall bellying and close to collapse before it was restored by the author and her husband in 2005 (Figures 12 & 13).

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[16] Read chart clockwise from 12 o'clock to match legend.

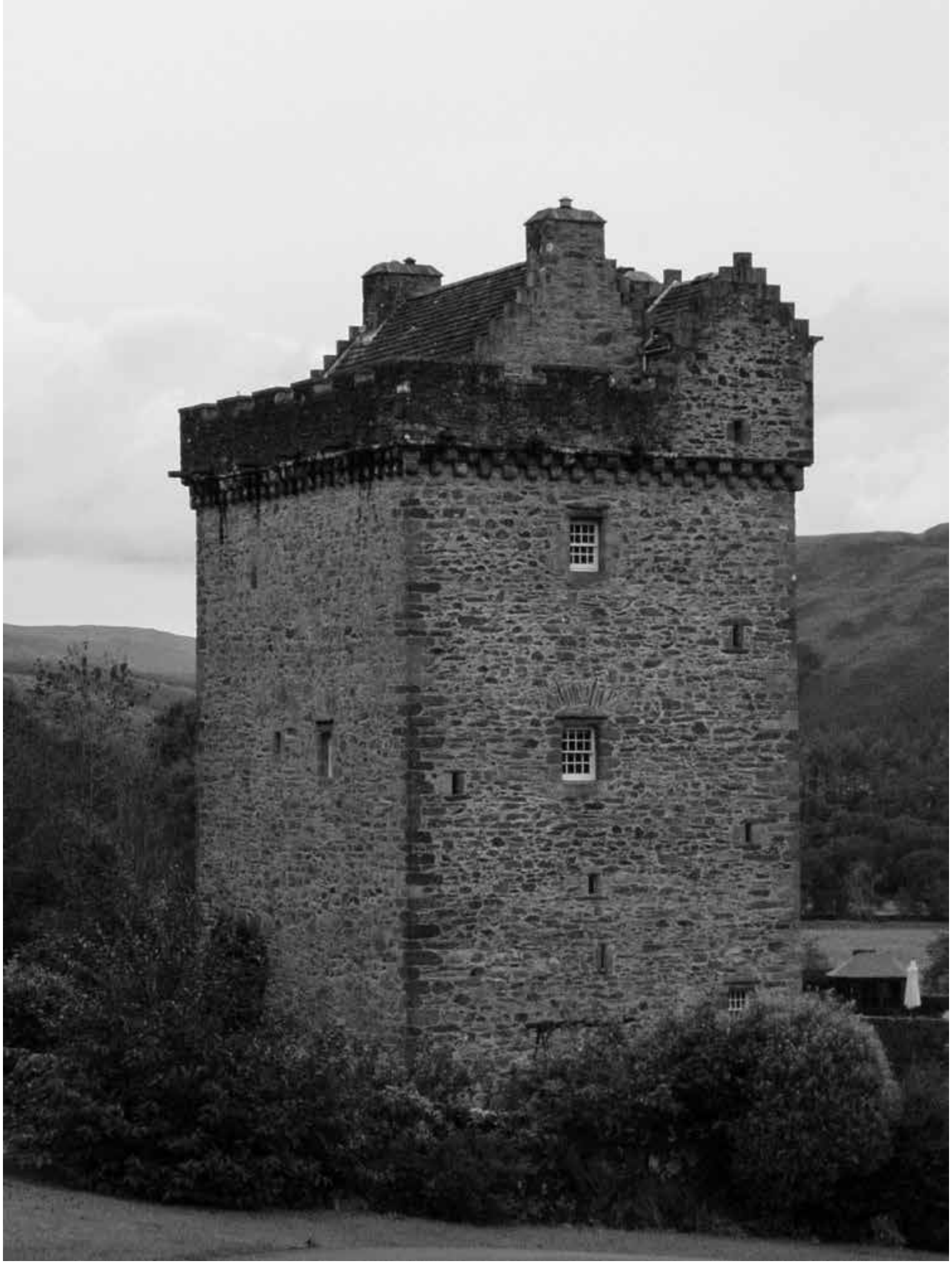

Figure 11. Rusco Tower.

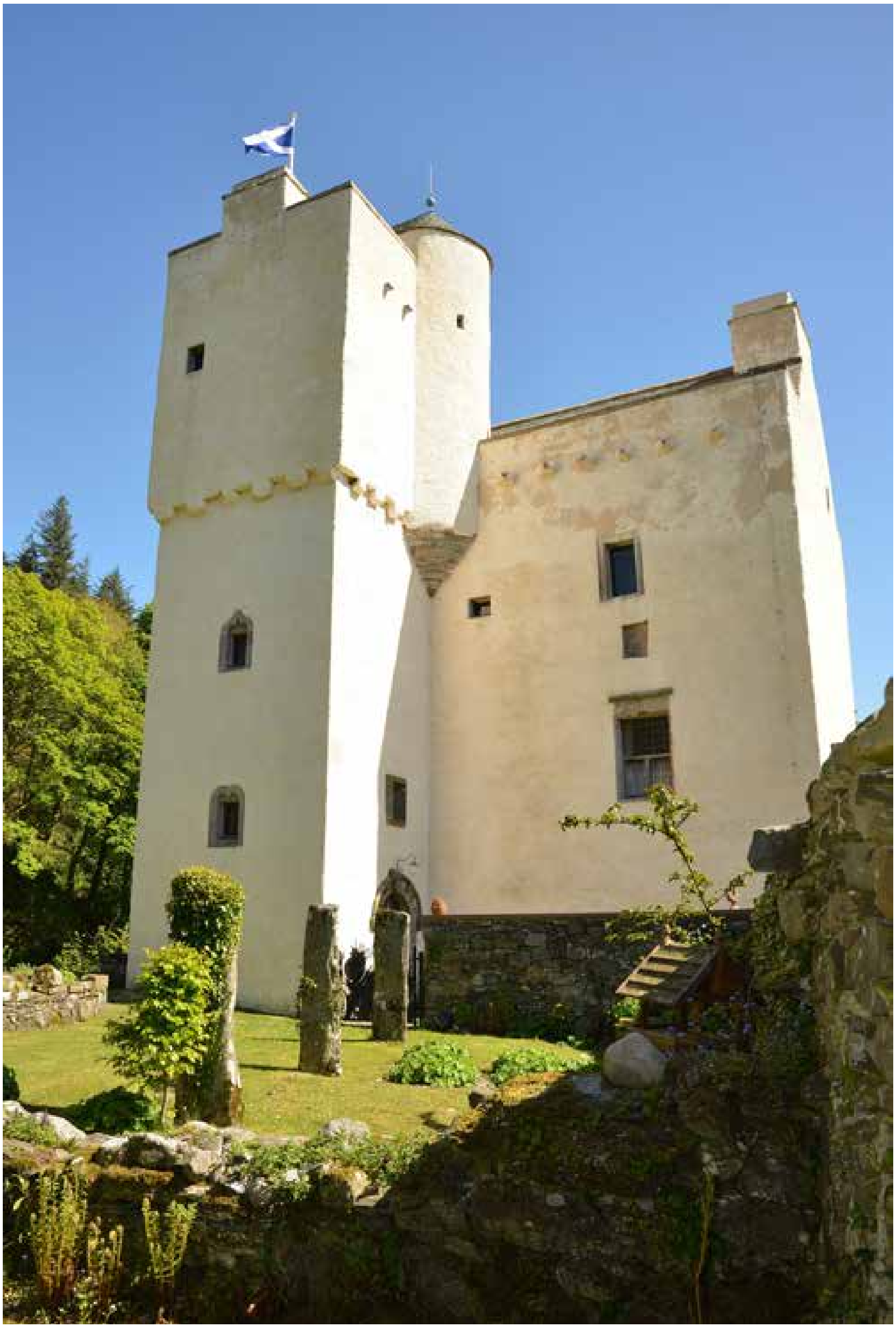

Figure 12. Barholm Castle in 2013.

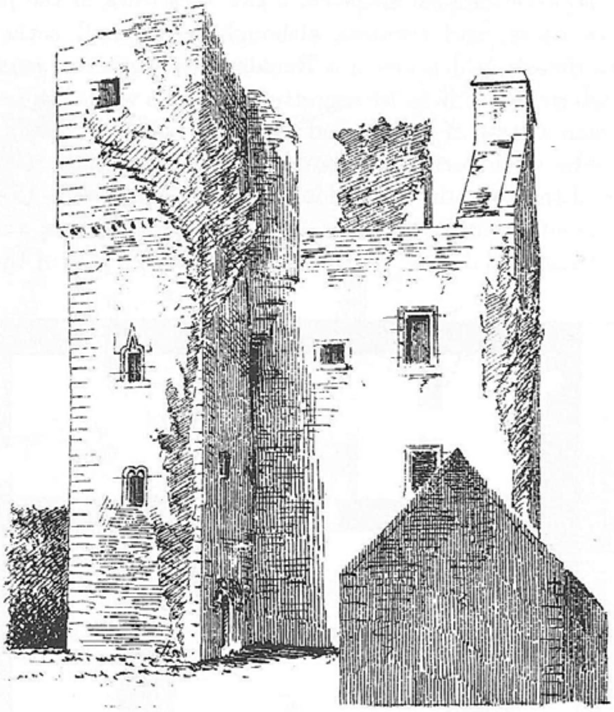

Fig. 454.—Barholm Castle. View from South-West.

Figure 13. Barholm Castle as illustrated by MacGibbon and Ross.

Comlongan, as mentioned above, was saved by Tony Ptolomy when he restored the ancient tower and established it and the adjoining Victorian building as a hotel and weddings venue. More recently, the Gibbs family restored Hills Tower near Dumfries (Figures 6 & 7), which was also in a dangerous condition, between 2003 and 2010.

All of these formerly ruinous buildings have benefited from the care, attention and money lavished on them and all are currently well maintained by their owners. None is likely to deteriorate in the foreseeable future and one might suppose that this is a good thing. The Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB), which was set up by William Morris in 1877, takes a less positive view of restoration, however. SPAB's manifesto — to which all members must still sign up — was a purist plea 'to resist all tampering with either the fabric or ornament of the building as it stands; if it has become inconvenient for its present use, to raise another building rather than alter or enlarge the old one; in fine to treat our ancient buildings as monuments of a bygone art, created by bygone manners, that modern art cannot meddle with without destroying.'[17]

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[17] William Morris, 1877, *Manifesto of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings* [SPAB]. Full text at `www.marxists.org/archive/morris/works/1877/spabman.htm` accessed July 2014.

Morris was influenced and inspired by the views of John Ruskin, who published *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* in 1880:

> Neither by the public, nor by those who have the care of public monuments, is the true meaning of the word *restoration* understood. It means the most total destruction which a building can suffer: a destruction out of which no remnants can be gathered: a destruction accompanied with false description of the thing destroyed. Do not let us deceive ourselves in this important matter; it is *impossible*, as impossible as to raise the dead, to restore anything that has ever been great or beautiful in architecture.[18]

While it may be impossible to pour the past back into a building, the ultimate result of sticking to such extreme and intemperate views would be the *literal* destruction — rather than Ruskin's metaphorical 'total destruction' — of buildings as they collapsed from want of care. To be fair, Morris did recognize this danger:

> … we plead, and call upon those who have to deal with them, to put Protection in the place of Restoration, to stave off decay by daily care, to prop a perilous wall or mend a leaky roof by such means as are obviously meant for support or covering, and show no pretence of other art, and otherwise to resist all tampering with either the fabric or ornament of the building as it stands…[19]

But in practical terms how many private owners — the majority of whom are farmers — of ruined castles are prepared to spend the considerable amount of time, effort and money needed to 'stave off decay'? The answer, unfortunately, is very few.

Other castles that have, perhaps controversially, been given the status of 'better' are Robgill Castle and Castle of Park. Both of these have had parts demolished during buildings works to carry out improvements to the living accommodation. Robgill had already been changed when MacGibbon and Ross visited and they sounded most disapproving: 'The tower remained entire till about ten years ago, when it was wilfully pulled down to the level of the hall floor in order to allow of a dining room connected with the adjoining modern house being built over the ancient basement floor.'[20] In the case of Rusco, a relatively small agricultural add-on was removed (as was the case at Barholm (Figures 12 & 13) in the 1960s), but Castle of Park had two eighteenth century wings demolished in the 1950s. In the 1980s and 1990s the Landmark Trust carried out a considerable amount of work to make the house suitable for holiday letting. It is currently possible to rent Castle of Park through the Landmark Trust (although it is overseen by Historic Scotland) for short holiday breaks.

Worse

While it is good to know that nearly three quarters of the castles in Dumfries and Galloway have either improved or stayed the same since MacGibbon and Ross surveyed them, it is a disheartening fact that more than a quarter have actually deteriorated. Some castles on the 'worse' list have only deteriorated slightly, from roofless ruins to roofless ruins with a few more stones missing — for example, MacGibbon and Ross's sketch of Galdenoch Castle near Stranraer and a recent photograph look much the same at first blush (Figures 14 & 15), but on closer inspection several areas of relatively minor loss and degradation can be seen. Luckily, its position is too isolated to place it in danger of casual vandalism, but it will continue to deteriorate slowly unless something happens to save it; Galdenoch would make a good candidate for restoration as a home or a holiday letting property.

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[18] John Ruskin, 1880 (re-published 1989), *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (New York: Dover Publications) p.194.

[19] William Morris, 1877, *op.cit.*

[20] MacGibbon and Ross, 1887–92, Vol.3, p.401.

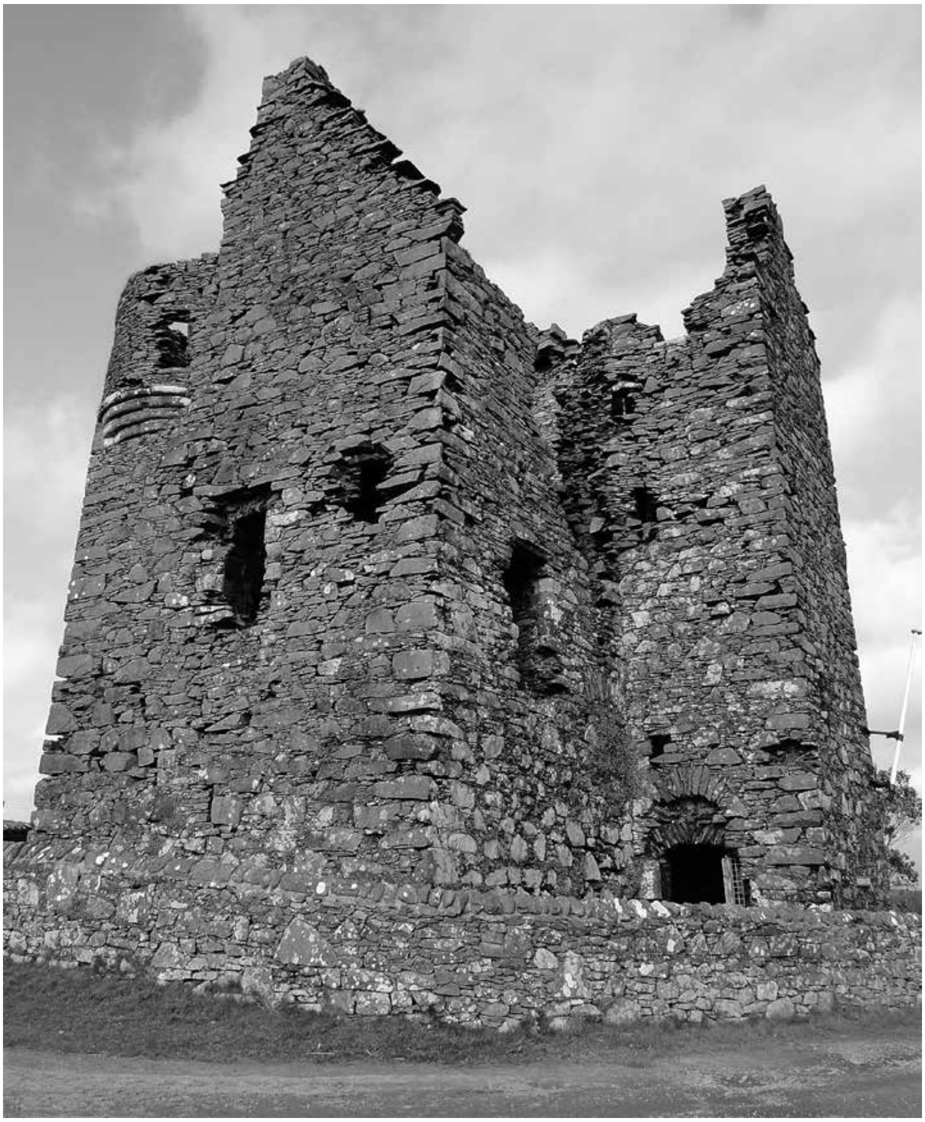

Figure 14. Galdenoch in 2013.

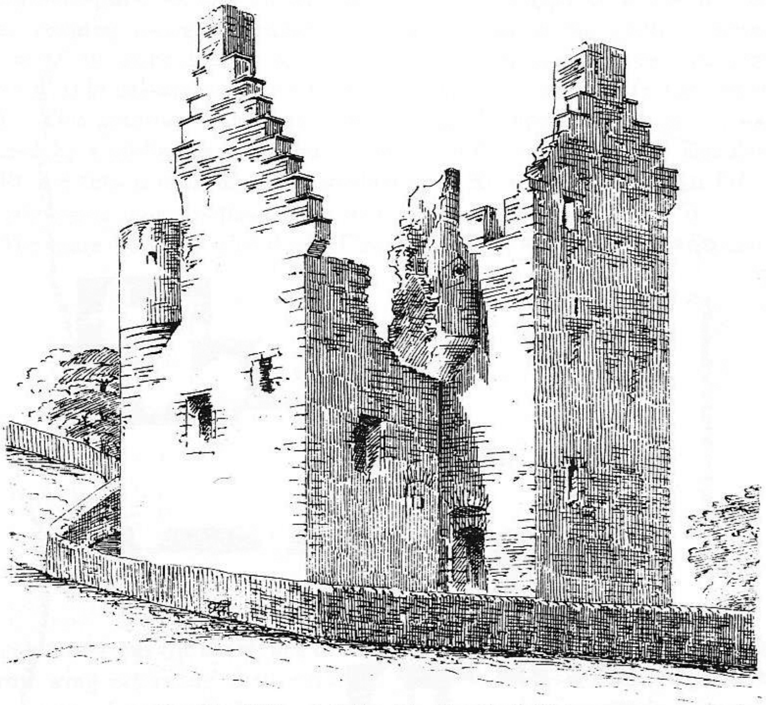

FIG. 436.—Galdenoch Castle. View from South-West.

Figure 15. Galdenoch as illustrated by MacGibbon and Ross.

Among those ‘worse’ buildings are some particularly fine and important examples of Scottish architecture from the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries, including Hoddam Castle, Castle Wigg, Cassencarie, Kenmure Castle and Sanquhar Castle, which have deteriorated to the point of imminent danger of further collapse. All of these examples are large and complex buildings, with architecture dating from more than one period, and all would be very expensive to restore and to maintain once restored. Unfortunately, the first three have been incorporated into businesses — two caravan parks and a farm — and surrounded by purely functional modern buildings. Their future seems bleak and hopeless.

The Future?

It might be thought that the Golden Age of castle restoration is over, given the rising costs and lack of availability. In 2000 David Walker, formerly the Government’s Chief Inspector of Buildings, was of the opinion that ‘… inevitably the era of tower-house restoration is drawing towards its close for the very simple reason that the number of towers capable of restoration and available for purchase is now so limited.’[21] Yet the Scottish Castle Initiative, launched by Historic Scotland in 2009, has identified a number of ruined and derelict towers and castles which might be candidates for restoration:

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[21] David Walker, 2000, ‘The Adaptation and Restoration of Tower Houses; An Historical Review from the Reign of Charles II to the Present’ in Robert Clow (ed.), 2000, *Restoring Scotland’s Castles* (Glasgow: John Smith & Son), p.29.

> The Castle Conservation Register identifies ruined castles and tower houses that we believe could be successfully restored and reused. The register is not definitive; there will certainly be other castles or tower houses that might be candidates for restoration. Historic Scotland is not actively proposing the castles on the register for restoration but hopes that by drawing attention to cases where we believe restoration is acceptable in principle, it will encourage suitable schemes to come forward.[22]

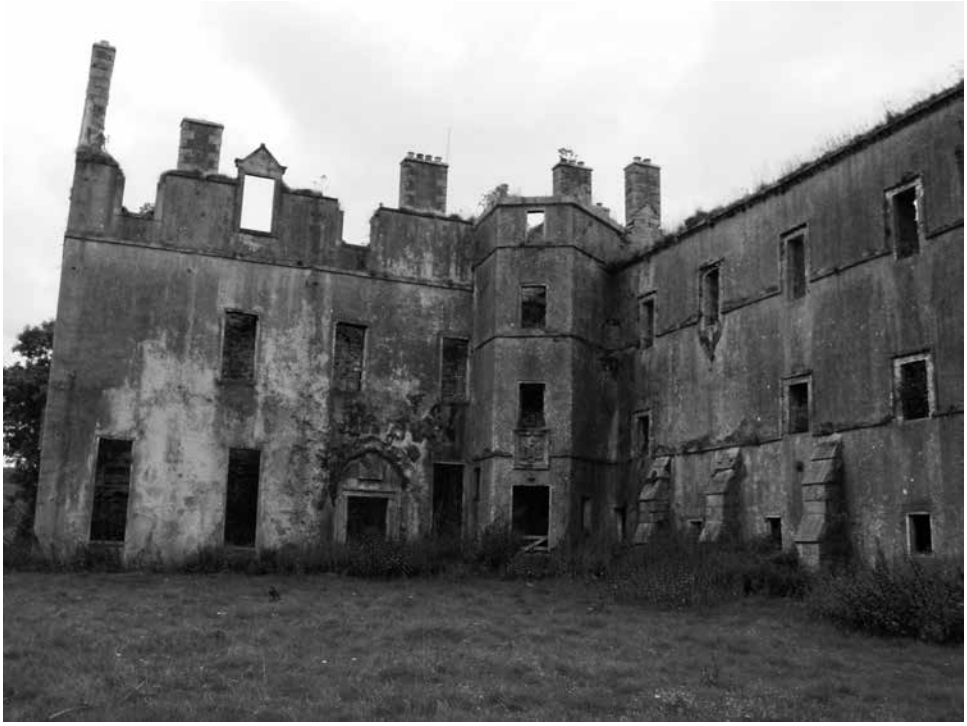

Figure 16. Kenmure Castle.

In Dumfries and Galloway the castles on the Castle Conservation Register include Dunskey, Kenmure (Figure 16) and Lennox Plunton. At least twenty others in Dumfries and Galloway could easily be added, given that availability for sale is not a criterion for inclusion — in fact, it is difficult to understand why the majority of Scotland's relatively intact ruined castles are not included.

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[22] Historic Scotland website: `www.historic-scotland.gov.uk/index/heritage/scottishcastleinitiative/castleconservationregister` accessed March 2014.

So were the hopes of MacGibbon and Ross realised? Were Scotland's ancient buildings — or at least the castles of Dumfries and Galloway — consequently saved from decay and demolition? The answer is both yes and no. The simple tripartite classification of 1892 (inhabited, roofless ruins, uninhabited but roofed) is no longer adequate as a descriptive measure of the state of Dumfries and Galloway's castles in 2014, with the changing usage of buildings demonstrating a pragmatic approach to the preservation of historic buildings in an uncertain economic climate. In the past, castles changed hands relatively rarely and then usually within a rarefied circle of wealthy landed gentry and aristocracy, with the occasional incursion by the nouveaux riches. But among the castles bought and restored by individuals since 1950, it is a surprising fact that throughout Scotland over 50 per cent were subsequently sold by their restorers, although only two of the Dumfries and Galloway ones have changed hands on the open market (Abbot's Tower and Craigcaffie). The current situation, with seven categories, is shown in Table 4 and Figure 17.

State in 2014	**Total: Dumfries and Galloway**
Inhabited (always)	7 (12%)
Inhabited (restored)	10 (17%)
Inhabited (as a business)	5 (8%)
In the care of Historic Scotland	8 (13%)
Consolidated (private)	7 (12%)
Ruined (private)	21 (36%)
Museum	1 (2%)

Table 4. The state of MacGibbon and Ross's Dumfries & Galloway castles in 2014 (n=59).

As can be seen from the pie chart, the picture is more complex in 2014 than in 1892, when 63% of the uninhabited castles described by MacGibbon and Ross were in private hands and either roofless ruins or roofed but uninhabited. Now the number of ruined and consolidated castles in private hands is 48%, and 13% are in the care of the State. Of the castles in 2014 that are inhabited, 8% are used as business premises — these provide accommodation to visitors, either as holiday self-catering properties, such as Castle of Park or hotels such as Auchens or Comlongon. Drumlanrig has also been counted in this category, since it opens its doors to visitors. Of the castles in 2014, 17% count as having been restored; the only castle which could have been described as 'has been restored' in 1892 was the Old Place of Mochrum, which was rescued from what was largely a ruin in 1873 by the 2nd Marquis of Bute.

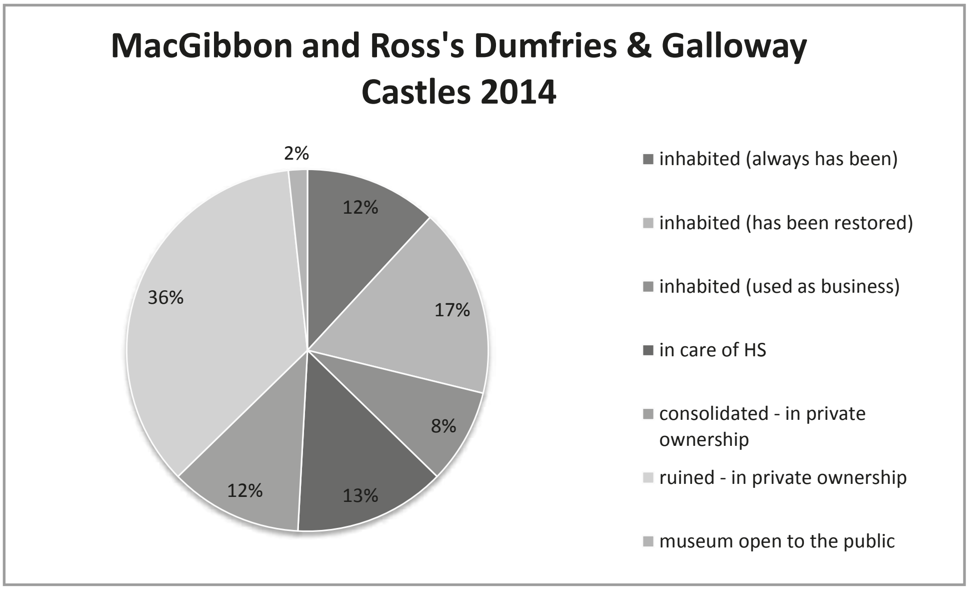

Figure 17. Pie chart showing the state of MacGibbon and Ross's
Dumfries & Galloway castles in 2014.[23]

The position of many castles has undoubtedly improved, and 42% of Dumfries and Galloway castles have been classified as 'better' since MacGibbon and Ross wrote about them in 1892. They have had their futures made secure, either as consolidated ruins in the care of the State, or buildings restored as homes and hotels. But some castles continue to deteriorate appallingly, such as Bankend, also known as Isle Tower. MacGibbon and Ross noted, **'**The building is in a state of complete ruin, a considerable part of the south west wall having fallen, but the corners as yet remain nearly of their original height. The interior is choked with *debris* almost as high as the first floor.'[24] In 2000, according to Alastair Maxwell-Irving: 'The present ruins have continued to suffer from subsidence and progressive collapse. The wing itself finally fell in 1969'[25] Auchenskeoch Castle was very ruined when MacGibbon and Ross visited, and probably had been for centuries, but deteriorated further in the twentieth century. An RCAHMS inspection in 1911 found that 'The ruin is now enclosed on the south by modern farm-sheds, and is in a neglected state.' A further inspection in 1965 noted that 'The remains of Auchenskeock Castle (the correct spelling of the name could not be confirmed) are generally as described above, except that the S wall has been demolished.'[26] As long as there are significant and important historic monuments such as Kenmure, Dunskey, Castle Wigg, Sanquhar, Hoddom and Cassencarie at dreadful risk of further collapse, we cannot be complacent about the castles of Dumfries and Galloway, either at present or in the future.

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[23] Read chart clockwise from 12 o'clock to match legend.

[24] MacGibbon and Ross, 1887–92, Vol.5, p.232.

[25] Alastair M.T. Maxwell-Irving, 2000, *The Border Towers of Scotland: The West March* (Blairlogie: Alastair M.T. Maxwell-Irving), p.188.

[26] `http://canmore.rcahms.gov.uk/en/site/65389/details/auchenskeock+castle/` accessed March 2014.

Postscript

What of the castles that MacGibbon and Ross did not include? There seems to have been no particular reason why almost as many castles were left out of *The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland* as were included. Some missing ones, like Cassencarie, near Creetown in Wigtownshire, have always been prominent landmarks, easy to access from the main coast road, well-marked on maps and with clearly documented history. Orchardton Tower is a strange omission; as the only *round* tower house in Scotland it has always been a curiosity. Volume 5 contains a Supplement, 'containing, in alphabetical order, descriptions and illustrations of a number of structures information regarding which was obtained too late to allow of their being inserted in their proper places in the foregoing series.'[27] There are 64 castles in the supplement, including nine from Dumfries and Galloway, indicating a last-minute rush. Probably the reason for inclusion and omission is pragmatic; the castles included are those that were simply the easiest to get to themselves and/or find other people to document. MacGibbon and Ross sketched many of the castles and monuments themselves, but they also capitalised on the drawings of other architects, when available. They do acknowledge that their account is not comprehensive: 'It may be thought that the number of buildings illustrated is unnecessarily large. But it is, after all, only a small portion of the still surviving examples of Scottish Domestic Architecture.'[28] Future research will investigate the changes that have taken place over the past 120 years in those fifty or so castles of Dumfries and Galloway which were **not** included in MacGibbon and Ross's magisterial account.

Appendix 1 — List of Castles in Dumfries and Galloway Described by MacGibbon and Ross

Dumfriesshire

Achincass or Auchen Castle
Amisfield Tower
Bankend Castle aka Isle Tower aka Lochar Tower
Bonshaw Tower
Caerlaverock Castle
Closeburn Castle
Comlongan Castle
Drumlanrig Castle
Elshieshields Tower
Fourmerkland Tower
Frenchland Tower
Hoddam Castle
Hollows Tower aka Gilknockie
Isle Tower
Lag Tower
Lochhouse Tower
Lochmaben Castle
Lochwood Tower

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[27] MacGibbon and Ross, 1887–92, Vol.5, p.215.

[28] MacGibbon and Ross, 1887–92, Vol.1, Preface, p.vii.

Morton Castle
Repentance, Tower of
Robgill Tower
Sanquhar Castle
Spedlin’s Tower
Torthorwald Castle
Wardhouse Tower aka Woodhouse

Kirkcudbrightshire

Abbot’s Tower
Auchenskeoch Castle
Barholm Castle
Barscobe House
Buittle Castle (old)
Buittle Castle (‘new’)
Campston Castle
Cardoness Castle
Carsleuth Castle
Drumcoltern Castle
Earlston Castle
Edingham Castle
Garlies Castle
Hills Castle
Kenmure Castle
Kirkconnell Tower
Maclellan’s House
Rusco Castle
Threave Castle

Wigtownshire

Carscreugh Castle
Castle Kennedy
Castle Stewart
Castle Wigg
Craig Caffie Tower
Dunskey Castle
Galdenoch Castle
Isle of Whithorn Castle
Killasser Castle
Lochnaw Castle
Mochrum, Old Place of
Myrton Castle
Park House
Sorbie Castle
Stranraer Castle

LORD HERRIES AND MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

A.E. MacRobert[1]

This article explores the involvement and conduct of Lord Herries in the dramatic events and changes which took place in Scotland in the 1560s. It also examines the significance of the Herries memoirs. John Maxwell of Terregles (d.1583) became the fourth Lord Herries in right of his wife — a custom not uncommon at that time. His wife was the daughter of the third Lord Herries who died in 1543. Terregles is on the left bank of the Nith near Dumfries. Before assuming or being granted his peerage he was known as the Master of Maxwell. As early as 1560 it was said that he 'laboureth to be Lord Herries.' It is not clear exactly when he became known as Lord Herries, but at least by April 1567 he was Lord Herries. For convenience he will be referred to as Herries throughout this article.

The background to the 1560s is that for several decades there had been too many weak Regents during the minorities of James V and Mary. Then there had been the turmoil of the religious upheaval in 1559–61. It is therefore not surprising that in the 1560s many of the nobles were unruly and involved in frequent plots. Some behaved like thugs or gangsters. Some were careful to be crafty to cover themselves in case the rival party prevailed. Herries in contrast to many nobles was relatively well-behaved.

After the autumn of 1565 he was a supporter of the Queen. Like many of her supporters he was a Protestant. It is difficult to know how far support for Mary arose from her being the rightful monarch or her own bewitching qualities or dislike of potential usurpers such as the Earl of Moray or the Hamiltons.

What were the opinions of Herries held by his contemporaries? During the religious turmoil of 1559–61 he was an active supporter of the Protestants. John Knox described him as 'a man zealous and stout in God's cause (as then appeared) … to the uttermost of his power he would assist the preachers'. In 1562 Knox called him 'a man of great judgment and experience'. In 1563, however, Herries argued with Knox about the attitude of Knox to the Queen, and 'they met not in such familiarity as they had before'.[2]

In August 1567 Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, Queen Elizabeth's envoy to Scotland, wrote that: 'The Lord Herries is the cunning horseleech and the wisest of the whole faction; but as the Queen of Scotland sayeth of him "there is nobody can be sure of him". He taketh pleasure to bear all the world in hand. We have good occasion to be well aware of him. Here among his own countrymen he is noted to be the most cautelous [wily] man of his nation’. Throckmorton was a shrewd observer, and his assessment of Herries was almost certainly a ‘clap in the cloot’.[3]

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[1] Member of the Society; 6 Fergus Road, Kirkcudbright, DG6 4HN; author of *Mary Queen of Scots and Her Escapes* (Ely: Melrose Books) 2012, which was reviewed in *TDGNHAS* Vol. 87 (2013) and 'Mary Queen of Scots' Last Night in Scotland', *TDGNHAS* Vol. 78 (2004).

[2] *John Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland*, ed. W.C. Dickinson (1949) Vol. I, p. 161; Vol. II, pp. 57, 90–92.

A pitfall in giving an account of Herries during the 1560s is to seek information from the Historical Memoirs of Lord Herries. The manuscript is held in the National Library of Scotland. The paper is watermarked 1742 or 1749. The title given by the transcriber is ‘An Abridgement of the Reign of Queen Mary faithfully copied from the Abridgement of the Scottish History by Lord Herries, whose Mss lays in the Scots Colledge of Douay, in Flanders, JP’. The date 1656 was added. The manuscript gives pages 310 to 436, but the transcriber stated that the whole was 624 pages. The extract covers the years 1542 to 1571, and then stops in an unfinished sentence. The transcriber stated that Lord Herries continued his Abridgement to 1631.

It is not clear who was the Lord Herries mentioned in the title, and it is also not known who was the original author of the ‘Scottish History’. As the surviving portion contains references to events after 1583, it could not have been written by the fourth Lord Herries. Furthermore, the Memoirs contain very little inside information about key events involving him such as Mary’s escape into Galloway after the Battle of Langside, her arrival in England and the conferences held in England at which he was present. There are also remarkably few references to Herries himself.

The Memoirs were probably the work of an unknown historian engaged by the sixth Lord Herries (d.1631) or the seventh Lord (d.1677). He had access to previous material as there are four references to what is an unspecified ‘Historie’, unless he just meant the original version which he was transcribing. His text also contains three references to George Buchanan’s History which was published in 1582, however the author did not trust Buchanan in his relation of the actions of Queen Mary as Buchanan wrote with spleen against her. The author alluded to subsequent histories after Buchanan, but it is not clear which would have been available to him, partly as the time when the Memoirs were being compiled is not known. It is also not known if the author had any special sources of information for the period covered in the surviving portion. The reliability of his information is therefore uncertain. If, however, the author had access to reliable sources for those years the Memoirs become much more valuable.

Another uncertainty is what the transcriber meant by his twofold use of ‘Abridgement’. His use of the word was probably not the same as in modern usage; it would now imply a shortened version of the original. The text certainly does not give the impression of being substantially reduced. The transcriber may simply have meant that this History — like all Histories — was just a shortened version of events.

The transcriber, whose initials were JP, may have been Fr John Pepper SJ. In 1739–47 he was a student at the Scots College in Douai and subsequently rector there from 1766 to 1772. He was a missioner at Terregles and Dumfries from 1774 until 1810.

The original manuscript of the entire History was probably destroyed at Douai during the French Revolution. The extract was published by the Abbotsford Club in 1836 and edited by Robert Pitcairn. This edition is often mentioned in bibliographies relating to the reign of Queen Mary, perhaps giving the impression that the fourth Lord Herries was the author.

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[3] *Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland*, Vol. II, 1563–1569 (1900) no. 605. The Index contains many other references to Herries.

What is the significance of the Memoirs? Firstly, they have to be regarded as a mid-seventeenth century history and not a contemporary source. Secondly, their assertion that Queen Mary fled down Nithsdale is not conclusive proof. She may have followed that route, but there is also evidence suggesting other routes. Thirdly, the reservations about these Memoirs mean that historians must look more to other sources to obtain information about Herries in the 1560s. There are, however, many gaps in the available sources about his activities.

During the initial years after the return of Queen Mary in 1561 Herries did not take a prominent part in the affairs of state, apart from matters concerning the Border with England. Even the alleged Memoirs rarely mention him until 1565. In July 1565 the Queen married Lord Darnley. This led to a rebellion by some of the Protestant nobles led by the Earl of Moray, the ambitious half-brother of the Queen. The rebels feared that the Queen would try to restore the Catholic Church. In August she wrote to Herries with the accusation that he had ‘melled’ (mingled) with the rebels. There is no doubt that he was at least in sympathy with them.

The rebels failed to win much support and retreated to Dumfries followed by the Queen and Darnley. In October the rebels asked Herries to meet the Queen. The Memoirs stated that although he exerted some influence on the rebels, he had not been in action against the Queen. It was added that it was uncertain whether he was sent to agree an accommodation with them or to occupy their time or to divine their intentions. Obviously not written by Herries himself!

It is not known where Herries met the Queen, what were their discussions and what was the outcome. This may have been amicable as John Knox stated that Herries gave Mary and Darnley a banquet at Lochmaben. The rebels escaped into England and the protection of Queen Elizabeth. Herries escaped any severe punishment and from that time became a supporter of the Queen.[4]

After the murder of Riccio in March 1566, Herries went to Dunbar to join the Queen. It seems that he took no part in any of the plots surrounding the murder of Darnley in February 1567 at Kirk o’ Field. It is not certain what were his reactions to the Queen’s increasing reliance on Bothwell, but Sir James Melville in his Memoirs stated that Herries, ‘a worthy nobleman’, went to Edinburgh some time after the murder of Darnley, and told the Queen about the rumours going through the country. These were that Bothwell had murdered Darnley and that the Queen was to marry Bothwell. Herries requested the Queen not to do so. She marvelled at such rumours and said that there was no such thing in her mind. He asked her pardon and prayed her to take his honest intentions in good part. He immediately left Edinburgh, fearing that Bothwell would hear about his intervention. This account is not corroborated, but it is probably unlikely that Melville invented it.

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[4] Dickinson, op. cit., Vol. II, pp.172, 182.

Although the marriage took place in May 1567, Herries continued to support the Queen. It seems that he took no part in the rebellion which, in June 1567, led to her captivity in Lochleven Castle. At the end of June he subscribed a Bond with other nobles promising to set the Queen free, but there was a very long delay in arranging this. Then in August 1567 he asked Throckmorton to see if there was any way whereby Mary could be relieved and the troubles pacified.

It is possible that Herries had some foreknowledge about the plan to set the Queen free early in May 1568. From Loch Leven she went straight to Niddry Castle (south of Queensferry) and stayed there only a few hours before leaving to go to Hamilton. One account, which is not corroborated, is that Herries met her on the way to Hamilton with a large body of cavalry.

On 13 May he led the Queen's cavalry in the battle at Langside with some initial success but was checked. After the defeat and rout of her army the Queen fled into Galloway with a small escort including Herries' son. It is not known where, when and how Herries subsequently joined her. The alleged Memoirs stated that the Queen went by Sanquhar to Terregles and rested there for 'some few days'. If she did go down Nithsdale (which is controversial), it is very improbable that she stayed at Terregles for more than a few hours. Her presence there would have become known, and it was too close to Dumfries to be safe.

There is no certainty where Mary was after 13 May until the afternoon of 16 May when she left on a fishing boat from the Abbey Burnfoot near Dundrennan to cross into England. A small number of her supporters, including Herries, went with her. To her dismay, Mary found herself a prisoner in England instead of receiving the expected help from Queen Elizabeth. Even Sir William Cecil, Elizabeth's Secretary of State, minuted on 20 June that Queen Mary had come to England on trust of Queen Elizabeth from whom she had received many messages of help in her trouble.[5] It seems that Mary was advised by some of those with her in Galloway not to cross into England, but she insisted on going there without delay.

From the time the Queen arrived in England she relied increasingly on Herries. On 28 May she wrote to Queen Elizabeth from Carlisle (where she was being detained) stating that she had sent her faithful and well-loved subject Lord Herries to inform her of all matters and to credit him as herself.

In the next few weeks Herries had long conferences with Queen Elizabeth trying to obtain favourable conditions for Mary to return to Scotland. He undertook that Mary would not allow the French or Spanish to go into Scotland without Queen Elizabeth's consent, but Queen Elizabeth and Cecil had the whip-hand and were determined to hold an enquiry into Mary's conduct. Yet on 28 July when Herries was returning to Scotland, he wrote to Cecil from the remote Bolton Castle in Yorkshire (where Mary had been sent for greater security). He stated that on taking his leave from Queen Elizabeth she had told him to declare to Mary that 'she was her loving friend and would leave nothing undone for her as if her cause was her own'.[6] By the end of July Herries was back at Terregles.

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[5] *Calendar of State Papers,* op. cit., nos. 709, 1090.

[6] *Calendar of State Papers*, op. cit., no.740.

A series of conferences was arranged by Queen Elizabeth to enquire into Mary's alleged involvement in the murder of Darnley. The first began at York in October 1568. The conferences were attended by Commissioners appointed by Queen Elizabeth, Queen Mary and the Earl of Moray as Regent. Herries was one of Mary's Commissioners.

When asked to take the oath, Herries promised to say nothing but what was just and true but in nowise to say all in this matter which he knew to be true. It is not known why he made this reservation or what he had in mind, but it should not be assumed that it was aimed at Queen Mary. Subsequently it was reported that Herries 'laboureth for a reconciliation without odious accusations'. Perhaps that explained his reluctance to say everything.[7]

The conferences subsequently met at Westminster and Hampton Court. Accusations against Mary became more precise and rancour increased. On 22 December Herries wrote (referring to the murder of Darnley) that among those with the Earl of Moray there were some 'guilty of that abominable treason, in the fore-knowledge and consent thereto'.[8]

The conferences ended in January 1569. Mary was kept a captive, since, as a sovereign, she would not submit herself to Elizabeth's jurisdiction. By late February Herries was back in Terregles. He never saw Queen Mary again.

In April 1569 Moray held Herries in Edinburgh Castle as Herries would not acknowledge Moray's authority as Regent. He was released in March 1570 after Moray was assassinated. Herries survived the harsh Regency from 1572 to 1578 of the Earl of Morton whom he disliked. He died in 1583. Queen Mary continued in captivity until her execution in 1587.

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[7] *Calendar of State Papers,* op. cit., nos. 839, 849.

[8] W. Goodall, *An Examination of the Letters said to be written by Mary Queen of Scots* (1754) Vol. II, p.272.

SMUGGLING IN ANNANDALE

Frances Wilkins[1]

The history of smuggling in Annandale covers the complete story of that trade in Dumfries and Galloway during the period between the late seventeenth and early nineteenth centuries. It includes all aspects of the trade from the merchant based in Annan who engaged in tobacco, brandy and wine smuggling, to the tenant farmer living on the Solway shore who smuggled smaller cargoes of contraband from the Isle of Man and beyond. In addition, there was a brief period when Scottish salt and whisky were smuggled across the Border into England. During the 1720s, the collectors of customs at Dumfries became obsessed with stopping the smuggling trade in Annandale — they were unsuccessful. Smuggling only ended over a century later, when it became uneconomical.

Preface

This is the last of a series of four articles about different aspects of smuggling in Dumfries and Galloway: the trade in Wigtownshire, the smuggling merchants of Kirkcudbright, the collectors of customs at Dumfries and the king's boat at Carsethorn and finally, smuggling in Annandale.[2] Research has continued since the first paper appeared in 2003 and the story expands, adding yet more detail to the overall picture. The conclusion remains the same: the smuggling history of this area is unique. Location is the first significant point: ready access to the Isle of Man before 1765 and after that date an Irish Sea coastline that provided equally easy access to Ireland and to the armed ships bringing cargoes of goods from Europe. The proximity to the Border, providing the opportunity to supply the vast markets in the north of England was balanced by the ease with which goods could be carried over land into Ayrshire and to Glasgow and Edinburgh. An equally significant point is the people themselves. The expertise of the local merchants was extended to a wider number of people by the fact that a high proportion of the population had been 'bred to the sea' or simply lived along the Solway shore, so producing a different level of expertise. Inevitably there were disputes but the fact that a hundred people or more could appear on the beach at short notice indicates a common interest, sufficiently formidable to produce despair in the local revenue officers.

Annandale: Land and Sea[3]

Annandale stretches from near Caerlaverock on the west to the Sark River on the east.

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[1] 8 Mill Close, Blakedown, Kidderminster, Worcestershire DY10 3NQ; `www.franscript.co.uk.`

[2] Frances Wilkins (2003) 'The Role of Wigtownshire in Eighteenth Century Smuggling', *TDGNHAS*, Vol.77, pp.181–201 (available on-line at `www.dgnhas.org.uk/transonline.php`); Frances Wilkins (2009) 'Smuggling and Kirkcudbright Merchant Companies in the Eighteenth Century', *TDGNHAS*, Vol.83, pp.105–129; Frances Wilkins (2011) 'The Dumfries Collectors and the King's Boat at Carsethorn, 1764–1799', *TDGNHAS*, Vol.85, pp.93–118.

[3] NAS (National Archives of Scotland): CE51 1/2: 18 May, 1 June 1724; CE51 1/5: 30 April 1790; CE51 1/7: 28 February 1805. CE51 1/8: 25 March 1816. TNA (The National Archives, Kew): CUST82: 1/13 15 November 1784.

Although there were customers for smuggled goods in both Eusdale and Eskdale, these areas are not included here. In the eighteenth century, Gretna was called Graitney and Browhouses was Brewhouses. Powfoot was referred to as Cummertrees Powfoot. Alison Bank was at Sarkfoot. In March 1816, the customs officers at Dumfries reported ‘smuggling in this district by sea is very trifling, chiefly owing to there being few creeks where boats can land, on account of the coast being generally flat and sandy, almost the whole extent of the Dumfries-shire side of the Nith’ i.e. Annandale.

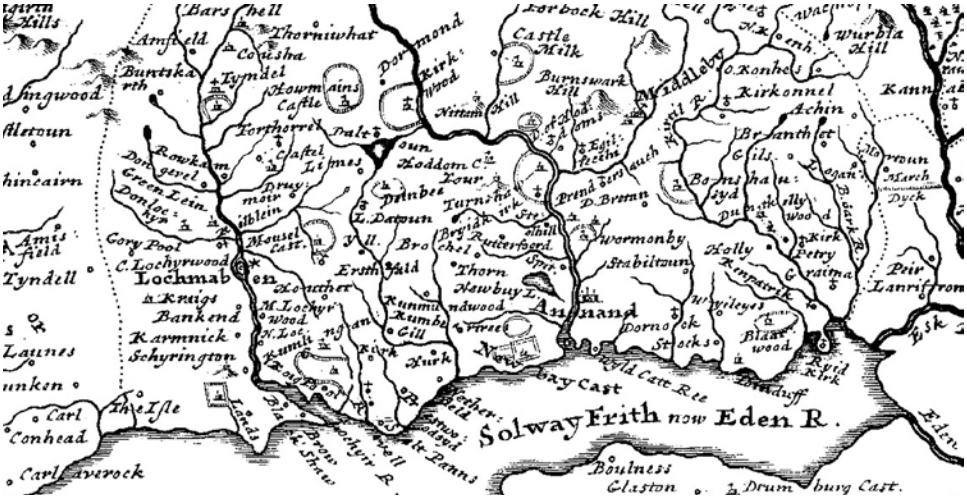
Thorniwhat
Castle Milk
Burnswark Hill
Kirkonnel
Lochmaben
Hoddom C.
Annand
Kirk
Gory Pool
Bankend
Karmnick
Schyrington
Carl Conhead
Carlaverock
Wurbla Hill
Stabiltoun
Holly
Blacwood
Rigg
Kirk Petry
Graitna
Lanriffron
Esk
Bay Cast
Solway Frith now Eden R.
Boulness
Glaston
Drumbury Cast.
Eden

Figure 1. Detail from the map ‘Anandale: is Part of Dumfreis Shire. Eusdale or Eskdale and Liddesdale is the South Part of Roxburgh Sh.’ by Herman Moll (1654–1732). This was published in 1745.

The Annandale smuggling story is complicated by its proximity to Cumberland, because the English coast offered alterative landing places. In May 1724, the customs officers received information from the Isle of Man that there were ‘no fewer than nine boats ready laden … with brandy and tobacco all bound for the Galloway Firth, to be run either on the English or Scots side, as they can most conveniently’. During two days in February 1805, a smuggling vessel landed part of her cargo near Silloth, in Cumberland and the remainder on the Scottish coast. She returned in April with a cargo of salt for ‘either the English or Scotch side of the Firth’.

The upper reaches of the Solway Firth are full of sandbanks. Some larger vessels used pilots who knew the safe channels. From the mid-1770s onwards, James Laing was employed ‘in bringing up … to the Scotch Borders vessels of force’. In April 1790, a smuggling vessel was expected: her pilot was waiting on the coast west of the river Nith.

In June 1724, the collector at Dumfries reported to the Board of Customs in Edinburgh:

> Within these few months there have been great quantities of brandy, tobacco and wine run out of small boats betwixt the foot of the Water of Annan and Alison Bank and, before I can have notice of it here, they have it all carried through the

> country and dispersed and hid in moss holes and other private places, so as it's impossible to find it out.

The goods were then carried across the Border to the large markets in the north east and north west of England.

The story of smuggling in Annandale is told from the viewpoint of the smugglers and the revenue officers. This reflects the principal source of information: the custom house letterbooks, which include letters from the collector and comptroller at Dumfries to the Board of Customs and the Board's responses and instructions. There are other sources: the Court of Session and Exchequer Court cases in Edinburgh and the Chancery Court cases on the Isle of Man.

The Revenue[4]

Annan came under the Dumfries customs collection. At first the Dumfries surveyor general was in charge at the port: Duncan Lamont (1722–1733) was 'superseded' by William Craik, which meant that Lamont had been dismissed. Bryce Blair (25 May 1735 –14 January 1762) was the first surveyor general for Annan, followed by David Douglas (18 May 1762–1792).

In June 1764, the Board of Customs in Edinburgh reported to the government following their 'most strict enquiry into the smuggling trade carried on between the Isle of Man and Scotland'. They mentioned only one customs officer in the whole of Scotland, by name:

> Many unsuccessful attempts have lately been made, particularly on the Borders by David Douglas, surveyor general at Annan, an enterprising and resolute officer, in order to intercept the smugglers in the act of conveying goods but frequently to little other purpose than getting himself and assistants on horseback severely beat and abused, the parties of soldiers employed on such occasions being foot and not able to overtake or keep up with the smugglers, who are generally well mounted.

In January, February and March 1765, John Irving and Peter Wyllie attacked David Douglas to prevent him seizing their goods.

Samuel Wootton was the riding officer at Annan (1752–1761: last mention). He was supposed to patrol the coast on horseback and 'to keep up a good correspondence with the officers on the English side of the Border … and with your [his] fellow officers on this side'. Wootton was reprimanded in October 1759 because he had returned two boats to the smugglers. As will be seen, it was extremely difficult for the officers to prevent a boat being rescued. Now Wootton was to seize all empty boats which he could prove had run goods from the Isle of Man.

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[4] NAS: CE51 1/2: 25 February, 30 March, 1 June 1724; 27 January, 15 February 1725; 21 February, 24 April 1727; 24 June 1728; 12 December 1733; 29 June 1734. CE51 1/3: 2 October 1759 (2 letters); 11 February 1760; 25 August 1762; 5 September 1763; 21 January, 4 March, 16 September 1765; 5 January, 27 April, 1 June 1767. CE51 1/4: 26 December 1782; 10 June 1785; 21 April 1786. CE51 1/7: 31 July 1802. CE51 2/1: 13 & 23 February 1733; 26 April 1734; 6 August 1739; 25 January 1743. CE51 2/2: 24 & 29 February, 16 & 25 July, 20 & 27 September, 17 December 1764; 24 January, 15 April 1765; 22 December 1766. CE51 2/3: 14 January 1783. CE51 2/4: 3 June 1785; 27 November 1786. MNHL (Manx National Heritage Library): MS09707 Atholl Papers AP40B-6; MS10071 Chancery File 1764: 29 June 1765. TNA: CUST82 1/13: 15 November 1782.

When Thomas Corbet was appointed as a riding officer (1764–1779), he was instructed to take his station 'as centrically as possible' between the River Nith and Annan and to correspond frequently with David Douglas.

There were tidesmen stationed not only at Annan but, depending on where the smuggling was most prevalent, at Ruthwell, Cummertrees Powfoot, Seafield, Dornock, Righead/ Torduff, Brewhouses, and Graitney.

James Johnston was the tidesman at Righead with responsibility for the coast between Annan and Sarkfoot. This area included Torduff Point, where he was deforced on at least three occasions. On 21 March 1721, Johnston saw several people carrying casks, 'which he judged to be full of brandy', from a boat to the shore. When he tried to make a seizure, Johnston was 'forcibly hindered … by a mob of (as near as he could guess) an hundred people, both men and women'. Despite 'the darkness of the night', Johnston could identify David Gass of Torduff, John Carlisle of Dornock and many others. He named several witnesses, who knew 'all the company that were there'.

At 10 o'clock on the night of 23 May 1724, Johnston was deforced while he seized two boats loaded with small casks of wine from the Isle of Man. The collector commented: 'it's not in the power of the officers … to hinder them from doing what they please … For there will be to two or three hundred men and women assisting at the unloading of a small boat and they give no regard to law'.

On 19 January 1725, Johnston was deforced by William Anderson of Midup, John Irving of Newton, Richard Johnston of Gap and James Rome of Dornock while seizing three loads of brandy. 'One of the deforcers was dangerously wounded and he is very much threatened by the country people on that account'. George Rome, Andrew Rome, his son-in-law, and George Birnie, the younger, of Redkirk Mile were witnesses to the deforcement.

About midday on 12 February 1727, a well-known Manx wherry arrived at Torduff Point. Seven or eight armed men prevented Johnston from boarding her. By the time he returned with a constable, some of the brandy and tobacco was already on horseback. This was returned to the boat and about 10 o'clock the next morning Johnston boarded her, where he found more casks of brandy. Although it was high water, he could not get the wherry afloat. In the meantime, an English king's boat under the command of Captain Lewis had arrived. Lewis suggested that Johnston should put the goods on his boat and at 3 o'clock in the afternoon the wherry floated. On the Friday, Lewis carried the wherry and her cargo to Whitehaven, as his seizure. After strong complaints from Dumfries to Edinburgh and from Scotland to England, in April the wherry and her cargo were brought to Dumfries. The collector believed she should be employed by the revenue because, as the wherry 'outrows any vessel that ever was upon this coast … it would tend very much to discourage the pernicious trade from the Isle of Man'. There was a complaint about Johnston's behaviour during this episode. He was dismissed the following year and replaced by John Ewart, 'an honest trusty fellow'.

The king’s boat at Carsethorn was described in the previous paper in this series.[5] There was also a king’s boat at Seafield, under the command of Duncan Campbell (1733 –1734), Fergus Hill (1734), Thomas Bell (1734–1764) and Patrick Houston (1764–1766). Campbell, Hill and Bell were each dismissed and Houston was laid off.

There is very little information about the king’s boat at Seafield before Duncan Campbell arrived, when he discovered it had been ‘beat to pieces in a storm’. He was asked to recommend a suitable boat and her crew.

On 5 December 1733, three tidesman and two boatmen from Seafield were deforced by a mob of more than 100 people, while they were seizing a ‘great quantity’ of brandy landed near Torduff. Four months later, Campbell was accused of ‘several indirect practices’ and dismissed.

In June 1734, two wine ships were expected at Annan. William Craik instructed the new commander of the Seafield boat, Fergus Hill, to cruise between Annan and the Carse (Carsethorn) ‘by which means they would have the whole Firth in their view and must see the ships several leagues at sea’. They could then attend the wine ships to Annan, and prevent them running any of their cargoes on shore. Instead of obeying this instruction, the boatmen complained to the Board of Customs about being ordered to cruise in the Firth, when they had information of Manx boats about to arrive in their area.

As the Dumfries officers explained, the boatmen always used this excuse when ordered out to sea. Some of them had farms at Seafield and others did not like to leave their wives and families. When the officers complained about ‘their notorious drinking and idleness’, the boatmen would ‘join for their common interest to load us with all the aspersions they can invent’.

There were tidesmen at Sarkfoot, Annan and Cummertrees Powfoot and the officers believed ‘if the king’s boat would faithfully and diligently do their duty in concurrence with these three officers … they might in a great measure prevent the running of brandy in that part’.

At first Thomas Bell and his crew were more amenable. In July 1739, they were deforced and ‘barbarously wounded’ at Millerland by John Birnie, his brothers and ‘a mob’. On 12 January 1743, two of the Seafield boatmen, James Dickson and James Stewart, were ‘miserably beat and wounded’ by the smugglers. Now Stewart was ‘disabled and rendered unfit to row by the loss of some of his fingers’.

By April 1762, there was a problem with Bell’s command of the boat. Instead of going down the Firth ‘with the ebb tide in the day time, when the winds are westerly and Manx boats expected, and come up with the flood in the night tide, where it’s most probable to meet with smuggling boats on their way to the Borders’, Bell stayed near Seafield.

On 4 May 1763, two Manx boats landed about 80 horse-loads of tea and spirits near Brewhouses at about 8 o’clock in the morning. Although the king’s boat was only quarter of a mile to the westward, no attempt was made to seize these boats, 'when there was such a prospect of doing it with effect'. A few months later the smugglers rescued a boat that had been seized.

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[5] Frances Wilkins (2011) ‘The Dumfries Collectors and the King’s Boat at Carsethorn, 1764–1799’, *TDGNHAS*, Vol.85, pp.93–118.

In February 1764, Janet Rome, Mary Unning and Alexander Brown deforced one of the king's boatmen, Thomas Roddick, and rescued a cask of spirits he was carrying to Beckfoot.

Following a detailed enquiry into Bell's conduct by both supervisors general, on 25 July 1764 the Board decided to dismiss him. His replacement was Patrick Houston. There were problems. On 14 September 1764, Houston, Thomas Corbet, riding officer, and two tidesmen were attacked while they were attempting to destroy five Manx boats. As it was illegal to destroy boats, because they should be disabled instead, no action could be taken against their attackers. Surprisingly, the officers had not searched for the goods that had been run out of the boats.

Houston was 'confined to his house through sickness', when there was a 'violent rescue and deforcement' against Robert Goodsir, mate, and other members of the king's boat crew in December 1764. The rioters could not be prosecuted because, in Houston's absence, none of the boatmen had a deputation to seize goods.

On 16 March 1765, James Johnston was attacked on the road by David Baxter and Andrew Blaikie, who rescued the two ankers of spirits he was carrying to Annan.

The Board decided on 22 December 1766 that it was 'unnecessary' to continue the king's boat at Seafield. The boats used by Houston were laid up at Kelton on the Nith. By 1767, these were 'very much spoiled by being exposed to the inclemency of the weather'. The larger boat was sold on 1 June to the smuggler, Peter Rome, for £23 5s. There are no further references to a king's boat at Seafield.

There are very few references to customs and excise officers working together. In 1792, Walter Crawfurd, the excise officer at Annan, was forewarned of the *Rosamund's* arrival by Thomas Geddes, the tidesman at Brewhouses. Yet Geddes never received his share of the reward. Early in 1799, two excise officers asked William Elliot and Francis Carruthers to help them seize a Manx boat, which had smuggled salt at Cummertrees Powfoot. The men went on board her with the excise officers but then started to drink with the smugglers and did nothing to help when the excisemen were forced into a smaller boat and put ashore.

When the military were available, they would help the customs officers. In December 1782, David Douglas asked the Dumfries officers for assistance, because a large armed wherry had landed tea, spirits and salted herrings at Brewhouses. Although some officers with a sergeant and seven soldiers were sent to help Douglas, Andrew Rome 'came up with and got before the party and ordered out the vessel to sea' before they arrived. An attempt was made to charge Rome with beating a soldier 'who had fallen behind the party'.

In addition to the king's boats there were revenue cruisers. The nearest was stationed in Cumberland. In February 1760, Thomas Bell complained because Guilford Lawson, commander of an English king's boat had seized a Manx boat and her cargo on the Scottish shore but taken the seizure to England.

In 1783, John Lawson and the crew of the king's boat at Skinburness were searching for a wherry's cargo when they were obstructed by John Wyllie and others at Leehouses and then at Hollandbush. As Lawson had no authority to seize goods in Scotland, the men could not be prosecuted.

In 1762, a Manx wherry, with John Kneen, master was delivering her cargo to the Borders, when she was fired on by an English revenue cruiser. One of the boatmen was shot in the back and was carried to John Cockpen's house at Battlehill. The wherrymaster guaranteed to pay the surgeon's fees and for the man's food and lodging. Back on the Isle of Man, the boatman refused to repay him so that the case was heard in the Chancery Court. As the main witnesses were in Scotland, John Johnson, Provost of Annan was asked to take their evidence. The case was dismissed in March 1766.

On 6 April 1788, Andrew Aitchison of Newbie was on board a boat loaded with tobacco and spirits when she was chased by the *Prince Edward* revenue cutter based at the Isle of Whithorn and run ashore on the English coast. Captain Cook took his seizure to the custom house at Whitehaven. The next day, Aitchison asked Cook's men 'for some old clothes that was left in the smuggling boat'. When Aitchison returned to Whitehaven in September 1788, he was arrested. He submitted a petition, explaining that 'he never to his knowledge did break any of the laws of his country nor had he property (was he so inclined) to make a purchase of contraband goods'. It could be proved that Aitchison was indeed 'a very poor man with a wife and a small family of helpless children, who he supports chiefly by fishing'. His offer to pay £10 towards his fine was accepted by the Board of Customs in London and he entered into a smuggling bond, to deter him from smuggling in future.

It is probable that the *Pigmy* was a naval vessel.[6] In March 1784, David Douglas (surveyor general) was instructed to break up two Manx boats lying at Annan that had been condemned in the Court of Exchequer for smuggling. On 6 April 1784, Douglas, the tidesman Andrew Smith and a carpenter signed a certificate confirming that this had been done. According to the Dumfries officers, 'at that time we had no other idea than that the boats were a heap of rubbish fit for firewood only. It turns out, however, that they had been very superficially broken up or undergone some repair'. David Douglas had sold one for £10 and given the other away to his son, Lieutenant Douglas, commander of the *Pigmy*. Both Douglas and Smith were severely reprimanded and suspended for a month.

Richard Graham of Torduff had been 'notoriously concerned in smuggling for many years past'. In November 1784, he sent his boat, with Charles Syme, master, to the Isle of Man for a cargo of herrings. There Syme 'unluckily met with' Peter Coltart, who had been a smuggler but was now a sailor on board the *Pigmy* ‘admiralty cutter’. Coltart ‘bore the most inveterate malice’ against Graham. He persuaded Syme, ‘a young man and unexperienced [sic] in these matters’ to spend the herring money on salt. Then Coltart gave information to his captain (Lieutenant Douglas?) and the boat was seized ‘in open daylight’, when on her return voyage to Torduff. Graham claimed that this would ruin him because the boat was his only means of supporting his wife and young family ‘by his honest industry in the herring fishery’. There was a strong suspicion, however, that Syme ‘a near relation’ was acting on Graham’s instructions, particularly as the smugglers’ pilot, James Laing, was also on board the boat. Now Syme had escaped from the constables sent to arrest him and fled from the country.

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[6] According to Canmore [ID 299985], the *Pigmy*, a revenue cruiser was lost in Wigtown Bay in December 1784. Walter Scott in *Guy Mannering* describes an incident in which Captain Yawkins of the *Hawk* was chased by the *Pigmy* and the *Dwarf* and yet according to Rupert Jarvis in *Customs Letter-Books of the Port of Liverpool 1711 to 1813* (1956) 'no trace has ever been found in the Customs records of either of these cutters'. In 1790, the 14-gun cutter HMS *Pigmy* was stationed off the Isle of Man, when Henry Inman was appointed her commander. The *Pigmy*'s logbooks for the appropriate dates are held in The National Archives at Kew. The research continues. In the meantime, it is suggested that, as he is referred to as *Lieutenant,* Douglas was commander of a naval vessel.

The *Ann & Elizabeth* of Ayr was seized in April 1786 by the tender of the *Pigmy* ‘admiralty cutter’ and taken to Kirkcudbright, on suspicion of having landed her cargo at Locharfoot and Brewhouses. The local tidesman knew both the vessel and several of her hands so that he went to Kirkcudbright to give evidence about her activities.

The Merchants[7]

In August 1720, the collector at Dumfries and the collector of excise at Annan inspected the merchants’ cellars at the port to confirm if what was stored in them tallied with the official record. ‘Upon our coming there the merchants were all out of the way and we could not get any keys, whereupon we broke open the doors’. In two cellars, which should have contained 778 gallons of brandy, ‘we found not an drop’ and in another cellar, where there should have been 1,090 gallons of brandy, ‘we found about 36 gallons brandy and a dozen small casks filled with water’.

From the late seventeenth century onwards, Whitehaven merchants such as Clement Nicholson and Thomas Lutwidge were exporting their tobacco to the Solway ports of Annan, Dumfries and Kirkcudbright. This tobacco was part of an elaborate smuggling scheme, which involved repayment of the duties and subsidies paid by the merchants and either re-landing the tobacco along the Solway coast or carrying it to the Isle of Man, ‘where it’s evident there is no market for it and we are confident they only leave it there till they get an opportunity of making it up in trusses fit for carrying on horses’ backs for the conveniency of running it out of small boats upon the coast and carrying it speedily into the country’.

A parcel of smuggled tobacco was seized at Alison Bank in 1708. In December 1709, the *Patience* of Whitehaven arrived at Dumfries from Virginia with 199 hogsheads of tobacco on board for James Black of Alison Bank. Twenty hogsheads of this tobacco were exported on the *Kirkconnell* of Dumfries for Londonderry in February 1710 and the following September a further 40 hogsheads in the *Intention* of Whitehaven for 'Isleman [sic]'. The *Intention* did not sail directly to the island. Instead she spent the next three weeks hovering on both the English and Scottish sides of the Solway, presumably waiting for an opportunity to run her cargo.

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[7] NAS: CE51 1/1: 8 November 1708; 30 May 1718; 29 August 1720. CE51 1/2: 16 October 1723; 30 March, 6 May, 1, 3 & 10 June, 28 November 1724; 18 August 1725; 8 November 1727; 8 January 1728; 6 July 1734. CE51 2/1: 28 June 1744. MNHL: MS 10058: Customs Ingates and Outgates: Ingates 1753 and 1756. MS 10071: Liber Canc 1723–1726 1725 f21. Liber Canc 1727–1729. 1727: f106; 1728 f134. Liber Canc 1750–1751: 1751: f156. Chancery File 1728 f67. MS 10216: James Black’s will. GL719 1776–1779: Thomas Durie’s will. TNA: C107/161. D Richardson, K Beedham, M M Schofield *Liverpool Trade & Shipping, 1744–1786* 1992: 51/45 & 55/57.

When James Black died on 20 November 1711, his widow, Barbara Carruthers described her husband as 'a man of great business', whose sudden death had 'given room for several ill-disposed persons', including the Dumfries merchants William Rae and Joseph Pearce, to claim that they had been in partnership with Black in the *Intention's* tobacco. Because she believed that John Murray of Douglas still had some of Black's tobacco in his warehouse, in 1713, Barbara applied to the Manx Ecclesiastical Court for authority to take charge of her husband's effects on the Island and ensure that his genuine creditors were paid. The Wattleworths of Ramsey, well known in the smuggling trade, were her securities. This link between Ramsey and the Annandale smugglers continues for the next fifty years. Black's main creditor was John Murray of Dumfries, who could prove that he was owed £68 11s. 5d. He went to the Island to make his own claim.[8]

The letterbook for the Dumfries custom house between 1721 and 1728 includes nearly 40 letters from the collectors of customs to the Board in Edinburgh, indicating their determination to prove that Thomas Lutwidge of Whitehaven was a major tobacco smuggler, despite the apparent lack of support from their English counterparts or the Manx officers on the Isle of Man.

One of the problems was the cargo of the *Queen Anne* of Whitehaven, which arrived from Virginia in September 1723. On reaching Scotland, 50 hogsheads of tobacco were landed at Kirkcudbright and the remainder at Annan. A high proportion of this cargo was supposedly exported. Yet the 45 hogsheads loaded on to the *Lachmere* of Whitehaven at Annan in October 1723 were not on board when the ship was wrecked a few days later, before she had time to carry her cargo to the Isle of Man. The collector was convinced that this tobacco had been re-landed.

On 24 March 1724, the Dumfries officers were searching the Annan area for the tobacco when Simon Gordon, the owner of a barn at Battlehill, refused them access 'until we threatened to break open the door'. Inside they found 12 hogsheads of Thomas Lutwidge's tobacco, which Gordon claimed had come from Whitehaven in May 1723. When the tobacco was weighed, however, it was 176 lb. heavier than the Whitehaven tobacco. The collector was convinced that it was part of the *Lachmere's* cargo — Simon Gordon was known to have been involved in re-landing it. A further 42 hogsheads of the *Queen Anne's* tobacco were re-landed from the *Mary & Betty* in October 1724.

In August 1725, Mary Murray sent information to the Board of Customs in Edinburgh about the re-landing of tobacco shipped at Annan. She knew the names of the ships, their masters and the owners of the tobacco and could suggest several witnesses, who might prove the frauds. Unfortunately no details are recorded in the custom house letterbook for Dumfries.

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[8] John Murray's visit to the island is described in: Frances Wilkins (2002) *The Isle of Man & the Jacobite Network,* (Kidderminster: Wyre Forest Press).

Tobacco was not the only item that was landed illegally. On 12 April 1718, nine hogsheads of Spanish brandy and wine were found covered with straw in a barn at Cummertrees. When the officers searched Simon Gordon's barn at Battlehill in 1724, they also found 21 hogsheads of decayed red wine 'which we judged to be the product of France'. In January 1728, Duncan Lamont reported that there were only 14 hogsheads of the wine still intact, 'which is no strange thing, considering they have lain four years in such a damp place'. He concluded, 'as the wine was bad when seized, I am really of opinion it is now good for nothing'.

On 30 April 1724, the customs officers from Dumfries found four hogsheads of white and red wine and a small cask prunes in a barn belonging to David Little at Graitney. Little explained that the wine belonged to merchants at Annan, 'who he says frequently bring their wine there and bottle it off for the convenience of running it into England'. The wine was left in Little's custody until it could be secured under lock and key. Yet when the officers returned to the barn, it had been carried away by Thomas Mirrie, a merchant in Annan.

The Chancery Court on the Isle of Man, at their meeting on 3 March 1726, concluded that John Rea, a merchant in Annandale, owed George Bennet for a parcel of goods worth £20 18s. 8d. Unfortunately the list of goods is stuck into the court record book face down and so cannot be read. There are other references to Annan merchants in the 1720s. Thomas Morrey (Mirrie?) owed John Sanford £60 and Archibald Allen and William Thomson owed £20 to John Hewit.

John Johnson was a merchant in Annan, deeply involved in the smuggling trade, and also provost of the town. When Johnson's ship the *St Patrick* was rummaged in July 1734, there was one additional puncheon of brandy on board. There were also 80 small casks 'intended to be filled from the puncheon and run ashore, having brought along with them an empty Manx boat from the Island for that purpose'.

Johnson was one of the owners of the *Annandale*, an 80-ton snow[9] with a crew of nine men and mounted with two guns. His partners were five merchants on the Isle of Man, including David Forbes, and Jacob Sandilands, a merchant in Barcelona. In 1753, the *Annandale* landed tobacco from Holland on the Island and in 1756, brandy from Saloe in Spain. In February 1757, she was taken by a privateer and carried into 'a small port near Naples'. When David Forbes died, Johnson still owed him £80 12s. 8½d. according to an unsettled account.

In 1751, Gilbert Smith, originally a merchant in Annan but now based on the Isle of Man, owed Bartholomew Sandilands of Bordeaux £320 and the Kirkcudbright merchant, John Lewhellin, living in Ramsey, a further £16 14s. 10½d. Smith gave Edward Allen, Sandilands' agent on the Island 32 hogsheads of claret. Because Smith also owed John Christian of Douglas £12, these hogsheads were arrested against that debt. The claret might perish if kept too long so it was sold to the highest bidder and the proceeds were used towards paying Smith's debts.

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[9] A small brig, with two masts.

In addition to the individual merchants, there were also smuggling partnerships. A letter of complaint was sent from Glasgow on 12 April 1744 to the Board of Customs at London, by them to Edinburgh and by the Scottish Board to the officers at Dumfries. This letter named ‘three in company at Annan’: John Johnston, postmaster; William Hardie, who was the brother-in-law of Bryce Blair (surveyor general); and Tristram Lowther, ‘a Cumberland man and well acquainted with the officers at Carlisle’. The letter also mentioned John Carlyle, one of the greatest smugglers from the Isle of Man, and his ‘near relation’, John Little.

‘Trusty’ Lowther, John Carlyle, James Rome and Peter Wyllie had been served, in 1724, with subpoenas to appear in the Court of Exchequer in Edinburgh, accused of smuggling. No further information is available about this case.

The Isle of Man Rules Supreme[10]

The Isle of Man was essentially a storehouse for the smuggling trade. Owned during this period by the Earls of Derby and then the Dukes of Atholl, the low duties there attracted a wide range of imports, which included, ‘in general all sorts of species of goods, which pay high duties on the importation into Britain or which are absolutely prohibited, or can only be imported under certain restrictions; and also tobacco, which has been exported from Britain and the duties drawn back’. Tea was normally only available through the English East India Company and, during wartime, the importation of French brandy was banned.

The merchants on the Isle of Man supplied the Annandale smugglers with goods. John Irving of Seafield was imprisoned in the tolbooth at Annan in February 1762, because he owed money to unnamed merchants on the Island. This document was produced in his defence:

> Along the coast for many miles where the pursuer [Irving] dwells, that whole trade and business is smuggling; scarce one person but is concerned more or less; they are in general all tributaries to the Isle of Man merchants, are run in debt with them, and must continue their retailers all their lives, or incur the distress now come upon the pursuer. The circumstances of many of these dealers are at bottom no better than the pursuer’s but they continue to trade, and are necessary to the merchants. And if traders can thus be kept in servitude all their days, tho’ the merchants lose money at their deaths, they can very well afford it.

Irving claimed that ‘he never cheated or intended fraud to any individual’. His only crime was that of being an 'honest smuggler'. Irving's defence provides an insight into how these small-time traders operated. He was an illiterate countryman so that 'he never kept any books, except jottings on scraps of paper for goods sold'. When Irving was expected to name his partners, he responded that 'he never was in any trading company in the way of his business nor so eminent as many others. It is true in imitation of his betters, he hath joined sundry of his neighbours in adventures … chiefly in freighting a boat in common, everyone buying his own goods, paying or granting his security therefore and, where two or more are concerned together, the merchants scarce ever neglect to have the all bound'.

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[10] NAS: CE51 1/1: 16 April, 5 May, 15 October 1711. CE51 1/2: 30 March, 1 June, 14 September 1724; 16 February 1726; 11 January, 16 February, 5 April, 11December 1727. CE51 1/3: 19 November, 10 & 26 December 1759; 23 January, 31 March, 19 May 1760; 8 February 1762. NAS: CS271/27124. MNHL: MS09707 Atholl Papers AP40B-6. MS 10071: Liber Canc 1727–29 1727: f90; 1728: ff45 & 90. Liber Canc 1730–33: 1732: f122. Liber Canc 1744–45: 1745: f57. Liber Canc 1746–47: 1746: f166. Liber Canc 1752–53: 1753: ff107 & 108. Liber Canc 1754–55: 1754 f56; 1755: f65. Liber Canc 1762–1763: 1762: f191 & nfn October 1762; 1763: ff6, 60, 125, 129 & 251. Liber Canc 1764–1765: 1764: ff5, 74, 128, 139, 159 & 215. Chancery File 1754–55: 1754 f42. Chancery File 1763: f6 & nfn 15 September 1763. Chancery File 1764: ff16 & 65. Chancery File 1766 nfn 10 June 1765. Broughton House Library, Kirkcudbright: Printed Document 316.

While Irving suspected that the merchants on the Isle of Man wanted to distress him 'by every means possible, to make him an example and a monument of terror to the whole coast':

> No person enters upon smuggling with any views to becoming a bankrupt and while there is opportunities and the tempting prospect of gain, that distant unthought-of event will not have the least influence on the mind.

When a merchant on the Isle of Man was owed money, their case was heard in the Chancery Court. This provides information about the activities of some of the Annandale smugglers. In the 1720s, James Rome owed Hugh Greg £25 and £96 and Patrick Savage £20. In 1745, Peter Rome, John Rome and Andrew Birnie owed William Johnston £26 19s. 10d. for rum and teas.

In April 1764, William, son of Paul Bridson of Douglas charged Messrs Irving and Rome with a £400 debt. There are no further details but possibly these men were John Irving and James Rome.

Francis Blake owed David and John Baxter, Richard and William Bell, George Brown and John Irving of Annandale £31 8s. 6d., according to their current account, dated October 1763. John Rome, who lived in Ramsey, guaranteed that Blake would meet with them in Annan and settle his account. This meeting was not successful and Blake refused to pay what he owed. Now Rome was liable for the debt. He was no longer on the Island but had some brandy stored with William Martin in Ramsey. This brandy was sold and the proceeds paid to George Brown et al.

It has proved difficult to identify John Rome of Ramsey with any certainty. Probably he was the Rome who owed the Scottish merchant John McCulloch, now also in Ramsey, £54 in 1763 and £50 in 1764 and who charged the Douglas merchants Da Costa, Vianna & Osorio with a debt of £100 in 1762.

Thomas McGowan, formerly of Kirkcudbright but now of Ramsey, charged John Irving with a debt of £60, in 1765. John Kneen, the Ramsey wherrymaster, was Irving's surety.

It was only a short trip from the Island to the Solway shore, in boats that could negotiate the shallow waters. Most of the smuggling took place 'at the dark of the moon', in the winter months, when there were long nights.

On 9 January 1762, Bryce Blair (surveyor general) reported that he had seized five Manx boats. These were described as:

> all open, about 5 or 6 tons burthen and generally brings from the Island Man betwixt 40 or 50 small casks of spirits, containing about 8 or 9 gallons each, and 6 or 8 lb. weight tea in leather bags in each boat. They are rigged sometimes with two masts and two square sails and at other times only one mast and one sail and in calm weather they row with four oars, and carry eight men in each boat … the hulls of these boats are cut to pieces with saws and hatchets … to prevent the Manx men and smugglers from carrying them off and since part of them is carried off by the country people for firewood and the remains carried off by the flood so that in effect they are totally destroyed.

Debts owed for carrying goods to the Solway shore can also be identified in the Chancery Court records.

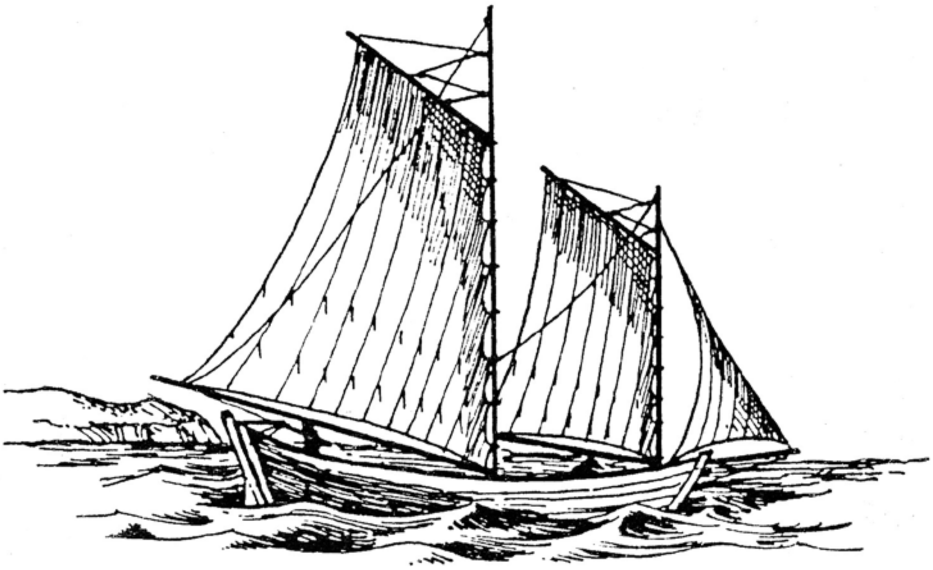

Figure 2. A Manx Wherry. Source: Basil Megaw's Papers.
(Courtesy of Manx National Heritage)

In 1732, James Rome owed the wherryman Philip Lace £14. William Wattleworth was owed £4 by James Irving in 1746; £2 3s. by John Rome senior and £8 by John Rome junior in 1753; and, when in 1754, John Johnston, George Lowther and John Rome owed him £7, David Forbes was bound security for them.

Towards the end of November 1762, the Ramsey wherryman, Daniel Kee agreed to carry a cargo of goods to the Borders for John Irving of Hills and James Rome. He was told that if the wherry could not sail up the Solway Firth for any reason then John Gunion of Priestside and John Davidson at Lantonside on the Nith estuary would take care of the goods.

Because this was not a full wherry load, Kee added stones for ballast. Seeing this, John Carruthers of Baurch asked Kee to carry both him and his eight ankers of brandy to Scotland. Kee agreed but sailed with the brandy, leaving Carruthers in Ramsey. The Scotsman managed to arrange a ‘put across’ with John Baker. The following day both wherries were off Boron Point near Arbigland, when Carruthers advised Kee either to run up the Nith or go up the Solway Firth, as it was a dark night and the wind was fair from the south west, with a good breeze, so that he had a chance to get up to the Borders with safety.

Instead, Kee landed the cargo on the sands to the west of Priestside. With help from the local men: Robert Barton, Robert Edgar, William Fowler, Joseph Grier, Joseph Rae and John Scot younger and their horses and carts, the wherrymen hid the goods in houses and in the countryside around ‘Blakeshaw [sic]’. When John Gunion heard that a Manx wherry was on the shore, he sent his son to find out if this was Irving and Rome’s cargo. Kee refused to name the owners of the goods, saying that he would go to the Borders himself to tell them about the landing. Concerned about a Manx wherry sailing up the Solway Firth in the daytime, young Gunion offered to take the message himself or to send his father. Kee would not agree to this.

That night Irving and Rome went to Gunion’s house with the news that customs officers accompanied by a party of soldiers were on their way to search Blakeshaw. They asked the Gunions and other local men to help carry the goods back to the shore and bury them in the sand. A customs officer and two soldiers on horseback met Robert Edgar and seized three of his horses loaded with goods. The next morning, ‘the greatest part of goods’ hidden in the sands was seized by the officers.

John Irving refused to pay Daniel Kee £25 for freight of the goods. In September 1763, Provost John Johnson questioned the local witnesses, who all agreed that if Kee had landed at Lantonside or continued to the Borders then the goods would not have been seized.

In October 1763, Daniel Kee charged David Irving with a debt of £20, presumably for another trip to the Solway shore. Thomas McGowan was bound as Irving’s security.

John Edgar, who had been in partnership with John Irving in a load of goods in 1762, owed James Joughin and his crew £16 2s.

On 3 February 1763, John Irving of Hills and Martin Birnie of Elliotstown were in Ramsey, wanting a boat to carry their goods. Peter Wyllie of Leehouses recommended William Joughin and he was freighted by Irving, who gave him strict instructions about waiting for ‘the first dark tides’. Irving and Wyllie left the Island. The next day, Joughin, with Birnie on board, left Ramsey ‘at an improper time’. They sailed first to Cumberland, where Birnie’s goods were landed south of Allonby but seized immediately. Joughin then returned to the Island. The following June, Joughin tried to land John Irving’s goods a second time. They were seized off ‘Allonfoot’ [sic] by the king’s boat from Whitehaven. The Scotsmen refused to pay the freight money of £39.

In their 1764 report the Board of Customs explained that wherever the wherries were due to land:

> A great number of people with horses do assemble, and as fast as the goods are landed they are put upon the horses, two ankers of spirits slung on each horse and

> so according to the weights and package of other goods and a man is seated upon the goods on each horse and in this manner escorted by a number of the principal smugglers they proceed up this country and into the north of England through moors and un-frequented roads and then dispose of the goods to shop keepers, carriers and other persons by whom they are circulated …

William Graham of Mossknowe described the career of his tenant John Rome:

> His trade has been that of a smuggler for himself and others since ever he was able to ride between two casks of spirits or two bags of tea. He was brought up by his uncle Peter Rome, who possessed a farm … lying upon the Sollaway [sic] Firth … [Rome] indeed was a very active hand for his uncle and at last became his partner.

In their 1764 report, the Board explained why the smugglers were so violent in their attacks against any revenue officers attempting to seize their boats and cargoes: 'on which occasions, to render them fitter for desperate and lawless acts, they are generally intoxicated with liquor'.

In April 1711, two small boats were seen 'hovering on the coast'. The goods were landed at Ruthwell, where, at sunset, the Dumfries officers seized some brandy. Five tidesmen guarded the house where the seizure was stored overnight. Next morning, 'there came above the number of a hundred women, who about eleven o'clock of the day broke open the doors and windows and, committing several abuses upon the officers, forcibly carried away the brandy'. Five witnesses were prepared to name more than twenty of the rioters.

This type of behaviour, in the middle of the day, made the customs officers 'so discouraged that they refuse to go about their duty in these places'. The following October, the officers claimed that 'Ruthwell is the only place here we have the greatest difficulty to get an officer entertained at'. They suggested that a local man should be appointed as a tidesman.

'A parcel of smugglers' sailed from the Borders to the Isle of Man in September 1724, to bring home a cargo of goods. This was landed at Torduff on the night of the 20th. The following night, the collector with a sergeant and 12 soldiers seized some brandy, tobacco and tea. The boat was still anchored at Torduff Point and the collector seized her sails but 'I could not get her rudder knocked off at that time'. If he could prove that the boat had been involved in this act of smuggling, then she would be a valuable seizure. By the time he returned to Torduff, the boat had gone.

On 16 February 1726, the collector commented that the whole coast from Cummertrees to Sarkfoot was populated by 'nothing but a set of smugglers'. The Commissioners of Customs in London wrote to the Board in Edinburgh on 5 January 1727, reporting that according to their Whitehaven officers, 'the smuggling trade from the Isle of Man was notoriously carried on upon the coast of North Britain especially near Annan'.

There are gaps in the Dumfries custom house letterbooks from the 1720s to the 1760s: in the letters from the collector and comptroller at Dumfries to the Board between 1727 and 1759 and in the letters from the Board between 1749 and 1764.

In December 1759, the collector at Dumfries admitted to the Board that 'smuggling from the Isle of Man, the audaciousness and insolence of smugglers are so greatly increased … that the officers dare hardly look out of their own doors'. Samuel Wootton and the tidesman, Robert Neilson, were deforced by Andrew Rome and Martin Wright of Torduff, when they attempted to seize the goods landed by a Manx wherry.

Andrew Rome and at least eight other men were involved in another attack, in February 1760, on two members of the crew of the king's boat. The sheriff did not take evidence until the following May, when information was given against Bill Ben, David Christian,[11] James Grahame, Bill Janmy, John Nean, Andrew Rome, John Rome, commonly called Jack Rome, his brother, Peter Rome and Matthew Underwood.

Despite these deforcements, some Manx boats were seized, and secured. In January 1760, five boats were burned in this area: two at Torduff and Brewhouses, two at Seafield and one at Annan Waterfoot.

Sometimes there were firearm accidents. In January 1763, a cargo of goods was landed for Thomas Bell, a 'yeoman' at Torduff, who had been trading with the Isle of Man for 'some time past'. When the wherry was about to leave, Bell fired 'a hand gun, musket or fowling piece' loaded with small shot, 'without any provocation'. Some of the shot hit William Corlet, a shoemaker in Ramsey, who was one of the hands on board the boat and lodged in his eye. Bell carried Corlet on shore, admitting that he had fired the shot. Now Corlet was blind in that eye and could not see 'to do any work as usual'. He claimed £500 in compensation from Bell, who despite his promise to visit the Island 'shortly', stayed away. His goods were arrested but the case was dismissed in December of that year.

After the Island[12]

It was apparent that smuggling from the Isle of Man was completely out of control. The revenue was incapable of making any real impact on the illegal trade. The East India Company's influence in parliament was sufficiently strong to produce action at government level. Not for the first time, an approach was made to the owner of the Island to purchase his fiscal rights so that, in time, the duties on the Island would be in line with those in Britain and customs officers could be established there. In 1765, the Duke of Atholl sold his fiscal rights to the Island for £70,000. It was believed that this would end the smuggling trade.

As William Graham of Mossknowe explained, this was not the case:

> Such of the smugglers as had credit could not afford to give over the business, as their old sores had constant demand for new salves. Only as the trade was carried

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[11] David Christian was probably a Manxman.

[12] NAS: CS218/53, CS228/L/3/30, CS231/R/3/3, CS271/4807, CS271/15,312, CS271/16,116, CS271/22,115, CS271/27,124, CS271/27,125, CS271/27,127, CS271/30,487, CS271/41,639, CS271/46,195, CS271/51,108. CE51 1/4: 4, 21 & 29 July, 16 September 1780; 2 & 18 August 1786. CE51 1/5: 28 & 30 September 1789; 18 August 1791. CE51 1/6: 11 July 1794. CE51 1/7: 25 January & 5 February 1805. CE51 2/6: 31 December 1793. CE51 2/11: 14 June 1802. E355/2. TNA: CUST82/13: 6 December 1781; 13 March 1783.

> on directly from France, and in ships, this trade became the more dangerous and the loss, if it happened, irretrievable. Such was said to be the fate of this copartnery [Peter Rome and his nephew John]. For after two or three unsuccessful adventures, the last of which was said to be under the conduct of the famous Captain Gardner alias Garner, whom your Lordships have had occasion to hear of … [the partnership failed]

There is no information about the 'famous' Captain Gardner and the Romes. However, in November 1767, Peter Rome attempted to reclaim a schooner (under 100 tons) at the Exchequer Court in Edinburgh. This had been seized by David Douglas for importing spirits. Rome's claim was withdrawn.

After Peter Rome's death in 1771 or 1772, his son, John went into partnership with his cousin. They were known as John & John Romes. Because Peter's son was 'young and unexperienced [sic], the management of the business was principally entrusted to John Rome, who paid very little attention to it'. In February 1775, both Johns applied for sequestration.

John Rome junior had inherited his father Peter's debts, as a result of which he was imprisoned in the tolbooth at Annan. His father had owed money to David Staig, agent of the Bank of Scotland in Dumfries (£80) and £70 to the Douglas Heron Bank in Ayr. He also owed the balance of an account with Currie, Beck & Co., established as a major smuggling company in Kirkcudbright after 1765. On his own behalf, John owed money to Richard Barton and Hugh Craine at the Mull of Galloway and Alexander Ramsay in Stranraer. These men had connections with the Manx smuggling company formed at the Mull, also after 1765. He had borrowed £500 from Atkinson in Temple Sowerby and from John Bell of Dunanbie and owed a further £100 to William Kirkpatrick of Conheath, who was connected with David Currie. Rome claimed that 'his insolvency has not been occasioned by extravagant living but by the unforeseen losses and misfortunes'. His cousin, John Rome, who had moved to Torduff, used the same excuse. He had 'met with several misfortunes and sustained considerable losses by bad debtors'.

John Rome of Langlands failed 'in his circumstances' at the beginning of 1773. George Lowther of Dornock, David Dickson of Lockarwoods and John Cockpen of Newbie, as his chief creditors, sold Rome's effects, 'which were very trifling' and would not pay 5s. out of every pound that he owed. Then John Logan on the Isle of Man heard about the sequestration and claimed that Rome owed him £6 17s., the balance of a bill for £13 17s. dated 1 October 1771. This date confirms that there was still some trade with the island.

The large ships found it difficult to negotiate the upper reaches of the Solway Firth. In 1778, John Wyllie and John McGeorge were charged in the Court of Exchequer at Edinburgh with treble the value of a parcel of tea that had been smuggled on to the coast. It is not known how this tea was delivered. Other vessels attempting the run were described as brigs, smacks and sloops.[13]

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[13] A brig was a two-masted, square rigged vessel; both a smack and a sloop were like a cutter (a small, single masted, sharp-built broad vessel). [Admiral W.H. Smith's *Sailor's Word-Book* 1867]. Descriptions of different vessels and their rigs tended to vary widely during our period.

On 9 June 1802, a brig arrived off Cummertrees Powfoot, laden with contraband goods. A small boat, the *Nancy* of Dumfries was seen going alongside her and presumably carrying part of the cargo ashore. By the time the customs and excise officers arrived with a party of militia, the brig had sailed.

About 2 o'clock in the morning of Monday, 31 July 1786, an armed smack landed a cargo of tobacco, belonging to Andrew Rome of Ruthwell, near Glenhowan Point, almost opposite Lantonside and then 'she sailed immediately down the [Nith] river when the tide ebbed without ever coming aground'. The tobacco was carried to the barn at Lantonside and hidden in an adjoining corn field. The smack *William & Ross* of Wigtown, William Morrison, master, was seized at Torduff Point on 19 August 1797. She was valued at £100. This ship belonged to the Clone Smugglers, originally from Ayrshire but now based near Port William.

In September 1789, Joseph Dickson, the tidesman at Ruthwell reported that a sloop had landed part of her cargo at Cummertrees Powfoot and then proceeded to Brewhouses, where she was seized by Thomas Geddes. She was valued at between £40 and £50. Three years later, Geddes reported that a vessel had smuggled her cargo at Brewhouses on 15 August and that another vessel was expected 'every tide'.

Because of the difficulty of negotiating the Solway, sometimes the cargoes were delivered to the west. As the collector at Dumfries explained to the Board in August 1786, 'all the carrying business from the places of importation in Galloway is by water in boats of 10 or 15 tons. Several boats have been seen passing up the Firth towards Leehouses and Sarkfoot'.

Thomas Geddes and George Brown, tidesman at Annan, seized a boat at Brewhouses in December 1794 but could not keep her 'on account of the country people rising upon them'.

In January 1805, the tidesman William Elliot seized a boat belonging to William Craine of Ramsey for landing smuggled goods and salt at Torduff Point. The other people involved, Wyllie and 'his associates' were all known smugglers. Wyllie offered Elliot money 'to make a good report' and Craine petitioned to have his boat returned but the name had been defaced by being rubbed over with tar.

Seizing goods once they were on shore also proved extremely difficult, if not hazardous. In May 1780, a tidesman seized a large quantity of goods in a barn at Annan Waterfoot. As there was no lock on the door, he stayed with the goods all night, managing to transport them to Annan the next day, where he secured them in his own house. The goods were put on six carts and accompanied by two tidesman and two constables they reached Dumfries. 'As it has happened in a part of the country where they have never paid a due regard to the revenue laws, we hope this severe check will be a means of preventing such lawless practices'.

Also in May 1780, Baldwin Martin, a tidesman at Annan and Robert Johnston, a local excise officer were 'ill-used' twice while searching for smuggled goods. They were forced out of a house at Torduff by John Scot from Balcary (Galloway) and James Goldie from Ayrshire and then attacked in a house at Leehouses by George Irvine, a servant of John

Wyllie, who had ‘the character of a notorious smuggler’. The case was heard before the Justiciary Court in Dumfries in September 1780 but the jury acquitted the three men ‘by a plurality of votes’.

There was a regular trade in goods across the Solway. George Wilson of Torduff, ‘a notorious smuggler’ delivered tea to customers in Cumberland. On 25 May 1781, the Maryport customs officers seized 260 lb. of black tea under some hay in a stable belonging to a local grocer, who confirmed that the tea had been purchased from Wilson. In January 1783, the Whitehaven customs officers seized goods stored in a barn at Moresby. Their informer claimed that these had been brought from Scotland by Wilson and a man called Dalgleish but there were no other witnesses.

In 1786, the collector at Dumfries reported to the Board that McDowall & Co. had been established at Sarkfoot, ‘under pretence of carrying on a fair trade’. Yet it was well known that this was a smuggling company. In mid-July, a 25 ton ship from Guernsey or Jersey had delivered 100 packages of tobacco and a good deal of spirits there.

Robert McDowall was originally from Galloway. At first his business was successful. He used small ships, like the *Betsey* of Fowey in Cornwall, or offloaded his cargoes at sea: in August 1793, the *Neptune* of Carlisle, sailed from Liverpool with a cargo of tobacco for Bergen. She was met at sea by the *Surrey*, which landed some of the cargo at Sarkfoot.

One of the reasons for McDowall’s success was that he had befriended Robert Carmichael, commander of the king’s boat at Carsethorn. When a vessel was due to deliver his goods, he would arrange a ‘collusive’ bargain, which meant that he would tell Carmichael where to find a few casks provided his crew allowed the remainder to be taken away.[14]

Between July 1790 and July 1791, five vessels from Guernsey or Ostend landed their cargoes of tobacco, spirits, brandy, rum, geneva (gin) and tea valued at £7,210 12s. 9d. The *John & Mary* of Guernsey was seized off Annan by Captain Cook of the *Prince Edward* revenue cruiser. She was loaded with 1,071 gallons brandy, 549 gallons geneva, 177 gallons rum, 8,837 lb. tobacco and 679 lb. tea. It is probable that this cargo was headed for Robert McDowall.

McDowall suffered from other losses. Having ‘dealt very deeply in a line of trade, which brought upon himself utter ruin’ he emigrated to America, leaving behind debts totalling £4,649 3s 8d. His chief creditors were Messrs Charnock & Co. and John Kirkpatrick & Co. of Ostend and Mingay & LeMesurier and Thomas Lindsey of Guernsey.

Described as living at Stonebriggs, Cummertrees (1802) and Whait, near Annan (1806), Richard Hetherton was owner of the *Speedwell* sloop, which he used for importing herrings, and smuggling. Two vessels smuggled goods for Hetherton in early December 1802 and on both occasions he distracted the local tidesmen with drinks in Annan: on 8 December William Elliot stationed at Cummertrees Powfoot, where spirits and tobacco were landed and on 10 December Thomas Geddes at Brewhouses, where a sloop-rigged boat delivered her cargo of salt from Ireland.

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[14] The story of the *Betsey* and collusion between Robert McDowall and Robert Carmichael, the commander of the king’s boat, is told in Frances Wilkins (2011) ‘The Dumfries Collectors and the King’s Boat at Carsethorn, 1764–1799’, *TDGNHAS*, Vol.85, pp.93–118.

Salt Smuggling[15]

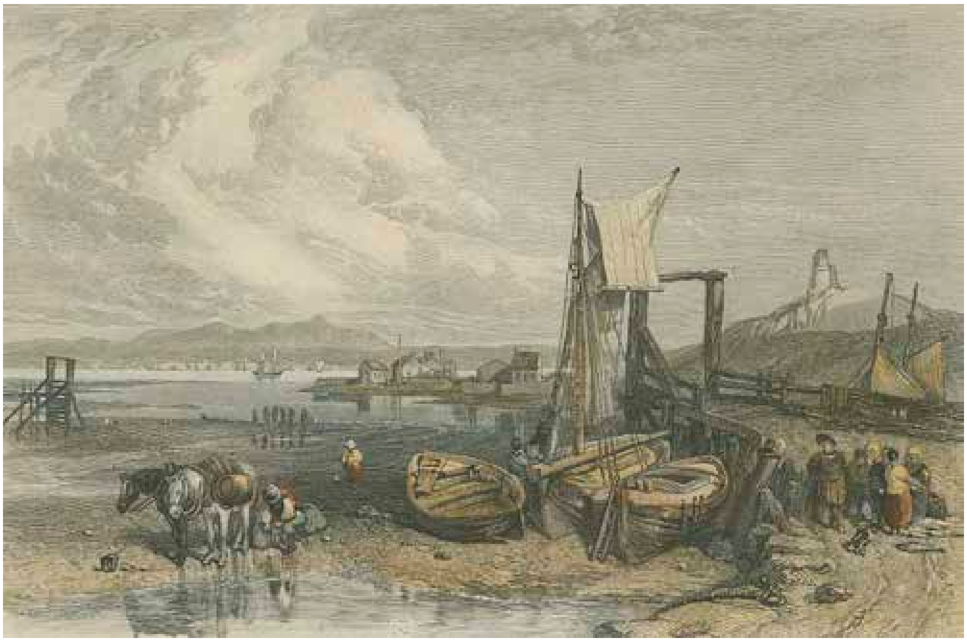

Figure 3. 'The Mouth of the Annan, and Solway Firth, Skiddaw in the Distance' an engraving made by William Miller after a painting by Clarkson Stanfield, 1846. This was published in the Abbotsford Edition of Sir Walter Scott's Waverley Novels, to accompany *Redgauntlet*. Set in 1765, the characters of this novel include Nanty Ewart and his gang of smugglers. (Courtesy of Dumfries Museum)

There were two types of problem over salt. The official fish curers practiced 'frauds against the revenue' and, when the duties were favourable, there was a steady influx of uncustomed salt from Ireland and the Isle of Man, carried in local boats.

In 1787, the Annan merchants Robert Irvine, Andrew Johnstone and George Pool stated that for several years they had been bringing Scots salt coastwise from Saltcoats and Prestonpans to Annan. As a result, they paid £200 in duties each year. 'Of late such considerable quantities of salt are smuggled from the Isle of Man and Ireland into Sarkfoot, Brewhouses etc.' so that their trade had been reduced by a half 'within these few months and the loss to the revenue very great'.

According to an anonymous letter dated Annan, 29 November 1793, at least £3,000 was lost in salt duties each year because of the smuggling along the six miles of coast between Dornock and Sarkfoot, mainly from the Isle of Man. 'So open is that trade become of late that it is exposed to sale as publicly in different places along that coast, as in other parts by the fair trader. From no notice being taken of it, most all the two parts in the Border are supplied with it, as also a considerable quantity carried over to the English side adjacent, where your Honours know the duty is considerably higher than the Scotch'. The letter concluded 'I am told the officers of the revenue do not chuse to interfere in this matter, as making seizure of it occasions much trouble and little or no profit, sometimes loss'. Certainly nearly every report of salt seizures was accompanied by details of deforcements. It was virtually impossible to store the salt while the legal process for its condemnation and sale was underway.

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[15] CE51 1/4*:* 2 September 1785. CE51 1/6: 15 December 1794; 17 June, 31 October 1796. CE51 1/7: 24 April 1805. CE51 1/9: 2 December 1820; 3 April 1822. CE51 2/4: 7 September 1785; 26 April 1786; 20 September 1787; CE51 2/6 3 December 1793. CE51 2/7: 23 February 1795.

In August 1785, Andrew Smith, tidesman, and Robert Johnstone, excise officer, seized salt in several houses near Brewhouses. They were deforced of their seizures by John Wyllie in Leehouses, Thomas Johnstone in Hollandbush and others. Wyllie was tried at the Justiciary Court in Dumfries the following April, and released.

There were small successes. In December 1794, the tidesmen Thomas Geddes and George Brown seized one of two boats that had smuggled salt at Brewhouses. To ensure that this boat was not rescued, their seizure must be taken to Annan Waterfoot or Carsethorn, 'if she be in a condition to be brought to any of these places'.

Three boats sailed from the Borders to either the Isle of Man or Ireland in February 1795. According to information supplied to the Board, these boats were 10 or 15 tons burthen and had smuggled cargoes 'every week this winter'. During the spring and summer of 1795, the king's boat did seize three boats. These were: 8, 11 and 17 tons burthen but had only carried a total of 17 tons of salt.

In May 1796, another anonymous letter was sent to the Board of Customs in Edinburgh, this time about salt smuggling at Sarkfoot. It claimed that a 30-ton boat had landed salt from Ireland. The Dumfries officers could confirm that an excise officer had been wounded in his hand when he tried to seize a parcel of salt there. Although they admitted that 'a contraband trade is carried on from Ireland and the Isle of Man … but still we cannot think they are either in number or of the burthen stated in the anonymous information'. The king's boat knew the smuggler from Ireland: according to her register she was only 14 tons burthen.

The king's boat did make a seizure at the Border in October 1796. This was the smack *Nancy & Jean* of Larne with about 14 tons of salt on board. Because of the wind and tides, she was taken to Carlisle instead of Dumfries.

In 1805, another larger vessel was smuggling salt. She was described as armed with swivels and small guns and with a crew of 15 or 16 men on board. Robert Patty, the master and owner of the vessel, was a native of the Borders and 'an old offender'.

Salt was smuggled from Scotland again in the 1820s. It had proved very difficult to catch David Ferguson with contraband goods on board his boat, 'as the people whose salt and whisky he has been in the habit of carrying illegally to the opposite coast did not fail, we suspect, to inform him when they saw or heard of the revenue officers being on the lookout at night'. In late 1820, however, Ferguson admitted he was about to load salt on his boat and carry it to Cumberland. His boat was seized because it was 'constructed to row with five oars', did not have a licence and was not employed in the merchant service. Ferguson was immune from prosecution, however, because he lived in Cumberland although 'he has a small hut or cottage near Priestside, as a cover for carrying on his illicit practices'.

In April 1822, it was reported that the king's boat at Carsethorn had proved successful in deterring the smuggling of salt made at Ruthwell into Cumberland.[16]

Whisky Smuggling across the Border[17]

During the early years of the nineteenth century there was a marked difference in the duty charged on whisky in Scotland and England. In 1819, the rate per gallon in England was 11s. 8½d. and in Scotland in 1817 (the closest available year for comparison) only 6s. 2d. Smuggling of whisky across the Border was inevitable.

In November 1818, the tidesman, William Elliott seized the *Ann*, belonging to the ferryman, Joseph Brough of Whinnierigg [sic], because there were casks containing whisky on board put there by John Lands, a fisherman at Sandhills and John Henderson, a stockingman in Annan. Brough tried to persuade Lands and Henderson to take the whisky away and three casks had been thrown overboard before Elliott arrived. Henderson and Lands were prosecuted for smuggling the whisky, convicted and fined £200 each. Henderson could not pay the fine and so he was imprisoned in Annan tolbooth until March 1821, when he was released, on condition that he would give a £50 bond not to be concerned in smuggling again. Lands was convicted in his absence. In April 1821, it was reported that he 'lives now generally on the Cumberland side of the Firth and that he is occasionally seen on this side at Sandhills, where his wife still resides in the house he formerly inhabited'. By September 1822, however, he was 'now going at large on this side of the Solway'. In November, Lands was in Annan gaol but during the next year his health deteriorated and in January 1824 he was released on bond not to be involved in smuggling again. Brough was insolvent by November 1821.

Most of the whisky smuggling was more organised. It was described by the Dumfries officers in January 1820:

> The whisky thus smuggled into England has paid the Scotch duties and is purchased from regular dealers through whom they obtain excise permits to convey it to certain places on the Borders from which they take opportunities of passing it into England. From this circumstance it becomes very difficult for the officers on the Scotch side to make seizures and therefore it is the more incumbent on the English officers to keep a strict lookout, as it is only by them it can be effectually checked.

In January 1824, a man called Nelson had rented a room in an inn at the mouth of the Annan River and obtained an excise licence to sell whisky. 'There is good reason to believe the greatest part of the whisky he sells in it is smuggled to the English side'. A whisky dealer near Gretna was now selling 'much more than double the quantity he formerly did, which the purchasers in almost every instance carry immediately across the Border in small casks, tin cases and bladders'.

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[16] Salt making at Ruthwell is described in Frances Wilkins (2013) *A History of Dumfries and Galloway in 100 Documents Part 3*.

[17] NAS: CE51/ 1/9: 6 November 1819; 5 & 11 January 1820; 12 April, 16 May, 19 November 1821; 3 April, 18 September, 29 November 1822; 6, 7 & 21 January, 6 April, 6 July, 15 October 1824. CE51 1/10: 10 October 1825; 16 October 1826; 7 April & 20 October 1827. GD1/598/1 *The Manufacture of Whisky and Plain Spirit*, J.A. Nettleton, 1913, p.11.

Mr Morgan, the minister at Graitney, reported to the Presbytery meeting at Annan on 7 December 1825 that at least 50,000 gallons of whisky had been carried from his parish into Cumberland. George Gibson, Thomas Gibson and —— Rutledge had come from south of the Border to live there, making themselves 'extremely obnoxious by the open and daring manner in which they carried on this contraband traffic'. This activity was having 'a most pernicious influence … on the religion, the morals and the industrious habits of the people', particularly because the sale of whisky was 'much more extensive and the abuses much greater on that holy day [Sunday] than on any other day of the week'. The local magistrates had refused to grant retail licences to the Gibsons and Rutledge but these had been supplied by the Collector of Excise, because he had no right to withhold them. The Presbytery were unsure what action they should take, 'especially as the offenders were not members of the Scottish Church'. They could send a memorial to the Treasury in London and both Morgan and Dr Duncan of Ruthwell were appointed as a Committee to prepare this document and give it to 'the Member of Parliament for this district of Burghs' [William Robert Keith Douglas]. One wonders how many of the people who deposited their savings in Duncan's Bank had earned their money through whisky smuggling.

In October 1824, the collector wrote to the Board explaining that although John Peat's boat had been seized on the Scottish shore for smuggling whisky, he lived at Skinburness on the Cumberland coast. It was uncertain whether Peat could be fined by the magistrates at Annan either for owning a boat used in smuggling or for refusing to appear at their court.

The whisky was carried by both land and sea. John Dalgleish, the Annan coastwaiter, described the situation in January 1820:

> They collect in great numbers with arms and threaten death to any officers, who might attempt to stop them and seize the spirits. From the inimical disposition of the people in general to assist the officers and the total inability of two or three officers to make seizures under such circumstances, I am afraid there is nothing effectual to stop the progress or the practice of these smugglers without military aid, as it is always under cloud of night and particularly in dark moons, when they follow these illegal practices. I may mention that Mr Lang, the Excise Officer here, concurs with me in this opinion.

The whisky smuggling by sea received several setbacks:

1822: a coastguard post was established at Bowness, on the Cumberland coast opposite Annan.

1824: February: the Englishman, George Ferguson, was drowned with two or three others so that 'the illicit conveyance of whisky across the Firth to the Cumberland side by water has almost ceased'.

1824: June: seven men arrested in Cumberland for smuggling were now in Whitehaven gaol.

In October 1825, the Dumfries officers could report that ‘illicit conveyance of whisky across the Solway Firth by water has received a severe check of late by a number of persons concerned in it having been apprehended in Cumberland. Many of them also have abandoned it in consequence of their being employed in various ways, on the New Bridge building at Annan but we are sorry we are not enabled to report any decrease in the smuggling of whisky across the Border by land’.

The Dumfries officers’ report in October 1826 stated ‘the illicit conveyance of whisky to the coast of Cumberland by water as well as by land has in a great measure ceased owing to the reduction of the duty and the vigilance and activity of the officers stationed on the coast’. They were not so optimistic in April or October 1827: ‘The fear, however, that it is carried on to some extent by land, notwithstanding the reduction of the duty and the activity of the officers on the lookout to prevent it and we see little prospect of this kind of smuggling being ever altogether suppressed without the aid of military force’. By 1826 the difference was 7s. in England and 2s. 10d. in Scotland and Ireland.

As the six-monthly reports to the Board in Edinburgh continue, it becomes obvious that smuggling into, and out of, Annandale had decreased until it was virtually non-existent.

Abbreviations

MNHL	Manx National Heritage Library.
NAS	National Archives of Scotland.
TNA	The National Archives, Kew.

DUCHESS BRIDGE, LANGHOLM: AN EARLY SCOTTISH CAST-IRON ESTATE FOOTBRIDGE — MADE IN ENGLAND

Aonghus MacKechnie[1]

Duchess Bridge near Langholm is one of Scotland's earliest surviving cast-iron bridges. It spans the River Esk within the policies of the one-time Buccleuch mansion of Langholm Lodge in Dumfries and Galloway, and it was cast and erected in 1813. This note reproduces some contemporary documentation concerning the bridge and something of the narrative that caused it to be.[2]

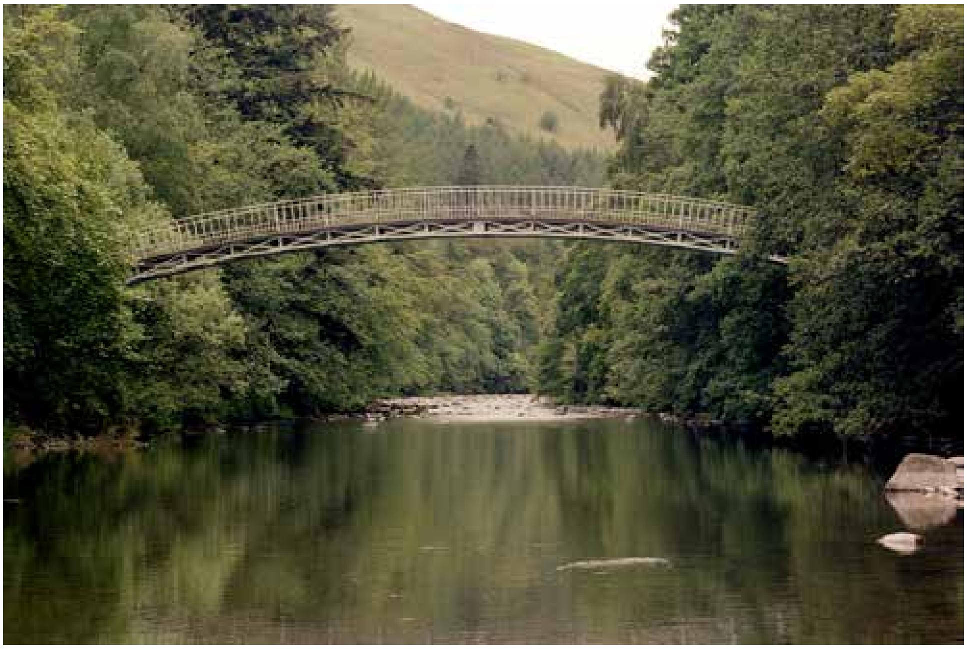

Figure 1. Duchess Bridge, Langholm in 1984, view from downstream showing the central portion. (Copyright RCAHMS SC 358518)

Background

The character of Scotland's landscape, climate and history means that there is an abundance of bridges and viaducts throughout the land. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries,

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[1] Historic Scotland, Longmore House, Salisbury Place, Edinburgh, EH9 1SH; `aonghus.mackechnie@scotland.gsi.gov.uk`.

[2] This research dates from 1982, made when I was revising the government's historic buildings 'lists'. The building date, designer's name and archival reference was made publicly known through the revised list entry. The designer's name, construction date and photographs were published by G. Hay and G. Stell in their *Monuments of Industry,* (1986) pp.186–7, figs. 186 A and 187 A and B.

bridges were typically stone-built, and often very architectural. They caught the attention of innovators, meaning that experiments were made in terms of arch technology (for example, Ballochmyle Viaduct of 1846–8 had the longest stone arch in the world); and different materials were tested — notably iron, and then steel, and concrete.

The earliest executed example in the 'Western' world of an iron bridge is in England, erected at Coalbrookedale in 1778–9. (China has had iron bridges for millennia.) Scotland's earliest executed iron bridge may have been *An Drochaid Iaruinn* (= The Iron Bridge) built over the Duich River near Laggan on Islay and which was in 1811 reported to have 'stood several years'.[3] Innovative bridge designs were in the broad period popular as estate ornament, as at Hafton in Argyll (undated), while an earlier example was the ornate Chinese-style reconstruction proposed for Inveraray's Aray Bridge in 1774 — seemingly unexecuted, but whose lacey decoration suggests use of iron.[4]

Duchess Bridge was designed by William Keir junior of Millholm. He was evidently the son and namesake of the man brought to the area to devise and to superintend improvements on the Buccleuch estates around Langholm, and this elder Keir was the man denoted 'manager of woods and director of improvement' in 1774–8.[5] Keir the elder was clearly a talented individual. For example, the Rev. Mr John Russell, who was author of the Statistical Account for Canonbie Parish ('Canoby') in the 1790s, pointing to the improvements of the time, reported that:

> A gentleman of distinguished talents and activity was at length found to direct and superintend improvements upon the estate in this country [= region], Mr Keir.

Furthermore:

> The coal [at Byreburnfoot] is wrought by a water engine upon a new construction, the invention of Mr Keir of Millholm. … the principle upon which … is known only to the ingenious inventor.[6]

The younger Keir was engaged by the Duke of Buccleuch to continue the Improvements on the Langholm estate, and it was he who built Duchess Bridge, which was evidently named in honour of the Duchess of Buccleuch — though whether the bridge bore that name from the outset is not clear.[7] This broad period witnessed a wider bridge-building programme by the Dumfriesshire Commissioners of Supply (who were, essentially, the landowners). In 1813 alone, for example, Bankend Bridge and the Cairn Bridge at Glencairn Kirk were both completed by them.[8]

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[3] Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland, *Inventory of Argyll 5* (1984), p.320

[4] I.G. Lindsay and M. Cosh, *Inveraray and the Dukes of Argyll* (1973) pp.232–3. Ironworks were established on the Duke's land at nearby Furnace in 1754.

[5] National Archives of Scotland (NAS) GD224/345. General overviews of the 'Age of Improvement' in Scotland are conveniently found in T.M. Devine's *The Transformation of Rural Scotland: Social Change and the Agrarian Economy, 1660–1815* (Edinburgh, 1994) and *Clearance and Improvement: Land, Power and People in Scotland, 1700–1900* (Edinburgh, 2006); or in abridged form, in the relevant papers within Michael Lynch (ed.) *The Oxford Companion to Scottish History* (2001 and subsequently).

[6] *Statistical Account of Scotland* (1791–99), vol.14, pp.416, 418.

[7] The tradition reported in the Ordnance Survey Name Book is inaccurate: 'It is said that the duchess drew the plan of this bridge from which circumstance it derives its name.'

The Documents

Documents concerning Duchess Bridge's coming to be are held in the National Archives of Scotland, within the Buccleuch Estates collection at shelfmark GD224. The relevant documents are letters from the younger Keir, who signed himself William Keir 'junior' (that is, the elder Keir's son), addressed mostly to the duke's secretary William Cuthill in the estate office at Drumlanrig where the duke was then resident, and the following extracts are taken from these.

This narrative begins on 25 May 1813 when Keir reported that the wooden bridge at Langholm Lodge was in need of repair.[9] On 8 June, however, Keir wrote again indicating the bridge's condition was not so bad after all.[10] On 4 July Keir sent a much gloomier message, for on setting out to repair the old wooden bridge, its condition was found to be so poor that Keir:

> hesitated about going on with the repairs till His Grace should be made acquainted with the probable expense, and from an idea that that His Grace might rather incline to have one of Cast Iron.

Repair costs were difficult to estimate, but might be around £160:

> A bridge all of Iron would probably cost from £280 to £300, but as the road-way & railings are good, it would not be necessary to make more of iron at present than the ribs, which would cost, together with the repairs on the wood part & putting up, about £180 and if we deduct the value of the iron &c in the present bridge … it will reduce the expense to about £150.
>
> These are not sums stated at random as I have made out a plan of an Iron Bridge & calculated the weight of metal, and as I know nearly the price, freight and carriage I can form a pretty good idea of the expense. If it is thought necessary I shall send the plan […] & specifications for His Grace's consideration. … It ought to be observed that the expense of an Iron bridge is very much lessened by having the old bridge to build it upon.[11]

Keir had clearly a sound engineering knowledge, as further demonstrated by his designing a chain (i.e., suspension) bridge three years later over the Hermitage Water.[12] Perhaps the old bridge could provide lateral support before the cast-iron cross-members could fulfil that function, as well as help carry the weight of the new bridge and the workers during assembly. Keir's letters continued:

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[8] Ewart Library, Dumfries, ref. D1/1/13, pp.478–9.

[9] NAS GD224/657/3/1/40.

[10] NAS GD224/657/3/1/41.

[11] NAS GD 224/657/3/1/42.

[12] See footnote 20 below.

> 16 July 1813
> I have had the honour to receive a letter from His Grace, in answer to mine respecting the Wooden Bridge and directing the ribs to be made of Cast Iron. His Grace wishes to know if the Bridge can be completed by the end of September, it is difficult for me to say how long it will take to do the work, but I have no doubt of being able to get it made passable by that time, if not completely finished.[13]
>
> 27 July 1813
> I have contracted with a House in Workington, to furnish the castings, and put up the Iron Bridge at Langholm Lodge, the terms agreed upon are considerably below my estimate, at least £30, the whole expense of repairing it will not exceed £140. If the bridge was altogether made of Iron, the expense would be from £210 to £220 and I think it is a pity not to do it, it will look so remarkably light & neat, & His Grace I am convinced would not regret it afterwards, but I doubt much if He will be satisfied with the appearance of the structure, if the wooden railing is put on, it will I fear have a heavy appearance on the light Iron Ribs. The following is an extract from a letter from the Contractor on this subject 'We beg the freedom to offer you our opinion on the subject of the propriety of having the Bridge completed with respect to the foot path Ballusters &c. We feel persuaded were you to consent to this plan in the first instance, without incurring further expense for timber &c, that, you would not afterwards regret it. We assure you we do not abtrude this opinion from any selfish motive, but from a consideration that it would be the interest of His Grace to have the Bridge completed with Iron rather than to substitute timber for any part of it. We fear the […] ensemble of so fine a structure, would be much spoiled by placing the present wood Ballusters upon the top of it, which would appear much too ponderous and […] for so airy a Building: but we are perhaps saying more on the subject than you may think justifiable, only our ambition to execute the work in the most satisfactory manner induces us to offer these observations'.
>
> The ribs will be put over by the first or second week of September.

As a postscript, Keir added:

> I would have sent a plan of the Bridge but I have not been very well.[14]

The Carron ironworks was an obvious place to consider for manufacturing an iron bridge, but Keir was presumably thinking about transport. A boat journey from Workington to the mouth of the Solway would be quicker and thus cheaper by far than a sea journey from Stirlingshire, and an overland journey would be difficult. Near Gretna, perhaps, the castings could be put onto smaller vessels or rafts, to be towed as far up the River Esk as could be:

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[13] NAS GD224/657/3/1/43.

[14] NAS GD224/657/3/1/44. Keir's drawings were terrifically clear, further indicating a possible training in architecture or engineering. This is illustrated by his detail drawing for the bridge (see Appendix) and his careful plan of 1816 showing New Langholm: NAS GD224/657/3/2/16x.

> 4 August 1813
> I have received your letter of the 1st inst. And will write by this nights post to the House at Workington, who has undertaken to make the Iron Bridge, that the whole is to be made of Iron, and to desire that they would send to Drumlanrig, the plan they got from me of the Bridge, as they were to make a drawing for their own use & return the original one to me. I would have made out another plan & sent it direct from this, but I find I cannot accomplish it in time, as I am under an engagement to go from home tomorrow, to be absent for a fortnight [visiting friends in Perthshire]
>
> I proposed that the ribs of the Bridge should be cast in five lengths, making four jointings, it was suggested by the contractors that it would improve the appearance of the structure if these joinings were to be covered with a plate, ornamented with a Buck [= the Scott family crest]; these plates would be a foot broad, & the length of the depth of the ribs, which is 20 inches. I think four of these ornamented plates on each side would perhaps be too much, but one in the center, raised about three inches above the level of the ribs, might be an improvement every other part of the bridge was prepared to be made as plain as possible. I am in hopes that we shall be able to get the whole completed by the end of September.
>
> I will attend to what you say respecting the cran-berries.[15]

This intention accords very closely — not exactly — with a surviving specification for the bridge which is dated 1813 (no month given) and which is transcribed below as an appendix to this note. That specification (which says in turn it supersedes ‘the original plan’) stipulated:

> The span of the arch is 100 feet 9 inches, the rise is 8 feet, and the breadth of the roadway 6 feet. The Arch is proposed to be formed of three ribs, cast in lengths of 20 feet 10 in.[16]

This would mean each arch rib would have five sections, but as noted below that idea was abandoned and the sections made half that size, probably due both to ease of transportation and ease of assembly. No armorial panels exist on the bridge to-day, and they may not have been executed.

> 29 August 1813
> I am informed by the contractors for the Iron Bridge that they have the castings all nearly finished, & they will be ship[p]ed this week. Tomorrow fortnight they will begin to put it up.[17]

The term ‘they’ rather than ‘we’ confirms the foundry had the tricky job of assembly.

> 12 September 1813
> I am in hopes they will get … [the iron bridge] … completely finished in the

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[15] NAS GD224/657/3/1/46.

[16] NAS GD224/657/3/1/48x. The document is fairly detailed and has a detail drawing of the intended dovetail joints, its nuts and bolts.

[17] NAS GD224/657/3/1/49.

> course of three weeks. One coat of paint only will be given at present, & His Grace can fix when here what colour it is to be afterwards.[18]

At this point, the archive narrative of the bridge's construction ends. So was the bridge actually built at that time, as was so clearly intended? It is given no specific mention in abstract accounts of 1814 and 1815, suggesting it indeed had already been built and paid for.[19]

In August 1816, Keir was discussing a new timber bridge over the Hermitage Water at Newlands. He had intended to build it on the same model as that at New Langholm, but had discovered the span was wider than he had assumed. He explained:

> therefore it was necessary either to have a support in the middle or to be constructed upon the principles of the one formerly at Langholm Lodge.[20]

So in 1816, the old bridge at Langholm Lodge was gone and evidently replaced by a new bridge which was probably not yet called 'Duchess Bridge'.

Description

The bridge is a single segmental span, composed of two parallel arch-rings, each cast in 10 sections (i.e., half the size Keir had envisaged), and at each of the 9 joints is a cross-member securing the arch-rings in place. These joints have dovetailing, the technology of timberwork. Each arch panel has two broadly rectangular piercings (to save on material and weight), each with diagonal struts and ties, rather like saltires. There are simple, elegant handrails which on either bank splay outwards, unequal-length, at 45 degrees (Figure 2).

The 'land stools' (the contemporary term locally),[21] or abutments, are of stone and may be those of the predecessor bridge. The radial splay at the top of each — the 'springers' — was either perfect, given the predecessor bridge was a single span and possibly of identical segmental profile, or else would have had to be shaped carefully and thus date from 1813. At either end of the arch, the curve of the walkway is flattened by segmental panels. The bridge's general design is thus closely similar to those of, say, Cambus (undated), or Thomas Telford's Bonar Bridge (1812; demolished) or Craigellachie (1814).

Perhaps it is significant to this narrative that Telford came from near Langholm (he had once worked as a mason on Langholm Bridge) and maintained lifelong contact with the area. Both the Kiers and Telford seem likely to have known one another. Keir the elder in particular must have known the young Telford who might have thought him a potential employer, before the latter left for England in 1782.[22] After all, Telford had quickly impressed members of the local elite such as Sir James Johnstone of Westerhall, and William Pulteney, who was to be helpful to Telford in his new life in England. Had Keir likewise regarded Telford highly it would have been unsurprising.

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[18] NAS GD224/657/3/1/50.

[19] NAS GD224/657/3/2/9 and 10.

[20] NAS GD224/657/3/2/30. Keir went on to commend a chain (i.e., suspension) bridge, explaining 'on making a calculation I found the expense would be about £20 less than a wooden one, and the chain work I find can be made in about ten days'.

[21] This is the term used in the records of the Dumfriesshire Commissioners of Supply.

[22] Telford had also worked at nearby Carlisle in the 1800s.

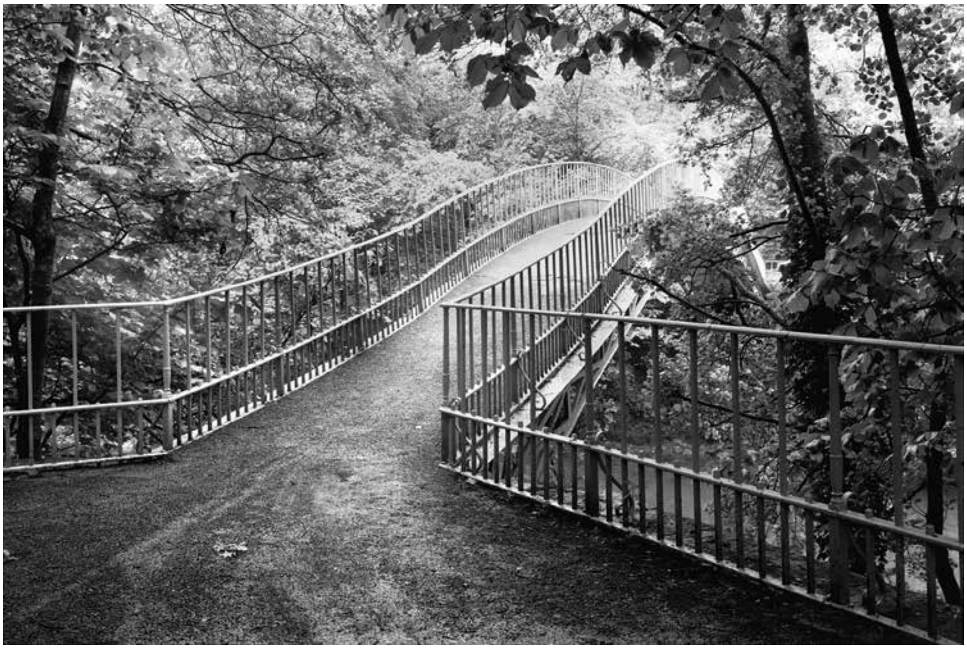

Figure 2. Duchess Bridge, Langholm in 1984, view from the south showing the outward splay of the handrails. (Copyright RCAHMS SC 361838)

Duchess Bridge was inspected by Graham Douglas, then of the Scottish Industrial Archaeology Survey (later of the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland [‘RCAHMS’]), in 1982.[23] Douglas recorded the overall span as 31.50m to the top of the splay of the springers; 30.86m span (i.e., between the abutment faces) at the foot. Each arch is in 10 sections, with a cross-member at each joint. The walkway is covered with cast-iron plates which extend beyond the parapets — and the bridge is 2.32m in maximum width, or 1.96m wide including the parapets.

The bridge’s purpose was essentially for pleasure, a pretty estate building for the use and enjoyment of the duke and duchess and their family and friends, set beside their newly reconstructed James Playfair-designed neoclassical mansion. To-day, Langholm Lodge is long-gone, but some ornamental grounds survive, and Duchess Bridge is open to the public as part of a wider walkway which we can all enjoy.

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[23] Scottish Industrial Archaeology Survey (SIAS) material held by RCAHMS comprises: Manuscript collection MS 500/17/64 including map extracts, drawings and photographs. Drawing DC 27335 is a location map, elevation and cross section, signed and dated ‘measured 3/11/1982, drawn 23.12.1982, G J Douglas’. (SIAS drawing. no.179).

Acknowledgements

Thanks to Graham Douglas, formerly of RCAHMS, Kenny Munro of the Solomon Islands, and Dr Malcolm Bangor-Jones and Mark Watson of Historic Scotland.

I am also grateful to the Duke of Buccleuch for access to the documents cited above which are from his family archive.

Appendix: Specification by William Keir Junior for Duchess Bridge, 1813

This document, as noted above, describes almost exactly the design of Duchess Bridge as executed. It was written by Keir for the Duke of Buccleuch's information, and intended to be read alongside a drawing of the bridge which is now lost. The confident tone and simple explanation of the technicalities indicates Keir knew very clearly what he was doing, and was probably enjoying himself.

> Specification of drawing of an Iron Bridge proposed to be thrown over the Esk at Langholm Lodge
>
> The span of the arch is 100 feet 9 inches, the rise is 8 feet, and the breadth of the roadway 6 feet. The Arch is proposed to be formed of three ribs, cast in lengths of 20 feet 10 in. the principal or outer ribs to be 20 inches broad in the direction of the radius, and an inch thick, each piece having sixteen triangular openings, to save metal, as represented in the drawing. The middle rib being mearly for the purpose of supporting the road way, is only to be 3 inches broad and an inch thick. The different […] of the outer ribs are joined together by plates going between the two ribs, and fixed to them by dove-tail joints, & screw bolts, as represented in the subjoined drawing: (In the original plan of the Bridge this is drawn differently) Bars also go across between the two ribs, in the middle of each length, and fixed by dove-tails to keep the ribs steady. The middle rib has flaunches cast on the ends of each piece, by which they are fastened to the plates at the joinings, by iron screw bolts and rest upon the intermediate bars which have notches to receive them. Plates 6 feet 4 inches long and 4 feet broad, having grooves to receive the ends of the ribs, are laid upon the Stone springers, these plates have large openings to save metal. In order to raise the road-way at the ends, pieces 16 feet long are fixed upon the upper edge of the ribs, as may be seen by referring to the drawing. The road-way is formed by placing Iron plates a quarter of an inch thick across the ribs, and projecting nine inches over on each side, for the purpose of placing stays to support the railing. The strong posts in the railing are placed 5 feet 2 in. asunder, they are 1½ inch square in the under half and round in the upper half diminishing to an inch at the top. The intermediate balusters are of an oval form, one inch broad and half an inch thick, placed 6 inches between center and center, in the under part. There are three longitudinal bars or rails, to which the balusters are fixed, the under one is placed an inch above the road-way, and rests on cross pieces fixed to the under end of the strong posts, and the whole are fastened down by screws passing through them into the upper edge of the ribs. — Small mouldings about an inch broad, will be cast on the upper & under sides of the outer ribs, and two plates one foot broad and 20 inches deep, ornamented with His Grace's Crest, may be fixed one on each side, in the center of the ribs. The road-way will be covered with small gravel and the whole bridge will be painted.[24]

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[24] NAS GD224/657/3/1/48x.

THE DUMFRIESSHIRE AND GALLOWAY NATURAL HISTORY AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY LIBRARY

Pauline Williams[1]
with contributions from
Ralph Coleman, Ronald Copland, Elaine Kennedy, David Rose and Joanne Turner

Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society's lending library was already established by 1864. In 1904, when the Ewart Public Library opened, books of local importance were transferred to the Ewart Library and formed the core of the 'Local Collection'. Over the years many of the remaining books have been dispersed either by donation or sale. In 2011, the Council of the Society formed a committee[2] to assess the residue of the Society's library and to organise its disposal, also to collate and catalogue the archive collection relating to the Society.[3] This article recounts the history of the Society's library and records the actions taken by this committee.

When the first President of the Society, Sir William Jardine, gave his Presidential Address on 1 December 1863,[4] he commented on the benefits of a Society library; of exchanges of papers and journals with kindred societies and the acquisition of collections. He proposed restricting the Society's collections to those of local interest and warned of the responsibility that can result in collecting such material.

The first donations to the Society's Library were published in the *Transactions* in 1864:[5]

> The "Genetic cycle", by Professor Ogilvie,[6] Aberdeen.
> The "Master-Builder's Plan," by Professor Ogilvie, Aberdeen [donor] The Author.
> The King's Quair, [donor] Dr Sloan,[7] Ayr.
> Report of the Liverpool Naturalist's Field Club, [donor] The Club.
> Report of the Montrose Natural History and Antiquarian Society, [donor] The Society.
> Annual Report of the Transactions of the Plymouth Institution, [donor] The Institution.
> On the Permian Rocks of the North-West of England, and their extension into Scotland, By Sir Roderick Murchison, K.C.B., &c., and Professor R. Harkness,[8]

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

[2] Historical Resources Management Committee members: Ralph Coleman, Ronald Copland, Elaine Kennedy, David Rose, Joanne Turner, Pauline Williams.

[3] DGNHAS Archives Catalogue, c/o Society Librarian, Ralph Coleman.

[4] *TDGNHAS* ser.I, Vol.1, p.33, 1863.

[5] *TDGNHAS* ser.I, Vol.2, p.13, 1864.

[6] DGNHAS corresponding member from 6 January 1863.

[7] DGNHAS corresponding member from 6 January 1863.

[8] DGNHAS corresponding member from 6 January 1863. Robert Harkness was born in 1816 at Ormskirk, Lancashire and educated at Dumfries Academy and the University of Edinburgh. In 1853 he was appointed Professor of Geology, Queens College, [University College] Cork. He died in Dublin in 1878. His mineral collection is at Tullie House Museum, Carlisle.

> F.R.S, &c., [donor] Professor Harkness.
> Transactions of the Nova Scotian Institute of Natural Science, Vol.1., Part1. [donor] The Institute'.

For a number of years after 1864 the Secretary reported at the Society's winter meetings[9] on library donations received. On 5 November 1867,[10] James Starke was re-appointed Curator of both the museum and the library. [11]

James Starke (1798–1879) was born in Edinburgh and became a member of the Scottish Bar. In 1839 he was appointed Queen's Advocate-General of Ceylon (Sri Lanka) and in the following year, Judge of the Supreme Court, Ceylon. He was a founding member of the Royal Asiatic Society. He retired in 1853 and settled at Troqueer Holm, Kirkcudbrightshire. He was a member of the Society from 4 December 1862 and President in 1874. He was also a member of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. The author of a number of literary, legal, historical and antiquarian articles, he gave many lectures on history and archaeology to the Society, some were published in the *Transactions*.

From 1878 the Society held winter meetings in the Mechanics Institute, and there they had a cupboard in which to store their collections. Storage and access to the ever-increasing museum and library collections must have become a problem and on 28 September 1879 discussions were under way with the shareholders of the Dumfries and Maxwelltown Astronomical Society who had a museum at The Observatory, Maxwelltown.[12] By 4 March 1881 an agreement was reached and the Society's museum and books, all labelled as property of the Society, were moved to The Observatory. Members of the Society had certain privileges regarding admission to the Observatory and could borrow books from the Society's library on request. A list of one hundred and ninety-six books, pamphlets, unbound volumes and exchange journals deposited at the Observatory was published in the *Transactions* in 1881.[13]

Many of these early books were on natural science subjects, especially geology, botany and microscopy. A number of botanical publications came from the British Museum and were donated by William Carruthers of the Botanical Department, British Museum;[14] they included some of his own publications, including 'The Geology of Moffat'.

William Carruthers (1830–1922) became an honorary member of the Society on 1 November 1864; he was the son of Samuel Carruthers, a grocer in Moffat, and was educated at Moffat Academy and the University of Edinburgh. In 1859 he was appointed to the Department of Botany of the British Museum, and was Keeper of Botany from 1871 until his retirement in 1895. In 1881, during his tenure, the natural history collections were moved to a new museum, The Natural History Museum, Cromwell Road. He was also a Fellow of the Royal Society, a member of the Linnaean Society (President 1886–1890) and a member of the Botanical Society of Edinburgh. On 9 January 1891[15] George F. Scott Elliot reported to the Society that he had received a valuable series of plants from William Carruthers for the Society Herbarium.[16]

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[9] From 1864 meetings were held at the Dumfries and Galloway Club Rooms, Assembly Street, Dumfries and from 1876 at Dumfries Town Hall.

[10] *TDGNHAS* ser.I, Vol.6, p.2, 1867. At that meeting a committee was established '… to catalogue the books &c. in possession of the Society.' No list is extant.

[11] *TDGNHAS* ser.I, Vol.5, p.1, 1866. He was appointed Curator of Museum on 6 November 1866; later, this must have included the position of Curator of Library.

[12] DGNHAS Minute Book 1876–1883. Archive Box 01.

[13] *TDGNHAS* ser.II, Vol.2, pp.87–93, 1881.

[14] *TDGNHAS* ser.I, Vol.4, p.3, 1865, 4 December 1865, 'collection of published papers presented by Mr Carruthers'.

A collection of books and papers was also presented by John Allan Broun (1817–1879).[17] Born in Dumfries, he was educated at his father's school in the town and at the University of Edinburgh. In April 1842 he was appointed director of the Magnetic Observatory, Makerstoun, Roxburghshire. By 1851 he had become director of the Trevandrum Magnetic Observatory, India. The books he donated to the Society included publications on his work at these observatories. He was a member of the Royal Society of London and was awarded a Royal Medal in 1878. A meteorologist and an eminent magnetician, he was appointed an honorary member of the Society on 7 November 1879.

Over fifty books and publications came from American institutions,[18] and individuals, mostly on geological and geographical surveys and natural history. A number were presented by Dr Ferdinand Vandeveer Hayden (1829–1887) who, before and after the American Civil War, led geographic and geologic surveys. In 1871 his geological survey of the Yellowstone region of Wyoming encouraged the American Congress to establish Yellowstone as the first United States National Park and Hayden Valley in Yellowstone is named after him.

Forty-two journals from British scientific societies are recorded, mostly presented by the society itself or by members of the society; also forty-seven publications of the Kongelige Norske Universitet I Christiania. In the list that was published in 1881[19] there is only one book, *A Short History of the Parish of Troqueer*, by James Gibson Starke,[20] and these four papers on local history:

> Catalogue of the Curiosities and Coins in the possession of J Gibson Starke, presented by Mr Starke.[21]
> Catalogue of the Society Library, Dumfries 1851, no record of donor.
> Recollections of the Lodge of Freemasons of Thornhill, by David Murray Lyon, presented by the author.

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[15] *TDGNHAS* ser.II, Vol.7, p.59, 1891.

[16] *TDGNHAS* ser.I, Vol.3, p.3, 1864, 1 November 1864, 'The following objects were laid upon the table, and submitted to the Society for conversation and discussion:– 1. A Collection of Plants of the District, forming the first contribution to the Herbarium of the Society. By Mr Hogg, Draper'.

[17] *TDGNHAS* ser.II, Vol.2, pp.8–9, 1879.

[18] Including the Smithsonian; New York Academy of Science (formerly the Lyceum); Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology.

[19] *TDGNHAS* ser.II, Vol.2, pp.87–93, 1881.

[20] Eldest son of James Starke of Troqueer Holm, Kirkcudbrightshire; he presented the book at the Society's AGM on 2 October 1879.

[21] This was donated to Dumfries Museum on 29 June 2012; DUMFM: 2012.54.6.

The Established Churches of Dumfries and the Building of the Mid-Steeple, presented by W. R. McDairmid.

From 1882 until 1885 the Society's winter meetings were held at the Freemasons Hall, Black Horse Close, Dumfries and from Whitsunday 1885 until 1904 the Society rented rooms for meetings at the Presbytery House which was situated behind Greyfriars Church.[22&23] The Society had to repair, alter and paint the building at their own expense, estimated by James Barbour, Architect and Vice President of the Society at £60–£80 on the building and £20 on painting and gas fitting etc. The total refurbishment cost was £113 9s. 4d.; to meet this expense the Presbytery donated £21 9s. 9d.; £84 7s. was raised from members and friends of the Society; 11s. 6d. surplus money from summer excursions was put towards the cost and £7 1s. 1d. came from the Society's Ordinary Account. The acquisition of these rooms enabled the Society to hold meetings and house the library and museum in one location. The collections were moved from the Observatory in January 1886. The library was open for a half-hour before the winter meetings for the exchange of books and, for the convenience of country members, on the last Saturday in the month from 2 o'clock to 3 o'clock.

By 1890 James Lennox[24] (1856–1917) of Edenbank, Maxwelltown was Society Librarian. A member from 1876, he held various posts in the Society, Secretary from 1878–1881 and Treasurer from 1883–1888. He was an original member of the Society's Photographic Committee,[25] founded to create a photographic record of the antiquities of the area and he also gave a number of lectures to the Society, some were published in the *Transactions*. Educated at Dumfries Academy, he then worked with his father and brother in the family business of Grocer and Wine Merchants, Castle Street, Dumfries. For twenty-one years he served on Dumfries Town Council, becoming Provost between 1908 and 1911. It was during his Provostship that the Town Hall was partially destroyed by fire[26] and when it was reconstructed he presented a stained glass window of the heraldic figure of St Michael. He was a Freemason and Commodore of Nithsdale Rowing Club. A keen cyclist and a member of the Dumfries Cycle Club, he was elected to the Cyclists' Touring Club in 1883, later becoming 'Chief Consul for Scotland' and in 1913, Vice President of the club. He gained international recognition as a long distance 'wheelman'. In 1880 he became champion of the journey from Land's End to John o' Groats and he retained the title for a further five journeys. On the last occasion, in June 1886, he cycled the distance on the old 'ordinary' bicycle in six days eight hours and thirty minutes. He published cycling route

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[22] *TDGNHAS* ser.II, Vol.4, pp.186–187, 1886. Report of sub-committee on the acquisition of the new rooms.

[23] *TDGNHAS* ser.II, Vol.4, p.99, 1885. First meeting 2 October 1885.

[24] *TDGNHAS* ser.III, vol.5, p.265, 1918. Obituary.

[25] DGNHAS Photographic Committee established 13 October 1905; DGNHAS Minute Book 1898–1906, Archive Box 01; 'The following were appointed the Photographs Committee:– Mr Scott-Elliot (convenor) Mrs Scott-Elliot, Mr Lennox, and Mr Rutherford with power to add to their number.'

[26] *TDGNHAS* ser.II, vol.21, pp.87–93, 1909, 'The Recent Fire in the Town Hall of Dumfries and a previous fire, which concerned the town', by James Barbour.

books,[27] which included not only road directions but points of interest, especially sites and buildings of historical interest. Cycling enabled him to visit archaeological sites in the area and it was on a trip to Lochrutton Loch that he swam out to the crannog[28] and took one of the supporting piles, which was found to be mortised. This was communicated to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland of which he was a Fellow. He also excavated in the cellar of his father's shop which was believed to be on the site of the Greyfriars Monastery.[29] Lennox's appointment as Society Librarian came at the time a large collection of scientific books was received from Robert Dinwiddie, Braeside, Scarborough on Hudson, New York, son of Robert Dinwiddie (1811–1888) of Dumfries and New York. This was reported in the *Transactions*:[30]

> On 2nd. May 1890, Mr. James Lennox. F.S.A. (the Librarian) read the following paper entitled, "The Dinwiddie Library and how it came to this Society":
>
> The original owner, Mr. Robert Dinwiddie, was born in Dumfries, 23d July, 1811, and died at New York, 12th July, 1888. He was the third son of Mr William Dinwiddie, hosier. Commencing life in the Dumfries branch of the Commercial Bank of Scotland, he rose to be teller. He emigrated to America in 1835, and joined the house of Brown Brothers, merchants and bankers in New York; shortly afterwards entering the employment of J. Laurie & Co., commission merchants, in which business he succeeded them, being left by them to administer funds for St. Luke's and the Presbyterian Hospital in connection with the St. Andrew's Society of New York.
>
> He retired from business in 1883, and then devoted more of his time to scientific pursuits, although he had always been a worker both in archaeology and botany. His attainments in these had been recognised, as he was fifteen years a member of the New York Academy of Sciences[31] and an active member of the Microscopical Society up to the day of his death. Some years ago he gifted the whole of his extensive scientific library to the New York Academy of Sciences, and what is

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[27] A Road Guide to the Southern Scottish Counties, published 1885; Cyclists Road Book and Guide, The Scottish Borders and Galloway, 1898; both published by Gall and Inglis, 20 Bernard Terrace, Edinburgh and London.

[28] *TDGNHAS* ser.II, Vol.17, pp.128–136, 1901, 'First Account of the Excavations of Lochrutton Crannog', James Barbour, and pp.246–254, 'Account of Excavations at Lochrutton Lake-Dwelling', James Barbour; *TDGNHAS* ser.II, Vol.16, p.39, 1900, 'Field Meeting Lochrutton Crannog'; *TDGNHAS* ser.II, Vol.17, pp.113–117, 1901, 'Field Meeting Lochrutton Crannog Excavation'; *TDGNHAS* ser.III, Vol.76, p.171, 2002, 'Image of the Excavation at Lochrutton Crannog, Summer 1901'.

[29] *TDGNHAS* ser.II, Vol.17, pp.254–256, 1902, 'Excavations on the Site of the Monastery of Dumfries (Summer 1901)', James Lennox; *TDGNHAS* ser.II, Vol.23, pp.18–31, 1910, The 'Greyfriars' Covent of Dumfries and its Environs', James Barbour; *TDGNHAS* ser.III, Vol.1, pp.303–341, 1913, 'The End of the Greyfriars of Dumfries' Convent and the Last of the Friars', G.W. Shirley.

[30] *TDGNHAS* ser.II, Vol.6, pp.247–248, 1890.

[31] DGNHAS received copies of *Annals of the Lyceum of Natural History of New York* from Volume VIII, 1867 and of its successor, *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* from 1879.

> now under our own roof has been collected since that date, being more valuable as they are more recent.
>
> He visited this country a few years ago, being here when the Cryptogamic Society were in Dumfries[32], and during his stay he was admitted a life member of this Society[33]. The History of the New York Academy of Science contains a portrait of him, but no mention appears in the text, as it was with great difficulty that they persuaded him to sit for this plate, but on no account would he allow anything to be said of him.
>
> The books consist of 229 bound volumes and 22 unbound. They embrace:– 24 Microscopic, 5 Medicine, 8 Geology, 24 Natural History, 38 Botany, 13 Natural Philosophy, 4 Meteorology, 6 Travels, 43 Reports of Societies, and 57 Magazines, &c.
>
> To go fully into these would make a lengthy paper, as many of these subjects can be sub-divided into very many special studies. Amongst them we have books on fresh water plants, salt water plants, shells and fish, cryptogamic botany and flora, etc. The books are, in the main, English; many of them are elegantly bound in half morocco and half calf, which will add much to their usefulness in handling.

Robert Dinwiddie's obituary, published in *The Scottish American Journal*, was reprinted in the *Dumfries and Galloway Standard and Advertiser* on 1 August 1888. Dinwiddie was one of six men present on the night preceding the interment of Jean Armour, widow of Robert Burns; they opened the grave to remove the poet's skull to take a cast for phrenological purposes.[34] Archibald Blacklock, surgeon, wrote an account of this on 1 April 1834; James Fraser made the cast of the skull; William McDairmid, Editor of the *Dumfries Courier*, was also present. At the time it was recorded that some of the bard's hair was still visible and apparently Robert Dinwiddie took some of it and later enclosed it in a glass case. He exhibited this and a copy of Burns' seal at a centenary banquet at Astor House given by the Burns Club of the City of New York[35] on 25 January 1859. At that time Dinwiddie was Secretary of the St Andrews Society of the State of New York. In 1891 a list of books held by the Society was published in the *Transactions*[36], Robert Dinwiddie's donation being specifically noted.

In 1895 Rev. William Andson also became a Librarian; from that date both he and Lennox are recorded as Librarian and Curator of Museum. William Andson (1818–1909) was born in Arbroath and became Minister of the Free Church of Scotland, Kirkmahoe. He was very interested in meteorology and a member of the Scottish Meteorological Society. He became a member of the Society on 3 October 1886, and served as Society Librarian from 1895 until his death in March 1909[37]. He gave numerous lectures on meteorology to the Society and bequeathed his meteorological books to the Society.

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[32] The Cryptogamic Society of Scotland held its ninth annual conference in Greyfriars Hall, Dumfries on 11, 12 and 13 September 1883.

[33] That is, of DGNHAS. He was a corresponding member of the Society from 2 May 1865. His Dumfries address was given as Hawthorn Bank (Glebe Terrace) Dumfries, the home of his sister Marion Dinwiddie.

[34] William McDowall, *History of Dumfries*, (fourth revised edition with additional notes) pp. 675–676, 1986.

[35] He was one of the original members of the Burns Club of New York and a New York member of the committees on the Scott and Burns Monuments in Central Park.

[36] *TDGNHAS* ser.II, Vol.7 pp.145–149, 1891.

In 1898 the Society published a library catalogue[38] with 225 individual entries in alphabetic format. The numerous unbound journals received as exchanges were not included.

On 28 September 1904 the Society reached an agreement with The Management Committee of the Ewart Public Library, Dumfries.[39] For the yearly rent of £6 6s. the Society was given the use of a room on the upper floor of the library in which to hold lectures and meetings, store books and journals in wall cupboards and display portraits of former Presidents of the Society on the walls. The first meeting was held there on 10 October 1904. The Society's books, exchange journals and pamphlets were made available to all members of the Ewart Public Library to use within the library. However, Society members could borrow publications on application to the Librarian of the Ewart Public Library, George William Shirley.

George W. Shirley was born in Edinburgh in 1879 and was the first Librarian of the Ewart Public Library; he became an honorary member of the Society on 28 October 1904 and served as Society Librarian from 1909. He was also Editor of the *Transactions* from 1912–1915 and 1921–1930 and Secretary of the Society from 1910–1914 and 1918–1928.

When the Ewart Public Library opened in 1904, it had very little book stock and the Society's library formed the basis of the Local, Scientific and Reference collections. Further books and documents were gradually transferred to the Local Collection of the Ewart Library. In order to record and acknowledge the Society's ownership of this material, Shirley created a catalogue of the Society's library in 1906.[40] The books were catalogued in accordance with the Decimal Classification System of Melvil Dewey of New York.[41] The Table of Subject Headings was collated as in the Glasgow Public Libraries catalogue. All books belonging to the Society had a letter 'a' in front of the stock number and were kept together within the shelves of the Ewart Library. The catalogue was divided into three sections, books (a1), journals (a1a) and documents (a1b). Local books were numbered 914.148 (Dumfriesshire); 914.1481(Dumfries); 914.149 (Kirkcudbrightshire); 914.1495 (Wigtownshire).

The catalogue included a number of original manuscripts:

> *History of the Parish and Town of Dumfries* by Rev William Burnside, D.D., donated to the Society by his grandson Rev R.H. Taylor of Liverpool, 15th. April 1888.
> *History of Dumfries* by William McDowall, manuscript presented by Mrs McDowall, 12th. October 1906.

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[37] *TDGNHAS* ser.II, Vol.21, pp.146–147, 1909. Obituary.
[38] DGNHAS Archive Box 12.
[39] DGNHAS Archive Box 12.
[40] DGNHAS Archive Box 12.
[41] DGNHAS Archive Box 12 also includes a numerical list of books.

History of Dumfries, Theodore Edgar.
Copy of Dumfries Trades Minute Book 1601–1809, donated by Mrs Pearce, 7th. October 1887.
Minute Book of the Incorporation of Hammermen Dumfries, 1703–1809.
Accounting and Reckoning Book of the Incorporation of Glovers and Skinners, Dumfries, 1748–1808, donated by Mr M H McKerrow.
Issue Book of the Library, 1732–1825, with notes and subscriptions 1736–1771.
Sederunt Book of the Society of the Coall Adventurers in and about Dumfries, 1736–1737, donated by Mr Fraser, Dalbeattie.
Volume by pupils in the Dumfries Academy, 1839–1841. First portion, book-keeping by Thomas Milligan, second portion, selections of verse by Writing Master John Craik.
Minute Book of William McDowall Memorial Committee, 1888–1892.
Orderly Book for Capt. Gracie, Dumfries Volunteers, 2nd. June 1809, 15th. June 1812.
Record Book of Robert Carruthers of Rammerscailes and his Curators, 1706.
Records of the Consistory Court of Dumfries, 16th. June 1654 – 15th August 1655 (copied by William LeGeyt Dudgeon from M.S. in British Museum).

From 1904 a list of the societies that subscribed to the *Transactions* and a list of those that exchanged their own publications in return for copies was published in the *Transactions*. Many local authors and some members of the Society gave copies of their books to the Society and books were purchased. These additions to the Society's library were listed in the *Transactions*. On 11 March 1918 the Society purchased from the library of the late James Lennox the following manuscripts:

Minute Book of the Incorporation of Glovers and Dyers in Dumfries, 5th. June 1650 – 15th. September 1752.
Baron Court Book of the Nithsdale Estates, 13th. August 1757 – 27th. June 1794.

George W. Shirley was a pacifist and during World War I he joined an ambulance unit as a stretcher bearer; G. Macleod Stewart, a member of the Society from 4 November 1910, became Society Librarian during wartime. In May 1920 Shirley checked the Society's library catalogue and found six volumes missing from the Reference Collection of the Ewart Library. He also reported that all books and pamphlets still to be catalogued were in the Society's meeting room. A further audit was taken in October 1927 and three books were noted as found, one entered erroneously and five books missing.

From 1929 Shirley was also County Librarian and from 1933 Curator of Dumfries Burgh Museum. In 1932 he and John Darliston, who was manager of the Playhouse cinema, established the Dumfries Guid Nychburris Festival. An excellent local historian, he is credited with revitalising the Society and contributing to its growth and continuation. He was a thorough and avid researcher and produced many articles on varied aspects of local history. In a paper on the Old Public Libraries in Dumfries,[42] he comments that the first presentations made to the Society's library were made in 1863 and 'one of them, "The King's Quair, a Poem by James the First, ed. By E. Thomson, Air 1815", I have here.' Shirley resigned as Society Librarian in 1929 but continued to take part in the activities of the Society until his death in 1939.[43]

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[42] *TDGNHAS* ser.II, Vol.18, pp.39–44, 1906.

From 1929 to 1948 no Society Librarian is noted in the *Transactions*. Mary (Molly) D. McLean,[44] Dumfriesshire County Librarian, became a member of the Society in 1946 and Society Librarian from 1948; she was the first female President of the Society, serving from 1959 to 1962.

Books continued to be donated to the Society. In 1952 the Society received Robert Wallace's geology books and journals from his son, Robert Wallace of New York. Robert Wallace (1875–1952) was a grocer in King Street, Dumfries. A member of the Society from 6 November 1908 and Interim Society Secretary during World War I, he gave many lectures to the Society on local geology and flooding which were then published in the *Transactions*.

In 1956 books were bequeathed to the Society by Dr Theodore Ridley Burnett (1877–1956). He was born in Carlisle where his father was the vicar of Scotby Parish Church; became Head Teacher at Kirkby Lonsdale Grammar School and, after service during World War I, was appointed Education Officer for Dumfriesshire. He was President of The Fell and Rock Climbing Club of the English Lake District (1927–1929) and a member of the Society from 15 October 1920 and President from 1946–1949. He published a number of papers in the *Transactions* and his bequest to the Society consisted of local history books, journals, education research publications and maps.[45]

On 24 November 1956 a list was compiled of books and journals belonging to the Society stored in the Ewart Library basement and Reference Room.[46] On three occasions in the 1960s books and journals surplus to requirements were sold.[47] Mary D. McLean continued as Society Librarian until 1969, when she was succeeded by Desmond Donaldson, who had also succeeded her as Dumfriesshire County Librarian.

Continual changes in use of the rooms in the Ewart Library resulted in the Society being asked to vacate their meeting hall on the upper floor of the library and the Society's collection of books was transferred to the basement of the Ewart Library. By 1977 meetings were being held at the Education Offices, (Woodbank) Edinburgh Road; from 1987 at Loreburn Primary School and from 1995 at Cumberland Street Day Centre. During the early 1970s A.E. Truckell,[48] Curator of Dumfries Burgh Museum, Editor of the *Transactions* from 1964–1975 and President of the Society from 1974–1977, prepared a short report for the Council of the Society entitled 'The Society Library'.[49] In this he gave an account of the history of the library, and the problems the Society had experienced with accommodation for the books. He stated that there had been a large sale of books at the end of the nineteenth century and another in 1966. He also reported on the need to review and curtail the number of journals exchanged with other societies. A.E. Truckell was an enthusiastic, accomplished and well respected local historian; he published numerous articles in the *Transactions*.

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[43] *TDGNHAS* ser.III, Vol.22, pp.135–142, 1940. Obituary.

[44] *TDGNHAS* ser.III, Vol.53, p.195, 1978. Obituary.

[45] DGNHAS Archive box 12.

[46] DGNHAS Archive box 12.

[47] DGNHAS Archive box 12, two lists undated; one list dated March 1966.

[48] *TDGNHAS* ser.III, Vol.81, pp.129–136, 2007. Obituary.

[49] DGNHAS Archive box 10.

James Williams,[50] Editor of the *Transactions* from 1976 to 2009, became Society Librarian in 1978, having been Assistant Librarian from 1972. He published many papers in the *Transactions* on geology, archaeology and history. A further sale of books took place in 1979.[51] Ralph Coleman,[52] the current Librarian, took over this position in 1988 with James Williams again serving as Assistant Librarian.

On 25 July 2011 the Historical Resources Management Committee of the Society was established and set about the task of assessing, organising and arranging for the appropriate disposal of what remained of the Society's books and documents.[53] The process of dispersal was undertaken along principles that were reported to and endorsed by the Council of the Society. It was agreed that all archive material relating to the history of the Society itself was to be retained. All other material that had formed part of the Society's library was offered to local collections that would be able to care for it and make it available to the public. Books were offered to the Ewart Library; documents and manuscripts to the Archive Collection and any items with specific historical associations to Dumfries Museum. The material that these organisations agreed to accept was given to them as a donation. This is listed in Appendix 1. The remaining material, which was not considered suitable for these local collections, was then offered for sale to members of the Society by silent auction. Unsold books were then sent to an Antiquarian, Collectable and General Books auction held at Carlisle on 1 May 2014. The records of this dispersal are held in the Society's archives.[54]

The Society's own archives were sorted, re-organised and catalogued. Advice was taken on long-term preservation, and they were cleaned, packed and boxed using conservation-grade materials.[55]

The Historical Resources Management Committee then proceeded to review the collection of exchange periodicals belonging to the Society. These exchange volumes are kept at Dumfries Museum and may be consulted by members.[56] The Society has received journals produced by other bodies with similar interests in exchange for copies of the

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[50] *TDGNHAS* ser.III, Vol.84, pp.167–168, 2010. Obituary.

[51] DGNHAS Archive box 12; sale organised by Alexander McCracken.

[52] Assistant Librarian from 1985.

[53] DGNHAS Archive box 10; list of books donated to Ewart Library, Archive Centre, Dumfries Museum.

[54] DGNHAS Archive box 12.

[55] The Society has the use of a double bay in a rolling stack in the Ewart Library basement where the Society's archives are stored along with remaindered issues of the *Transactions* for sale. There is no public access; however the Hon. Librarian, Ralph Coleman, can arrange to extract material on request.

[56] As the stock of exchange periodicals is held in storage, prior contact should be made with museum staff if access is required to consult these. Dumfries Museum, The Observatory, Dumfries, DG2 7SW. Telephone: 01387 253374; `dumfriesmuseum@dumgal.gov.uk`.

Transactions for various periods since the inception of the Society's Library. In 1966 the Society realised over £700 by selling material from its holdings of periodicals.[57&58]

In the mid-1970s the Society's exchange programme was re-established and around that time twenty-nine exchange arrangements were contracted with organisations in the United Kingdom, Ireland, France, Spain, Italy, Holland, Germany, Norway, Sweden and Australia. By the time this was reviewed in 2012–13 this collection had vastly outgrown the storage space that was available for it at Dumfries Museum and it was apparent that the overseas journals were rarely, if ever, consulted. Added to this, a number of these publications were now available on-line and were therefore much less likely to be consulted in hard copy. In September 2012 the full membership of the Society was consulted on the future of this collection. The Historical Resources Management Committee established the status, internet availability and likely future use of each of these exchange periodicals and came up with a list of recommendations of those to be continued and retained and those to be suspended and disposed of.

Again, the disposal of the periodicals that were no longer to be retained took place according to principles which were reported to and authorised by the Council of the Society. The number of exchange arrangements was restricted to national publications which were likely to contain material relating to Dumfries and Galloway and publications by similar societies, close to, or on the boundaries of Dumfries and Galloway. A list of current exchange periodicals is given in Appendix 2. The remainder of the periodical stock was disposed of by offering it to local and then national academic libraries.

Postscript on *De Re Militari* by Flavius Vegetius Renatus

One of the books that was donated by the Society to Dumfries Museum was *De Re Militari* (Concerning Military Matters) Book 4, by Flavius Vegetius Renatus. (Figure 1) This was presented to the Society's library in 1880 by John Rutherford of Jardington.[59] In 1966 it was conserved and re-bound by the Society.[60] A.E Truckell mentions it specifically in his early 1970s report on the history, contents, condition and future of the Society Library.[61]

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[57] DGNHAS Archive box 10; Report by A.E. Truckell on the Society's Library, c.1970. 'Mr McCracken … took exhaustive re-check, which in due course led to the sale of many sets of transactions and books, Mrs McLean doing a remarkably good job of finding the best market for this rather specialised material.'

[58] DGNHAS Archive box 04; Minutes 14 September 1966; 'Mrs. McLean reported that the sets of transactions of other societies offered for sale had realised £700 and paid tribute to Mr. McCracken's work in this connection.'

[59] *TDGNHAS* ser.II, Vol.3, p.4, 1883, '*Donations* – by Mr Rutherford of Jardington, a rare old book on the Military Art, by Flavius Vegetius Renatus'; the article 'John Rutherford, Society Member And Photographer In Nithsdale' is to be found in the present volume of *TDGNHAS*; for a biography see Morag Williams, 'John Rutherford, Society Member and Photographer in Annandale', *TDGNHAS*, vol. 87, pp. 135–164, 2013.

[60] DGNHAS Archive box 04; Minutes 14 September 1966; 'Mr. McCracken reported that he had found in the library of the Society a copy of … dated … which was rare and of value and had had it rebound at a cost of £2:10/– and this was approved.'

[61] DGNHAS Archive box 10.

The book has obviously been through the hands of several owners. It is inscribed by R. Widdington and inscribed and dated by John Wightman in 1789, who has written, 'I have read all this work Commentary also — and consider it a most useful book to Soldiers and Schoolmasters and general readers too.' (Figure 2)

De Re Militari is also known as *Epitoma Rei Militaris*, or *Epitoma institutorum rei militaris*. It was written in late Latin by Publius Flavius Vegetius Renatus sometime between AD383 and 450 and is a treatise on Roman military principles. It was a historical record of the organisation of the Roman Army even at the time it was written. *De Re Militari* was used as a military training manual in the Middle Ages. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries it was employed by the major states of Europe to train soldiers and to plan military campaigns. The work was therefore revised and translated many times. The first printed edition was made in Utrecht in 1473. It has become a primary source of knowledge about Roman warfare and the illustrations in early editions have contributed greatly to our picture of the Roman army.[62]

This edition was published in Leiden in 1592. It was printed in five books and this volume contains Book 4, which mainly concerns attacking and defending fortifications. It was published by the Plantin Press and has their printer's device on the title page. It was the second Plantin edition, the first was published in 1585.[63&64] It was edited by the scholar, Godescalcus Stewechius, and contains an extensive commentary written by him. This commentary is illustrated by over 50 woodcuts showing infantry formations, siege machinery, battlements — and a war elephant.[65]

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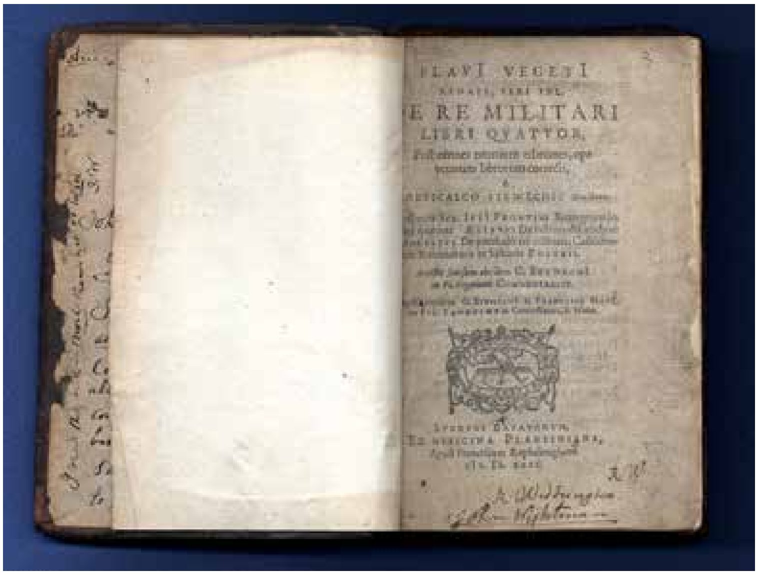
[62] N.P. Milner, Vegetius: Epitome of Military Science, 1993.

[63] James Cummins, Bookseller, online catalogue archive; `<http://www.jamescumminsbookseller.com/pages/books/62360>` [Accessed 22 December 2014].

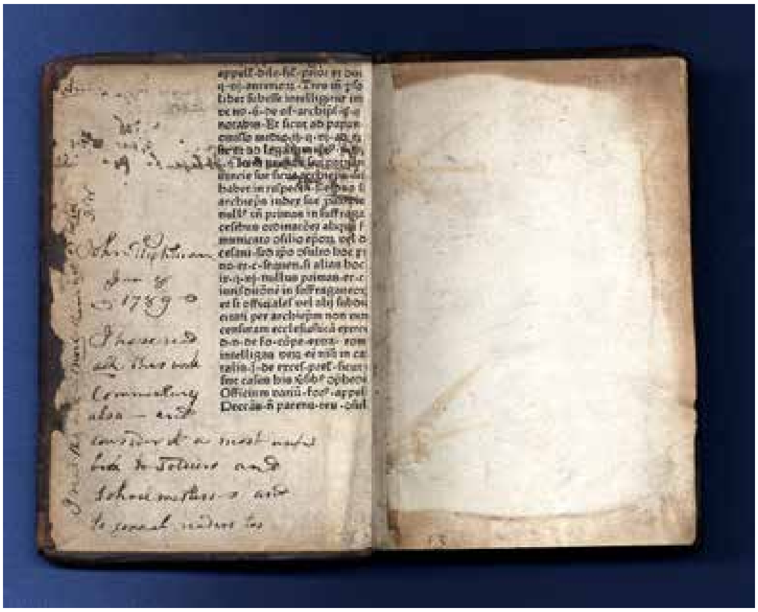
[64] Stanford University Libraries catalogue; `http://searchworks.stanford.edu/catalog` [Accessed 22 December 2014].

[65] Flavius Vegetius Renatus, *De Re Militari* (Concerning Military Matters) , Book 4, ed. Godescalcus Stewechius (Leiden, Plantin Press), p.329, 1592. This can be viewed as an e-book at: `http://books.google.co.uk/books` [Accessed 22 December 2014].



FLAVI VEGETI
RENATI, VIRI ILL.
E RE MILITARI
LIBRI QVATTOR.

Figure 1. *De Re Militari* (Concerning Military Matters) Book 4, by Flavius Vegetius Renatus, was written sometime between AD383 and 450. This edition dates from 1592. This was donated by Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society to Dumfries Museum in 2012. (Courtesy of Dumfries Museum DUMFM:2012.53.3)



John Wightman
Jan 8
1789
I have read
all this and
Commentary
also — and
consider it a most useful
book to Soldiers and
Schoolmasters — and
to general readers too

Figure 2. The book has many marginal notes in pencil throughout. One owner has signed, 'John Wightman / Jan 8 / 1789'. (Courtesy of Dumfries Museum: DUMFM:2012.53.3)

Appendix 1

Donations to Dumfries and Galloway Libraries, Information and Archives, Local Collection, Ewart Library, Dumfries

J.J. Armistead, *An Angler's Paradise and How to Obtain It*, 1895.

James Armstrong, John Young and David Robertson, *Catalogue of the Western Scottish Fossils*, 1876.

Benjamin Bell [grandson of the subject], The Life, Character and Writings of Benjamin Bell, 1868.

D. Christison, *Account of the Excavation of Birrens, a Roman Station in Annandale, undertaken by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1895*, 1895.

D. Christison, *Account of the Excavation of the Camps and Earthworks at Birrenswark Hill in Annandale, Undertaken by the Society* [the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland] *in 1898*, 1899.

Rev. James Dodds, *The Eminent Men of Dumfriesshire: A Lecture*, 1873 [2 copies].

Patrick Dudgeon, *'Macs' in Galloway*, 1888.

A.D. Weld French, *Index Armorial*, 1892.

A.D. Weld French, *Notes on the Surnames of Francus, Franceis, French etc. in Scotland, 1893*.

Hugh S. Gladstone, *The Birds of Dumfriesshire*, 1910.

Hugh S. Gladstone, *Addenda and Corrigenda to the Birds of Dumfriesshire*, 1911.

Hugh S. Gladstone, *Notes on the Birds of Dumfriesshire:* a *continuation of The Birds of Dumfriesshire,* 1923.

Peter Grey, *Dumfriesshire Illustrated: 1 – Nithsdale*, 1894.[66]

James Macdonald, *Notes on the 'Roman Roads' of the One-Inch Ordnance Map of Scotland*, [the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland], 1893.

James Macfarlan, *The Ruthwell Cross*, 1886.

John MacQueen, *St Nynia: A study of literary and linguistic evidence*, 1961.

Colonel William Rogerson, *Hutton under the Muir*, 1908.

Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, *Fourth Report and Inventory of Monuments and Constructions in Galloway: Volume 1, County of Wigtown*, 1912.

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[66] This book is described in detail in the article, 'John Rutherford, Society Member and Photographer In Nithsdale' which is to be found in the present volume of *TDGNHAS.*

G.F. Scott-Elliot, *Flora of Dumfriesshire and Dumfries District*, Part 1, 1892.

G.F. Scott-Elliot, *Flora of Dumfriesshire including part of Stewartry of Kirkcudbright,* 1896.

Rev. William Cumming Skinner, *Candida Casa: The Apostolic Centre of Scotland,* 1931.

Donations to Dumfries and Galloway Libraries, Information and Archives, Archive Collection, Ewart Library, Dumfries

Account, receipt and recipe book with entries from 1705, including information about the Carruthers family of Rammerscales.

Dr James Callender of Durisdeer, manuscript meteorological notes, one volume.

Michael Laird Architects, 22 Moray Place, Edinburgh, *Drawings and Plans – plan and interior elevations of the room known as 'Annie Laurie's Boudoir' Maxwelton [sic]House near Moniaive 26th June 1968*.

James McAndrew, *A List of the Flowering Plants of Dumfriesshire and Kirkcudbrightshire*, 1882, [including manuscript annotations].

T. Milligan, accounts book with secondary usage, entries from 1839.

Donations to Dumfries Museum

William McDowall, *Chronicles of Lincluden*, 1886 [DUMFM:2012.53.1].

William McDowall, *Visitors Guide to Dumfries and Vicinity*, second edition, [DUMFM:2012.53.2].

Flavius Vegetius Renatus, *De Re Militari*, published in Leiden, 1592, rebound and with many manuscript annotations [DUMFM:2012.53.3] (Figures 1 & 2).[67]

James Smith and William James Hughan, *History of the Old Lodge of Dumfries*, 1892 [DUMFM: 2012.53.4].

George F. Black and Joseph Bisset, *Catalogue of Dr Grierson's Museum, Thornhill*, published by the National Museum of Antiquities, 1894 [DUMFM:2012.53.5].

William Rhind, *Geology of Scotland and its Islands*, 1842 [DUMFM:2012.53.6].

Frank Miller, *Poets of Dumfriesshire*, 1910 [DUMFM:2012.53.10].

James Shaw, *A Country Schoolmaster*, ed. Prof. Wallace, 1899 [DUMFM:2012.53.11].

William McDowall, Memorials of St Michael's Churchyard, 1876 [DUMFM:2012.53.12].

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[67] This book is described in detail in the postscript to this article.

Group of items relating to Mr William Baxter's Trust; extract from Trust Disposition and Settlement regarding bequests to the Burgh of Dumfries, 1888; Letter from John Grierson, Town Clerk, to Robert Barbour, Secretary, DGNHAS, 1889, regarding the bequest of a collection of geological and other specimens to the town 'to be placed or exhibited by the said Magistrates and Town Council in a Public Museum or other suitable premises in the town'. [DUMFM:2012.54.2].

Group of items relating to W.G. Gibson, scientist and antiquarian, a founding member of DGNHAS; newspaper cutting of his obituary from the Dumfries and Galloway Standard, 25 June 1890 (3 copies); letter of notification of his death, 24 June 1890; galley proof of a column from unknown newspaper notifying his death; photograph, cabinet card portrait of W.G. Gibson [DUMFM:2012.54.4].

A Catalogue of the Curiosities and Coins in the Possession of James Gibson Starke, Troqueer Holm, Dumfries n.d.[DUMFM:2012.54.6].

Appendix 2

Current Exchange Periodicals held at Dumfries Museum

The Antiquaries Journal, Society of Antiquaries of London, holdings from Volume 57, part 1, 1977 to date.

Archaeologia Aeliana, Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne, holdings from Volume 11, 1984 to date.

Archaeology International, Institute of Archaeology, University of London, holdings from 1997 to date; previous publication, *Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology,* holdings from Volume 14, 1978 to Volume 31, 1994.

Ayrshire Notes, Ayrshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, holdings from Number 18, 2000 to date; *Monographs of the Ayrshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*, holdings from Monograph 4, 1995 to date and various other publications from 1978 to 1988.

Durham Archaeological Journal, Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland, holdings from Volume 2, 1986 to date; previous publication, *Durham Archaeological Transactions*, holdings from Volume 4, 1978 to 1983.

The Glasgow Naturalist, Glasgow Natural History Society, holdings from Volume 19, part 4, 1976 to date.

Proceedings of the Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society, holdings from Volume 7, Number 1, 1976 to date.

Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, holdings from Volume 107, 1976 to date.

Scottish Birds, Scottish Ornithologists' Club, holdings from Volume 13, Number 4, 1984 to date; previous publications *Scottish Bird Report*, holdings from 1984 to 2001 and *Scottish Bird News*, holdings from 1986 to 2008.

Scottish Studies, School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh, holdings from Volume 26, 1982 to date.

Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society, holdings from Volume 78, 1978 to date.

Transactions of the Hawick Archaeological Society, holdings from 1978 to date.

Ulster Journal of Archaeology, Ulster Archaeological Society, holdings from Volume 38, 1978 to date.

Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, holdings from Volume 49, 1977 to date.

JOHN RUTHERFORD, SOCIETY MEMBER AND PHOTOGRAPHER IN NITHSDALE

Morag Williams[1]

John Rutherford (1842–1925) was a photographic pioneer and well worthy of study: so much so that three papers, in all, over three years will gradually build up a picture of his activities, achievements and, especially, his recording of scenes in South-West Scotland at the end of the Victorian period. The current paper features his photographs of Nithsdale. The first paper in the series presented biographical information and a study of the excavations at Birrens in the 1890s, both being aspects of Annandale.[2] *The third and final paper will concentrate on his scenes of Dumfries itself.*

Introduction

John Rutherford (1842–1925) returned to his native district circa 1874 when he bought the estate of Jardington on the Cluden to the north east of Dumfries, near the property of Dalawoodie (Figure 1). It was there that he lived in retirement with his wife and family from the age of 32 years for the rest of his remarkable life.

His grand-daughter, the late Mary Anderson, who resided in Chelmsford, gifted a sketch of John Rutherford when this research first began in the 1980s. He is very recognisable when compared to the photograph featured in part one of this series of articles. The sketch depicts a distinguished-looking bearded gentleman, cutting a figure very like his contemporaries of the first quarter of the twentieth century (Figure 2).

There is a charming photograph of Broomrigg House, a handsome property near Jardington, taken by John Rutherford in 1888 (Figure 4). It was owned at that time by William Glen Airston and tenanted by Mrs E.L. McGill.[3] She might be one of the ladies in the picture who are admiring the lovely gardens. The photograph forecasts how a major part of John Rutherford's life in retirement would unfold.

Most of the photographs featured in this paper came from two albums of John Rutherford's photographs which were lodged in the archives of Crichton Royal Hospital after the death of his grand-daughter, Elizabeth Rutherford Johnstone of Cluden Bank, Moffat, in March 1977. One of the albums had a wide range of photographs of Crichton Royal Hospital, which thus became the repository for the two albums. These and other Dumfries scenes will feature in part three of this series of articles on John Rutherford.

The identification numbers recorded in this paper are John Rutherford's own album numbers. After conservation work, financed by Dumfries and Galloway Heath Board, was carried out in 1993 the photographs were placed in five albums catalogued as DGH 1/8/1

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[1] Fellow of the Society; Merkland, Kirkmahoe, Dumfries DG1 1SY.

[2] Morag Williams, 'John Rutherford, Society Member and Photographer in Annandale', *TDGNHAS*, vol.87 (2013) pp.135–164.

[3] *Valuation Roll*, Ewart Library, Dumfries.

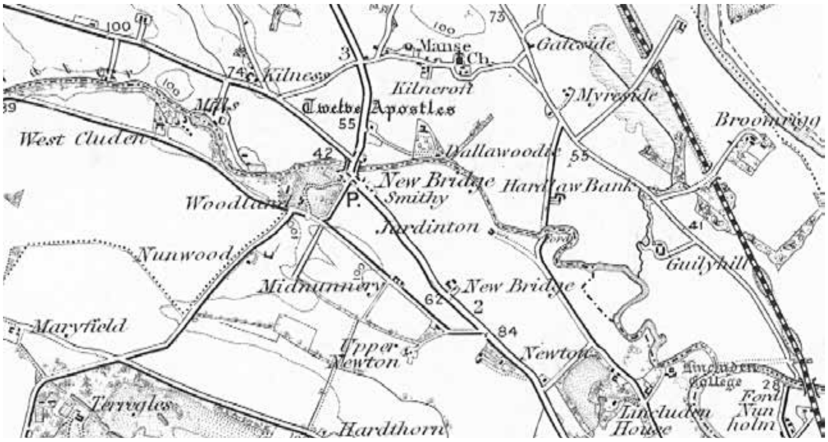
Manse
Ch.
Gateside
Kilness
Kilncroft
Twelve Apostles
Myreside
Mills
West Cluden
Broomrigg
Dallawoodie
New Bridge
Hardlaw Bank
Smithy
Woodlands
P.
Jardinton
Nunwood
Guilyhill
Midnunnery
New Bridge
Maryfield
Upper Newton
Newton
Lincluden College
Ford
Nunholm
Terregles
Lincluden House
Hardthorn

Figure 1. From the Ordnance Survey of Scotland, Second Edition, Scotland, Sheet 9, Maxwelltown, published in 1897, one inch to the mile. (Reproduced by permission of the National Library of Scotland)

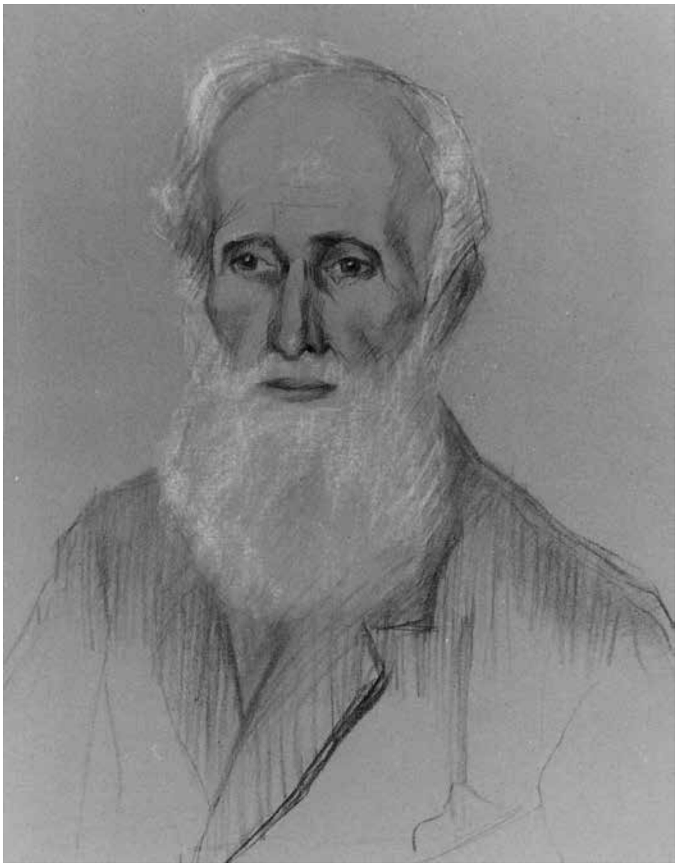

Figure 2. Sketch of John Rutherford. (Courtesy of Mary Anderson)

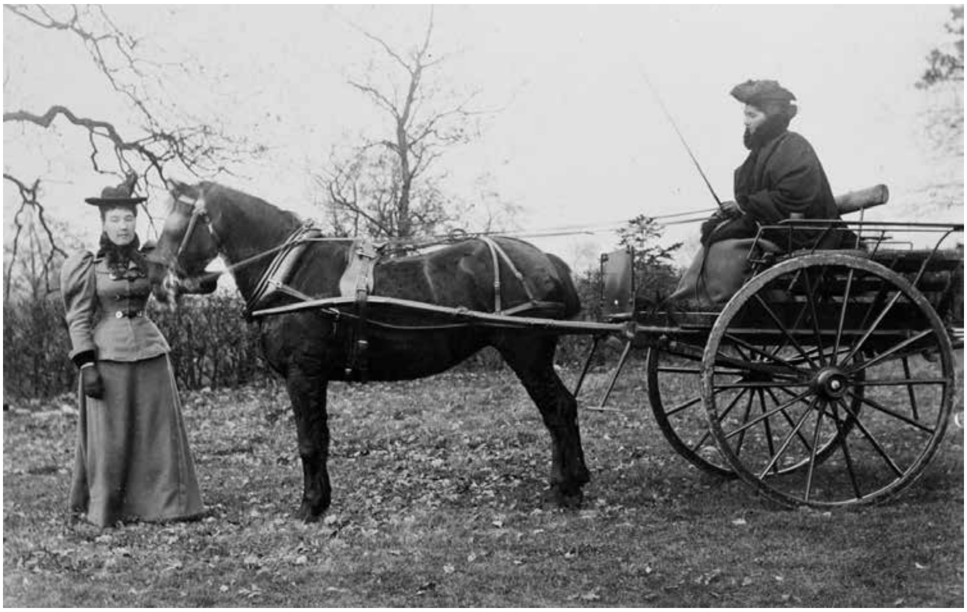

Figure 3. Two ladies, the one on the trap is thought to be John Rutherford's daughter, Mary (later Mrs Johnstone) and the one holding the pony is thought to be his wife, Elizabeth. Such a conveyance affords no shelter from the elements. Album 5, number 53. (Figures 3, 5, 9–32, 34–43, 45–51 courtesy of Dumfries and Galloway Libraries Information and Archives and the Wellcome Trust; DGH 1/8/1)

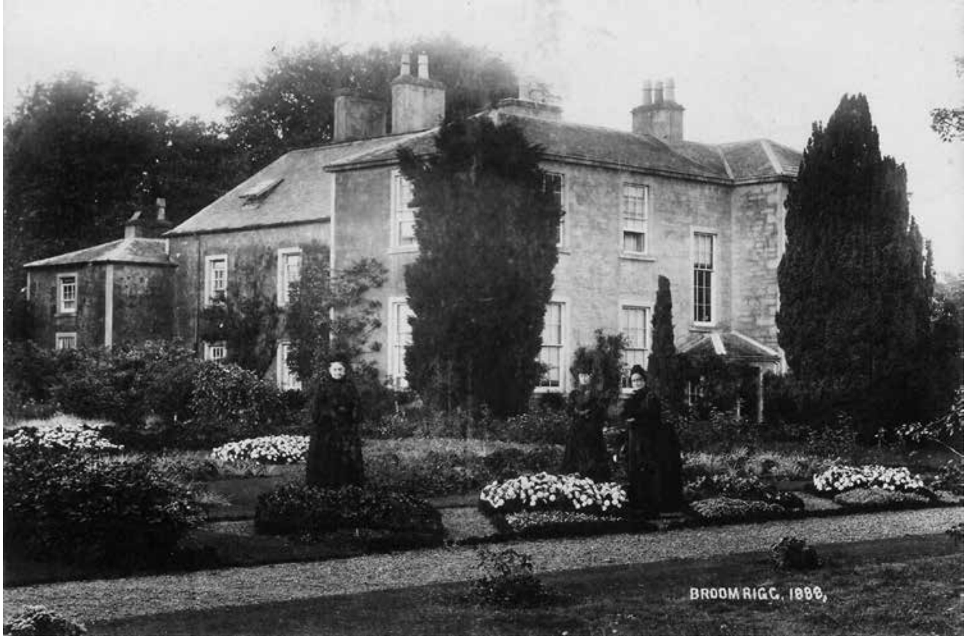

Figure 4. Broomrigg House. (Donated by the late Ian Kerr, Westlin, Newbridge, whose mother was in domestic service to Mr and Mrs Rutherford at Jardington)

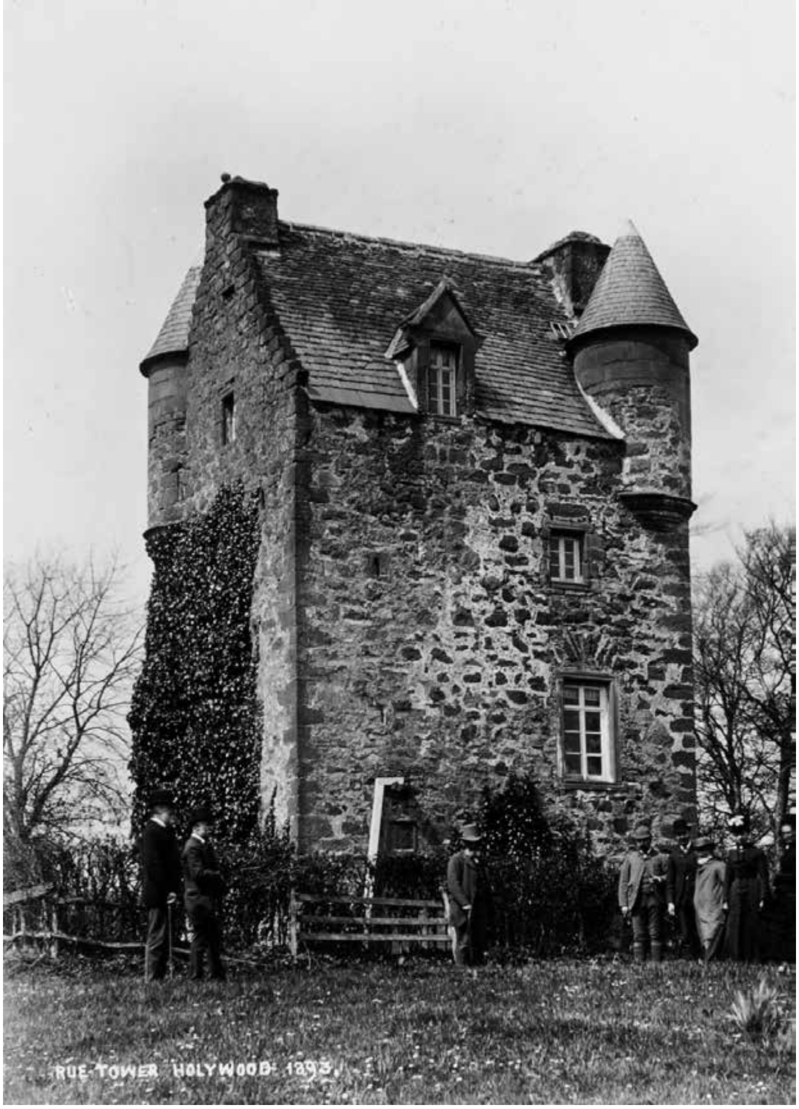

Figure 5. Fourmerkland or Rue Tower, Holywood. Some Society members on a visit in 1893. (Album 1, number 37)

and are in the care of Graham Roberts, Archivist, currently (2014) based at the Ewart Library, Catherine Street, Dumfries.

Throughout the text there are references to the ‘Society’, which is the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society (DGNHAS). The Society visited most of the places photographed by Rutherford on different outings in Victorian times. Another property close to his home at Jardington that he captured on camera was Fourmerkland or Rue Tower, Holywood(Figure 5).

> Fourmerkland is a classic, small tower-house of the late 16th century. It was built in 1590 by Robert Maxwell on lands that had formerly belonged to the abbey of Holywood, but nothing seems to be known about either Robert or his family. His initials, together with those of his wife 'I.G', the date and his arms appear on the armorial panel over the entrance.[4]

The tower continued to be occupied until 1896 and, although without modern facilities, is still maintained in excellent repair.[5]

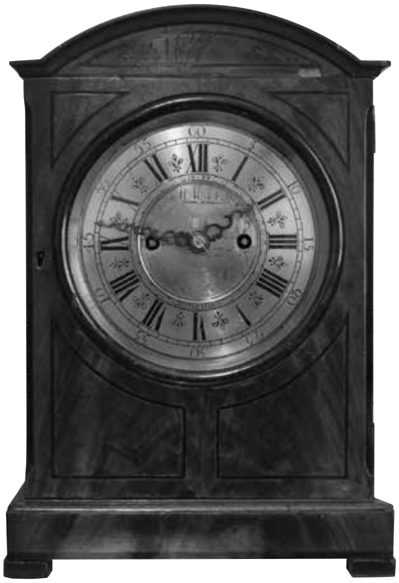

Figure 6. The less ornate clock showing Newfarm and Stockholm on the dial. (Courtesy of John Rutherford Johnstone)

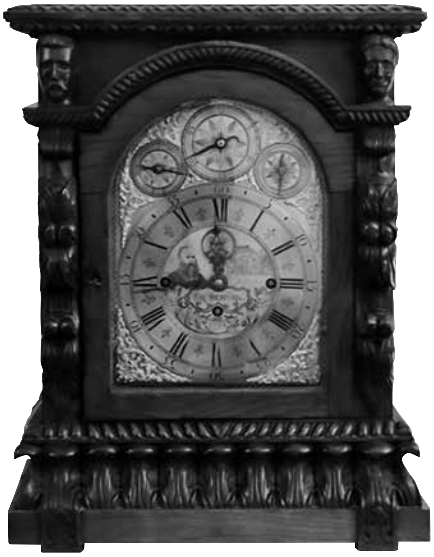

Figure 7. The ornate clock showing John Rutherford and Jardington on the dial. (Courtesy of John Rutherford Johnstone)

In the first paper in this series, which dealt with Annandale, mention was made of John Rutherford's interest in horology and his skill with metalwork and woodwork. His great grandson, John Rutherford Johnstone, has supplied detailed photographs of two clocks (Figures 6&7). The less ornate clock has a note in John Rutherford's handwriting, which is here repeated as in the first paper:

> This old English clock I bought in Glasgow in 1898: Sept. The enamel on the dial was in bad condition: and the maker's name quite gone. I made and engraved the present dial. I made both the hands. Newfarm is where I was born. Stockholm was

---

[4] *Dumfriesshire Illustrated. I. – Nithsdale, A Series of Descriptive and Historical Sketches of Stra'nith* by Peter Gray (Dumfries: J Maxwell & Son) 1894. Henceforth *Nithsdale* by Peter Gray. See biographical information on Peter Gray later in the text.

[5] *The Border Towers of Scotland* by Alastair M.T. Maxwell-Irving (Dumfries: Creedon Publications) 2000. Henceforth *The Border Towers of Scotland* by Alastair M.T. Maxwell-Irving.

> my mother's birth place. Both farms are near Beattock, Dumfriesshire.[6]

In Rutherford's obituary in the *Dumfriesshire and Galloway Standard and Advertiser*[7]of 25 November 1925 there is the following statement:

> At the Exhibition of the Dumfries Fine Arts Society two years ago (circa 1923) Mr Rutherford showed a remarkable specimen of his handicraft in the shape of a quarter chiming clock, with brass face and carved oak case and handsomely engraved.

The engravings mentioned show John Rutherford and Jardington(Figure 7).

In the albums that were originally lodged with the Archives of Crichton Royal Hospital, John Rutherford wrote alongside his photograph of the River Nith at Mennock, near Sanquhar, that Peter Gray had used that illustration as the frontispiece of his book on Nithsdale(Figures 8&9). The hunt was on to track down the book. A copy was available at the Ewart Library in Dumfries (Ewart Library Local Reference Dab(91). In those pre-internet days it took two years to acquire a copy to purchase — in Edinburgh. The book is called:

DUMFRIESSHIRE ILLUSTRATED.

I. – NITHSDALE,

A SERIES OF DESCRIPTIVE AND HISTORICAL SKETCHES
OF STRA'NITH.

BY PETER GRAY.

Illustrated with Thirty-two Pen and Ink Drawings on Stone,
From Old Prints, and from Photographs taken specially for the Work,

BY J. RUTHERFORD.

The book was published in Dumfries by J. Maxwell & Son, 97 and 99 High Street in 1894. Some scenes in the New Abbey area, arguably not in Nithsdale, are included in the book. The use of 'Pen and Ink Drawings on Stone' instead of Rutherford's actual photographs for the print work was, presumably, in order to keep down costs. Planned follow-up publications on Annandale and Eskdale did not emerge because of Gray's failing health.[8]

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[6] Photographs of New Farm and Stockholm featured in the first paper of this series, Morag Williams, 'John Rutherford, Society Member and Photographer in Annandale', *TDGNHAS*, vol.87 (2013) pp.135–164.

[7] Henceforth the *Standard*.

[8] Obituary: *Standard*, 7 June 1899.

Rutherford's photographic journey, conducted by means of a pony and trap in the late 1880s and early 1890s, began in upper Nithsdale and ended up in the south of the county at the Solway. Dumfries itself is reserved for part three of this series of articles because of the sheer number of scenes depicted. The evidence here presented proves that Rutherford's carefully-composed and artistically-presented original photographs merit reaching a wider audience, instead of the pen and ink drawn copies published in Gray's book(Figures 8&9).

The text accompanying this paper is largely gleaned from Peter Gray's own writing:

> The subject matter … here not derived from personal knowledge or observation, has been drawn from the most diverse as well as the most reliable sources.[9]

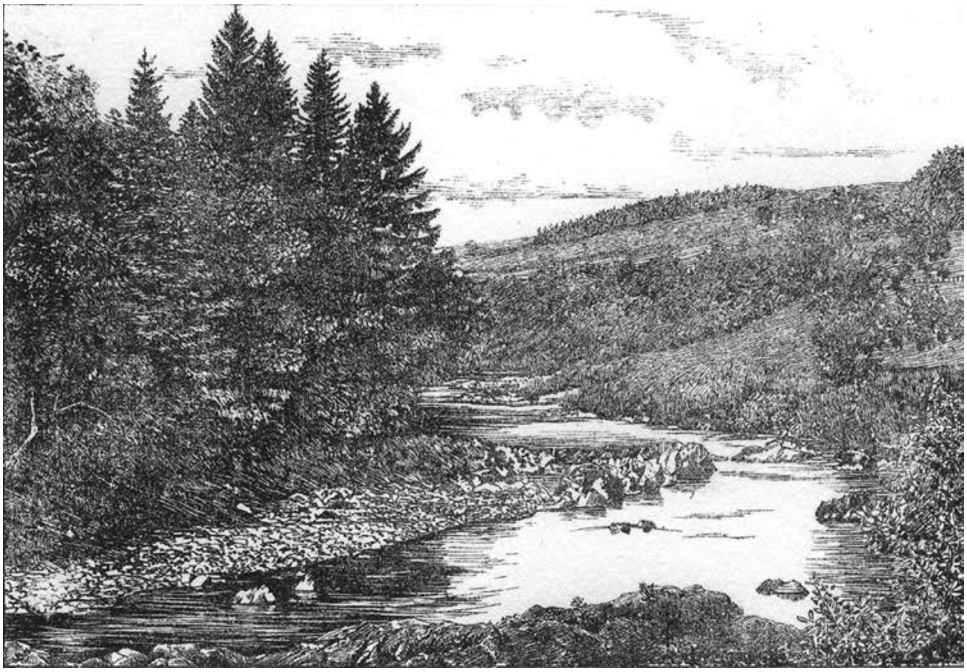

Figure 8. The River Nith at Mennock below Sanquhar, taken from *Nithsdale* by Peter Gray.

Peter Gray: Biographical Information

Peter Murray Gray, was born in 1818 and died at Thirlwall Cottage, Locharbriggs, Dumfries,[10] where he was in lodgings after having suffered a seizure. His death from a cerebral haemorrhage took place in his 81st year on 3 June 1899. He was the son of David Gray,[11] a Dumfries silversmith, and a nephew of John McDiarmid, the editor and proprietor of the *Dumfries Courier*. His mother was Mary Murray. Dr Peter Murray Kerr of 20 Castle Street, a family member, signed the death certificate.[12] Peter Gray is buried in Troqueer Churchyard.

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[9] *Nithsdale* by Peter Gray.

[10] This is now 10 Quarry Road, Locharbriggs, Dumfries.

[11] David Gray (1777–1841) was the most prolific silversmith of his day at a time when the trade thrived in Dumfries and the town had its own silver marks. He produced mainly flatware but several items of ceremonial hollow-ware can be seen in museums in Dumfries including the town's 'siller gun' shooting trophy which he re-worked as a model flintlock pistol and the punch ladle

Peter Gray had a career in printing and journalism. He found employment in, amongst other places, Wick, Wolverhampton, London and eventually Edinburgh, where he, as a bachelor, resided with his only sister. After her death in 1893 he came back to his home territory of Maxwelltown.[13]

He served on the staff of the publication, *Iron*, which dealt with the hardware trade; and then he became sub-editor of *The Rock*, a Church of England publication. In his youth he held:

> … very advanced ideas on the subject of political reform and was associated with the Chartist movement;[14] but his views underwent such a change as led him to champion by his writing Conservatism in Church and State, though he still continued to render a sort of tribute to his earlier convictions by insisting that the Tory Democrat … was the true heir of the Chartist.[15]

Natural history and rambling were his hobbies, subjects on which:

> … he contributed numerous interesting papers to various periodicals and to the Dumfries and Galloway Natural History Society, [sic] of which he was elected an Honorary member while resident in London.[16]

It seems obvious that Peter Gray and John Rutherford would have much in common, instant rapport even …

Nithsdale Journey: North to South

Sanquhar and its Castle

Sanquhar Castle, or Sean Caer, meaning 'old fort', is a picturesque ruin, which has changed little in the intervening century and a quarter. The building had replaced an earlier nearby structure by 1400.[17]

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and ram's horn snuff mull of Dumfries Burns Club. Examples of his work in public collections can be seen at www.futuremuseum.co.uk. See also *Dumfries Silversmiths* by Kirkpatrick H. Dobie (Dumfries: Solway Offset) n.d. — Ed.

[12] Scotland's People: Statutory Deaths 821/00 0191. `http://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/search/death/index.aspx>` [Accessed 11-09-2014].

[13] Dumfries and Maxwelltown were separate burghs until 1929.

[14] The Chartist movement (1838–1848) was formed to press for political reform in Britain. It took its name from the People's Charter of 1838 and was a national protest movement, with particular strongholds of support in the north of England.

[15] Obituary: *Standard*, 7 June 1899.

[16] Obituary: *Standard*, 7 June 1899.

[17] *The Border Towers of Scotland* by Alastair M.T. Maxwell-Irving.

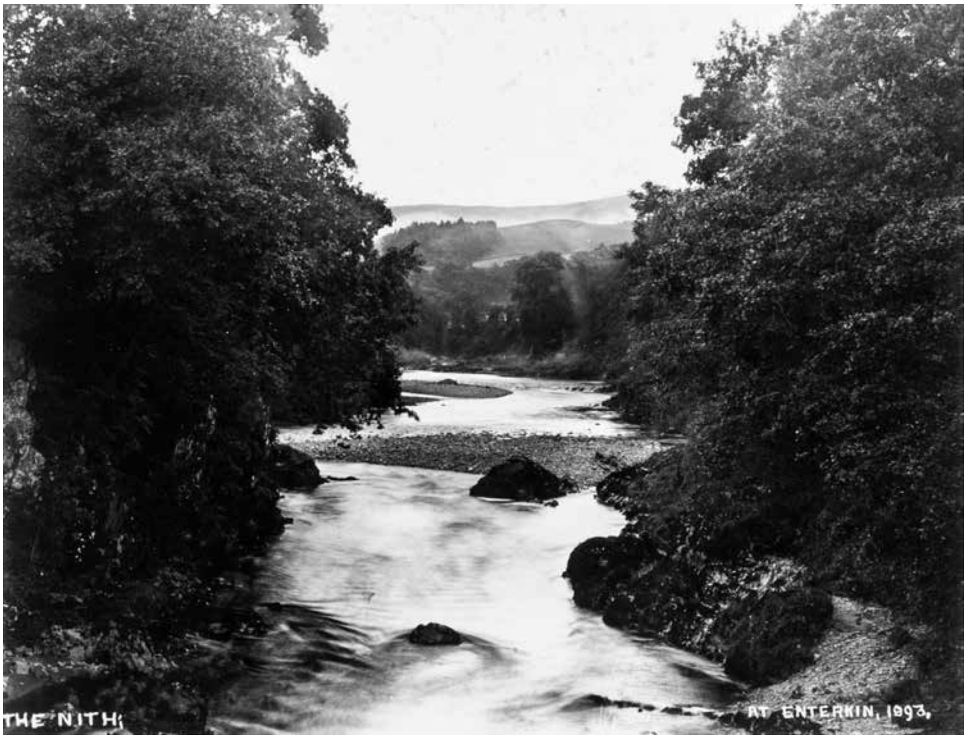

Figure 9. The River Nith at Mennock below Sanquhar as photographed by John Rutherford and listed by him as 'Enterkin'. (Album 1, number 10)

> It stands on a steep bank, overlooking the town of Sanquhar. It originally consisted of a very small keep, measuring only about 23 feet square externally, but with walls 10 feet thick; courtyard and castle forming an oblong 167 feet by 128.[18]

Over the years it changed hands several times. By marriage it passed into ownership of the Crichton family — a family connected with the Crichtons of Midlothian and which established strong links with Upper Nithsdale.[19]

When William, Duke of Queensberry, had built the princely mansion of Drumlanrig, he only slept in it one night, retiring for the rest of his life to Sanquhar Castle. By the second Duke it was forsaken and left to utter neglect. The leaden roof was removed, and the structure was used as a quarry. Sanquhar Town Hall and a good part of the existing town were built out of it.[20]

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[18] *Nithsdale* by Peter Gray.

[19] Dr James Crichton, co-founder with his wife, Elizabeth, of Crichton Royal Institution, Dumfries, (as Crichton Royal Hospital was known until 1950) was a Crichton of Carco and the son of a former provost of Sanquhar. *The Chronicle of Crichton Royal, 1833–1936* by Dr C.C. Easterbrook (Dumfries: Courier Press) 1940.

[20] *Nithsdale* by Peter Gray.

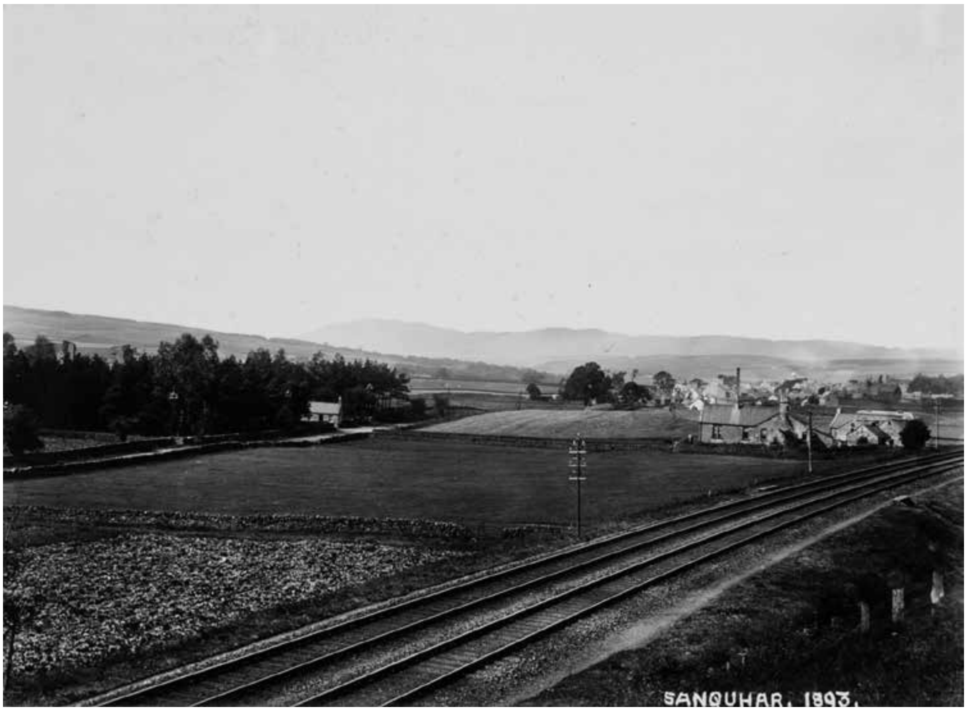

Figure 10. Sanquhar 1893. (Album 1, number 2)

Enterkin Pass

There are three scenic passes through the Southern Uplands — Crawick, Enterkin and Dalveen. In capturing the beauty of the Enterkin Pass, especially in its upper reaches, Rutherford proved in this instance and elsewhere as his journey moves southwards through Nithsdale, the appeal of a good black and white photograph.

Eliock House and Castle

The sixteenth century Eliock House and Castle lie 1.5 miles south-east of Sanquhar. Again, it was a stronghold associated with the Crichtons. Some sources claim that the most famous member of this family was James Crichton, known as the Admirable Crichton (19 August 1560 – 3 July 1582), a polymath noted for his extraordinary accomplishments in languages, the arts, and sciences before he was killed in Mantua at the age of 21.

> In 1927 the estate was purchased by George Greenshields, a former tea planter in Ceylon … It was requisitioned for Polish troops during the Second World War and it was they who, in 1940, set the north wing on fire. It has never been restored, and for many years the house lay empty before the Greenshields again took up residence.[21]

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[21] The *Border Towers of Scotland* by Alastair M.T. Maxwell-Irving.

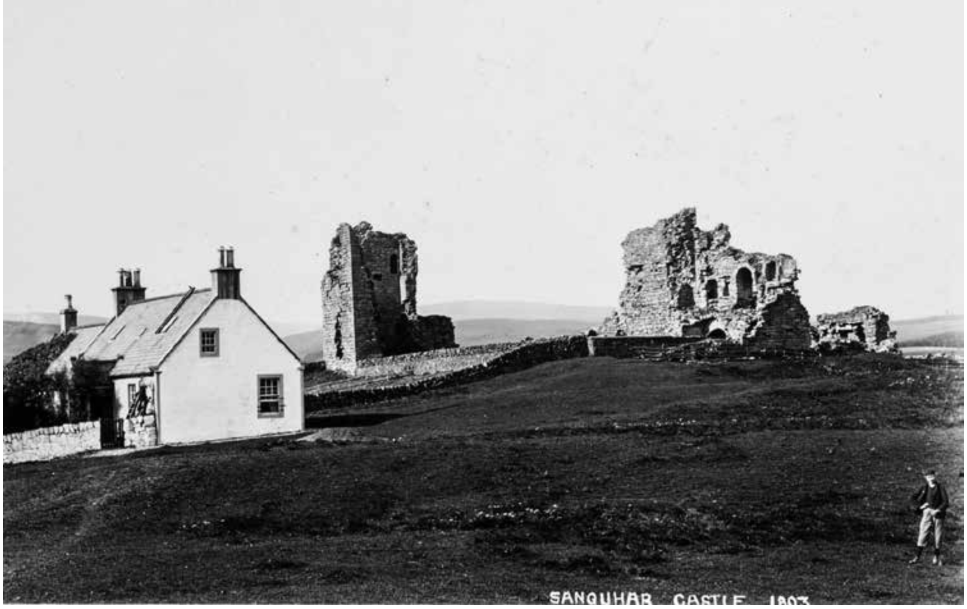
SANQUHAR CASTLE 1893

Figure 11. Sanquhar Castle or Crichton Castle. (Album 1, number 4)

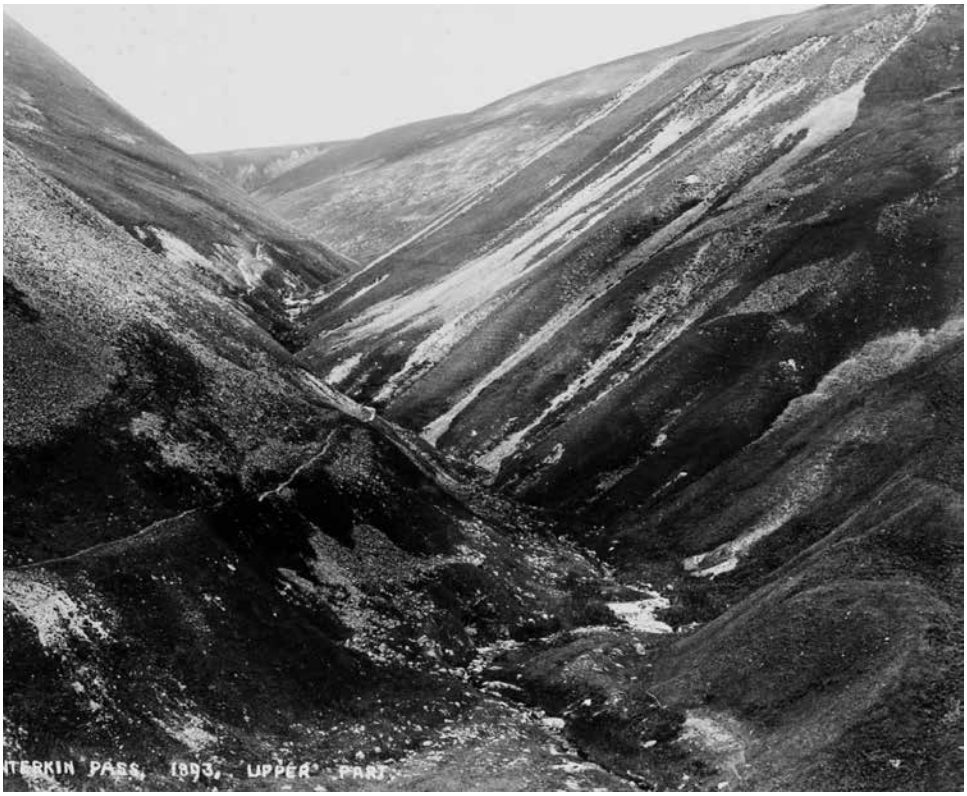
TERKIN PASS, 1893, UPPER PART

Figure 12. The Upper Slopes of the Enterkin Pass, according to Peter Gray, ‘yield a wild beauty and sublimity’. (Album 1, number 11)

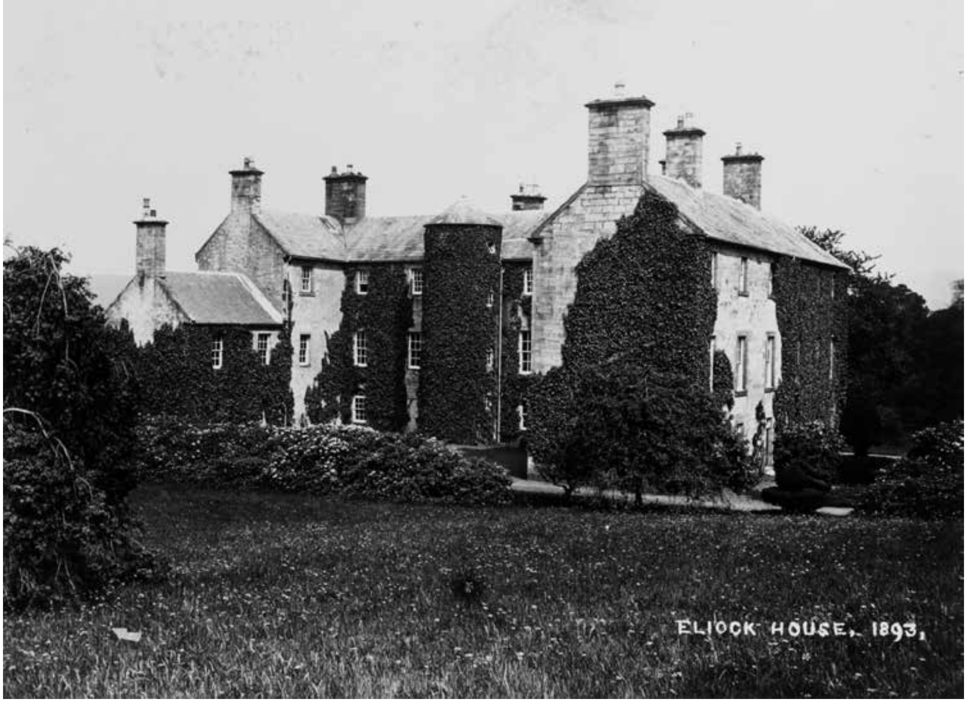

Figure 13. Eliock House. (Album 1, number 7)

Near Elliock House there is a waterfall which Rutherford photographed. (Not in included this article.)

Morton Castle

Morton Castle's site, remote, reasonably well-preserved and not instantly-recognised by the public at large, was a key stronghold from ancient times. The barony and castle belonged to Bruce's nephew, Thomas Randolph, in the fourteenth century. In the border feuds of the sixteenth century Morton Castle was burned by King James VI (1566–1625). It passed ultimately to the Douglases, Dukes of Queensberry, and is now the property of their successors, the Dukes of Buccleuch.

> The castle consisted of an oblong block, presenting a front wall 92 feet long, facing the south, and was fortified with a round tower at the south-east angle … ; while at the south-west angle was the gateway, between two towers, one of which remains … the masonry in some places is 12 feet thick. The castle was protected on all sides except the south-west by an artificial sheet of water.[22]

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[22] *Nithsdale* by Peter Gray.

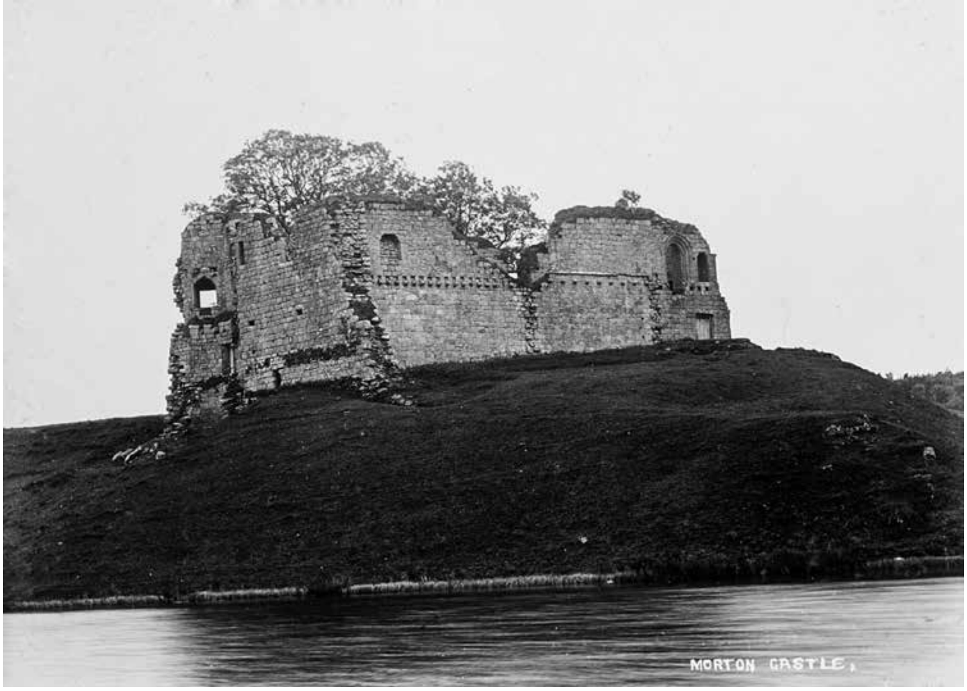

Figure 14. Morton Castle. (Album 1, number 14)

Drumlanrig Castle

Drumlanrig Castle, the seat of the Dukes of Buccleuch and Queensberry, is, by contrast, easily identified and much visited.

> Built upon a well-chosen site at the end of a long ridge of hills, with an extensive view southwards over beautiful Nithsdale, this palatial residence … forms a striking and stately feature in the landscape. Three mansions or fortalices preceded the present building. The modern castle consists of an outer courtyard 57 by 77 feet, with offices on either hand and the main building in front, forming a great square built round the courtyard and measuring 146 feet by 120. It is four stories (sic) high, surmounted by turrets at the angles. From the inner court, staircases ascend at the angles in semicircular towers.[23]

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[23] *Nithsdale* by Peter Gray.

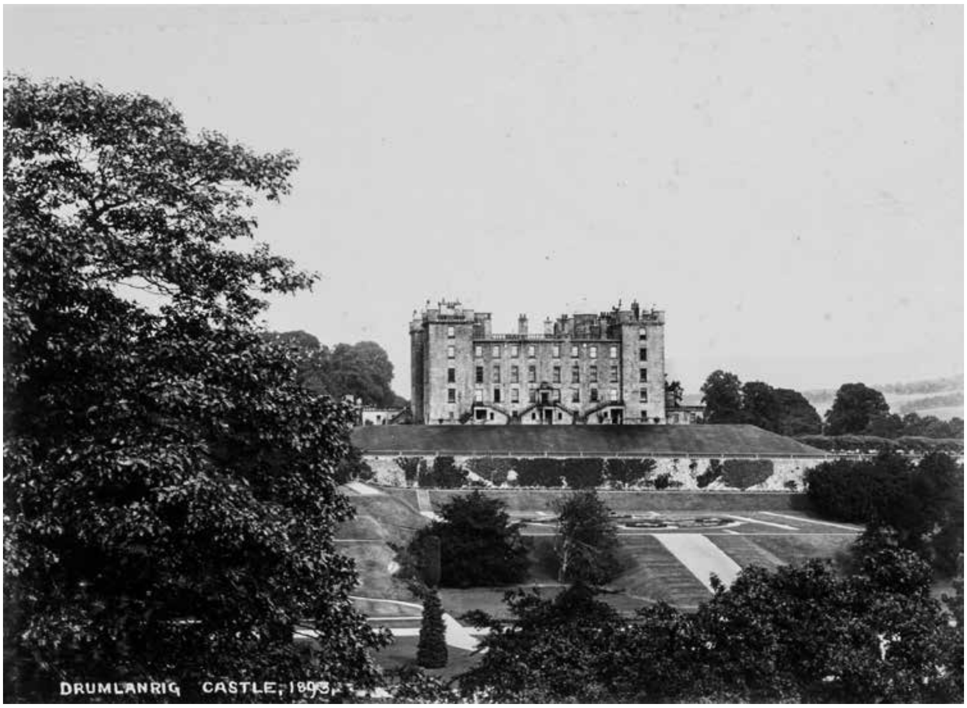

Figure 15. Drumlanrig Castle. This scene, photographed by Rutherford in 1893, was also featured in *Sights and Scenes in Scotland*, published by Cassell and Company Limited. It was dedicated to Queen Victoria and was issued to subscribers in advance of her Diamond Jubilee in 1897. The late Ian Rogers brought attention to it as he had a copy. (Album 1, number 16)

Closeburn Castle

Closeburn Castle, 800 years old in Peter Gray's time and now over 900 years old, was the home of the Kirkpatrick family for centuries.

> The walls on the ground floor are 11 feet 11 inches thick, on the first floor 8 feet 6 inches, and even in the upper stories (sic), above 6 feet in thickness. So strongly is it built that when the present windows were formed to make it fit for a modern dwelling-house, it was necessary to use blasting powder to enlarge the openings. The extensive domains surrounding the tower were formerly the site of an ancient lake, one of the chief defences of the place. In former times it was believed that when a death was about to take place in the family of Kirkpatrick a swan always made its appearance in the Loch of Closeburn. The last instance on record was on the occasion of the marriage of the first Baronet in the family. On the wedding day his son by a previous marriage strolled out of the castle, and, looking towards the loch, observed the fatal bird. He returned overwhelmed with melancholy, and died suddenly that very night.[24]

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[24] *Nithsdale* by Peter Gray.

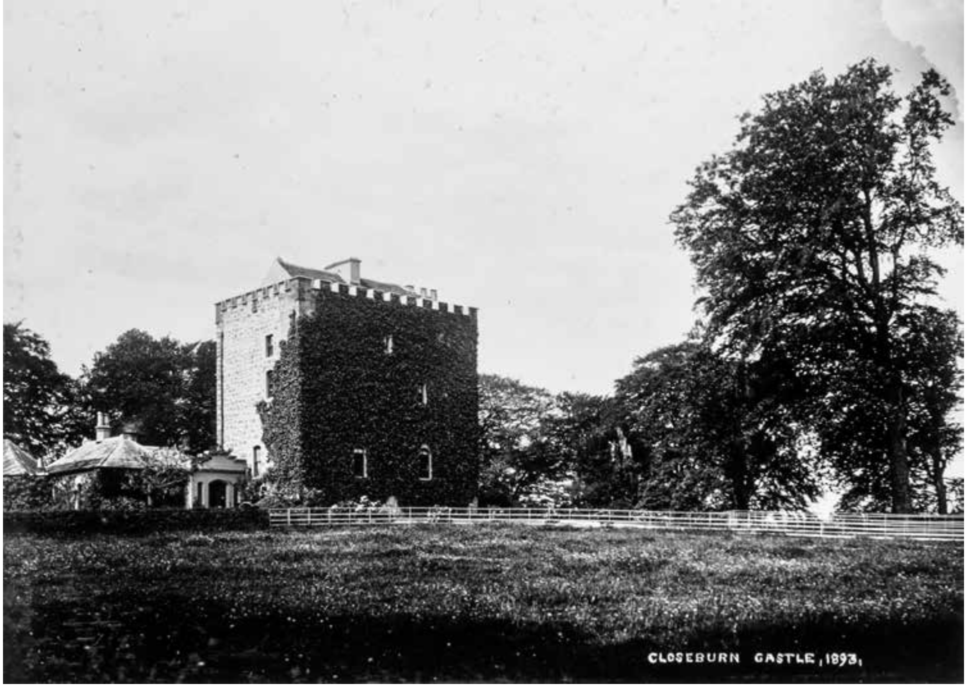

Figure 16. Closeburn Castle. (Album 1, number 20)

The loch was drained in Victorian times.

> Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick, created first Baronet of Closeburn in 1685, served as a Commissioner of Supply for Dumfriesshire several times, also as a Commissioner for the Borders, later as an additonal Commissioner to Parliament for Dumfriesshire in 1690 and he was elected to represent the county three times until 1700. As a Captain in the Militia, he was called upon to seek out Covenanters, a task which he performed zealously and was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel. Closeburn Tower was sold by the Kirkpatrick family in 1783.[25]

The next owner built a new mansion, Closeburn Hall, nearby. The tower became the factor's residence, a purpose it served until well into the twentieth century. The Hall was vacated in 1903 and has been in a ruinous state for many years. The tower passed into the hands of Spanish next-of-kin. It is still habitable.[26]

A Kirkpatrick descendant related the following story:

> It was the custom of old … to lock the gate and admit no visitors at meal times. A London merchant coming to Closeburn Castle to make a visit to his brother happened to arrive at dinner time, when the gates were shut and the keys carried

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[25] *The Border Towers of Scotland* by Alastair M.T. Maxwell-Irving.

[26] *The Border Towers of Scotland* by Alastair M.T. Maxwell-Irving.

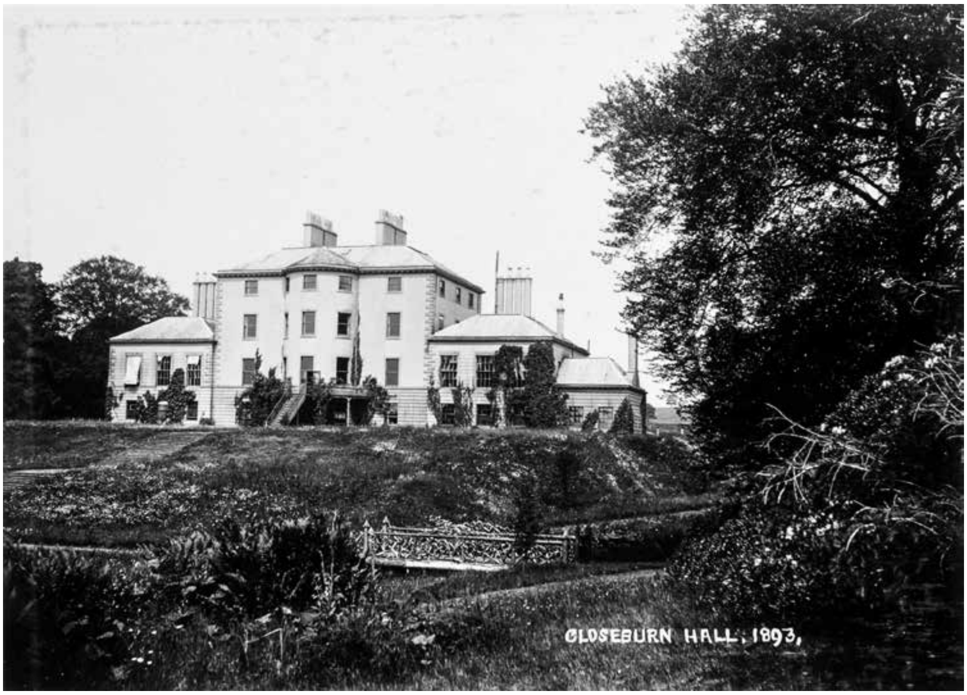

Figure 17. Closeburn Hall. (Album 1, number 18)

> to the hall … the laird sent out word that in the time of dinner he would not open to the king … [the visitor] went over to Drumlanrig, where his sister was lady … and was admitted without difficulty.[27]

Commented Peter Gray:

> It is said that the family of Queensberry is now possessed of a handsome estate that came to it by the caprice of the merchant.[28]

Barjarg Tower

Barjarg Tower, located on the west bank of the Nith, stands near the lower end of the Closeburn basin. The masonry is local red and grey sandstone rubble with dressed quoins and margins.[29]

'The barony was acquired in 1587 from the Earl of Morton, probably a scion of the family of Lag.'[30] Rutherford's photograph of Lag Tower, seat of the notorious persecutor

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[27] *Nithsdale* by Peter Gray.

[28] *Nithsdale* by Peter Gray.

[29] *The Border Towers of Scotland* by Alastair M.T. Maxwell-Irving.

[30] *Nithsdale* by Peter Gray.

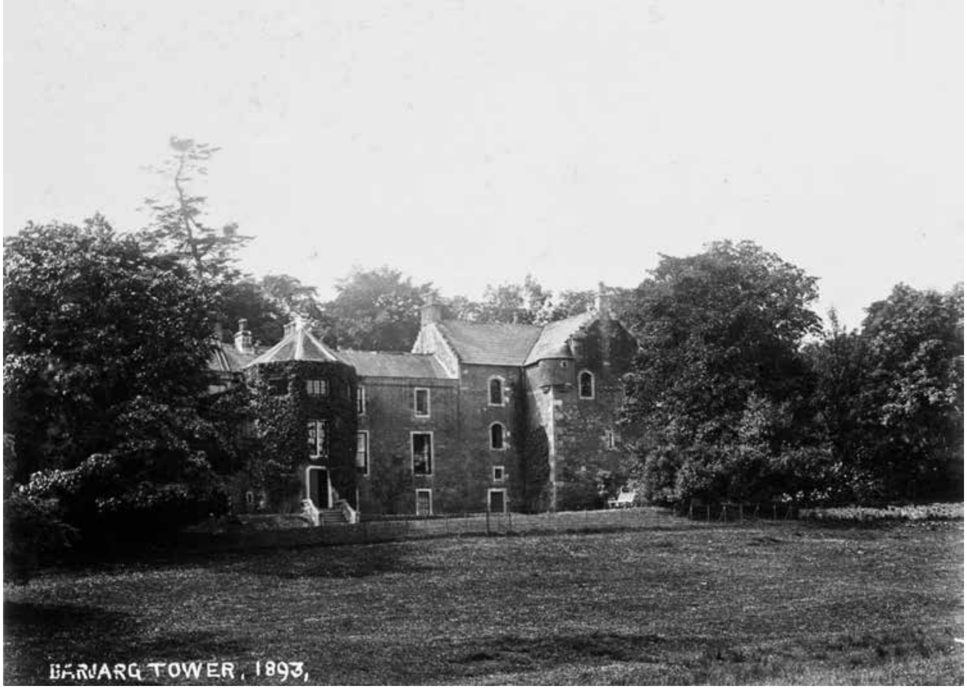

Figure 18. Barjarg Tower. (Album 1, number 22)

of the Covenanters and ancestor of Elizabeth Crichton,[31] Sir Robert Grierson of Lag, is so deeply ensconced in trees that it is hard to discern the tower at all. Gray used an old sketch instead.

> Barjarg Tower … passed by purchase into the hands of another line of Griersons in 1648, the first of whom, in 1680, built an addition … forming three sides of a square. The property was sold in 1772 to Dr Andrew Hunter, Professor of Divinity at Edinburgh, for whom the central part of the house was added in 1806–07. Mr W.F. Hunter-Arundell, owner or a splendid library, inherited it in 1847.[32]

A symmetrical extension at the western end to designs by James Barbour was added in 1864 and major works were carried out in 1914 by James Bowie of Barbour and Bowie, architects.[33]

Barjarg, still inhabited, was bought by the current owners, the Donaldsons, in 1985. It was refurbished to a very high standard.[34]

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[31] Co-founder of Crichton Royal Institution, Dumfries (as Crichton Royal Hospital was known until 1950).

[32] *Nithsdale* by Peter Gray.

[33] *The Buildings of Scotland: Dumfries And Galloway* by John Gifford, Pevsner Architectural Guides (London: Penguin Books) 1996.

[34] Advertising leaflet for Barjarg Tower.

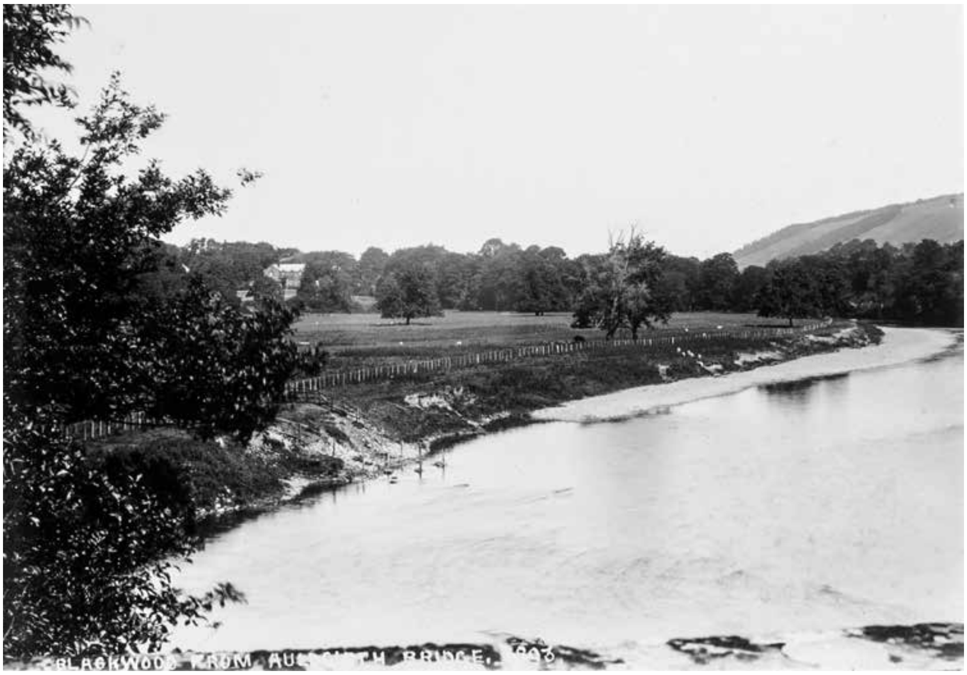

Figure 19. Blackwood House from Auldgirth Bridge 1893. (Album 1, number 25)

Auldgirth Bridge and Blackwood House

Auldgirth Bridge is an attractive feature in the landscape. Its erection was due largely to William Copeland of Colliston who:

> … succeeded to the barony of Blackwood in 1801, and at that time there was no means of crossing the Nith at this point except by an unsafe ford. The constructor had great difficulty in keeping the water out while laying the foundations, but the laird of Blackwood brought up the regiment of militia then stationed at Dumfries,[35] who, by working night and day at the pumps, enabled the rock to be safely reached. Blackwood House was burnt down during the lifetime of this energetic laird, and when he re-edified it, he built it from bottom to top on vaults, testing it, when finished, by setting one of the doors on fire.[36]

Dalswinton

The old Dalswinton Castle stood on an eminence on the eastern side of the Nith. In the thirteenth century John Comyn of Badenoch, the Red Comyn, owned the land and the castle. His grandson, also known as John Comyn, was murdered in the old Greyfriars'

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[35] Threats of invasion by Napoleon necessitated a state of readiness throughout the land.

[36] *Nithsdale* by Peter Gray.

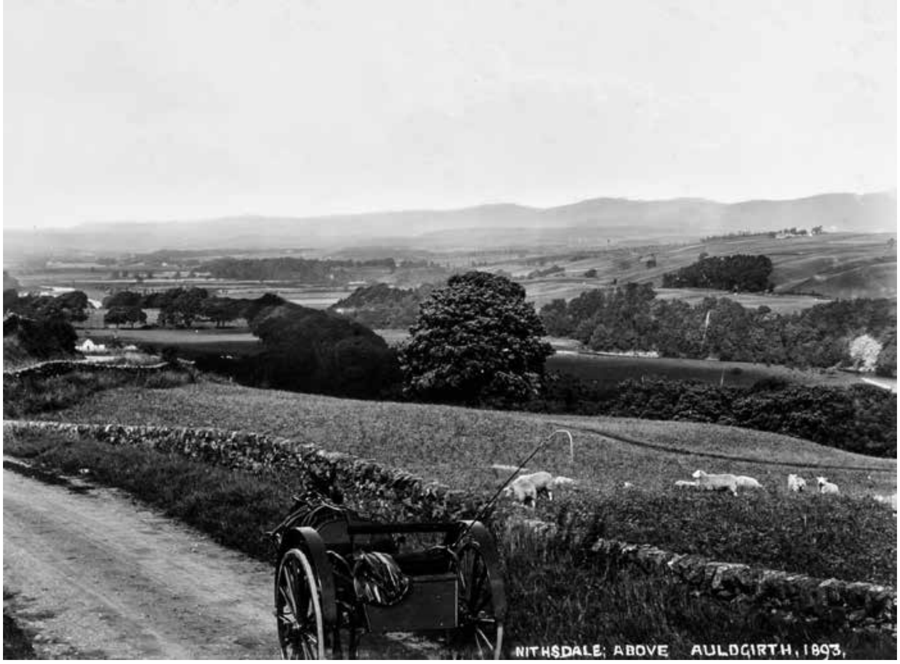

Figure 20. Nithsdale above Auldgirth 1893. (Album 1, number 24)

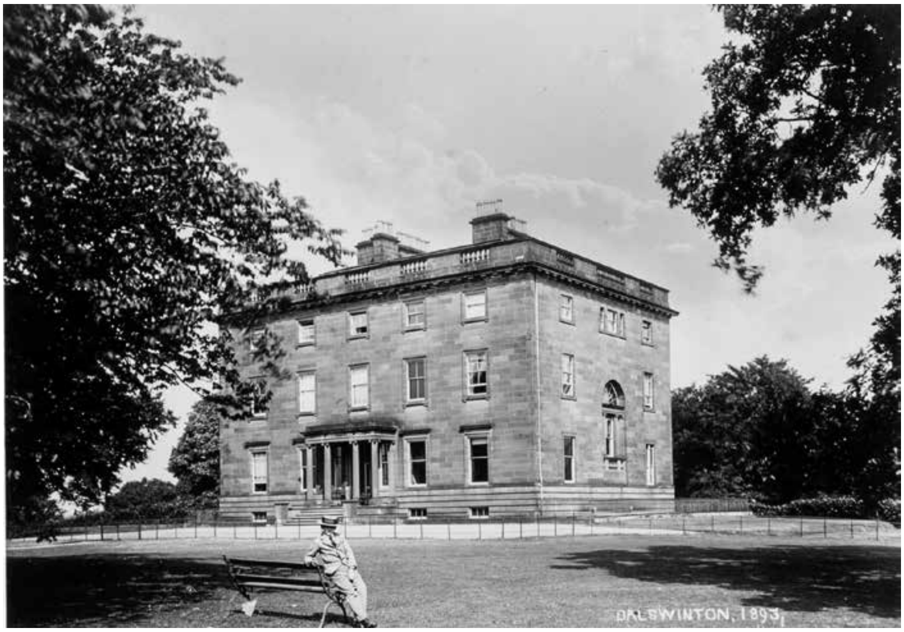

Figure 21. Dalswinton House 1893. ‘The central portico was replaced by a bow window to a design by Barbour and Bowie in 1919–20 and an extension was added on the north side where a new main doorway was installed.’ (*The Buildings of Scotland, Dumfries and Galloway* by John Gifford, Pevsner Architectural Guides (London: Penguin Books) 1996). (Album 1, number 33)

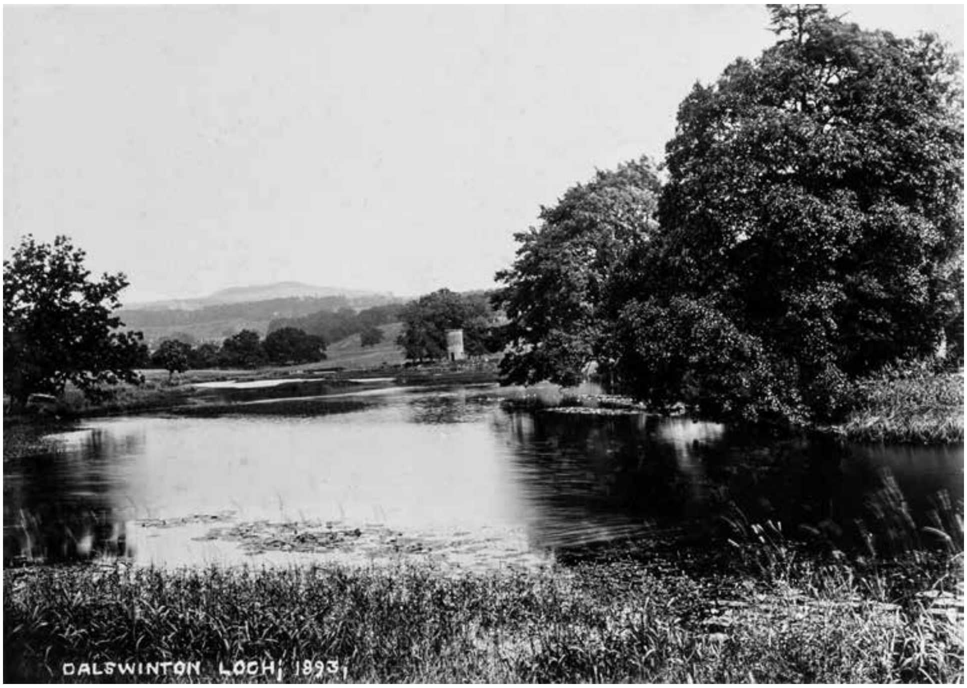

Figure 22. Dalswinton Loch 1893. (Album 1, number 32)

Church by Robert Bruce and his associates.[37] Thereafter Bruce went to Dalswinton and burned the castle.

Changing hands several times, the lands passed to John Rome who built a tower house circa 1626. Eventually the estate was bought unseen by Edinburgh banker, Patrick Miller in 1785, who took up residence in the tower. He proceeded to have a handsome new house built of red sandstone on the site of the old castle. Miller embarked on a programme of amelioration of the estate and its lands, which ranked at the forefront of the agrarian improvements that were being undertaken at the time. Dalswinton Loch, on which the first U.K. steamboat was launched in 1788, was created and Dalswinton, a planned village with a school, was established.[38]

Miller's death in 1815 and subsequent debts caused the estate to be sold in 1820 to the Macalpine-Leny family of whom James (1796–1867) was the first. He proved to be a very astute individual, who, while still young, ranked among the most eminent of men of Dumfriesshire of his time by serving as Convener of the county from 1832-1866. He held prominent positions on the Board of Crichton Royal Institution from 1840 to1866 and, as the leading heritor, he promoted the building of the present Kirkmahoe Church in the early 1820s. The estate was retained by the Macalpine-Lenys until 1919 when it was bought by the current owners, the Landales.[39]

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[37] John Comyn and Robert Bruce were rival claimants for the Scottish throne. See Richard Oram, 'Bruce, Balliol and the Lordship of Galloway: South-West Scotland and the Wars of Independence', *TDGNHAS*, vol.67 (1992) p.29. The Society's website, `www.dgnhas.org.uk,` has all the *Transactions* online except for those of the most recent five years.

[38] *The Gallovidian*, vol.8 (1906) pp.118–123.

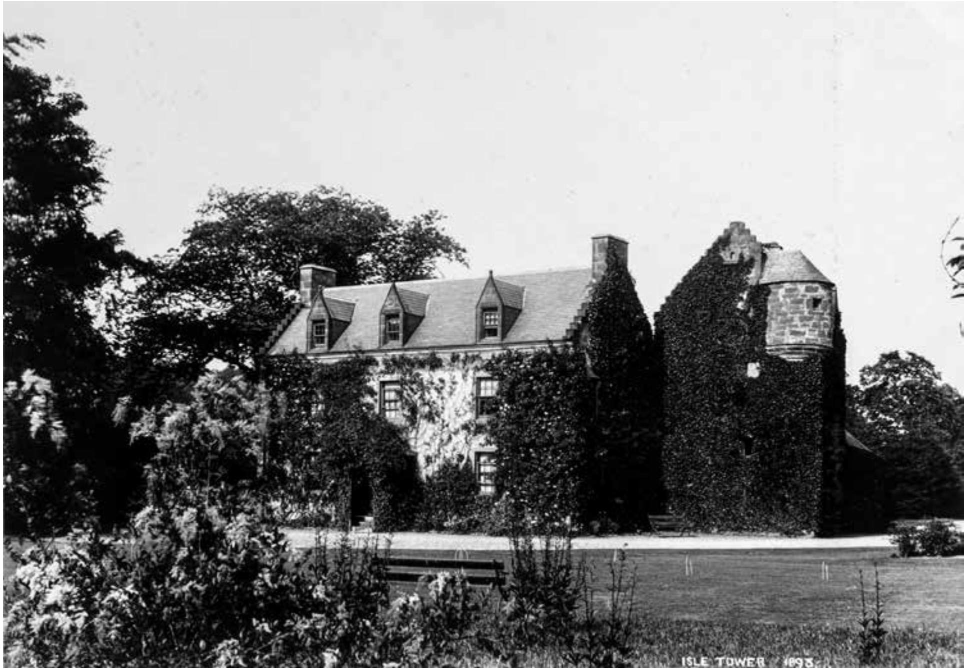

Figure 23. Isle Tower. (Album 1, number 30)

Isle Tower

> Isle Tower, 5 miles north of Dumfries … is oblong in plan, and three storeys and a garret, in height, with diagonally-opposed corner-turrets and crow-stepped gables. … The tenure of the Fergussons of Isle, reputedly a cadet branch of the Fergussons of Craigdarroch, near Moniaive, was recorded in 1498–99. They remained there for over three centuries.[40]
>
> The handsome old tower stands on the right (west) bank of the Nith, which is supposed to have at one time surrounded it. The tower is of small dimensions, about 23 feet by 20.[41]

It is still occupied, having been incorporated with a large modern house. An account in the Society's *Transactions* states that Robert Burns lived in the tower in 1788 while the house at Ellisland was being erected.[42]

---

[39] *Nouveaux Riches to Nouveaux Pauvres* by Ian Macalpine-Leny (Petworth: Haggerston Press) 2012.

[40] *The Border Towers of Scotland* by Alastair M.T. Maxwell-Irving .

[41] *Nithsdale* by Peter Gray.

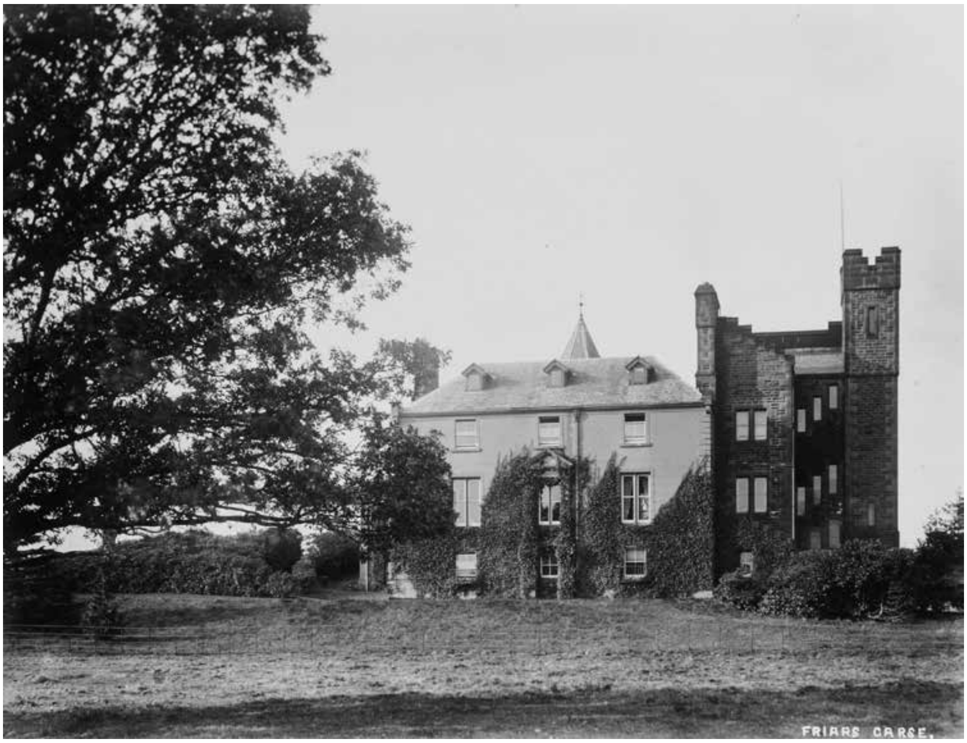

Figure 24. Friars' Carse. (Album 5, number 45)

Friars' Carse

> … originally dependent on the Abbey at Melrose … The house is finely situated on a rocky promontory at the bend of the river … The Riddels of Glenriddel (sic) followed Maxwells as owners.[43]

It was there that a famous drinking competition took place in 1789, the last time the competition was held. The winner, the final person fit to blow a whistle,[44] was Fergusson of Craigdarroch, kinsmen of whom still retain the whistle. Robert Burns composed a famous poem about the event. Ellisland and the Robert Burns Centre in Dumfries both hold manuscript versions.

---

[42] Field Meeting. 'Holywood Abbey (Excavations), Cowhill Tower, Isle Tower, Blackwood House, Dalswinton House and Quarrelwood', *TDGNHAS*, ser.3, vol.9 (1921–22) p.211. The Society's website, `www.dgnhas.org.uk`, has all the *Transactions* online except for those of the most recent five years.

[43] *Nithsdale* by Peter Gray.

[44] The whistle came over with the entourage of Anne of Denmark, wife of James VI (1566–1625) of Scotland.

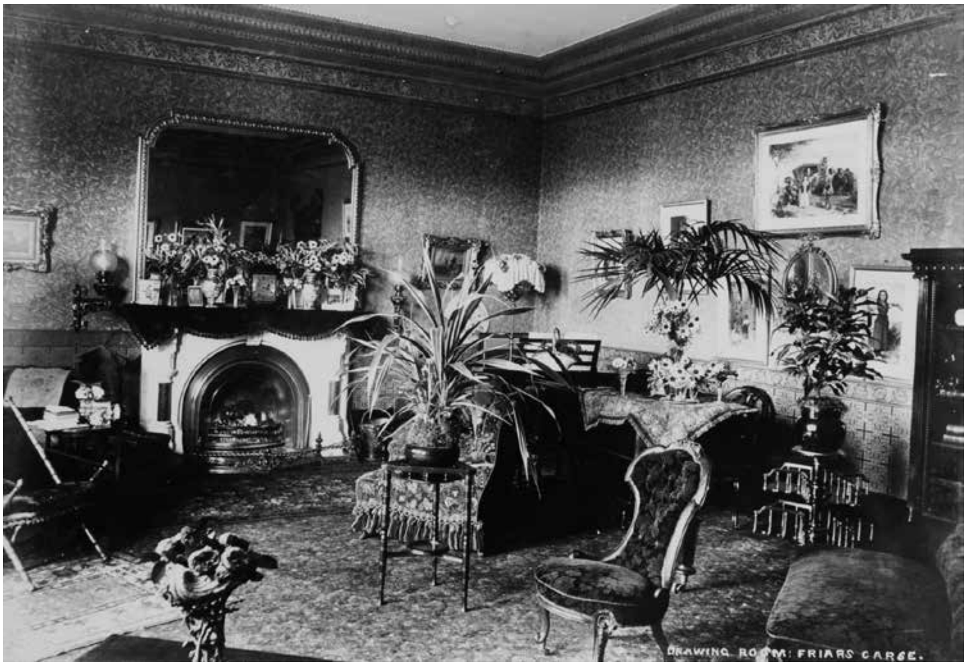

Figure 25. Friars' Carse. Drawing Room. (Album 5, number 49)

Dr James Crichton purchased the property in 1809 on returning from India and brought his bride, Elizabeth Grierson, there in 1810. They were co-founders of Crichton Royal Institution. After 13 years of marriage he died in 1823; she died in 1862.[45]

Friars' Carse is now a hotel.

Ellisland

Ellisland, on the western side of the Nith, was the farm chosen by Robert Burns when he became a tenant of Patrick Miller of Dalswinton in preference to two other farms on the eastern side, said to be Foregirth and The Forrest.

> The fine situation [of Ellisland] captivated the poet … calling from the factor the observation that he made a poet's choice, not a farmer's choice … The rent was an easy one, and the landlord agreed to expend £300 to build a new farmhouse and offices, and enclose the fields … [Burns] entered into occupation at Ellisland in the spring of 1790.[46]
>
> On his first entry, in accordance with an old ceremony on such occasions, he and his wife were preceded by the servant girl carrying before them the family

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[45] *The Chronicle of Crichton Royal*, 1833–1936 by Dr C.C. Easterbrook (Dumfries: Courier Press) 1940.

[46] *Nithsdale* by Peter Gray.

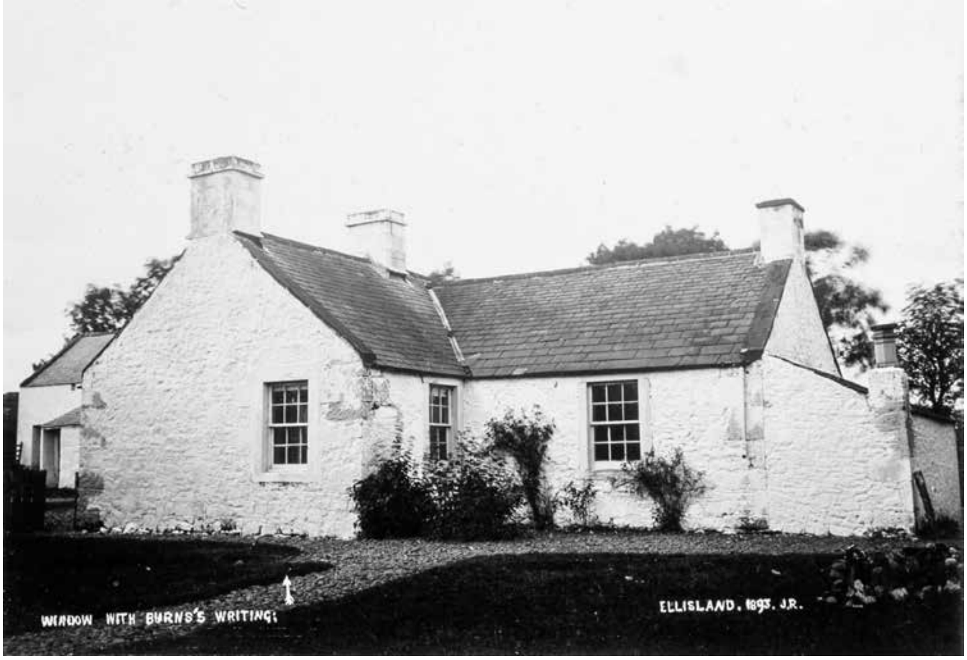

Figure 26. Ellisland 1893. John Rutherford's caption on the photograph itself identifies a window with Robert Burns' writing on it. (Album 1, number 34)

> bible, on which was placed a basin of salt. … While living there the poet acted as librarian of the lending library he set up. A local tailor asked for the largest book in the collection. Probably suppressing a smile, Burns duly complied. It was a Hebrew concordance.[47]

Resident at Ellisland until 1791, Burns formed a close friendship with the Riddells of Friars' Carse and the locality stimulated the composition of many fine works, most notably *Tam o' Shanter*, written as he strolled the banks of the river.

Amisfield Tower

Amisfield Tower, located in the parish of Tinwald, and dating back to David I (who ruled between 1124–1153), was for centuries the home of the Charteris family who were of Norman descent. The name was originally 'Carnoto'.[48]

> The tower is the only remaining part of Amisfield Castle. As it stands it is considered to be one of the finest examples of the smaller baronial fortresses in Scotland. … Its plan is a parallelogram, 31feet 6 inches by 29 feet. The ground

---

[47] *Nithsdale* by Peter Gray.

[48] Proceedings. 'A Thousand Years of the Charteris Family' [a talk by John Charteris of Cullivait, Kirkmahoe, Dumfries] *TDGNHAS*, vol.86 (2012) p.224.

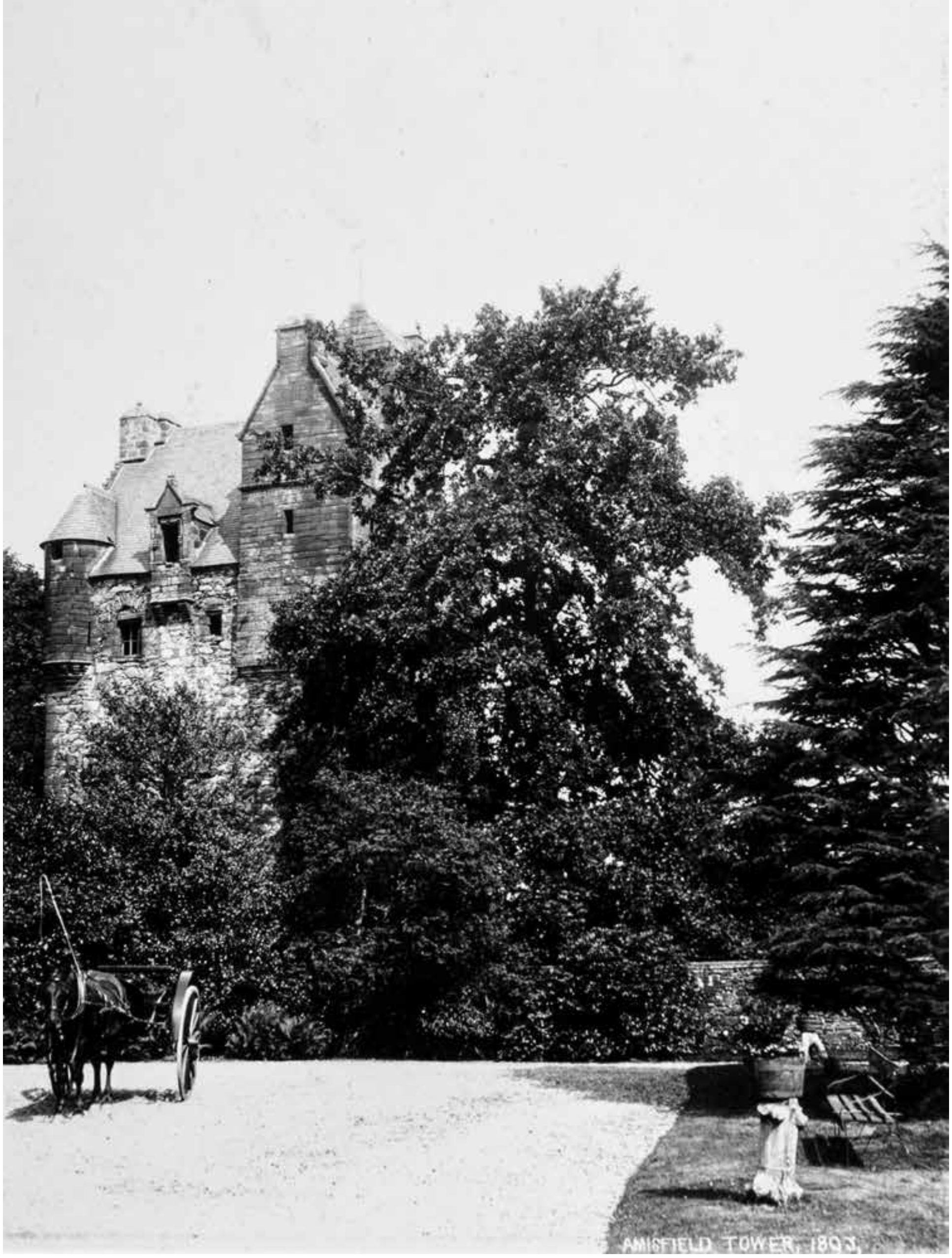
AMISFIELD TOWER, 1893.

Figure 27. Amisfield Tower 1893. (Album 1, number 39)

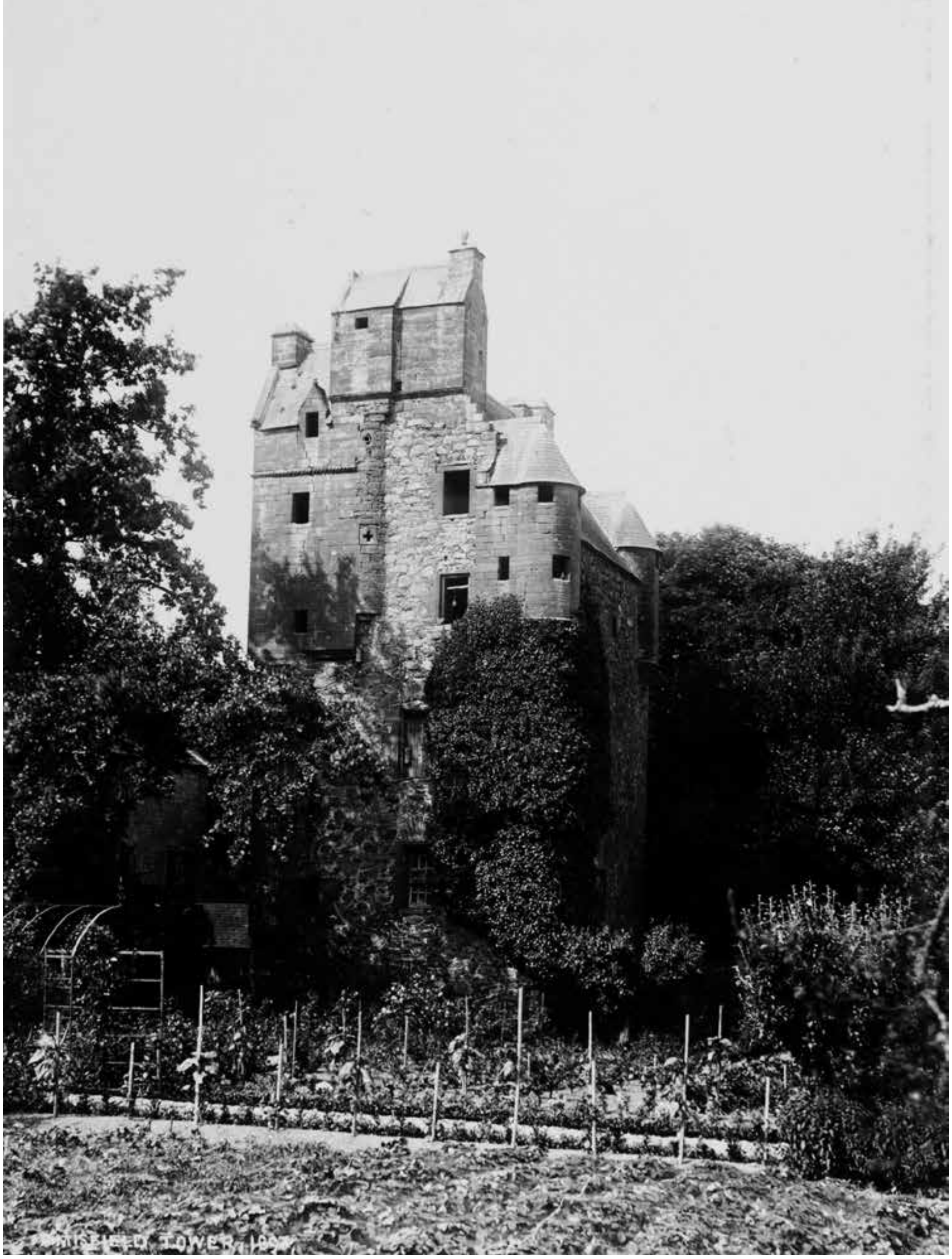
AMISFIELD TOWER, 1893

Figure 28. Amisfield Tower 1893. (Album 1, number 40)

> floor contains a single vaulted apartment, 21 feet by 15, probably used as a kitchen and servants' hall; the second floor was the upper hall or living room; and the third floor the principal bedroom. Above these are the attics.[49]

There is an oft-quoted story (of dubious authenticity) about Sir John Charteris:

> In 1538, while James IV was at Stirling, preparing to start on an expedition … an ancient widow who lived [by] the water of Annan came to him complaining that in a recent incursion into Annandale the English reivers had carried off her only son and two cows … ; that she had made complaint to Sir John Charteris, warden of the western marches; that he had not only refused her succour, but treated her with the greatest rudeness and contempt.
>
> … Arriving in Nithsdale James remembered the complaint, and taking only a few of his attendants with him, proceeded to Amisfield Castle. Sir John, on being told that there was a caller at the gate, replied that he had gone to dinner.[50] On receiving a second message Sir John was enraged. Whereupon the king sent the porter in a third time to tell him that the Gudeman of Ballengeich[51] waited in vain at the gate. Sir John, greatly fearful, proceeded instantly to the king who ordered him to repay the widow her loss tenfold, adding that if her son were not ransomed within ten days he [Sir John] should be hanged; and, as a further token of his displeasure, the king billeted upon him a host of knights and barons.[52]

In 1837 an extension to a design by Dumfries architect, Walter Newall, was added to the nearby mansion house.[53] The property was bought by the Johnstone family in the early 1930s who put the house and the tower into good order.[54]

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[49] *Nithsdale* by Peter Gray.

[50] The refusal to admit unexpected visitors at mealtimes perhaps earned for Scots a reputation for parsimony!

[51] The name used by James IV as he travelled round the country incognito.

[52] *Nithsdale* by Peter Gray.

[53] *Border Towers of Scotland* by Alastair M.T. Maxwell-Irving.

[54] Leaflet given to visiting groups.

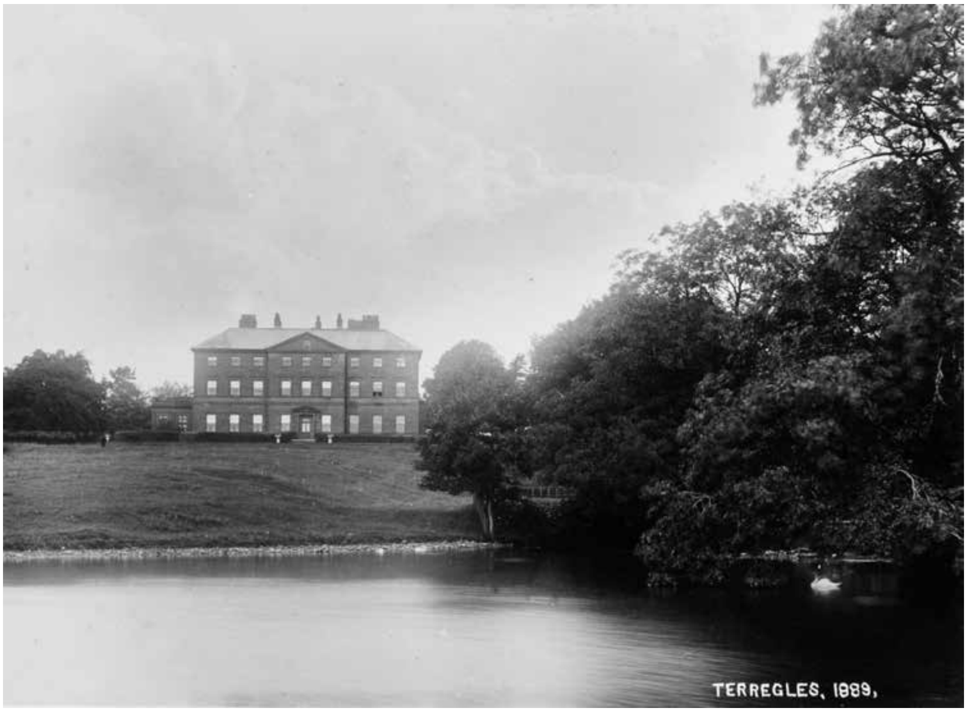

Figure 29. Terregles House 1889. (Album 2, number 43)

Terregles

> Terregles Castle and lands … adjoin those of Troqueer, which had been part of the vast domain of Uchtred, son of Fergus, Lord of Galloway. Terregles House was the ancestral home of the Maxwells, who were a powerful force in Nithsdale. It was only 2 miles from Dumfries. Its shape reflected many periods when extensions and adjustments took place. Its principal feature seems to have been a massive tower on the north-east angle, which bore the name of Moscrope's tower[55] and which probably dated from the sixteenth century.
>
> The old Terregles House was demolished to make way for the new mansion of 1789. Memorabilia, associated with Mary, Queen of Scots, were among the prized possessions – a missal and a portrait.[56] Also the bed in which she slept on a visit to this Roman Catholic family in 1563 or when she, it is claimed, sought shelter after the Battle of Langside before embarking from Dundrennan on her fateful departure from her native Scotland.[57]

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[55] There is a drawing of Moscrope's Tower as part of Terregles Castle in *Border Towers of Scotland* by Alastair M.T. Maxwell-Irving on page 243.

[56] Post-demolition of the last mansion on the site in 1964, these items were taken to Traquair in the Borders.

[57] *Nithsdale* by Peter Gray.

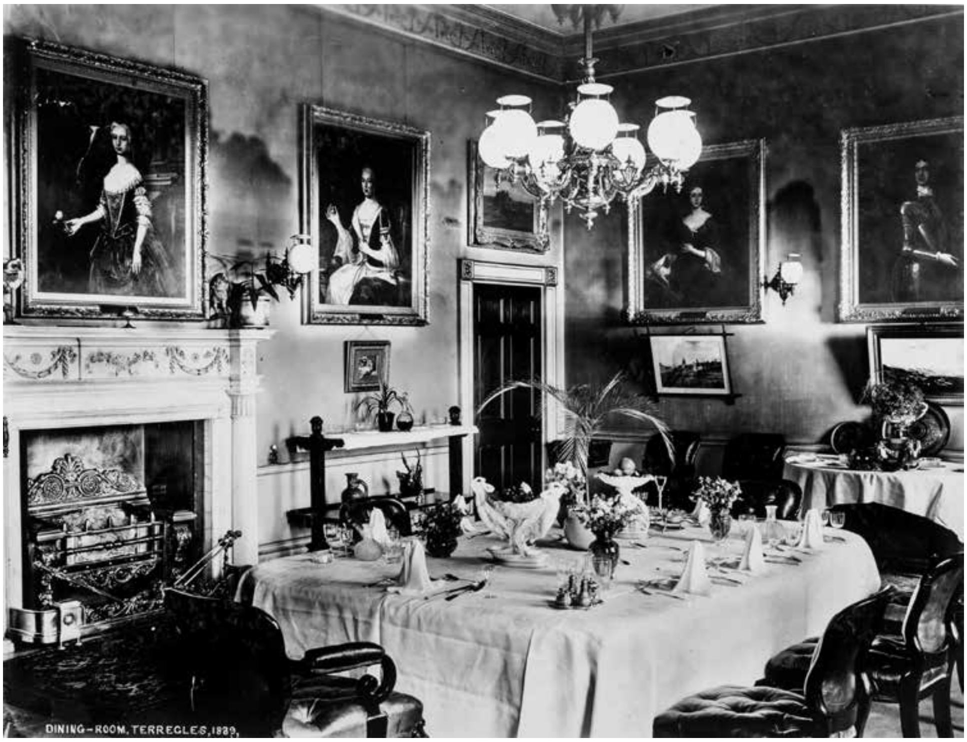

Figure 30. Interior Rooms 1889. Most of the photographs in the collection are external shots of properties. These scenes at Terregles House, in contrast, provide an insight into the furnishings and style of grand Victorian mansions. The Dining Room. (Album 2, number 45)

In 1620, Robert, Lord Maxwell, was created Earl of Nithsdale. After the collapse of the 1715 Jacobite Rebellion, the fifth Earl was imprisoned in the Tower of London. His escape, dressed as a woman, was engineered by his enterprising Countess and is told in the biography of Lady Winifred Herbert.[58]

The lavishly-appointed gardens of the mansion were attractively landscaped and enhanced by statuary representing the four seasons.[59]

> Attached to the parish church is the choir of Terregles built about the end of the sixteenth century by John, Lord Maxwell, as a mortuary chapel … [it] contains a figure of the Angel of the Resurrection awaiting the divine command to summon the dead, by the late Burnie Philip.[60]

---

[58] *Lady Nithsdale and the Jacobites* by Flora Maxwell Stuart (Traquair: Traquair House) 1995.

[59] Members of the Society visited these gardens on 7 June 1890. A talk on Terregles Gardens was given on members' night by Eileen Toolis on 1 March 2013. Proceedings. *TDGNHAS*, vol.87 (2013), p.214.

[60] *Nithsdale* by Peter Gray. It is a unique arrangement for a Church of Scotland to have a Roman Catholic extension. The late Mary Parker, well-versed in the history of Terregles Parish, stated that originally there was no wall between the church and the choir.

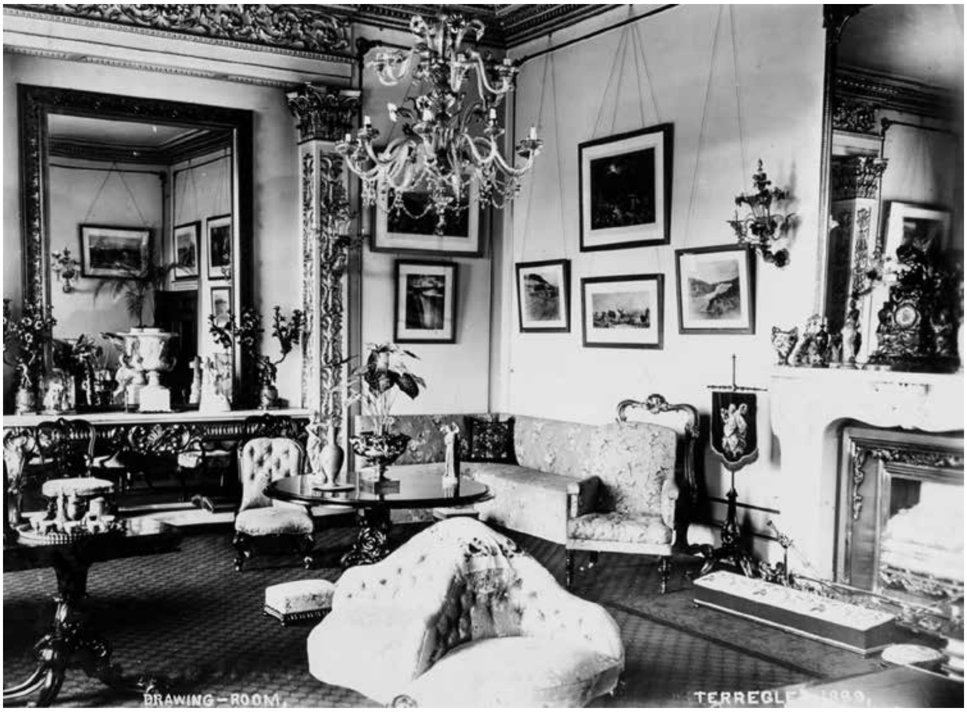
DRAWING—ROOM,
TERREGLES 1889,

Figure 31. The Drawing Room. (Album 2, number 48)

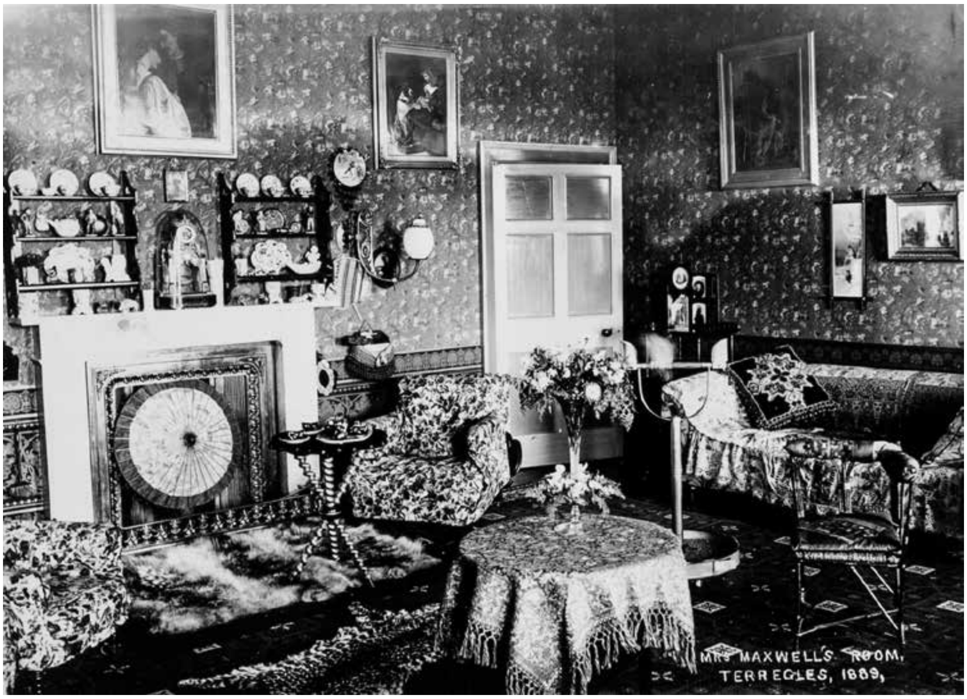
MRS MAXWELL'S ROOM,
TERREGLES, 1889,

Figure 32. Mrs Maxwell's Room. (Album 2, number 49)

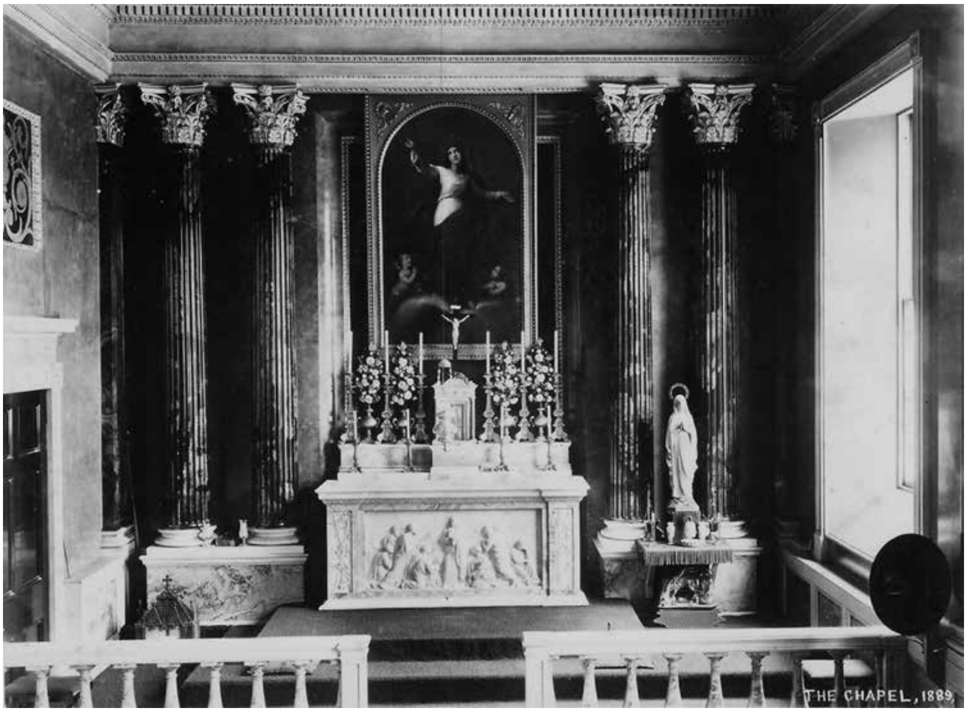
THE CHAPEL, 1889.

Figure 33. The Chapel. (Donated by the late Ian Kerr, Westlin, Newbridge, whose mother was in domestic service to Mr and Mrs Rutherford at Jardington.)

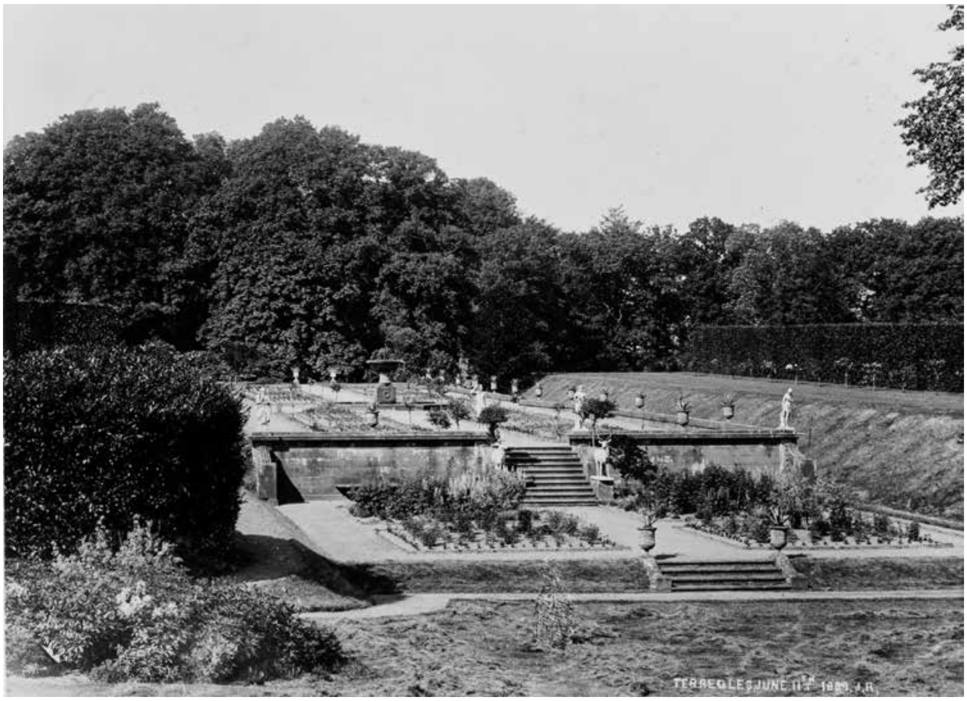
TERREGLES JUNE 11TH 1889, J.R.

Figure 34. Terregles House Gardens 1889. (Album 2, number 46)

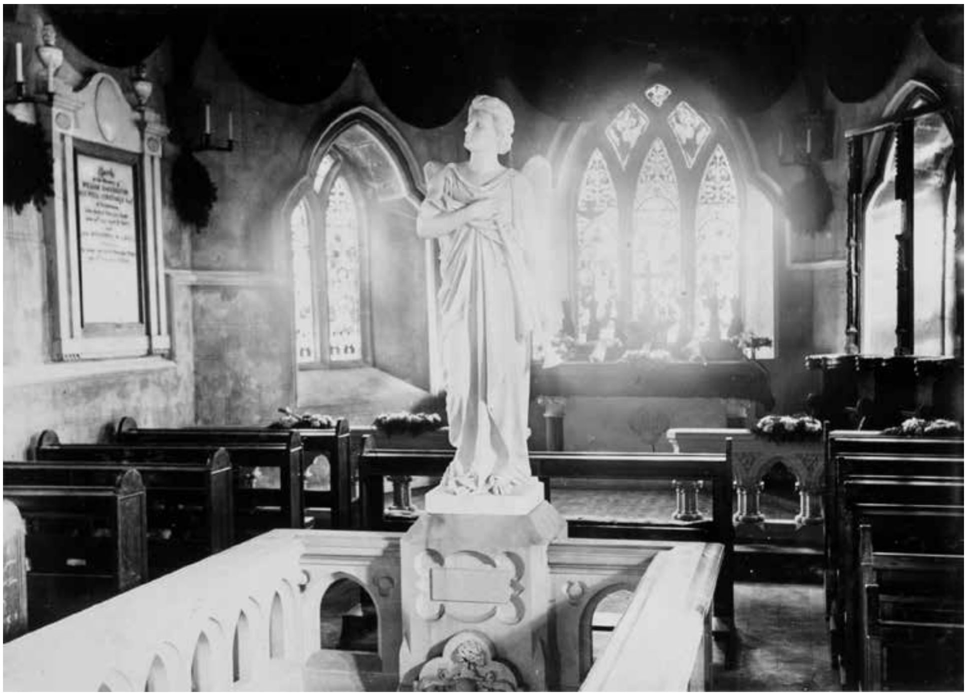

Figure 35. The interior of the Choir, Terregles Church. (Album 2, number 50)

Lincluden Abbey or College

> … stands on a sequestered peninsula, where the still waters of the Cluden meet and mingle with the more rapid stream of Nith.[61]

It was a favoured haunt of Robert Burns who proclaimed:

> Ye holy walls that, still sublime,
> Resist the crumbling touch of time.

Alas, untrue!

> Lincluden was originally a convent of Benedictine nuns, one of the three houses in Scotland belonging to the sisterhood of that order. It was founded in 1165 by Uchtred … During the troubled reign of Robert III (1390–1406), Archibald the Grim, Earl of Douglas, expelled the sisterhood and converted the Abbey into a College.[62]

James Barbour, architect, described the scene appreciatively in 1883:

> The ruin, in outline and colour, forms in composition with the landscape a pleasing and beautiful picture; and on close examination it exhibits architectural details

---

[61] *Nithsdale* by Peter Gray.

[62] *Nithsdale* by Peter Gray.

> rich, elegant, and of a boldness unusual, arranged and combined with harmony and taste, and admirably executed.[63]

A newspaper report described Rutherford's home industry producing photographs of local scenes:

> Mr Rutherford is well known to be quite a mechanical genius; and that he possesses a fine sense of art is proved by the products of his camera now before us. Living in the neighbourhood of Lincluden Abbey and College, he takes great interest in the ruined fabric, and has made it the theme of many artistic studies.[64]

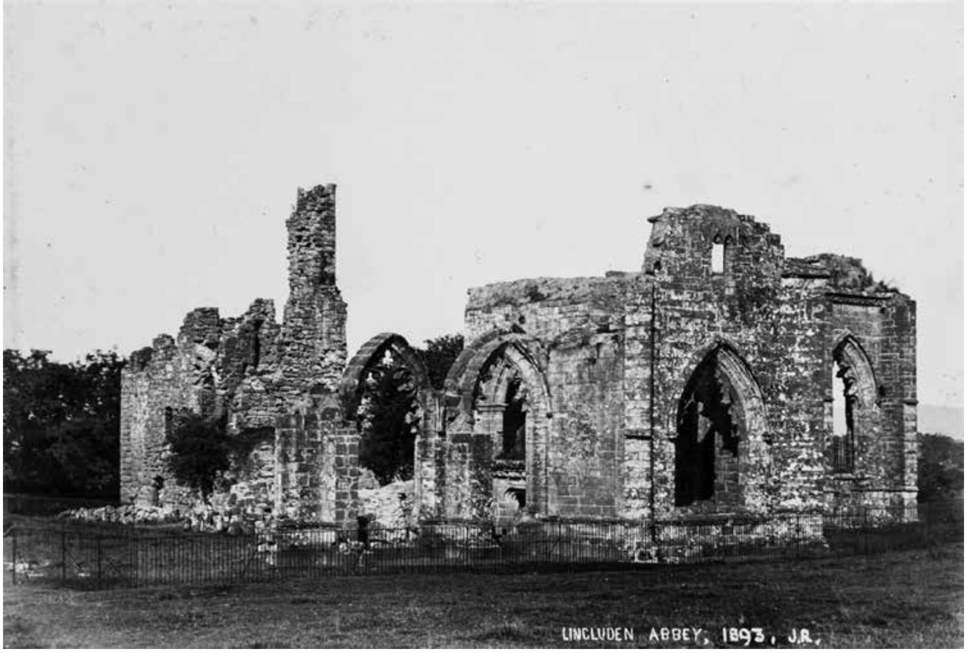

Figure 36. Lincluden Abbey 1893. (Album 2, number 54)

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[63] James Barbour, 'Notes on Lincluden Abbey', *TDGNHAS*, ser.2, vol.4 (1883–86) pp.18–34. The Society's website, `www.dgnhas.org.uk`, has all the *Transactions* online except for those of the most recent five years.

[64] *Standard*, 23 June 1886.

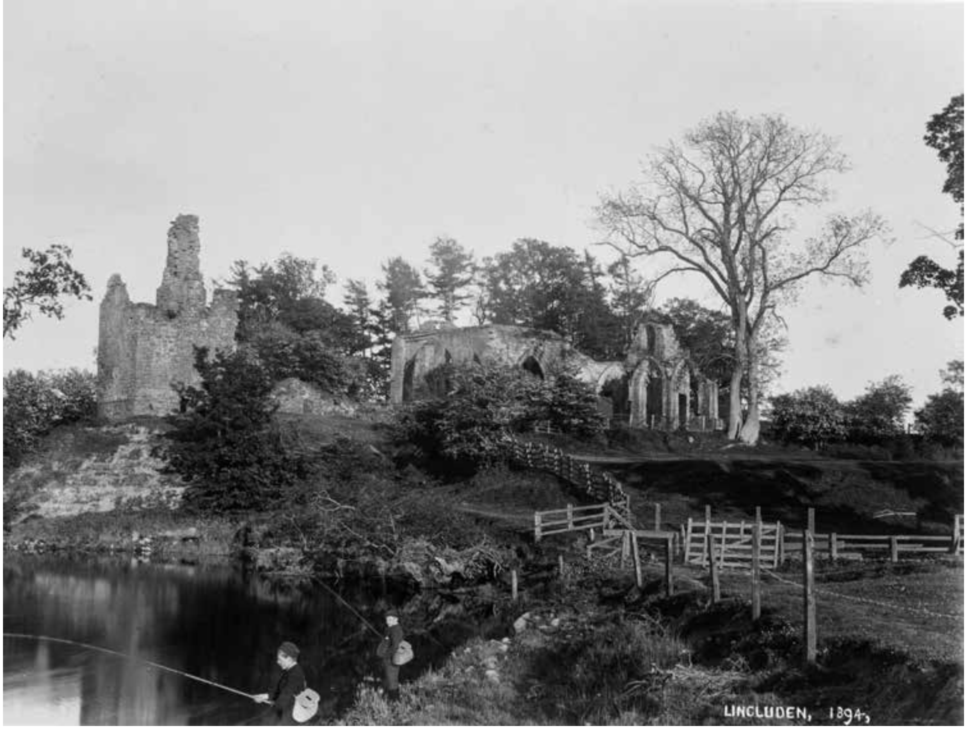

Figure 37. Lincluden Abbey 1893. (Album 2, number 55)

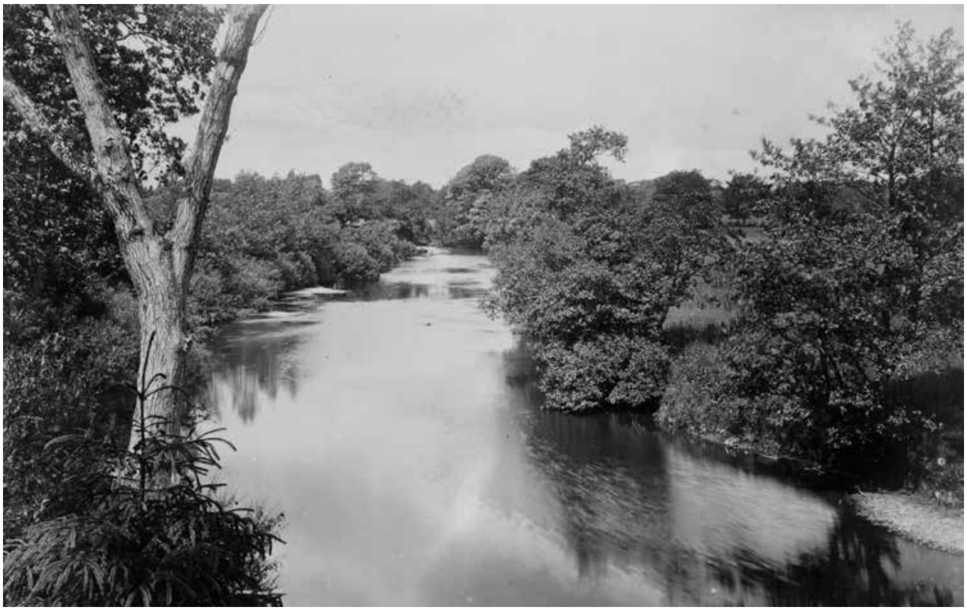

Figure 38. The Cluden at Jardington, home of John Rutherford.
His descendants tended to name their homes, from Moffat to Zimbabwe, ‘Cluden Bank’.
(Album 1, number 36)

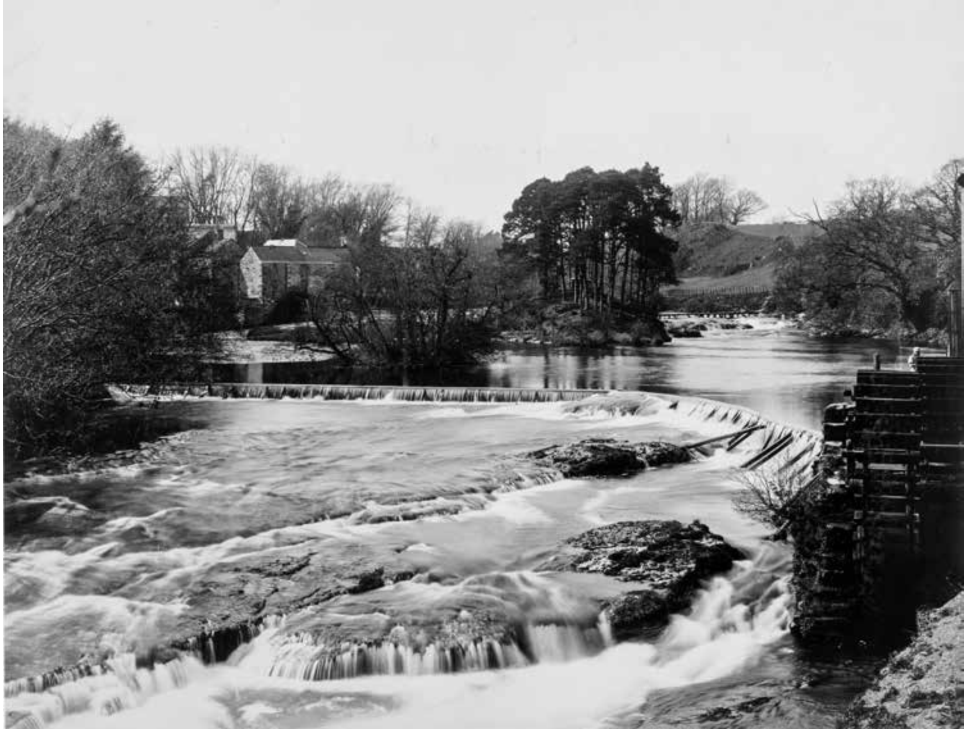

Figure 39. Cluden Mill, a superb setting, is little changed since the end of the nineteenth century. The mill has been in running order again since 2002. (Album 1, number 38)

Torthorwald Castle, Mouswald Church and Ruthwell Church

The stone structure of Torthorwald Castle dates from the early years of the fourteenth century when it was in the hands of Kirkpatricks. Thereafter it passed to Carlyles and then Douglases. Towards the end of the seventeenth century it was uninhabited and gradually became ruinous. Its appearance has changed little in 200 years and more.

> It stands on the ridge which bounds Nithsdale on the eastward, about four miles south-east from the town of Dumfries, overlooking Lochar Moss and defending the approach to the dale in that direction from England. … The keep was divided into two compartments in the height with stone vaults. The lower vault was semicircular, about 15 feet high and contained two floors. The upper was pointed. The keep was oblong, 56 feet 6 inches by 39 feet 2 inches over the walls, and about 45 feet from the ground to the apex of the upper pointed vault.[65]

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[65] *Nithsdale* by Peter Gray.

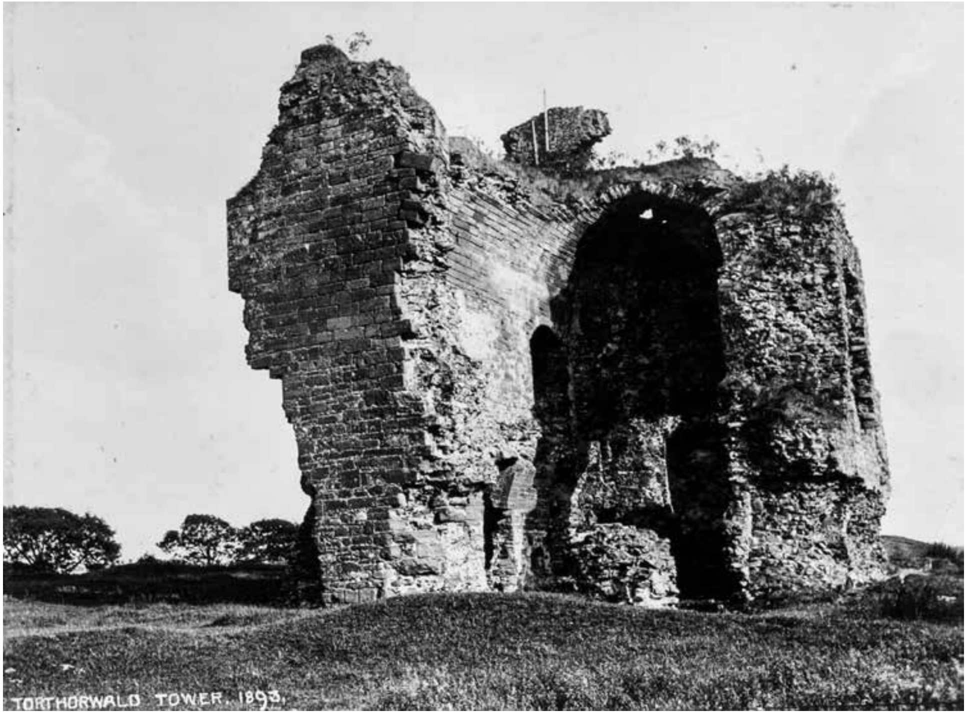

Figure 40. Torthorwald Castle. (Album 1, number 42)

> Torthorwald Castle’s site was owned in the mid-thirteenth century by the ‘de Torthorwald family’. Mouswald parish seems to have once formed part of the Barony of Torthorwald, the Baron of which, Sir David de Torthorwald built and endowed our first church — in all probability of wood … Sir David de Torthorwald presented it with a stone [baptismal] font on which his coat of arms was cut.[66]

After Mouswald Church closed the font was transferred in 2013 to Ruthwell Church.[67]

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[66] *Mouswald Church*, a booklet by R.C. Reid published in 1929.

[67] *Annandale Observer*, 25 October 2013.

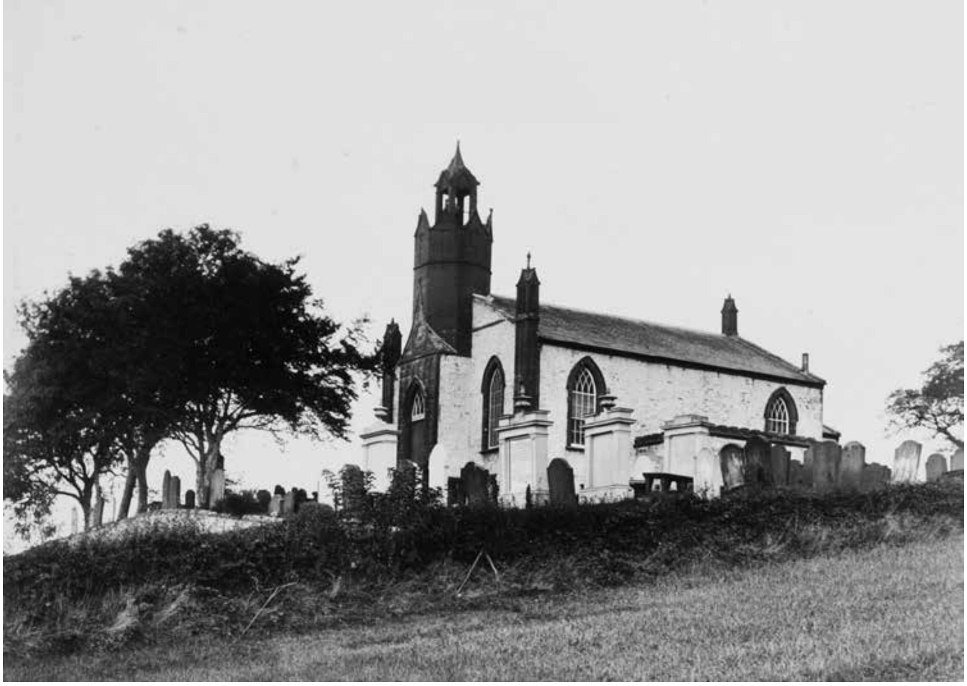

Figure 41. Mouswald Church. (Album 2, number 60)

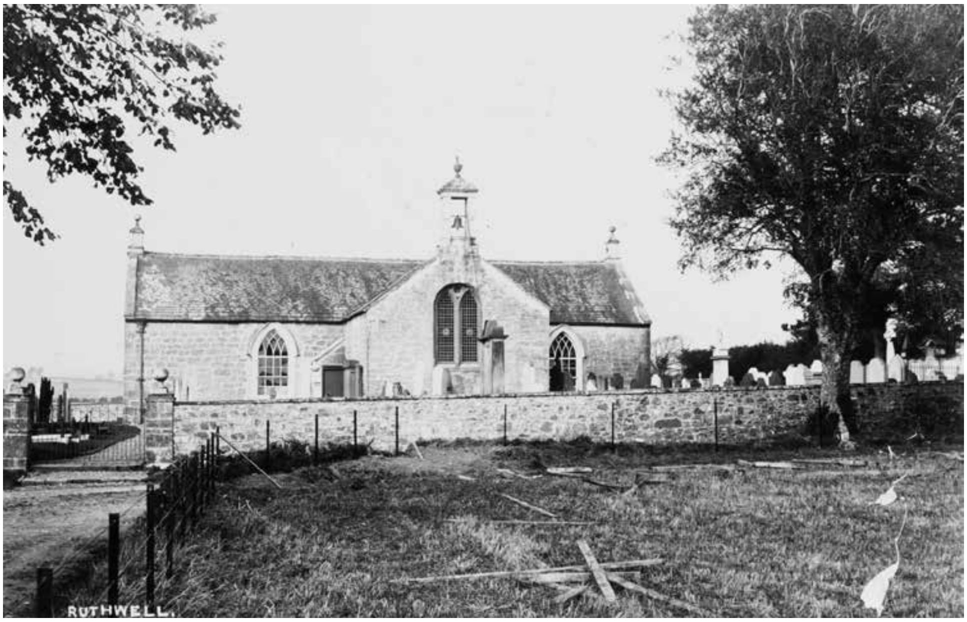

Figure 42. Ruthwell Church. (Album 2, number 58)

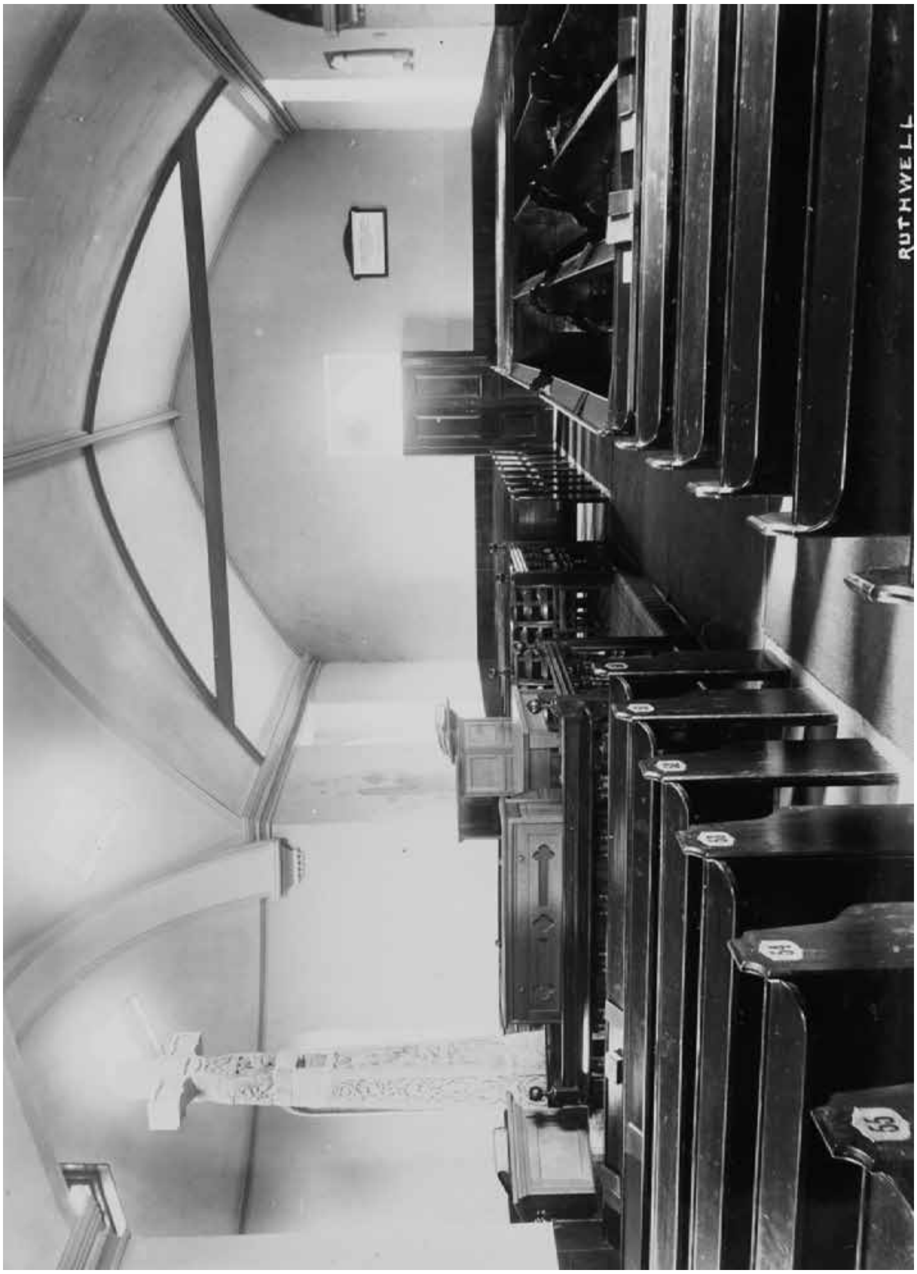
RUTHWELL
54
55

Figure 43. Interior of Ruthwell Church. (Album 2, number 59)

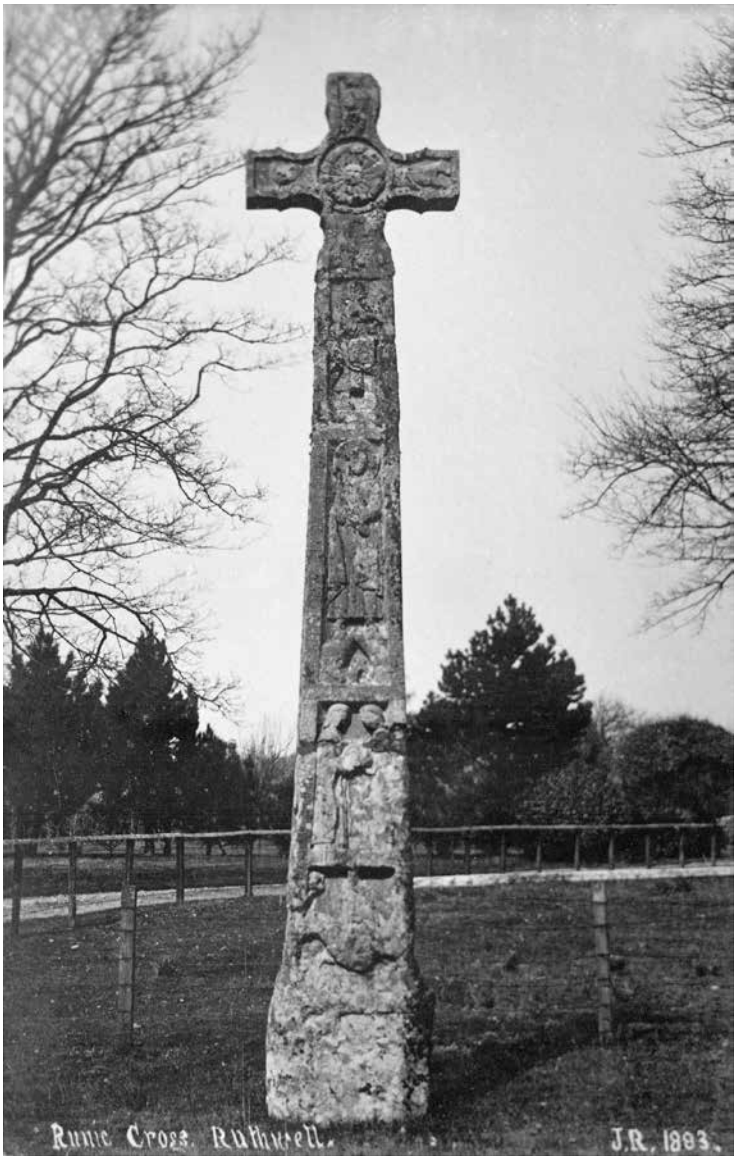

Figure 44. Ruthwell Cross.[68] (© Courtesy of RCAHMS (Photographer: J.E.D. Murray). Licensor `www.rcahms.gov.uk`)

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[68] Diana Murray, chief executive of the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS) gave a talk to the Society in 2008. She showed a photograph of the Ruthwell Cross, which bore all the hallmarks of having been taken by Rutherford. She did not know who 'J.R.' was. On being informed, she asked if his work had been published. This series of papers rectifies that omission.

Caerlaverock Castle

Caerlaverock Castle has been the seat of the powerful Maxwell family from the beginning of the thirteenth century and the surrounding territory is still strongly associated with their descendants, although the castle is now in the hands of Historic Scotland.

> In ancient times, when Lochar Moss was an impassable morass … Nithsdale could only be approached by the ridge dividing it from Annandale on the east, or along the shores of the Solway. The former route was defended by the castles of Torthorwald and Amisfield, the other by the stronger fortress of Carlaverock, [sic] standing on a peninsula between the rivers Lochar and Nith. … It was besieged by Edward I [who ruled 1272–1307] with a huge army in 1300. … A list of the assembled chivalry is given in the Book of Carlaverock, [sic] from a contemporary poem by Walter of Exeter, an eye-witness of the siege. … The castle was gallantly defended for two days by only 60 men, who eventually surrendered through exhaustion.

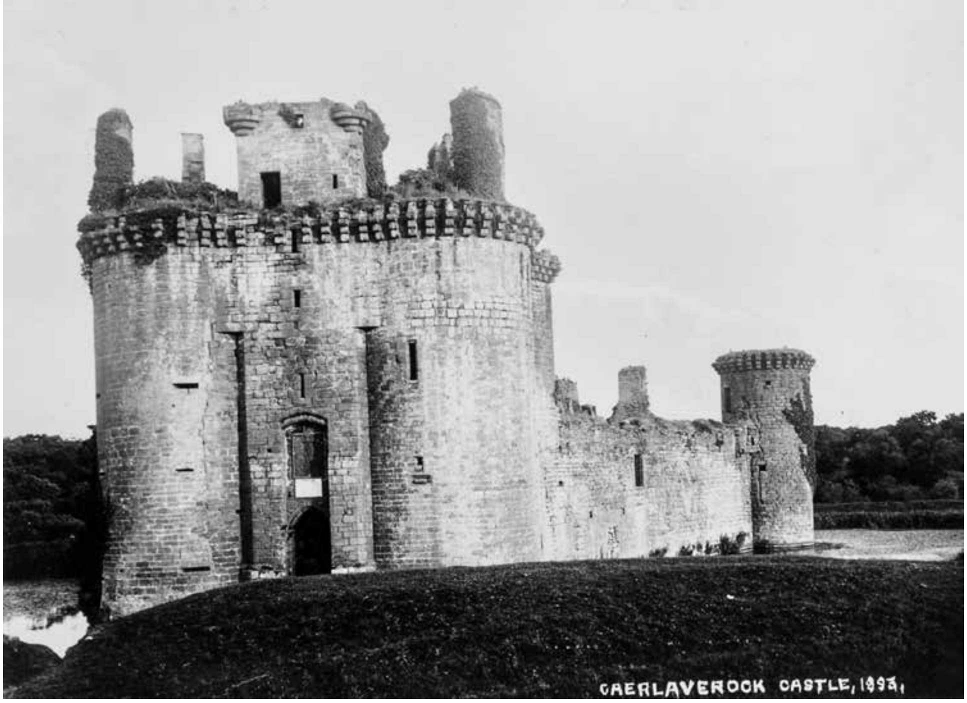

Figure 45. Caerlaverock Castle. (Album 2, number 75)

> Having changed hands several times between English and Scots, it returned to Maxwell ownership in the reign of David II [who ruled 1329–1371].
>
> The plan of the castle is, as Walter described it, triangular. It is about 171 by 152 feet in extent, surrounded by a moat about 70 feet wide and is the work of six

> distinct periods – the outer walls not later than the 13th century. At first consisting only of high walls enclosing a courtyard, with only temporary or slight buildings inside, Lord Nithsdale, when he re-edified it in 1638 erected the noble range of buildings forming the east and south-east sides of the courtyard.[69]

Kirkconnell Tower

Kirkconnell Tower, dating from about the sixteenth century and built on an L-plan, is:

> … situated near the southern boundary of the parish of Troqueer, and nearly opposite the village of Glencaple. … A later mansion house incorporated the tower. … It was built by James Maxwell in 1750 … Dr William Maxwell, the friend and physician of Burns, was the son of this James Maxwell.[70]
>
> When the male line died out, it came through a daughter into the possession of the Maxwell-Withams. Having been linked to the same family for 900 years and being the oldest continuously-occupied tower house in Scotland, it was sold in the year 2000.[71]

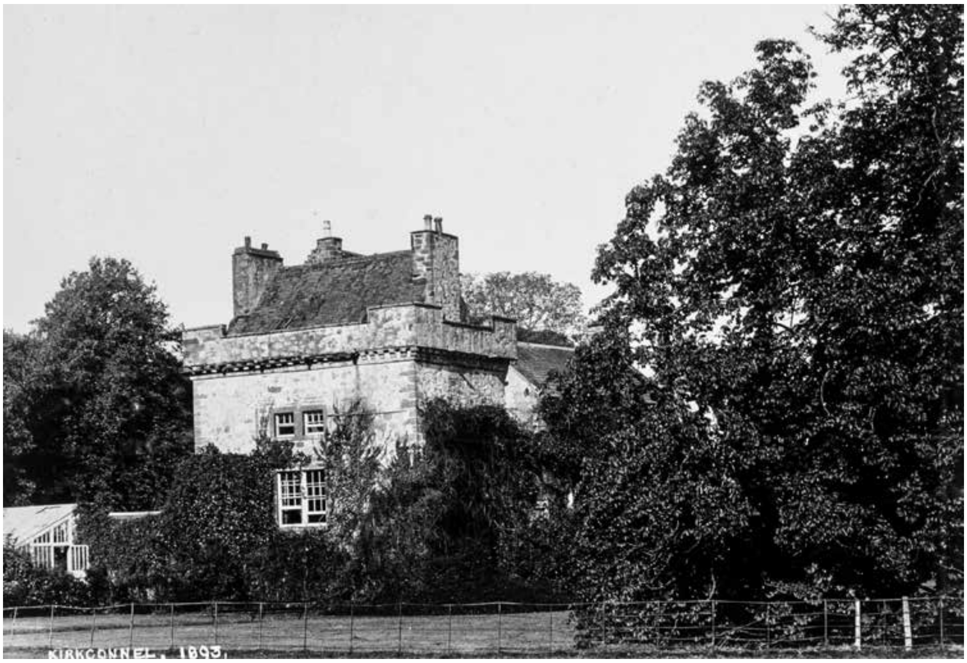

Figure 46. Kirkconnell 1893. (Album 2, number 69)

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[69] *Nithsdale* by Peter Gray.

[70] *Nithsdale* by Peter Gray.

[71] (The late) Frank Ryan, *Dumfries Courier*, 8 December 2000.

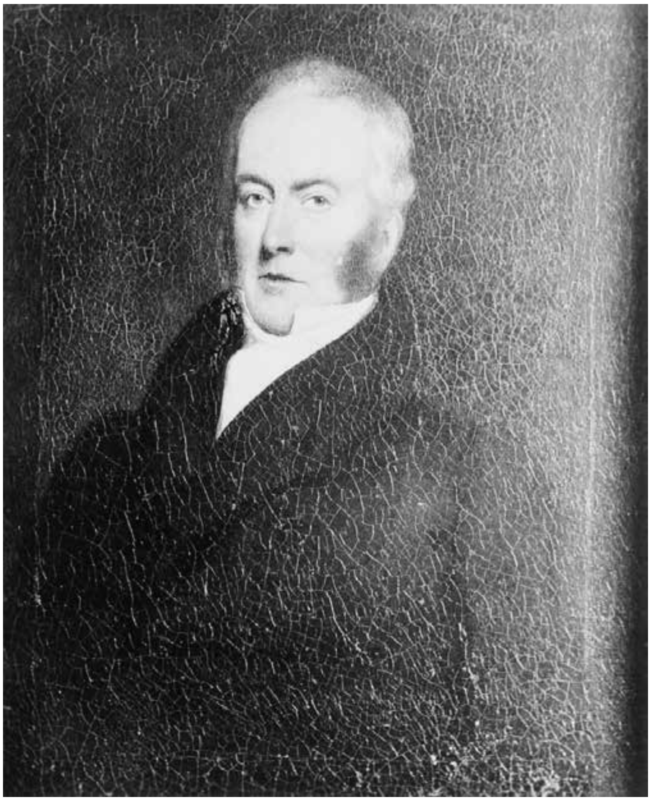

Figure 47. Portrait of Dr William Maxwell.
(Album 2, number 68)

Sweetheart Abbey

Sweetheart Abbey or the Abbey of Dulce Cor, founded by Lady Devorgilla, occupies a most attractive site. John Balliol, her husband, died in 1268. His embalmed heart was originally built into the church wall of the Abbey. On her death in 1290 she was buried in the church with his heart placed on her breast.[72]

> Nestled at the base of lofty Criffel, in a rich alluvial valley, watered by a pure mountain stream, the prospect from its tower embraced not only a good part of the fertile valley of Dumfries, with the expanding estuary of the Nith and the picturesque battlements of the Castle of Carlaverock [sic] on the opposite bank, but also the broader Solway, and a considerable portion of the English coast … Loch Kindar, in the immediate neighbourhood, is famous for the flavour and size of its indigenous trout. … [All that] remains of this extensive foundation consist of the Abbey Church and a small part of the chapter house … No trace, or scarcely

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[72] *The Lordship of Galloway* by Richard Oram (Edinburgh: John Donald) 2000.

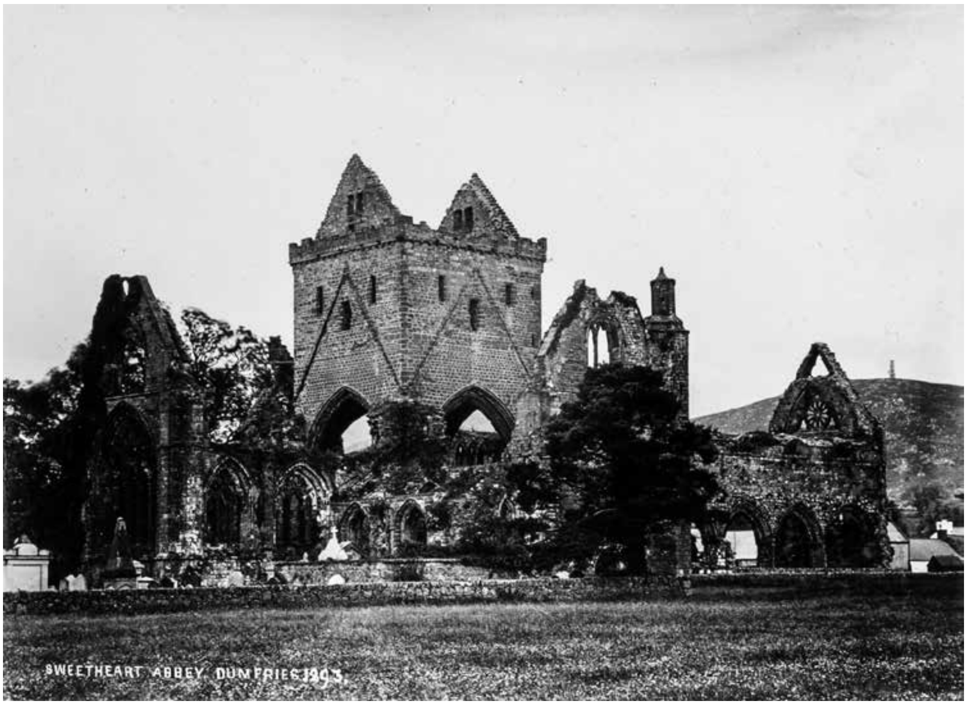

Figure 48. Sweetheart Abbey. (Album 2, number 71)

> any, remains of the cloisters, which are said to have given harbourage to 500 monks.[73]

Nearby is the Abbot's Tower, which was restored in the late twentieth century:

> Contrary to what its name implies, the tower was never the home of an abbot … Indeed, the name 'Abbot's Tower' does not seem to have appeared until late in the 18th century.[74]

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[73] *Nithsdale* by Peter Gray.

[74] *The Border Towers of Scotland.* by Alastair M.T. Maxwell-Irving.

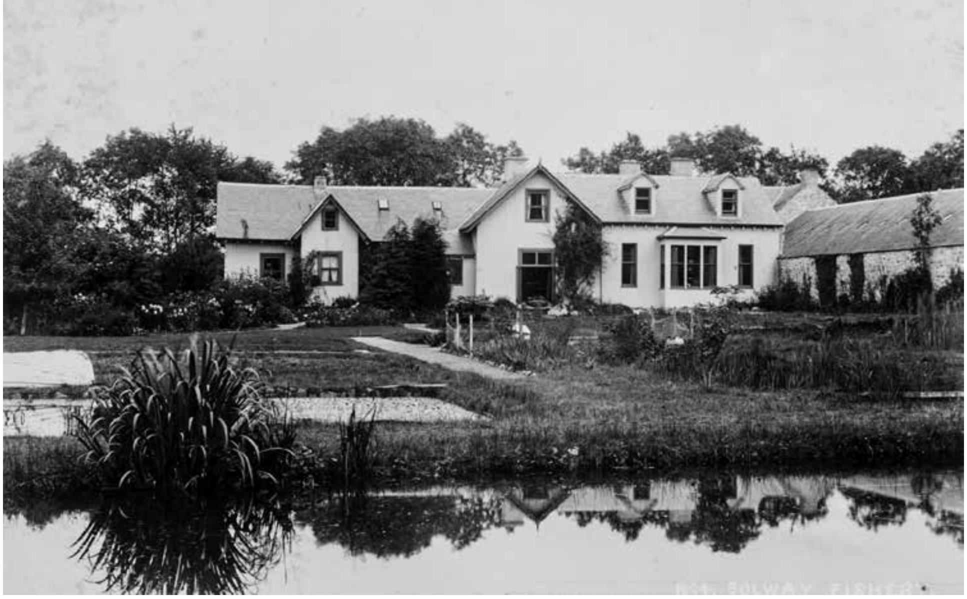

Figure 49. The Solway Fisheries 1894. According to Peter Gray's text, 'About sixty tanks of the fish-hatchery at Kinharvie, in the parish of New Abbey, accommodated, when fully stocked, some two million fish.' (Album 2, number 77)

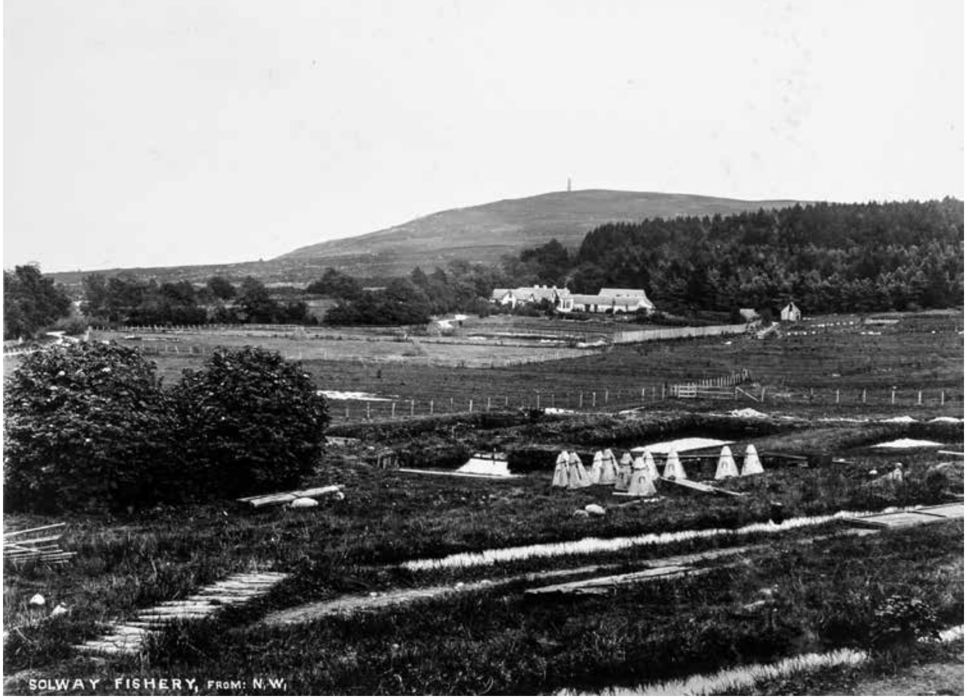

Figure 50. The Solway Fisheries from the north west. (Album 2, number 78)

Glencaple

Glencaple was the location where John Rutherford took the last in this series of photographs of the River Nith as it flows to the sea, a momentous journey, conducted in stages about 120 years ago, through Nithsdale from Sanquhar to the Solway.

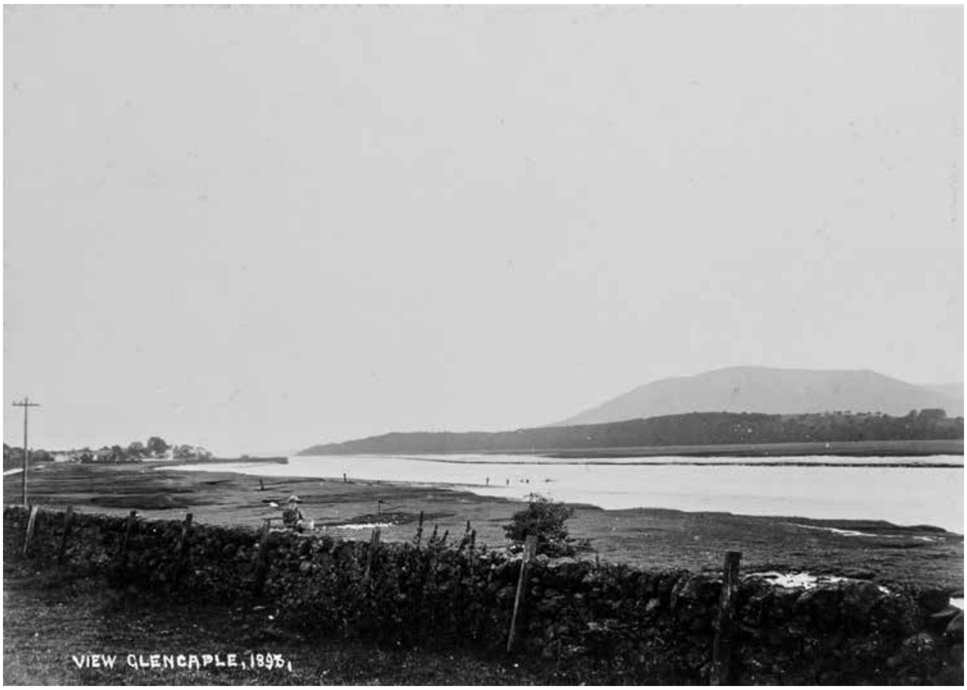

Figure 51. The estuary of the Nith and Criffel at Glencaple. (Album 2, number 73)

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THE FOURTH ESTATE IN DUMFRIES AND THE COMING OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR

David Dutton[1]

Probably no short period in modern history has been as intensively studied as the month of July 1914 — or more precisely, the five weeks between the assassination of the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, the Archduke Franz-Ferdinand, in the Bosnian town of Sarajevo on 28 June and the British declaration of war on Germany on 4 August. Within the vast corpus of resulting literature[2] *the reporting of the so-called war crisis in the British press remains, nonetheless, a relatively neglected aspect.*[3] *Coverage of events in the provincial press has been even less well examined.*[4] *At one level this is not surprising. The focus of analysis has inevitably been an attempt to understand precisely what was going on within the corridors of power — what were the motives behind key developments such as the Austrian ultimatum, the German 'blank cheque' and the Russian mobilization; which countries were prepared or even keen to accept the transition from diplomacy to war and on what scale; and which countries were genuinely striving for a peaceful resolution. If contemporary political and military leaders, and their governments and cabinets, with all the resources of diplomatic representation and clandestine intelligence operations at their disposal, could not settle these questions with any certainty or accuracy, then it would be unrealistic to turn to the press, and particularly provincial newspapers, for answers. Only painstaking research on the secret diplomatic and political files of the various powers has enabled historians to base their conclusions on hard evidence. Many crucial documents remained concealed from such scrutiny for several decades after the end of the Great War. Even after a hundred years, with little more governmental documentation likely to come to light, historians still find it difficult to reach a consensus on the basis of the vast quantity of archival material now available to them.*[5] *Explaining what actually happened is, then, unlikely to be the main historical value of the contemporary provincial press. But in their record and interpretation of the events of that fateful summer a century ago, and of*

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[2] Luigi Albertini's seminal study, *The Origins of the War of 1914* (3 vols, Oxford, 1952–7), first published in Italian in the early 1940s, devoted around 1,400 pages to the period between 28 June and 12 August. For more manageable surveys, see I. Geiss, *July 1914* (London, 1972) and K. Wilson (ed.), *Decisions for War 1914* (London, 1995); and, from the spate of recent literature marking the centenary of the war's outbreak, C. Clark, *The Sleepwalkers: How Europe Went to War in 1914* (London, 2012) and M. MacMillan, *The War that Ended Peace: How Europe Abandoned Peace for the First World War* (London, 2013).

[3] For a useful recent exception see A.J. Bones, 'British National Dailies and the Outbreak of War in 1914', *International History Review* 35, 5 (2013).

[4] There is a small amount of material in A. Gregory, 'A Clash of Cultures: The British Press and the Opening of the Great War' in T. Paddock (ed.), *A Call to Arms: Propaganda, Public Opinion and Newspapers in the Great War* (Westport, Connecticut, 2004).

[5] Compare, for example, the differing interpretations of Christopher Clark and Margaret MacMillan in the works cited above.

reactions to the fast changing picture as it emerged, newspapers are themselves part of the wider history of the time and worthy of note. What follows is an analysis of the coverage of the 1914 crisis by two local newspapers with sharply differing political stances, the Dumfries and Galloway Standard and Advertiser *and the* Dumfries and Galloway Courier and Herald.[6]

Founded in 1843, the *Dumfries Standard* had a long and unmistakable association with the cause of Liberalism, and in particular its radical wing. This meant that it was not always at one with the party's parliamentary leadership. As the newspaper itself put it, 'while it has always stood for Liberalism it has, in the exercise of an independent judgment, been not infrequently the candid friend of a Liberal government'.[7] The Boer War, at the end of the nineteenth century, had found the *Standard* deeply sceptical about the conduct of British diplomacy before the outbreak of conflict and critical of much of the Unionist government's behavior during the war itself. But the paper had also distanced itself from those so-called Liberal Imperialists who gave broad support to the government's war policy. Thomas Watson, the *Standard*'s editor for a quarter of a century, had died in April 1914. His Liberal pedigree matched that of his newspaper. A vigorous advocate of the Reform Bill of 1867, Watson had served as secretary of the Burgh Liberal Association and as editor of the *Abstainers' Journal*, campaigning for the traditional radical goal of temperance. He was succeeded by the *Standard*'s sub-editor, William Dickie, who, having joined the newspaper on leaving school, spent his entire working life of 48 years on the *Standard*'s staff. Though less prominent in public life than his predecessor, Dickie also held office in the Burgh and County Liberal Associations over many years.

By contrast, the *Courier and Herald* was a staunch supporter of the Unionist cause. It had been formed in 1884 following the amalgamation of two existing titles, the *Dumfries and Galloway Courier* (established 1809) and the *Dumfries and Galloway Herald* (established 1835).[8] Whereas the *Courier* had begun life without a stated political leaning, before adopting a Whig orientation under its second editor, John McDiarmid, the *Herald* had from the outset backed the Conservative cause. The fact that the *Courier* was bought out by the owners of the *Herald* five years before the two papers merged determined the political sympathies of the new title. Even so, the *Courier and Herald,* like the *Standard,* prided itself on its independent stance. 'The *Courier and Herald*', the newspaper proclaimed in 1909, 'while steadfastly Conservative and uncompromising in the support of the Unionist cause, is in the happy position today of being uncontrolled by any party organisation or subject to any political influences.'[9]

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[6] The fact that the two papers were only published twice a week is something of a disadvantage in the context of a rapidly evolving diplomatic situation. As the crisis mounted, however, both began to publish additional issues, becoming in the process virtual 'dailies'.

[7] *Dumfries and Galloway Standard and Advertiser* [hereafter *Standard*], 11 April 1914. Extracts from the *Standard* appear by kind permission of the Deputy Editor.

[8] Little has been written on the history of the *Dumfries and Galloway Courier and Herald* [hereafter *Courier*], but see the pamphlet *Concerning the Dumfries and Galloway Courier and Herald* (Dumfries, no date, possibly 1902). The newspaper closed in November 1939 because of the wartime paper shortage. It eventually re-emerged as a free newspaper. Extracts from the *Courier* appear by kind permission of the Editor.

Whatever their political leanings, there can be no doubt about the important position occupied at the time by the two newspapers in the public life of the Dumfries area. This, after all, was the first era of universal literacy in Britain and the press had no media rival when it came to disseminating the news of the day. Yet readership figures are notoriously difficult to establish. This was a time when 'newspapers and periodicals guarded their circulation figures like state secrets'.[10] It has, however, been suggested that, in Britain as a whole, 'the aggregate total readership of the local press probably matched the national newspapers'.[11] And, as was the case in most towns and cities of any size, the people of Dumfries could choose between a Liberal and a Conservative newspaper.[12]

* * *

Though history has subsequently drawn a direct line between what happened in Sarajevo and the outbreak of European war, neither newspaper attached particular significance to the assassination of the Austrian archduke, reported by both in their issues of 1 July. The *Standard* gave a factual account of what had happened and noted the understandable reaction in the Balkans:

> In Sarajevo the belief is common that a widespread Servian plot was made against the Archduke's life. This has led to serious disorder, in the course of which Servians have been attacked and their shops and houses stoned and sometimes looted. Martial law has been proclaimed in the town and district, and a number of arrests have been made.[13]

The *Courier* focused on the personal tragedy inflicted on the aging Austrian Emperor, Franz Joseph:

> Since the guillotine left the daughter of Louis XVI a lonely orphan in the Temple, reft of father, mother and aunt by the executioner's axe, and of her brother by the brutalities and the neglect of her gaolers, we can recall no history so tragic and so pathetic as has been this.[14]

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[9] *Courier,* 4 December 1909 (centenary edition).

[10] J. McEwen, 'The National Press during the First World War: Ownership and Circulation', *Journal of Contemporary History* xvii, 3 (1982), p.465.

[11] Gregory, 'Clash of Cultures', p.18.

[12] Though the terms 'Conservative' and 'Unionist' are often used interchangeably at this time, the Unionist alliance was in fact a coalition of two parties — the Conservatives and the Liberal Unionists. The latter had deserted the Gladstonian Liberal party in opposition to Irish Home Rule. As the word 'Unionist' implies, defence of the Union with Ireland was the essential glue binding the two parties together. Senior figures such as Joseph Chamberlain and Lord Lansdowne retained their specifically Liberal Unionist affiliation.

[13] *Standard*, 1 July 1914.

[14] *Courier*, 1 July 1914.

Like the *Standard*, the *Courier* also noted the outbreak of anti-Serbian demonstrations in Sarajevo. Neither paper, however, commented on possible Europe-wide implications or felt that the events were sufficiently important to merit comment in their leading articles that day. The *Courier*'s focus was on 'the Lords and Ireland', while the *Standard* highlighted the problems of Lord Hythe's estate in Sussex. The *Standard*'s regular 'London Letter' rejoiced in the glorious summer weather, but bemoaned the imminent end of the 'Season'. 'There are signs that we are approaching the end of the Season. The Goodwood race meeting is talked about and we have seen the last of the Coaching Club meets.'[15]

The prominence of Ireland in the pages of all British newspapers at this time is entirely understandable. When Lord Lansdowne, the Unionist leader in the House of Lords, confessed shortly before Christmas 1913 that he had no idea what the New Year would bring, it was the situation on the other side of the Irish Sea rather than across the Channel that was fuelling his anxiety.[16] The re-emergence of Ireland as a central issue in British public life was almost entirely a function of electoral politics. The two General Elections of 1910 had left the Liberal government, in office since December 1905, dependent on the support of Irish Nationalist MPs for its continuing parliamentary majority. That support was only forthcoming once the government committed itself to the introduction of a third Irish Home Rule Bill. But the situation after 1910 was markedly different from those in which the bill's two unsuccessful predecessors had been conceived. With the passing of the Parliament Act in 1911, limiting the power of the House of Lords essentially to one of delay, it became clear that this third bill would not, indeed could not, meet its demise at the hands of a Unionist-dominated upper chamber, as had Gladstone's second bill in 1893. Indeed, it was possible to predict with an eerie precision the timetable of the bill's passage on to the statute book. The law of the land now dictated that a bill would become an act, despite being rejected by the Lords, providing it was passed in the Commons in three successive sessions and that not less than two years elapsed between the bill's second reading in the first session and its third reading in the third session. The Lords would be able to resist the measure in 1912 and 1913 but, no matter what action they subsequently took, it seemed that no constitutional device could prevent Ireland becoming self-governing in the summer of 1914. As a result, Irish politics had come to dominate the British political agenda from 1912 onwards.

But, notwithstanding the exhaustion of constitutional means, it was still not clear that the Protestants of Ulster would meekly accept the imposition by the Westminster parliament of rule from Catholic Dublin. Private armies were emerging, threatening to block an unwanted legislative enactment. Many believed that Ireland was on the brink of civil conflict. Thus, when as late as 27 July, *The Times* proclaimed that the country was 'now confronted with one of the great crises in the history of the British race', it was not referring to the developing situation in the Balkans but to that much closer to home.[17] Anxious to avert the ultimate catastrophe of civil war, moderates on both sides of the British political divide were desperately seeking a compromise – and one that would satisfy extremist opinion in each camp. Gradually, options had been narrowed down to the idea of excluding parts of

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[15] *Standard*, 1 July 1914.

[16] Parliamentary Archives, Bonar Law MSS 31/1/51, Lansdowne to Bonar Law 23 December 1913.

[17] *The Times*, 27 July 1914.

Ireland from the bill's provisions. But the questions remained: which parts and for how long? It would have been difficult to persuade most contemporaries that these issues were less important than the crisis that had begun in faraway Sarajevo.

Indeed, once the initial horror over the Archduke's assassination had subsided, both the *Standard* and the *Courier* tended to let the matter drop. This was not surprising. For one thing, there was no empirical reason to expect that the assassination would lead to armed conflict, still less to world war. As James Joll has written, 'the murder of prominent people – kings, presidents, leading politicians – had been for some three decades a familiar technique used by groups and individuals anxious to draw attention to what they believed to be national or social injustices'. However, 'no previous assassination within living memory had provoked a major international crisis'.[18] The reasonable expectation was that the forces of diplomacy would again prevail. If they did not, recent history was again reassuring. The second decade of the twentieth century had already witnessed two Balkan wars. If the events in Sarajevo proved to be the prelude to a third, there was every chance that this, like its predecessors, could be contained in the local area.

Both newspapers showed as much if not more interest in another death reported soon after Franz-Ferdinand's — that of the veteran statesman, Joseph Chamberlain, on 2 July. Chamberlain had been an influential, if divisive, figure in British politics over several decades, a man who, as Churchill later suggested, made the political weather.[19] Arguably, by his line first on Home Rule and then on tariff reform, he had inflicted huge damage on both the leading political parties. But he had been out of front-line politics for almost eight years following a severe stroke in the summer of 1906. Over that period, passions had cooled and his death was the occasion for generally sympathetic notices in the press across the political spectrum. The *Standard*'s 'London Letter' sought to link his passing with the archduke's assassination. 'The dominating note of the past week was one of sadness because of the heavy hand of death. Our minds had hardly got free from the shock caused by the appalling tragedy in Sarajevo than the announcement of Mr Joseph Chamberlain's death came with startling suddenness.'[20] But the same writer saw an even more significant link with the contemporary Irish preoccupation — and a hope that his death might even help to steer the country out of the impasse in which it found itself. 'The excitement aroused in London was truly remarkable. His long illness drew to him the sympathy of all parties; and I am not surprised at seeing the [Irish] Nationalists the most fervent in his praise. It is one of the most gratifying features of our public life that a suffering man, no longer able to take his part in the battle, secures the commiseration of his most deadly opponents. I believe that Mr Chamberlain's death will assist in assuaging what Tennyson called jealous hatreds.'[21] The *Courier*, by contrast, which gave extensive coverage to Chamberlain's funeral, preferred to remember a committed upholder of the Union with Ireland: 'his removal from an active part in the conflict has enabled men to judge his career, undisturbed by the animosities of the moment, and to realise, as posterity will, its greatness, alike in actual constructive work and by the infusion of a new and lasting spirit into Imperial politics.'[22]

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[18] J. Joll, *The Origins of the First World War* (London, 1984), p.9.

[19] W. Churchill, *Great Contemporaries* (paperback edn, London, 1959), p.63.

[20] *Standard*, 8 July 1914.

[21] Ibid.

But both Chamberlain's death after years of ill-health and the Archduke's violent demise at the hands of a dedicated assassin were for the *Standard* and the *Courier* no more than passing interruptions in the ongoing narrative of Ireland. Their coverage on 4 July reflected the opposing political stances of the two newspapers. For the *Courier* the danger of civil war was very real and the Liberal government's responsibility for it beyond question. It had been a 'heavy week' noted its parliamentary sketch writer. 'The Government working hard behind the scenes to find some sort of way of evading their responsibility for the threatened bloodbath by the two hostile armies that their Home Rule policy has brought into being.'[23] For the *Standard*, by contrast, there was an element of play-acting in the Unionists' apparently implacable opposition to the government's legislation:

> The spectre of 'civil war' broods over all the speeches of the Opposition; but the impression is rapidly growing that it is only a spectre after all. The Earl of Mayo, an Irish Peer of the uncompromising 'Die-Hard' type, bluntly voiced this feeling in the House, when he told their lordships that there was a sort of panic in London, but there was none in Ireland.[24]

The leading articles in the two newspapers continued to reveal how far apart the two sides were in the quest for agreement over Ireland. Drawing attention to the fact that the government was now introducing an Amending Bill before the Home Rule Bill itself reached the statute book — 'surely an unprecedented procedure even for our unprecedented Government' — the *Courier* held the government to be totally responsible for the present state of affairs. 'If they insist on retaining the time limit [whereby Ulster would be excluded but only for a period of six years, after which it would automatically be included in a self-governing Ireland], Ministers will be risking the peace of the realm rather than make a concession which even their own supporters see to be right.'[25] The government, the *Courier* concluded, had got 'tired'. But so too 'has the country — dog-tired of the crassest and most incompetent administration of muddlers and bunglers that the country was ever afflicted with'.[26] Politicians could talk and negotiate as much as they liked, 'but unless they reach a solution acceptable to Unionist sentiments in the North, their work will be in vain'.[27]

Meanwhile, the *Standard* continued to pour scorn both on the behaviour of the Unionists in parliament and also on their apparent threat of force outside it. The party leaders knew full well that their counter-proposals to the government's legislation put forward in the House of Lords would be 'swept away by the next flow of the parliamentary tide'. At the same time their theatrical display in Belfast, where Edward Carson, Walter Long and Lord Londonderry had appeared at a parade of armed rebel volunteers to consider the possibility of setting up a rebel government in the event that Home Rule was enacted, only showed that the government should stand firm:

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[22] *Courier*, 8 July 1914.
[23] *Courier*, 4 July 1914.
[24] *Standard*, 4 July 1914.
[25] *Courier*, 8 July 1914.
[26] *Courier*, 11 July 1914.
[27] *Courier*, 15 July 1914.

> The fact that such a childish course is attempted furnishes an additional reason why Ministers should oppose an uncompromising negative to any proposal which would imperil the efficiency of the system of Irish self-government which they are setting up. The limits of concession have been reached: they are certainly not to be widened by threats of physical force.[28]

Of course, however overbearing the Irish crisis, it was not the only issue to fill the columns of the contemporary press. This was a time when serious local titles such as the *Standard* and the *Courier* gave extensive coverage to local, national and, where appropriate, international news. And there was no shortage of big stories at this time. The ongoing campaign for female suffrage attracted particular attention. This was an issue that cut across party lines, though supporters of votes for women were more numerous in Liberal rather than Unionist ranks. As the *Courier* noted, Thomas McKinnon Wood, Secretary for Scotland, was attacked by a woman with a dog whip outside his home in Portland Place, London on 15 July. Closer to home, suffragettes made an attempt to blow up Burns's cottage outside Ayr and the *Courier* also reported that a flannelette-covered hammer had been discovered at the Kelvingrove Museum, Glasgow, apparently dropped by an intruder 'harbouring some iconoclastic design'.[29] Sir John Millais's portrait of Carlyle, born as the local readership would have been aware in Ecclefechan, was seriously damaged in the National Portrait Gallery in London by a woman with a butcher's cleaver as 'a protest against the arrest of Mrs Pankhurst'.[30]

Much attention also attached to the passage through parliament of the government's Finance Bill. Lloyd George's budget of 1914 was the most significant and controversial since the famous People's Budget of 1909 and seems in retrospect to mark a possible renewal of radical zeal on the government's part after the interlude during which its attention had been almost totally absorbed by Irish affairs. In particular, there was evidence that the Chancellor intended to take up the vexed issue of the land and the *Standard*'s leader on 15 July was on the subject of Scottish Land Reform. But the budget had attracted significant opposition from within the parliamentary Liberal party, not least from Percy Molteno, Liberal MP for Dumfriesshire.[31] Many of these critics argued that the government was becoming too interventionist and was abandoning the traditional Liberal commitment to a free-market economy. On 18 July the *Standard* carried a letter from Molteno, which argued that he had been misrepresented in the press and that he would explain his actions over the budget to his constituents once the House of Commons rose for the summer recess.[32]

Side by side with these stories of national importance, both papers continued to carry full reports of local events. As far as a substantial section of their readership was concerned, this was after all their primary *raison d'etre*. Such reports, sometimes almost embarrassing in their innocence, are now of little historical significance – except that they remind us that, for the population in general, everyday life continued as usual, oblivious of the fate that would befall most of Europe within a matter of days. Readers of the *Courier* learnt, for example, that there would be a 'Sale of Canary Islands Needlework' between 21 and 23 July at St George's Hall in Buccleuch Street.[33] The *Standard* reported that 21 July had been the hottest day of the year so far with the temperature reaching 82° F. This was evidently too much for the Midsteeple clock which 'lagged 15 minutes behind Greenwich time'.[34] The same newspaper gave extensive coverage to the 'Grand Open-Air Burns Festival' which opened at Castledykes on 25 July. Admission to the 'Pit' and 'Pit Stalls' was by the programme which cost 6d. A further 6d. secured entry to the 'Balcony'. The Guild of Players presented two tableaux based on the poet's life and work, with dance and song included. The event was a great success and the hope was expressed that the Festival would become an annual event.[35]

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[28] *Standard*, 11 July 1914.

[29] *Courier*, 18 July 1914.

[30] *Courier*, 22 July 1914.

[31] B. Murray, '"Battered and Shattered": Lloyd George and the 1914 Budget Fiasco', *Albion* 23, 3 (1991); B.B. Gilbert, 'David Lloyd George: The Reform of British Land-Holding and the Budget of 1914', *Historical Journal* 21, 1 (1978); I. Packer, 'The Liberal Cave and the 1914 Budget', *English Historical Review* 442 (1996).

[32] *Standard*, 18 July 1914.

What readers would not have gleaned from their newspapers for most of July was much in the way of information and comment regarding the developing situation on the continent. A report of a speech given at Knockbrex as late as 23 July by Sir John Jardine, Liberal MP for Roxburghshire, contained no mention of the international situation. Sir John discussed the Irish situation, then reviewed the government's achievements since coming into office, before looking forward to future reforms: 'then their policy would be to move forward along the lines of progress to the further great reforms that still remain to be accomplished' (including the poor law, education and the land).[36] Tucked away in the *Courier* was a solitary report that anticipated the energy with which the future belligerent powers would attempt to pin blame on their adversaries for the descent into armed conflict:

> A pamphlet by a German officer drawing attention, in a sensational style, to the military preparations of France and Russia against Germany, has been warmly praised by the Crown Prince, who, in a telegram to the author, expresses the wish that the pamphlet will have the widest circulation among the German people.[37]

An eleventh-hour attempt to break the deadlock over Ireland came when Prime Minister Asquith announced on 20 July that the party leaders had accepted an invitation from the King to attend a conference at Buckingham Palace under the chairmanship of the Speaker of the House of Commons. This development aroused considerable anger in Unionist ranks among those who feared a sell-out. 'You can hardly conceive the anger and the excited state of our people in the Lobby immediately after the announcement that there was to be a conference', noted the rising Conservative backbencher, Leo Amery.[38] Perhaps surprisingly, the Conservative-supporting *Courier* welcomed George V's initiative:

> The situation into which Ireland had been allowed to drift had become intolerable and full of the gravest menace, and the last resort, if the outbreak of civil war was

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[33] *Courier*, 18 July 1914.

[34] *Standard*, 22 July 1914.

[35] *Standard*, 25 July 1914; A. Fairn, *Castledykes Park Dumfries* (Dumfries, 2010), p.17.

[36] *Standard*, 25 July 1914.

[37] *Courier*, 18 July 1914.

[38] Bonar Law MSS 33/1/46, Amery to Law 25 July 1914.

> to be averted, was to get the leaders of the parties together round a conference table. No one could do this but the King and that the King has done it redounds immensely to his honour as a wise and statesmanlike sovereign anxious for the peace of his realm. What the outcome of the Conference may be, no one knows, but all will hope that out of the present terrible impasse a way of peace may be found.[39]

It was the Liberal *Standard* which voiced doubts, concerned about the danger of drawing the monarch into political controversy. Yet, in 'the exceptional circumstances' of the moment, 'we join in the fervent desire that success may attend an experiment of the wisdom of which we are not wholly convinced'.[40]

In fact, the conference's failure was almost inevitable. Two fundamental questions formed its agenda — the area of Ireland that might be excluded and the time-limit for such an exclusion. Only the former was discussed. On 23 July negotiations came to an end with no agreement reached. Not surprisingly, each side blamed the other. The *Standard* criticized Unionist intransigence and argued that the government should now proceed to implement the Home Rule Bill. In the event of a violent reaction, 'the power of the law will speedily be made to prevail'.[41] The *Courier*, by contrast, argued that, in the 'presence of this dread menace of domestic violence', the only option remaining was for the government to call a General Election. 'It is strange', it suggested, 'that, in such a grave and unparalleled national situation as this, the Liberal Party which calls itself the Party of the People should, for the sake of some pedantic point of Parliamentary advantage, obstinately refuse to appeal to the judgment of the country. They prefer to incur the terrible risks of civil war.'[42] Perhaps hinting at troubles to come, the *Courier* reported sightings on the streets of Dumfries on 25 July of a 'tall, athletic-looking scissors-grinder … plying his trade, wearing the badge of an Ulster Covenanter'.[43]

On the very day of the breakdown of the Buckingham Palace Conference, however, the Austrian government presented a belated ultimatum to Serbia, the terms of which revealed the potential magnitude of the international crisis. Almost overnight, the British government's dominant agenda was transformed, and so too was that of the press. Churchill's famous words, describing the end of the cabinet's meeting on 24 July, bear repetition:

> The discussion [on Ireland] had reached its inconclusive end, and the Cabinet was about to separate, when the quiet grave tones of Sir Edward Grey's voice were heard reading a document which had just been brought to him from the Foreign Office. It was the Austrian note to Serbia … it was an ultimatum such as had never been penned in modern times. As the reading proceeded, it seemed absolutely

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[39] *Courier*, 22 July 1914.

[40] *Standard*, 22 July 1914.

[41] *Standard*, 25 July 1914.

[42] *Courier*, 25 July 1914.

[43] *Courier*, 29 July 1914. Introduced on 28 September 1912 and eventually signed by 237,000 Ulstermen, the Covenant pledged its signatories to use 'all means which may be found necessary to defeat the present conspiracy to set up a Home Rule Parliament in Ireland'. It was widely seen as a precursor to armed conflict.

> impossible that any state in the world would accept it, or that any acceptance however abject would satisfy the aggressor. The parishes of Fermanagh and Tyrone faded back into the mists and squalls of Ireland, and a strange light began immediately, but by perceptible gradations, to fall and grow upon the map of Europe.[44]

Under the headline 'War Peril' the *Standard* on 29 July gave a factual account of the sudden heightening of international tension. Categorical demands for reparation had been made in the Austrian note with only 48 hours allowed for a reply. That period had expired on the evening of 25 July. Shortly before, the Serbian Prime Minister had presented his country's answer to the Austro-Hungarian minister in Belgrade. 'As it was not the demanded full acceptance of the Austrian terms, the Minister and (half an hour later) the Legation staff left Belgrade and diplomatic relations were broken off.'[45] The *Courier*'s leading article of the same day — 'War and Rumours' — was able to add the next development in the evolving drama: 'At the moment of writing, a telegraphic message reaches this office that war has been declared by Austria-Hungary against Servia.'[46]

At this stage, however, neither paper explicitly discussed the possibility of British involvement in any military conflict on the continent. While the *Courier* wrote that standing by were 'all the Great Powers, ranged in two watchful and unusually jealous groups, in dangerous imminence of themselves being involved', it took comfort in knowing that 'we have so cool and prudent and experienced a Minister as Sir Edward Grey in charge of the Department which has that situation to confront'. This, of course, was rare praise from the *Courier* for a member of the Liberal government. Indeed, in the same editorial the newspaper once again castigated it for the crisis in Ireland: 'All the elements of strife and disturbance within our own borders are present in ugly measure, and the Government goes fatuously on the very course which has provoked and produced those conditions.'[47] The *Standard* was even clearer about the British position in relation to the escalating European crisis. There was reason to fear that Russia would feel compelled to come to Serbia's assistance; in this situation Germany and Italy might side with Austria under the provisions of the Triple Alliance; it was clear too that France was also committed by alliance to Russia; and Britain 'occupies a position of cordial friendship with these two Powers'. Nonetheless, 'we had an explicit assurance from the Ministry some time ago that neither treaty obligations nor private understandings bind us to render assistance in their quarrels, and this is one in which we should certainly not be induced to draw the sword'.[48]

But if the *Standard* was determined that Britain should remain on the sidelines, it was nonetheless clear where its own sympathies lay:

> The reply of the lesser State [Serbia] to the insolently phrased demands of its big neighbour [Austria] yielded in substance all that was asked except the superseding of its own judicial tribunals; and as it made the very fair offer to submit all

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[44] W. Churchill, *The World Crisis* (2 vol. paperback edn, 1968), vol.1, pp.113–4.

[45] *Standard*, 29 July 1914.

[46] *Courier*, 29 July 1914.

[47] Ibid.

[48] *Standard*, 29 July 1914.

> questions to international arbitration, it puts Austria distinctly in the position of aggressor when it proceeds to draw the sword without further parley.[49]

Saturday, 1 August was the first occasion that the two newspapers truly captured the enormity of the crisis now facing Europe and its implications for Britain. A slight difference of emphasis was apparent in their editorials of that day. The *Standard* reported that hopes that the war could be localised had become very slender. The probability now was of a conflagration in which all the great European powers would be involved, on the scale of the Napoleonic Wars, but rendered more terrible by the development of new 'engines of destruction'. Yet the *Standard* still nurtured the hope that Britain would be spared. It reiterated that the country had no obligation to participate as an ally of either side, but warned that 'your own house is always in danger when your neighbour's is on fire and … a hundred unexpected incidents may occur to drag us in'.[50] The *Courier* seemed more certain of both the prospect and the necessity of British participation. The country was not concerned in the Austro-Serbian quarrel, but 'the moment one or other of the great Powers is involved, the matter becomes vital to us'. Britain was 'bound by moral obligations to side with [France and Russia] lest the balance of forces on the continent be upset to her disadvantage'. The newspaper rejected the idea that Britain should wait to see how the situation developed before acting or preparing to act. It would be too late to act with any chance of success 'after France had been defeated in the north'. Britain needed to prevent a French defeat to preserve its own vital interests.[51]

At 3 p.m. on Monday, 3 August — a Bank Holiday — the Foreign Secretary, Sir Edward Grey, rose in the House of Commons to deliver the most important speech of his political career. At the end of it, the vast majority of MPs, including those who had previously been wavering on the issue, were convinced that Britain's course was now set. One of the few MPs not persuaded by the Foreign Secretary's oratory was Percy Molteno, who argued that, as no possession or vital interest of Britain had been attacked, parliament should not be asked to sanction war with all its terrible consequences. Grey had spoken of obligations of honour. But, asked Molteno, were there no commitments of honour to the people of Britain. Were they to have an opportunity of deciding this vital question or were they to be treated as 'dumb-driven cattle' without a voice in the crucial decision of war or peace? Molteno insisted that the 1839 guarantee of Belgian neutrality did not compel Britain to go to war in her defence. It was wrong to abandon the last hope of peace. The Foreign Secretary's words had given the impression that nothing would satisfy Britain except a declaration of war.[52]

Such sentiments were, however, very much in the minority. One of Grey's staunchest critics, Lord Loreburn, the former Lord Chancellor (1905–12) and, as Robert Reid, MP for Dumfries Burghs (1886–1905), later described the skill of the Foreign Secretary's exposition:

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[49] Ibid.

[50] *Standard*, 1 August 1914.

[51] *Courier*, 1 August 1914.

[52] *Standard*, 5 August 1914. The *Courier* castigated Molteno as one of a 'number of Radical Little Englanders and Little Navyites', *Courier*, 8 August 1914.

> This remarkable speech began with an elaborate effort to prove that the House of Commons was perfectly free to determine either for peace or war. It ended with a passionate declaration that the country would be disgraced if we did not declare war, and the reasoning of the speech proved that Sir Edward Grey had committed himself irretrievably. It left the House of Commons convinced that it had in honour no choice but to join France in arms.[53]

The *Standard* was able to report Grey's speech in a 'Special War Edition' on the day of its delivery. But the newspaper, perhaps influenced by Molteno's dissent, remained uncertain about British participation, not least on the issue of the violation of Belgian neutrality, upon which Grey had placed considerable importance towards the end of his speech. Like Molteno, the *Standard* insisted that the neutrality of Belgium was not 'guaranteed' by any treaty:

> Such a guarantee was contained in the treaty of 1831, which was signed at London by representatives of Britain, Austria, France, Prussia and Russia in the year after the present Kingdom of Belgium had been created …; but in the subsequent treaty of 1839, also executed at London, while the neutrality of Belgium was again affirmed, the article guaranteeing the neutrality was omitted.[54]

In the same issue, the *Standard* also published a letter signed by eleven prominent radicals from the Liberal and Labour parties, including Ramsay MacDonald, Gilbert Murray, G.M. Trevelyan and J.A. Hobson, which appeared widely in the press at this time and which angrily rejected the notions that Britain was bound by its engagements and that it was in the country's vital interests to give armed support to France and Russia should they become involved in war. 'With respect to the argument from national interest', the writers insisted, 'no fact has been disclosed which would make it otherwise than disastrous, both to the domestic and to the Imperial interests of the United Kingdom, to engage at this crisis in a great Continental war.'[55]

By the end of the following day, Britain was at war. At 2 p.m. on 4 August, Grey sent a note to the British ambassador in Berlin requesting an assurance from the German government that it would respect Belgian neutrality and asking for a reply by midnight (11 p.m. GMT). If no such assurance was received, the ambassador was 'instructed to ask for [his] passports and to say that His Majesty's Government feel bound to take all steps in their power to uphold the neutrality of Belgium and the observance of a Treaty to which Germany is as much a party as ourselves'.[56] The British approach was ignored by Germany and the time limit expired without any reply being received apart from news from Brussels that the German army had crossed the Belgian frontier. The editorials of the two newspapers on 5 August were written without total certainty over Britain's position, but in the expectation that the country would soon be, or perhaps already was, at war. As the

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[53] Lord Loreburn, *How the War Came* (New York, 1920), p.225.

[54] *Standard*, 3 August 1914. In diplomatic parlance, to 'guarantee' implies a readiness to uphold by force.

[55] Ibid.

[56] G.P. Gooch and H. Temperley (eds), *British Documents on the Origins of the War, 1898–1914*, vol. xi (London, 1926), p.314.

Standard noted, there was 'some reason to fear that our first shots may already have been fired at sea'.[57]

The rapid development of events in late July and the first days of August created problems for the many Liberal newspapers, including the *Standard*, which had hitherto ruled out British participation in a continental war.[58] Now, they needed to reassess their positions in the face of a declaration of war by Britain's Liberal government. The *Standard* handled this dilemma with judicious skill. On the one hand, 'it is our plain duty to close ranks and present a united front against those whom circumstances have made our enemies, and so to carry ourselves that the nation shall emerge triumphant'. At the same time, however, the *Standard* craved its readers' indulgence 'to say a plain word on the general question of a deficit in our constitutional machinery'. The paper complained that the British people had not been treated frankly. Despite repeated denials that Britain was in any sense bound to render assistance to France, or any other country, in the event it became involved in war, the *Standard* argued that Grey's Commons speech on 3 August had revealed a different truth. 'What he really established was the existence of an informal compact under which France undertook to police the Mediterranean for us, so securing our trade routes to India, Egypt and other parts of the world, and we on our part became bound to protect her coasts from attack.'[59] One hundred years on, many historians would still subscribe to, amplify indeed, the thesis of Grey's fundamental duplicity over Britain's freedom of action.[60]

Nor was the *Standard*'s critique of Grey's diplomacy the only example of perceptive commentary in the Dumfries press at this time. Having missed the significance of the Sarajevo assassination, both papers now appeared to understand the magnitude of the conflict that was unfolding. For the *Standard* it was already 'the most colossal struggle which has convulsed the world since Napoleon sought to bestride Europe like a Colossus'.[61] Perhaps surprisingly for a Conservative title, the *Courier* focused on the probable human cost:

> Europe is evidently to be drenched in blood. Untold misery and suffering are to be inflicted upon untold millions of innocent human beings. Progress is arrested. The hand of the clock is set back. Civilization is mocked. A condition of abandoned barbarism and butchery is set up in its place.[62]

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[57] *Standard*, 5 August 1914.

[58] The *Manchester Guardian*, for example, called upon the government to keep Britain out of the conflict up until the very declaration of war. Gregory, 'Clash of Cultures', p.22.

[59] *Standard*, 5 August 1914.

[60] See, for example, J. Charmley, *Splendid Isolation? Britain and the Balance of Power 1874–1914* (paperback edn, London, 1999), p.394. Grey's denial that Britain had any obligations deriving from the Triple Entente which forced her into war was, Charmley admits, 'literally true'. But 'it was true only in that literal way in which politicians use the truth when they want to gloss over inconvenient facts'.

[61] *Standard*, 5 August 1914.

[62] *Courier*, 5 August 1914.

So much then for the 'short victorious war' illusion of which historians have written.[63] No mention either of it all being 'over by Christmas'.

Whether their conviction was based on a careful analysis of the available evidence or upon an innate patriotism is unclear, but neither newspaper was in any doubt as to where responsibility for the catastrophe lay. 'One fact', argued the *Courier*, 'emerges from the welter of these past momentous days. That fact is that the chief criminal in the dread drama that is unfolding is Germany. If there is justice left in the world, a heavy account will be taken at her hands.' The paper suggested that Germany could easily have localised the war by exercising restraint on Austria. But not only had Germany unhesitatingly declared war on Serbia and Russia, she had invaded France and violated both Luxembourg and Belgium, of whose neutrality she was nominally a guarantor.[64] From its very different political standpoint, the *Standard* was equally forthright. A strong combination of circumstances, it argued, 'seems to stamp this as a war of aggression in which Austria was acting in concert with Germany, and the quarrel foisted upon Servia was a mere pretext'. It believed that, while negotiations to preserve the peace were still continuing, Germany had been making secret preparations for war. Indeed, 'the peremptory pointing of the pistol at Servia's head and the attempt to make a rapid dash through Luxembourg and Belgium, in order to strike down France before the Russian battalions can be mobilized and moved, all point to deliberate plotting against the world's peace'.[65] The question of responsibility for the outcome of the 1914 crisis has, of course, spawned an enormous historiographical debate in the years since the editorial writers of the *Courier* and *Standard* penned their contemporary analyses. Even now, no real consensus exists. What, however, is striking is that the judgments of the two newspapers would probably still be broadly endorsed by the majority of historians working in the field.[66]

Over the next few days, the Dumfries press provided a fascinating account of a society in transition. The country, of course, was now at war. But transporting the small British Expeditionary Force to the continent took time and 'the French army had been engaged in murderous strife for about three weeks before the first of the King-Emperor's soldiers fired a shot in anger'.[67] In South-West Scotland it could not be a case of business as usual, but some of the trappings of a peace-time society persisted. Despite 'certain adverse influences', the Dumfries Agricultural Society Show went ahead on 4 August and proved 'an all-round success'.[68] At Moffat the 'war alarm' prompted a large number of scratchings in the South of Scotland Lawn Tennis Championships, as young men took urgent steps to enlist.[69] Even so, the tournament was still brought to a successful conclusion on 10 August, almost a week after war had been declared. But the reporting of other matters gave a clear sense of changing priorities. 'Intense excitement has prevailed in Dumfries since hostilities broke out', noted the *Courier.* 'The war is the only topic of conversation, and throughout the day many groups are to be seen in the streets discussing the latest developments.' The arrival of trains carrying national newspapers prompted an immediate rush to the station. Newsboys were besieged as soon as they made their appearance. They quickly disposed of their papers, 'for which they charge a penny [the cover price] and in some cases more, a tariff which is paid without the slightest hesitation'. Excitement in Dumfries reached 'fever heat' on the night of 4 August when notices were posted proclaiming a general mobilization of land forces. Within a short time the local Territorials began streaming to the Drill Hall, where they were informed that orders were being issued for all ranks to report for duty the following morning. Until late at night the main streets were filled with people of all ages. Special war editions of the *Courier*, issued at 5 p.m. and 8. 30 p.m., were bought up in a few minutes, with each new development of the situation being 'eagerly discussed'. 'Patriotic feelings vented themselves in the singing of national airs and cheering.'[70]

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[63] See L.L. Farrar, *The Short War Illusion: German Policy, Strategy and Domestic Affairs, August–December 1914* (Santa Barbara, 1973); H. Strachan, *The First World War* vol.1 (Oxford, 2001), pp.1005–14.

[64] *Courier*, 5 August 1914.

[65] *Standard*, 5 August 1914.

[66] Among the changing schools of interpretation, mention should be made of the American revisionists, who shifted responsibility towards the powers of the Triple Entente (e.g. H. Barnes, *The Genesis of the World War* (New York, 1926) and S. Fay, *The Origins of the World War* (New York, 1934) and those who followed Lloyd George's view (D. Lloyd George, *War Memoirs*, vol.1 (London, 1933), pp.55–60) that 'nobody wanted war'. 'If I were on a jury trying any of the men who were in control of affairs at that date, I should bring against most of them a verdict of manslaughter rather than murder.' The seminal statement of German responsibility — enshrined for political reasons in Clause 231 of the Treaty of Versailles of 1919 — came with F. Fischer, *Germany's Aims in the First World War* (London, 1966). For confident recent reassertions of German 'guilt', see MacMillan, *War that Ended Peace* and M. Hastings, *Catastrophe: Europe Goes to War 1914* (London, 2013).

The absence in these first days of hard news about British engagement in traditional military operations perhaps encouraged a mood, if not of panic, then certainly of nervousness nearer home. Reports were made to the police that mysterious signaling was taking place by means of flashing lights, 'apparently in accordance with some foreign code'. The commander of the 5th King's Own Scottish Borderers was called up on the telephone and confirmed that none of the Territorials were engaged on night manoeuvres. The assumption was that a scouting party of Germans or Austrians had arrived on the banks of the Nith and were conveying messages to confederates on the opposite bank, or possibly to aviators hidden in the night sky. 'Diligent search was made for the invaders, but without success.' Eventually, an explanation emerged. What had been seen was the reflection from the furnaces at the Maryport and Workington ironworks, 'which often cast a bright and changing glow on the southwestern sky, which again is reflected on windows and water'.[71] Similarly, the *Standard* reported that a well-dressed young man found sketching on the shore below Glencaple had been arrested and detained at the county police station. The authorities were not convinced by his story that he was an artist who did work for *Punch.* A briefer article the following day reported that the presumed spy had been able to give a satisfactory account of himself and had been liberated.[72] A week later, a man of 'unusual' appearance, who 'might well be a German spy', was likewise detained in Maxwelltown. He turned out to be an escaped patient from the Crichton Royal Institution.[73]

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[67] Hastings, *Catastrophe,* p.201.

[68] *Courier*, 5 August 1914.

[69] *Standard*, 5 August 1914.

[70] *Courier*, 5 August 1914.

[71] *Standard*, 5 August 1914.

[72] *Standard*, 6 and 7 August 1914.

More seriously, the press began to report the immediate impact of the outbreak of hostilities on the local economy. The Dumfries mills were badly affected owing to the cancellation or postponement of orders for goods destined for foreign countries. As early as 4 August, William Scott and Sons posted the following notice: 'Owing to the European crisis, and consequent cancellation of orders, which it is hoped may only be temporary, the firm are reluctantly compelled to give notice to all workers, without exception, that employment from this date can only be from day to day.'[74] A few days later, the employees at Arrol-Johnston motor works, due to return from their annual holiday, were told that the factory's closure would be extended for a further week.[75] Many commercial activities across the region were disrupted as officers from the War Office rounded up working horses to meet the needs of the cavalry regiments, the yeomanry and the artillery. In addition, a number of grocers' vans and other vehicles suitable for the haulage of stores, including even milk carts, were commandeered for the national war effort.[76]

Food prices quickly rose by between 20 and 25 per cent as householders began stockpiling provisions. The Co-operative Society 'intimated that the sale of sugar would be restricted to quantities of four pounds'.[77] Within a few days, panic-buying abated slightly. Even so, flour, sugar, bacon, tea and other everyday foodstuffs were still being bought 'in unusual quantities'.[78] The *Courier* urged its readers among the employing classes to keep their nerve. The country's motto at the present time of crisis should be 'business as usual'. 'Keep going, avoid, if possible, throwing workpeople and other servants into unemployment; live frugally; show all neighbourliness to others – if we do these things, we shall weather with the minimum of discomfort and distress the troublous times ahead, long drawn out though they may be.'[79] The *Standard*'s advice was, literally, more down-to-earth. Pointing to a scheme already initiated in Cumberland and Westmorland, it suggested that it was not too late to ensure an autumn and spring crop of vegetables. 'All spare ground in existing gardens and allotments can be used for this purpose, also all vacant spaces in and around towns and villages and land on farms and estates.'[80]

Meanwhile, recruitment into the army went on apace. The *Courier* noted the readiness of old volunteers and territorials from the Boer War to offer their services once again. But one would-be young recruit found himself turned down because he had 'a number of false teeth of the upper set'. 'But', he said, 'I have since been assured that if I go up again tomorrow with my false teeth in my pocket they will accept me.' 'Rather a pity', judged the *Courier*, 'that a young man's patriotism should be subjected to such gastronomic inconvenience!'[81] On 11 August hundreds of townspeople, from all classes of the community, assembled at Dumfries station to bid God-speed to the Territorials as they set out to 'take their share in our national defence'. Despite the seriousness of the situation, reported the *Courier,* 'there was an atmosphere of cheeriness and optimism among both the men and their friends'.[82] But more men would be needed. The Dumfries Drill Hall was open all day and evening and recruiting sergeants also took up positions at Castle Douglas and Annan. Owners of motor cars were asked to assist the scheme by conveying recruits to the centres and to the headquarters at Dumfries.[83]

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[73] *Standard*, 15 August 1914. Spying and enemy infiltration, as a prelude to invasion, had become something of an obsession in Britain over the previous decade, as evidenced in much popular literature of the day. One of the earliest and best examples was Erskine Childers, *Riddle of the Sands* (London, 1903), written to warn his fellow countrymen of the dangers of a German invasion. Childers later joined the Irish rebels and was shot by a British firing squad.

[74] *Standard*, 5 August 1914.

[75] *Standard*, 10 August 1914.

[76] *Standard*, 6 August 1914.

[77] *Standard*, 5 August 1914.

[78] *Standard*, 7 August 1914.

[79] *Courier*, 12 August 1914.

[80] *Standard*, 15 August 1914.

After several years of unprecedented party political conflict, culminating in the struggle over Irish Home Rule, domestic quarrels were set aside in the face of an external enemy. 'With one accord', reported the *Courier*, 'the statesmen of the day, none for a Party but all for the State, have presented a united front to the perils of Europe' to allow the British government to speak with one voice.[84] Even so, this did not stop the newspaper from launching a broadside against the member for Dumfriesshire. 'With an obstinacy of singular perversity', noted the *Courier*, Molteno had 'maintained an attitude of pro-Germanism right up to the hour of Germany's precipitation of war with this country.'[85] But at least the Dumfriesshire Liberal and Unionist Associations had come to an arrangement whereby the annual meetings of both bodies would be postponed and all political propaganda work suspended.[86]

For the most part, parochial inter-party disputes were replaced by a wave of patriotic solidarity and a determination to secure the nation's victory. That nation was Britain and the patriotism that underpinned it overwhelmingly British. As one historian has put it, 'had there been no war, some measure of [Scottish] Home Rule would have been on the statute book by 1920'.[87] As it was, 'participation in the struggle against Germany … strengthened a sense of Britishness'.[88] The 'other' against which the forces of patriotism would be directed was Germany and both local newspapers returned to this theme. Under the headline 'The Kaiser's Crime', the *Standard*'s leader on 15 August could not have been more blunt:

> It is a crime of the first magnitude; murder on a colossal scale, inspired by the personal ambition of a tyrant, with all the tyrant's recklessness of the lives of other men and the sufferings of other people. Never in the history of the world has there been a war of more wanton aggression … It will be a small retribution that

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[81] *Courier*, 8 August 1914.
[82] *Courier*, 12 August 1914.
[83] *Standard*, 14 August 1914.
[84] *Courier*, 8 August 1914.
[85] *Courier*, 12 August 1914.
[86] *Standard*, 19 August 1914.
[87] J. Brand, *The National Movement in Scotland* (London, 1978), p.49.
[88] D. Reynolds, *The Long Shadow: The Great War and the Twentieth Century* (London, 2013), p.24.

> the arch-criminal should lose his life and his dynasty should perish. But it is one which should be rigorously executed.[89]

Not to be outdone, the *Courier* responded with an editorial headed 'The Root of the War'. 'Of course, we point to Germany and say, with absolute truth, that it is she that has brought this appalling catastrophe upon Europe.' The 'diabolical thing' that had motivated her was, the *Courier* proclaimed, the 'Prussian creed'.[90] Its words anticipated Asquith's speech at the Guildhall, London, three months later, when the Prime Minister listed the extirpation of Prussian militarism among Britain's principal war aims.[91]

These, of course, were still early days. The real sacrifices, casualties and costs of the war lay in the future and would occur on a scale that even the perceptive commentators in the *Standard* and *Courier* could not have predicted. Inevitably, the local mood would change as the weeks and months went by, but, free from the corrupting influence of historical hindsight, the pages of the two newspapers offer a valuable snapshot of contemporary reactions to the coming of war. It is perhaps appropriate to end with a, no doubt somewhat romanticised, picture offered by a *Courier* correspondent on 15 August:

> Wednesday [12 August] was a lovely, still evening, with a slight breeze carrying to the west. The Dumfries band was playing in the Dock Park, and upon the breeze its strains were borne far over Maxwelltown among the fields beyond. By and by, with the twilight falling, the band began playing patriotic airs. Clear and distinct among these quiet ways came the notes of 'Rule Britannia', their challenge touched by the mellow evening air with something of the appeal of an anthem. How striking was the effect on the countryside. It seemed to pause and listen. Then it began picking up the notes and joining in. A group of children by a cottage door took up the chorus. A couple walking in a loaning sang the air in duet. A lad crossing the fields with his dog whistled it. A workman leaving by his door listened and thoughtfully beat time with his evening pipe. It was the mood of a people responding to the old patriotic call — the 'call of the blood'.[92]

The Coming of the First Word War — in Pictures

In the days immediately after the declaration of war on 4 August 1914 local newspapers carried reports as the territorial battalion of the King's Own Scottish Borderers mustered and departed for active service. The *Dumfries and Galloway Standard* of 12 August 1914 contains extended coverage of the events of the previous two days as the 5th battalion left the town within a week of war being declared. On Monday, 10 August there was a parade and civic farewell in front of the Town Hall (Municipal Chambers) in Buccleuch Street and a ceremony at St Michael's Church where the battalion's colours were deposited for safe keeping:

> The final afternoon of the local Territorial companies before leaving for home

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[89] *Standard*, 15 August 1914.

[90] *Courier*, 15 August 1914.

[91] V.H. Rothwell, *British War Aims and Peace Diplomacy 1914–1918* (London, 1971), p.19.

[92] *Courier*, 15 August 1914.

> service was marked on Monday by two outstanding events … The events created much public interest, and were witnessed by large crowds. About half-past three the Dumfries and Maxwelltown companies, headed by the brass, pipe, and bugle bands … marched down Buccleuch Street, and were lined up with bayonets fixed and arms at the slope in front of the municipal party … The men presented a very smart appearance, and were obviously in excellent condition and in good spirits.

The men then marched to the Drill Hall (Loreburn Hall) where they remained until the following morning when:

> The battalion was early astir. Reveille was sounded at four o'clock, and breakfast was served to the men an hour later. Crowds began to assemble in the neighbourhood of Newall Terrace shortly before six o'clock, and took up their position to await the parade of the battalion.
>
> To facilitate the railway arrangements, the battalion was divided into two portions, each consisting of about five hundred men. The first half of the battalion, which paraded in the square in front of the Station Hotel at half-past six, consisted of the Dumfries, Maxwelltown, Castle-Douglas, and Moffat, Lockerbie and Ecclefechan companies … The second half of the battalion, consisting of the Annan, Sanquhar and Kirkconnel, Thornhill, Dalbeattie and Newton-Stewart companies, then assembled in front of the station.
>
> The two trains steamed out to the accompaniment of cheers from those who were admitted to the station; but the large crowd outside was not at all demonstrative. A feeling of sadness on the part of many who were present in taking farewell of members of their family and others connected by intimate ties of friendship was very apparent, and in many cases the grief found expression in tears.[93]

These extraordinary events are also recorded in a series of photographs preserved in scrapbooks made by Jean Sarah Maxwell (1918–1973). Known as the Nithsdale Scrapbooks, these were presented to Dumfries Museum 1974.[94] The captions to Figures 1–5 give Jean Maxwell's own words. — Ed.

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[93] *Standard*, 12 August 1914.

[94] Figures 1–5 Courtesy of Dumfries Museum; Nithsdale Scrapbook No.7, DUMFM: 1974.13.268.7.

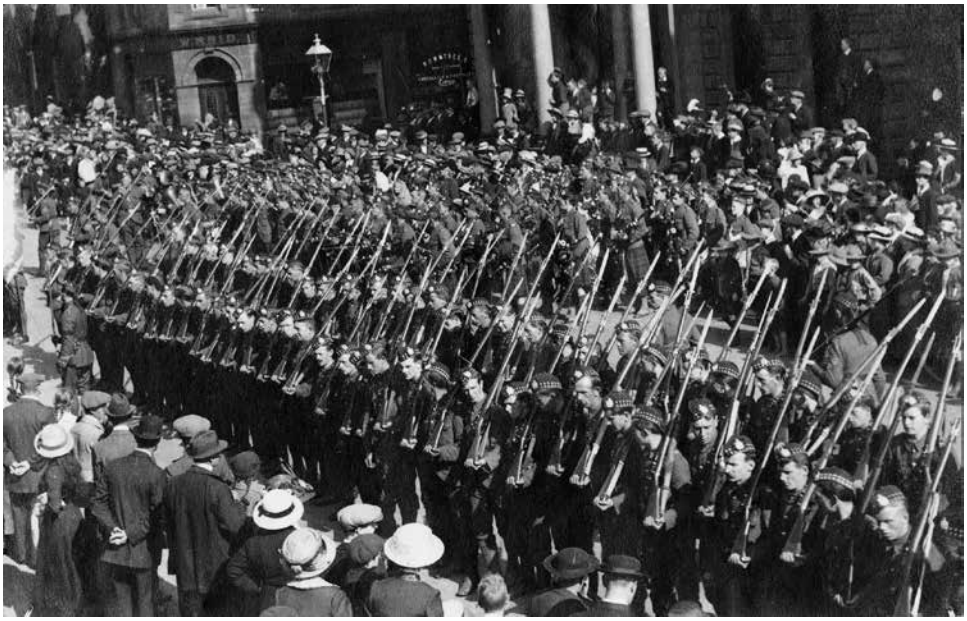

Figure 1. ‘Inspection of the Headquarters Companies of the 1/5th K.O.S.B. in Buccleuch Street, Dumfries on the occasion of the civic farewell — 10th August, 1914.’

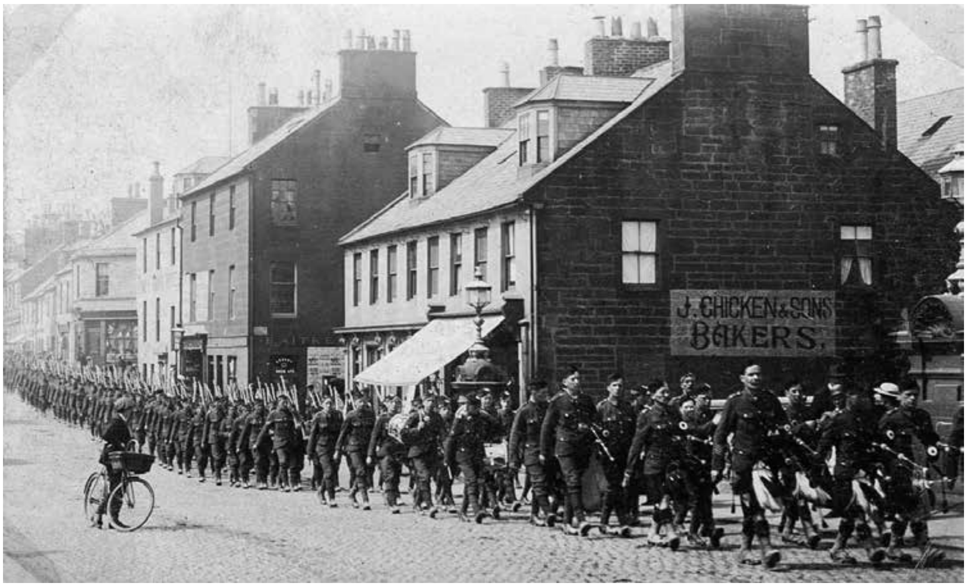

Figure 2. ‘The men from Maxwelltown and Troqueer Landward march down Galloway Street en route for the Drill Hall, Dumfries.’

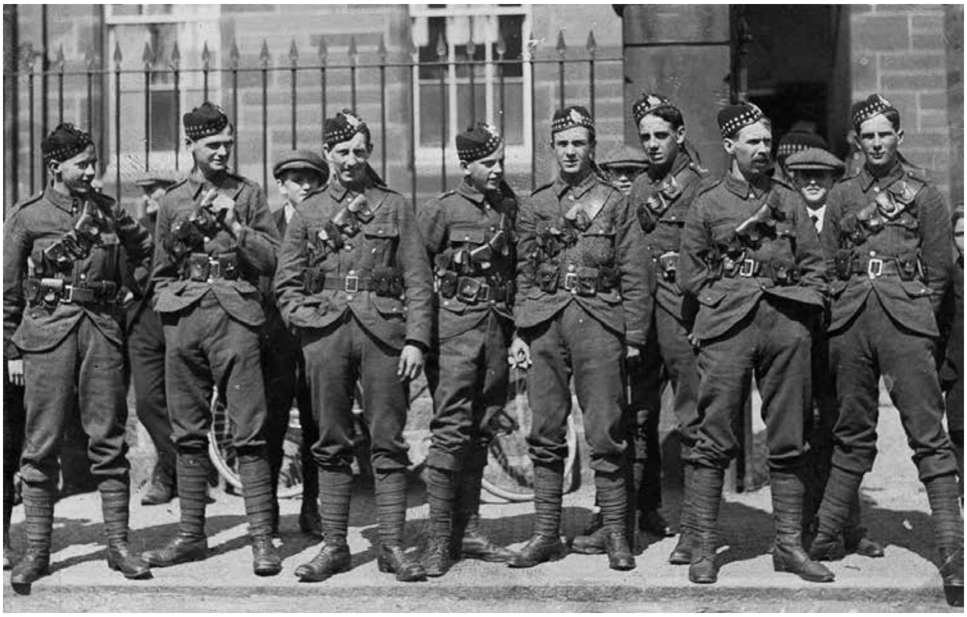

Figure 3. ‘A last-minute snapshot outside Loreburn Street School.’ This is taken in Newall Terrace, opposite the Loreburn Hall.

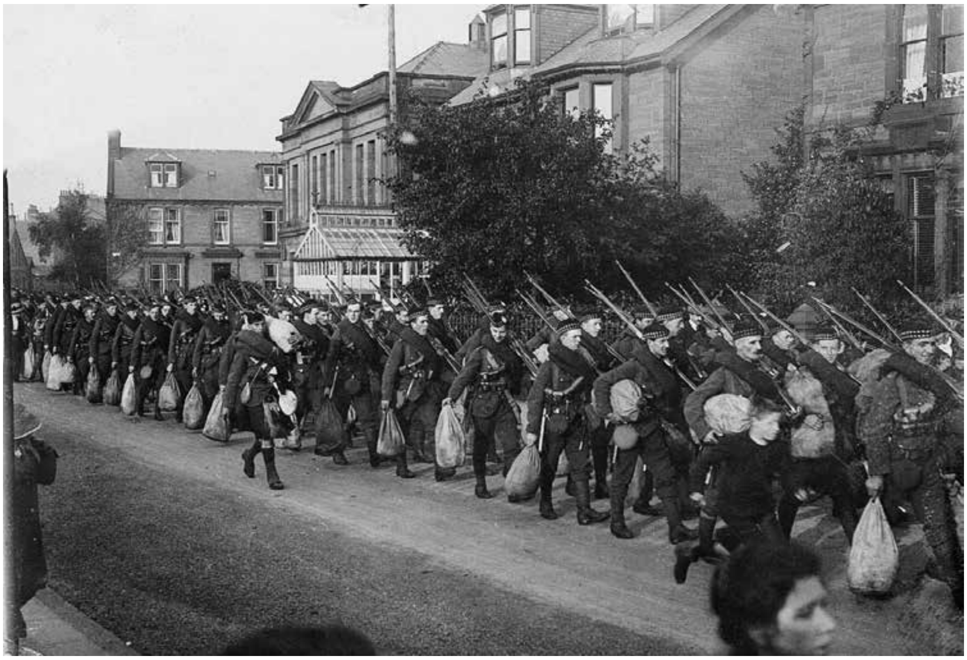

Figure 4. ‘11th August, 1914. To the ever-recurring strains of “Bonnie Gallowa’”, the Territorials march down Newall Terrace en route for the Station.’

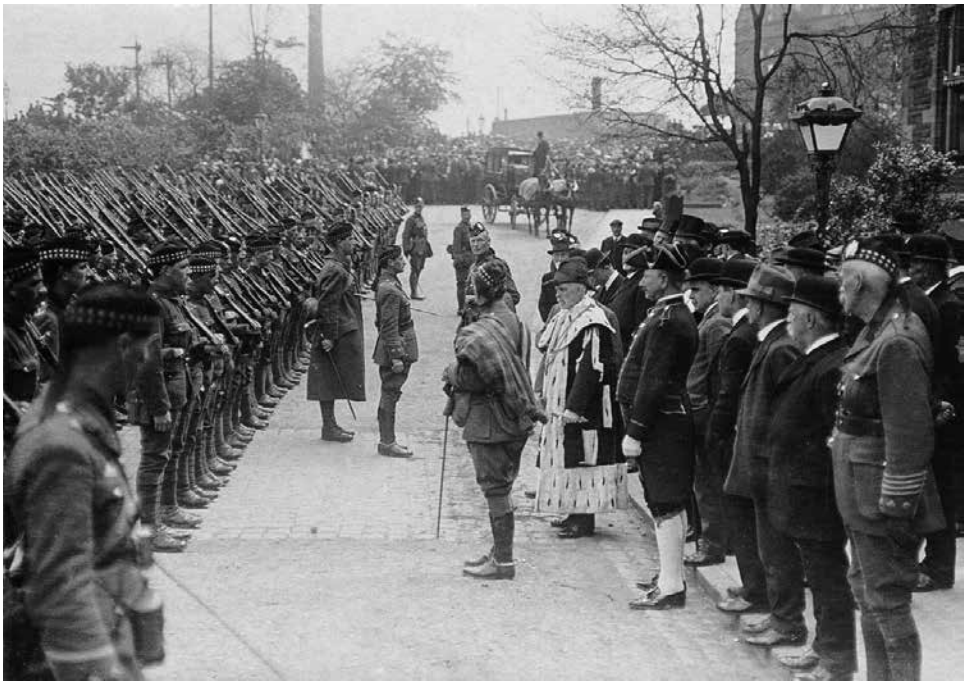

Figure 5. ‘At the Station. Provost Macaulay bids farewell to the 2/5th Batt., K.O.S.B. Lieut.-Colonel Sir Claude Laurie, D.S.O., commanding officer, is standing on the left of the Provost.’

REVIEWS

The Iron Age in Galloway: The Friends of The Whithorn Trust 2014 Conference
Saturday, 13 September 2014.

The Friends of The Whithorn Trust is a charitable organisation which supports The Whithorn Trust in its research into the history and archaeology of Whithorn — 'The Cradle of Scottish Christianity' — and its wider significance. Every year the Friends invite a respected academic to give a lecture in Whithorn, which they subsequently publish. In 2007, in place of the annual lecture, they organised a conference 'St Ninian and the Earliest Christianity in Scotland',[1] covering a range of approaches to the problems of identifying St Ninian's role in the establishment of Christianity here.

Over the last five years The Friends have been excited by work being carried out locally as part of the Scottish Wetland Archaeology Project (SWAP) by AOC Archaeology. Crannogs in Galloway have been surveyed and dated, and sites around Cults Loch, near Castle Kennedy, have been excavated.[2] In 2012 AOC turned to the Black Loch of Myrton in the Machars, where in the 1880s the landowner, Sir Herbert Maxwell, had identified another possible crannog. AOC found that there was a group of several mounds beside what had formerly been a small loch. Excavation of one mound showed it to represent the remains of a timber round house with central hearth. It seems that there was an Iron Age lochside settlement here with exceptional levels of environmental preservation.

The Whithorn Trust is supporting AOC in a bid for funding for further excavation at the Black Loch. This should give opportunities for community involvement in a wide variety of ways benefiting the people of Whithorn and the Machars. The Friends concluded that the most useful contribution that they could make to this venture would be to hold a second conference exploring the background to the wetland settlements — The Iron Age in Galloway. Galloway has long been regarded as something of a Cinderella in Scottish Iron Age studies, not conforming to any of the standard models for Iron Age society in eastern Scotland, the Borders, or the Highlands and Islands. The Scottish Archaeological Research Framework (ScARF), launched by The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland with support from Historic Scotland in 2008, stressed the need to identify research priorities not only on a period basis but within the different regions of Scotland. Our conference was designed to respond to this call, and we are grateful to Historic Scotland for their support for the venture.

On Saturday 13 September 2014 nearly 80 people gathered in Whithorn Primary School hall to hear papers and discussion from seven speakers, all experts in their fields. The audience was sustained by a good lunch of soup, sandwiches and pastries, and in the evening some stayed to enjoy the Conference Dinner. On Sunday 14 September a bus tour visited various enclosed Iron Age sites around Whithorn under the guidance of Graeme Cavers of AOC and Stratford Halliday of Edinburgh University.

Several themes emerged during the Conference of especial relevance to the Iron Age in Galloway, and our speakers explored different approaches to the questions raised.

First was the issue of whether Galloway could be treated as a homogeneous region with a characteristic settlement pattern and economy. Part of the problem in delineating the Galloway Iron Age lies in the paucity of excavated evidence. As Stratford Halliday pointed out, interpretation has been largely dependent on site descriptions and classifications created by antiquarians more than a century ago. Graham Cavers was hopeful that recent excavations, including his own Cults Loch Project, and work by GUARD Archaeology on the Dunragit bypass, might help to clarify the nature and function of the sites. The Galloway Iron Age has been identified with crannogs and promontory forts, but Ronan Toolis of GUARD Archaeology argued that the former are a product of the numbers of shallow lochs in the glaciated landscape, while the latter correspond to the prevalence of coastal promontories along the rocky coastline. Neither site type need represent a distinctive Iron Age culture. Equally, environmental factors may produce apparent variability within the region. As Dave Cowley of the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland pointed out, cropmark sites, visible on aerial photographs, have produced a record of ditched and palisaded enclosures in the arable farmland around Stranraer, while comparable sites elsewhere may have been ploughed down, remaining undiscovered.

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[1] *St Ninian and the Earliest Christianity in Scotland.* Papers from the Conference held by the Friends of the Whithorn Trust in Whithorn on September 15th 2007, ed. Jane Murray. BAR British Series 483, 2009. (Obtainable from The Friends of the Whithorn Trust, Auchenmalg House, Auchenmalg, Glenluce, DG8 0JS at £15.00 + £2.00 p&p).

[2] Graeme Cavers and Anne Crone, 'Galloway Crannogs: An Interim Report on Work at Dorman's Island and Cults Loch by the Scottish Wetland Archaeology Programme', *TDGNHAS*, 84 (2010), 11–18.

Distinctive aspects of the Galloway Iron Age may derive from the extent of reliance on pastoralism. Richard Tipping of Stirling University commented on the effect of grazing pressures in the clearance of upland woodland early in the period. The later introduction of cereals on the moorlands of the upper Luce valley proved to be a short lived phase. Mixed farming is identifiable between 300 BC and AD 200 in pollen records from Carsegowan Moss, near Newton Stewart. The evidence is patchy, but an emphasis on livestock may explain the small numbers of rotary querns in Galloway noted by Fraser Hunter of the National Museums of Scotland. Fraser also highlighted the absence of Iron Age pottery here, perhaps related to economic rather than cultural practice.

A second issue concerned relationships between Galloway and neighbouring regions. Enclosed sites in Galloway are in many ways similar to those of Dumfriesshire and the Borders to the east, although using more stone construction, again an environmentally determined variable. Stratford Halliday drew attention to the absence in the Galloway enclosures of the house stances, ring grooves and ring ditches frequently present further east, being a visible latest phase of occupation of the enclosures. The defences of the Dumfriesshire enclosures are sometimes overlain by later Iron Age settlements, unknown in Galloway. Rectilinear sites, both upstanding and in cropmark form, recorded by Dave Cowley across Galloway, Dumfriesshire, the Borders and Northumberland, seem to be a widespread development in the Late Iron Age. Ronan Toolis considered the distribution of enclosed sites across southern Scotland to be essentially indivisible, observing a light scatter of brochs across central and southern Scotland but none south of the Border, and noting the absence of crannogs in Cumbria despite topographical opportunity there. Graeme Cavers, on the other hand, saw comparisons between Galloway and the ‘Broch and Dun Cultures’ of west coast Scotland and the islands, despite the differences of building types, in that both areas shared patterns of undifferentiated social structure, contrasting with the hierarchies of site size and the occupation densities in the east. A few broch and dun-like structures in Galloway, and even the souterrain in the Cults Loch enclosure, could demonstrate contacts across the seaways.

Thirdly, much useful information was forthcoming on the chronology of the Galloway Iron Age. This was set out particularly clearly by Anne Crone of AOC Archaeology in relation to crannogs, several of which have been dated by dendrochronology. Galloway crannogs can all be referred to the second half of the first millennium BC or to the early centuries AD. They were not, however, continuously occupied, but were subject to episodes of abandonment and reconstruction. The Cults Loch crannog was constructed soon after 400 BC but occupied for no more than half a century, and rebuilt after 200 BC. The round house at Black Loch of Myrton again saw only short-term occupation, for which dates are awaited. Ditched and palisaded enclosures with round houses were being constructed earlier in the first millennium AD, but again seem to have been occupied periodically. The enclosure at Cults Loch was abandoned for two centuries before, late in the first millennium, a round house, with souterrain, was built overlying an earlier one. Defended rectilinear sites in Galloway, such as Rispain, were in use into the early centuries AD, as was also the promontory fort at Carghidown, excavated by Ronan Toolis. Here rare evidence of metal working was recovered in the form of lead beads. The short episodes of use of many of the sites, perhaps even representing seasonal occupation, must impose caution over theories concerning social structure based on visible settlement patterns.

Finally, the question of the impact of Rome was touched on. Fraser Hunter presented aerial photographs of the Roman fort on the south side of the river Bladnoch discovered by Dave Cowley's study of aerial photographs. Its location suggests that the Machars may have been more influenced by the Roman presence than previously supposed. On the other hand Fraser also commented on the apparent poverty of continental influenced 'Celtic Art' in western Galloway, suspecting that the sharing of deposition practices with west coast communities could be responsible for the absence of this material.

One intriguing confluence of evidence concerned the lower Dee valley around Kircudbright. Richard Tipping noted an intensification of agricultural production around Brighouse Bay, just east of Kirkcudbright, at c.500 BC, suggestive of surplus production, and perhaps an exchange economy, contrasting with evidence elsewhere. Fraser Hunter also drew attention to the richness of central Kirkcudbrightshire in terms of the fine metalwork recovered (Carlingwark hoard; Torrs pony cap). Was there some leading social group in this area in touch with external societies?

In summary, the Conference provided much food for thought about the Iron Age in Galloway, its social character, its contacts, its changes over time. It is hoped that the proceedings may achieve fuller publication, helping to focus future research on the specific questions raised in relation to the region.

Jane Murray, Secretary to The Friends of the Whithorn Trust.

NOTICE OF PUBLICATION[1]

Nithsdale War Memorials series by Gladys Cuttle. 2009–12. £12 (softback, wirebound).

1. *History of the Penpont War Memorial Dumfriesshire and Parish War Memories*
2. *Keir War Memorial Dumfriesshire and Parish Memories*
3. *Closeburn War Memorial Dumfriesshire and Parish Memories*
4. *Tynron War Memorial Dumfriesshire and Parish Memories*
5. *Letters of a Durisdeer Soldier — Private James Hendrie 13043 1st. Battalion Scots Guards*
6. *Durisdeer War Memorial and Parish Memories*
7. *Morton War Memorial and Memories in Thornhill, Dumfriesshire*
8. *History of Penpont War Memorial and Parish Memories* [reprint]
9. *Wallace Hall Academy, Closeburn, 1947–2012*
10. *Dunscore War Memorial and Dunscore Parish Memories, Includes War Memorials for Irongray & Holywood*

The above books can be borrowed from local libraries and are available at Dumfries Museum and Dumfries and Galloway Family History Society's Centre. To purchase copies write to: Old Woodside Cottage, Scaur Glen, Penpont, Thornhill DG3 4NQ, or telephone 01848 600249.

'The Poldean Armorial Stone, Annandale' by Jeffrey M. Johnstone in ***The Double Tressure — Journal of the Heraldry Society of Scotland,*** No.36 (2013) pp. 46–63. ISSN 0-141-237-X.

This is an examination of an armorial stone in the exterior wall in the front of the farmhouse at Poldean, Wamphray, Dumfriesshire. It has been taken from an earlier house on the farm. The stone is believed to have been erected by Ambrose Johnstone of Poldean around 1660 and it bears his arms as well as those of his Douglas wife, thought to have been Nicholas Douglas.

The author concludes that the heart in the base of the Johnstone arms on the Poldean marriage stone may be intended to commemorate the claim of an ancestor's role in the fall of the Black Douglases, similar to the crowned heart of the Westerhall Johnstones. If so, it could also point to a claimed descent from Adam Johnstone of that Ilk, progenitor of the Marquises and Earls of Annandale and kindred with the Westerhall Johnstones.

Available from: The Heraldry Society of Scotland, 25 Craigentinny Crescent, Edinburgh, EH7 6QA. E-mail: `info@heraldry-scotland.co.uk`.

Scotland's Castles: Rescued, Rebuilt and Reoccupied by Janet Brennan-Inglis. Stroud: The History Press. 2014. 192pp. £14.99, ISBN-10 0750954450, ISBN-13 978-0750954457 (paperback).

'Scotland's Castles is a beautifully illustrated celebration and account of the renaissance of Scottish castles that has taken place since 1950. Over 100 ruined and derelict buildings — from tiny towers to rambling baronial mansions — have been restored as homes, hotels and holiday lets. These restorations have mainly been carried out by new owners without any connections to the land or the family history of the buildings, which they bought as ruins. Their struggles and triumphs, including interviews and first-person accounts, form the core of the book, set in the context of the enormous social, political and economic changes of the late twentieth century.

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

Janet Brennan-Inglis bought Barholm Castle in Galloway in 1999, and completed its restoration in 2006. She was awarded a doctorate for her research into Scottish castles in 2011. Janet is Chair of the Scottish Castles Association and Secretary of the National Trust for Scotland Galloway Members Group.'

Solway Country: Land, Life and Livelihood in the Western Border Region of England and Scotland by Allen J. Scott. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. 2015. 190pp. £41.99, ISBN-10 1443868132, ISBN-13 978-1443868136 (hardback).

'The Solway Country — the lands surrounding the inner Solway Firth — constitutes one of the many small regional worlds of the British Isles that are remarkable for the ways in which their landscapes evoke a powerful sense of territorial identity rooted not only in their physical appeal, but also in the richness and distinctiveness of their human history and geography. The Solway Country is an archetypical but hitherto little known exemplar of places like these.

This book captures the spirit and substance of the Solway Country's allure by means of a series of layered narratives dealing with its natural milieu, its past social and political turmoil, its changing forms of rural and agrarian life, and its responses to the industrial and urban forces that were unleashed in Britain after the eighteenth century. The Solway Country has the added charm of being partly in England and partly in Scotland, so that its personality partakes of elements of both. At the same time, the region exhibits a composite geographic unity derived from the central physical feature of the Solway Firth itself and from the many common aspects of local life and livelihood that have left deep imprints on the landscape. This unity is expressed symbolically in the peculiar hybrid culture of ballads and songs that emerged alongside the theft, murder, and mayhem that raged in the Anglo-Scottish marchlands in the days of the border reivers.

Allen J. Scott was raised in Carlisle where he attended St. Cuthbert's, the Creighton, and the Grammar Schools. Subsequent to his undergraduate and graduate education in England and the United States, he pursued an academic career, and has held appointments at universities in Europe, North America, and Asia. In 2012, he retired from the University of California at Los Angeles where he was Professor of Geography and Policy Studies and where he holds the honorary rank of Distinguished Research Professor. He currently lives in Paris and Los Angeles, but is frequently to be found pottering around the Solway Country.'

Once Upon a Time There Was a Convent — The Story of the Maxwelltown Benedictine Convent School 1887–1982 by Elizabeth West. Dumfries: Elizabeth West. 2014. 214pp. £15.00, ISBN 978-1-907931-38-3 (paperback).

'This book has been several years in the making. That is not a reflection on the author's dilatoriness, but rather a testament to her perseverance, energy and ambition. From a rather unpromising selection of catalogue sources in the Ewart Library and the Archive Centre — two photograph albums, a brochure, a book, a couple of magazines — Liz West has produced a truly comprehensive history of the Maxwelltown Benedictine Convent School. She has been indefatigable in her pursuit of further information about the School, from her own classmates' memories to the early history of the

Benedictines of the Perpetual Adoration. The result is a superbly detailed and carefully complied chronology, full of anecdote and humour, and with many and varied illustrations. The best local histories fill holes; they tell stories needing telling. *Once Upon A Time there was a Convent* does just that.'

From a Foreword by Graham Roberts, Archivist, Dumfries and Galloway Libraries, Information and Archives.

Available from: Ewart Library, Catherine Street, Dumfries DG1 1JB and Dumfries Museum, The Observatory, Dumfries DG2 7SW.

Mary Timney — The Road to the Gallows by Jayne Baldwin. Stranraer: Clayhole Publishing. 2013. 158pp. £7.95, ISBN 978-0-956933-11-9 (paperback).

'Ann Hannah had made no secret of her dislike for her young neighbour Mary Timney, she'd even urged her brother to evict the family from the tiny farm cottage that stood by a lonely road running through the Galloway hills in south west Scotland. When Ann was discovered dying from horrific head injuries the whispered accusations of her family and friends would lead to Mary's immediate arrest and subsequent trial and execution in Dumfries in April 1862.

Journalist Jayne Baldwin discovers why the community that had, at first, condemned her as a monster later tried to save the young mother from the gallows and how Mary Timney became the last woman to be publicly hanged in Scotland.'

Gateway to the Modern: Resituating J.M. Barrie, Association for Scottish Literary Studies Occasional Papers No. 18 edited by Valentina Bold and Andrew Nash. Glasgow: Scottish Literature International. 2014. 202pp. £12.50, ISBN 978-1-908980-02-1 (paperback).

'J. M. Barrie (1860–1937) is today known almost exclusively for one work: *Peter Pan*. Yet he was the most successful British playwright of the early twentieth century, and his novels were once thought equal to those of George Meredith and Thomas Hardy. Although in recent years there has been a revival of interest in Barrie's writing, many critics still fail to include him in surveys of *fin de siècle* literature or drama.

Perhaps Barrie's remarkable variety of output has prevented him from being taken to the centre of critical discussions in any one area of literary criticism or history. Is Barrie predominantly a novelist or a playwright? Is he Victorian, Decadent, Edwardian or Modernist?

Gateway to the Modern is the very first collection of essays on Barrie which attempts to do justice to the extraordinary range of his literary achievement. What emerges is a significant writer, fully immersed in the literary and intellectual culture of his day.'

Part One: Drama and Film

Barrie and the New Dramatists (Jan McDonald)

'The odd, odd triangle': Barrie's Metatheatrical Critique of the Victorian Dramatic Tradition (Anna Farkas)

Barrie's Later Dramas: The Shakespearean Romances (R.D.S. Jack)

The Boy Who Never Grew Up? J. M. Barrie and Cinema (Jonathan Murray)

Part Two: Barrie and Literary Traditions

Barrie's Farewells: The Final Story (Douglas Gifford)

'*Frae Anither Window in Thrums*': Hugh MacDiarmid and J.M. Barrie (Margery Palmer McCulloch)

Barrie, Sentimentality, and Modernity (Andrew Nash)

Part Three: Peter Pan's Connections

Betwixt-and-Between: *Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens* and the Decadent Moment (Paul Fox)

Peter Pan's Make-Believe: Place, Uncertainty, and Wonder (Ralph Jessop)

Barrie and Bloomsbury (Rosemary Ashton)

'A love that is real': Children's Responses to Wendy (Valentina Bold)

Dumfries Academy: Responses to *Peter Pan* (Hugh McMillan)

A History of Dumfries and Galloway in 100 Documents Part 3 by Frances Wilkins. Kidderminster: Wyre Forest Press. 2013. 132pp. £15, ISBN 978-1-897725-91-7 (softback, wirebound).

'This third Part includes a high concentration of documents about Kirkcudbright and district. Some of these people had interests abroad: India, Ceylon, Dominica and Grenada. Two of the documents are about Cally House, Gatehouse of Fleet. Other locations included are Holywood, Springkell and Lochmaben. The period covered in Part 3 is from the seventeenth century to 1846.'

Physical Receipts

Two seventeenth-century Herbals

Kirkcudbright Trade

The Basil Warehouse, 1736

John Freeland's Store Yard, 1747

Smuggling & Smugglers

John Irving of Seafield, 1762

Banks and Bankers

James Ewart, accountant, Royal Bank, 1764

Mills & Millers

Gordon, Grayson & Co., 1768

Lifestyles

The Divorce between Houston Stewart Nicolson & Margaret Porterfield, 1769

John Alexander, Huntsman to the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, 1807

A Milliner & Dressmaker's Account , 1822

Danevale Park: a House & its Garden, 1833

Slaving & Slavery

Slaving: John Park & Co., 1774

& Slavery: George Macewan and Grenada, 1834

The Fencibles

The Holywood Club, 1799

Links with India & Ceylon

The Trials and Tribulations of John Vans Agnew, 1801

David Alexander Maitland of Barcaple & Ceylon, 1846

Newspapers

The Dumfries Courier & John Syme's Obituary, 1831

Nurserymen

James Credie's Customer Book, 1847

A Library & a Book

A Library: The Cally Sale Catalogue, 1846

& a Book: *Memorabilia Curliana Mabenensia*, 1830'

Available from: Frances Wilkins, 8 Mill Close, Blakedown, Kidderminster, Worcs. DY10 3NQ. Email: `frances@franscript.co.uk`.

Tales from the Baseline: A History of Dumfries Lawn Tennis Club by David Dutton. Dumfries: Solway Offset. 2014. 94pp. £5, ISBN 978-1-907931-40-6 (paperback).

'A history of Dumfries Lawn Tennis Club, the book traces the fortunes of the club from its foundation in 1880 (making it perhaps the oldest surviving tennis club in Scotland) to the present day. It thus provides an important strand in the social history of the town. The names of many of the local people who helped in its development and organisation through the years will resonate with the reader today.'

Available from the author (`ddutton@liverpool.ac.uk`) for £6 (inc. p+p).

PROCEEDINGS

11 October 2013

Presidential Address

Dr Francis Toolis

James Clerk Maxwell: the man who changed everything and was then forgotten

Cumberland Street Centre was packed with an audience of 70 people for the AGM and inaugural meeting of the 2013–14 season of Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society. Dr Francis Toolis, retiring President, conducted the AGM and then introduced Liam Murray as his successor.

Liam thanked Dr Toolis for his outstanding contribution during his three years as President, most notably steering the Society through its 150th-anniversary year, and for his management of excavations at Trusty's Hill, towards which he had acquired £35,000 of grants for advancement of the cause. He then announced the main attraction of the evening and invited the speaker, Dr Francis Toolis, to deliver his Presidential Address. The subject was James Clerk Maxwell.

Four faces of eminent scientists of the world came up on the screen: Galileo (1564–1662), Newton (1642–1727), Maxwell (1831–1879) and Einstein (1879–1955). Three of these men are world-famous. Only James Clerk Maxwell, whom Einstein rated very highly, is not so well-known, not even in his native land. Maxwell died at the age of 48 years. To quote Einstein: 'The special theory of relativity owes its origins to Maxwell's equation of the electromagnetic field.'

Though born at his parents' house at 14 India Street in Edinburgh, Glenlair, the family property in Galloway was where he grew up. His mother encouraged his enquiring mind but, sadly, she died when he was aged eight. The extended family took him under their wing and he moved to 31 Heriot Row, Edinburgh. This enabled him to enrol at Edinburgh Academy in 1841. Initially he was scorned for his rural speech, which he retained lifelong, and he was even considered to be backward. By the third of his six years there he began to shine at Mathematics, especially Geometry. He formed a close friendship with like-minded Lewis Campbell, who wrote the biography of Maxwell three years after his death.

Such was the advanced nature of Maxwell's thinking that when he was fourteen years old a paper on ovals, written by him, was read (not by him) to the Royal Society in Edinburgh. He became a student at Edinburgh University in 1847 and thence to Cambridge in 1850. There he obtained a fellowship and graduated with a degree in Mathematics from Trinity College in 1854.

In 1856 the failing health of his father, resulting in death in April, had caused him to apply and be appointed to the chair of Natural Philosophy at Marischal College, Aberdeen. He married Katherine Dewar, the daughter of the Principal in 1859, but this did not help him to retain his post when Marischal and King's Colleges combined. Maxwell also suffered rejection for the chair of Natural Philosophy at Edinburgh University and later at St Andrews.

It was said of him that he: 'had too much learning and too much originality to be at his best in elementary teaching. For those, however who could follow him his teaching was a delight.' In 1860, he succeeded in gaining the taxing appointment to the chair at King's College, London, where he remained for six years. Subsequently he worked from Glenlair and made periodic trips to Cambridge, where he was appointed the first Cavendish Professor of Physics in 1871. He designed the Cavendish Laboratory, which opened officially in 1874.

By 1879 his health was obviously failing, advanced abdominal cancer was diagnosed and on 5th November he died. He is buried at Parton, where his wife was laid beside him seven years later.

His contribution to science is immense. As a youth he worked on polarised light and created a camera lucida. He studied colour: our colour television sets have arisen from his experimentation. His essay on *The Motion of Saturn's Rings* was entered for the Adam's prize at St John's College Cambridge, and won: his explanation was confirmed by the Voyager spacecraft in recent times. In photography, another of his fields of interest, he created the first colour photograph in 1861 but it was 100 years before his research was applied. His work in electricity and magnetism was revolutionary. In formulating the first ever statistical law in Physics he would have been declared great, even if he had never made another contribution to science.

In summing up Dr Toolis said of James Clerk Maxwell: 'He changed everything and was promptly forgotten.'

Late in the day a handsome statue of him was unveiled in George Street, Edinburgh, on 11 June 2008. It incorporates relevant symbolism and portrays a figure with an untied shoe lace.

Dr Toolis' treatment of a very complex subject was outstanding. His PowerPoint presentation was masterly and punctuated with humour. On concluding, he received a well-deserved and rapturous round of applause.

25 October 2013

Patrick Laurie

Black grouse and the ever-changing uplands

Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society were given a talk by Patrick Laurie, a member of staff of The Heather Trust, the independent charity which represents the interests of moorland and upland areas. He is based at Holywood.

He has a particular interest in black grouse and his talk concentrated on the plight of the species in Dumfries and Galloway.

The speaker contrasted the extent of black grouse distribution in 1970, when Dumfries and Galloway held the highest concentration of black grouse in Scotland, with that today, when there is a decimated population in a widely fragmented distribution.

Mr Laurie identified the major cause of population decline as the later stages of afforestation. In the early years of planting, black grouse benefit from the cessation of intensive farming. In addition, the bare peat provides a favourable habitat for the young chicks and affords them exposure to grit. By the time plantations are ten years old, however, the benefits of open ground are gone and the dense plantations harbour predators, both mammal and raptor. There is a danger of collision with fences and, in the past, there was some persecution as black grouse were considered to damage young trees by browsing on buds or by sheer weight of perching on saplings.

Lek size in Dumfries and Galloway has fallen from averaging over 70 cocks in 1970 to less than 10 today when perhaps only 200 cocks remain. Young birds will disperse up to 20 miles. It is important that they come into contact with lekking birds during the period of behavioural latency so that they 'learn' the appropriate breeding behaviour. This would normally be fulfilled by encountering the autumn pseudo-leks. Mr Laurie postulated that in the past there was a series of large lek hubs spread over the whole region which enabled dispersing birds to encounter large leks. Now birds of both sexes are tending to display aberrant behaviour which may in the long term affect the viability of the population.

Mr Laurie is an advocate of locally informed conservation measures. As an example he noted food preferences in different parts of Britain: birch in Perthshire; hawthorn in Northumberland; willow and rowan in Dumfries and Galloway. He feels that the standard generalist conservation pattern with a wide range of shrub species, based on Scandinavian methods, was, perhaps diluting effort for British races of the birds.

Patrick Laurie's book, *Black Grouse*, is published by Merlin Unwin Books, ISBN: 978 1 906122 43 0.

8 November 2013

Revd Dr Ann Shukman

Bishops and covenanters: a Galloway perspective

Revd Dr Ann Shukman came to live in Scotland twelve years ago. As a member of St John's Episcopal Church in Dumfries she began to question how the split arose with the Presbyterian Church of Scotland and why one has bishops while the other one does not. How does it happen that the head of the church in England, the Archbishop of Canterbury, is appointed by the Prime Minister, while in Scotland Church and State are separate? The course of study on which she embarked was the topic of a well-presented, detailed talk to Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society: Bishops and Covenanters — The Church in Scotland 1688–91, which is the title of her book on the subject.

At the time of the Reformation Scotland did have bishops. The Bishop of Galloway from 1559 to 1575, Alexander Gordon, was a friend of John Knox and he renounced papistry at the Reformation Parliament of 1560, which meant that he could acknowledge his wife and have his children legitimised!

In 1610 James VI (of Scotland) and I (of England) restored episcopacy in Scotland, thereby asserting his belief in 'divine right'. It was a time of intense debate but there was no persecution. He invited Andrew Melville and other divines to London to discuss the doctrine of the 'two kingdoms', the kingdom of Christ and the secular kingdom of the State. These differing ideas dogged Scottish history from that time. Melville adhered to the belief that the church in Scotland should be 'pure'.

Dr Shukman proceeded to cover the misrule of Charles I; the National Covenant of 1638; the outbreak of the Civil War during which Cromwell opposed both episcopalianism and presbyterianism; the restoration of Charles II who executed leading Covenanters and who restored episcopacy, but retained Presbyterian structures. The fact that all ministers were obliged to accept episcopalian oversight and lay patronage was anathema to the Protesters, who proved to be more violent than any others. They were totally against bishops. They were prepared to take up arms against the civil authorities and cited the Old Testament Book of Numbers as justifying violence, instead of the more tolerant New Testament.

The opposition of the Cameronians in the South-West was fiercest where the idealogues were Samuel Rutherford, minister at Anwoth, and James Stuart of Goodtrees. James Graham of Claverhouse came to Dumfries and Galloway to wield royal authority and to have the military judge prisoners harshly. The 1680s ushered in the 'Killing Times'. Yet the religious fervour continued unabated. The great revivalist movement found expression in open air conventicles: 10,000 massed at Maybole and 7,000 at Durisdeer.

Charles II died in 1685. His Catholic brother James was tolerated until his second wife, also a Catholic, had a son who became the heir to the British throne. The outcome of the so-called 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688–91 was that William of Orange, the Protestant hero of Europe and his wife Mary, the Protestant daughter of the deposed James, sat on the throne as joint rulers. Strangely enough William had quite a close relationship with the Vatican, one of many anomalies that permeate the religious turmoil of the period.

In July 1689 the new Scottish Parliament abolished bishops and in July 1690 the Presbyterian Church of Scotland was established. In October 1690 the new Protester General Assembly ordered the purge of the universities and the removal of all the remaining episcopally-ordained parish clergy.

Thus the situation arose whereby the Scottish Episcopal Church is ruled by bishops, while the Presbyterian Church of Scotland is ruled by elders.

22 November 2013

Dr Dermot Kennedy

The prehistoric peopling of Scotland: origins, genes, cultures, environments

Dr Dermot Kennedy gave a wide-ranging, well-presented talk to Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society on the subject of The Prehistoric Peopling of Scotland. Aspects covered were Origins, Genes, Cultures and Environments. Retirement from the medical scene in the field of infectious diseases permits him to pursue this self-same field in prehistoric times. There are no easy answers in this new emerging science of population genetics, still in a formative period.

In pre-history five classic eras are recognised: Palaeolithic, Mesolithic, Neolithic, Bronze Age and Iron Age. In the stone ages females had greater equality. Subjugation came later under Indo-European influences.

In Palaeolithic times, until 12,000–13,000 years ago, Scotland was in the grip of an Ice Age and therefore unpopulated. Only the Rhinns of Islay was free of ice.

Once free of glaciation in Mesolithic times, the longest era, the land was exposed. People in southern Europe in the Franco-Cantabrian parts had only just survived the Ice Age. They were black-skinned. It then became possible for humans to spread out and eventually reach the north of Scotland. This was the origin of the first Scots, who were hunter-gatherers, moving around by boat. Pastoralism suited them better than farming.

The Neolithic era, 10,000–12,000 years ago, produced a great revolution in human terms, with a dramatic increase in population. Modern humans had migrated out of Africa about 60,000 years ago and is suggested that we may partly owe our successful adaption to the colder European climate by successful coupling with Neanderthals (1–4% of our genes are derived from Neanderthals). Although Neanderthals were pale-skinned and red-headed, genetic studies have shown that the white skin and red hair found in modern European populations arose independently by later mutation. (13% of Scots and 11% of Irish are red-headed, derived from a mutation within their founder population in the Neolithic era.) At that time also, the domestication of animals led to the appearance of diseases such as measles and smallpox in the human population.

It is now possible to track our ancestry by studying in particular mitochondrial and Y-chromosome deoxyribonucleic acid or DNA. DNA is a long molecule arranged as a double spiral or double helix. The genetic information it contains — the 25,000 to 29.000 genes in the human genome — is coded as a sequence of long chains of only four bases which are ‘read’ in successive groups of three. When a cell divides, these long chains must be replicated exactly, and very quickly. However, mistakes in copying can and do occur (think of speed-typing out a copy of the Bible, and now imagine that it takes three correct key strokes for each letter!). Such mistakes, provided they are not lethal, manifest themselves as mutations in the affected individuals and their offspring. Geneticists have established the rate at which mutations occur (i.e. once every 10,000 cell divisions or 100,000 or 1,000,000 etc) and, by knowing the average time between human generations, can calculate when a particular mutation occurred.

Mitochondrial and Y-chromosome DNA, although only a tiny portion of the total human genome, are particularly useful in establishing distant ancestry because they pass down exclusively and unchanged through the female and male lines respectively. Mitochondrial DNA passes unchanged (in the absence of a new mutation) from mother to daughter, and indeed also from mother to son, although he does not pass it on to *his* offspring. By contrast, the Y-chromosome determines maleness and therefore passes down only from father to son. By studying mutations within populations, geneticists have constructed a family tree of older and younger mutations and can trace back populations to the geographical origin of the mutation. As an instance, between 10% and 30% of the DNA of the indigenous population of the British Isles arose in the Middle East.

Some cave men were geniuses. Paintings in Chauvet Cave in the Ardèche region of France are circa 32,000 years old and are the earliest examples so far found. These artists understood perspective, a skill that then became lost until the Renaissance. There are over 300 Ice Age art caves in the Dordogne and Cantabria but entry is forbidden to about 90% of them.

Geophysical and climatic change was brought about in the Holocene period of warmer air 18,000 years ago. Melt Water, estimated at 135 trillion tons, entered the Atlantic causing progressive loss of land. Ireland became an island. A tsunami flooded the East of Scotland. Many Mesolithic sites were lost.

On Oronsay studies of shell middens have afforded information on Mesolithic diet which appears to have been healthy in that 90% was composed of fish, (hazel)nuts and shellfish. The Gaelic word for hazel is ‘Coll’, as in the name of the island of Coll.

In Neolithic times, 4,000–2,500 BC, there was a 20-fold increase in population in the first 1,000 of those years and 50-fold within 2,000 years. People advanced sporadically. Was it farmers or farming that caused the movement? Farming led to clearance of woodland, settlement and spare food. Some remarkable stone structures, the best in Europe, survive in Britain.

Migration up the Atlantic route from Basque lands involved conflict. Fortified structures for defence proved to be necessary. The metal smith provided military superiority. His status in society from the Bronze Age (2,500–700 BC) and the Iron Age (700BC– AD400) was unrivalled.

About 3 billion people speak an Indo-European language but its origins are still unknown. Anatolean farmers invaded Europe about 7,000BC. Many languages have spun off from that source. By contrast the Celtic language which developed in Spain, is spoken by few. The Celts spread their culture but not their genes. The genetic lineage of the Celts has died out — not necessarily through conflict: it was maybe bred out. Celticism is cultural not genetic. Further information may be gleaned from Barry Cunliffe’s book, *Celtic from the West*.

13 December 2013
THE JAMES WILLIAMS LECTURE
Stuart K. Munro
Life on the rocks

Professor Stuart K. Monro OBE, DUniv, FRSE, Scientific Director of Dynamic Earth, was invited by Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society to deliver the James Williams Memorial Lecture of 2013. Fittingly, in view of James’s lifelong interest in Geology, the subject chosen was ‘Life on the Rocks’.

From the outset the huge audience was spellbound. Humour permeated the talk presented in a lucid, authoritative style and delivering a body of knowledge which demonstrated how the subject has changed dramatically over the years. David Attenborough, a man who inspires, motivates, excites and stimulates people about the natural world, was and is Professor Monro's role model.

James Hutton (1726–1797) is regarded as the father of modern Geology. He believed that if the present was the key to the past and that the past is the key to the future. Siccar Point near Cockburnspath is world famous as the most important site described by Hutton in formulating his ideas on the origin and age of the earth. It remains much as it was when Hutton visited in 1788. Vertical rocks are caused by squeezing of the horizontal ones and at this site Devonian red sandstone 400 million years old, washed by the sea, reveals strata of the structure of the rocks with Silurian sediments below.

Hutton was not a good communicator but Charles Lyell's *Principles of Geology* set out the observations made by Hutton. A copy was sent to Charles Darwin and shaped the way that biological thinking was going.

The mesosaurus, early aquatic relative of reptiles, is found in both Asia and Africa: this information was revealed when the ocean floors were examined and their secrets unlocked in their magnetic properties. This fact suggested that the two continents were once joined and provides some of the earliest proof of continental drift.

Plate Tectonics is one of the big ideas in science. In the Himalayas on the riverbed of the Kali Gandaki there is a rock and in it is an ammonite fossil from the sea, which has been thrown up thousands of metres by earthquake. Rocks behave like champagne and deliver pyroclastic flows such as wiped out Pompeii. Such happenings are still taking place: witness the devastating destruction in Christchurch, New Zealand in 2010; the eruption of Eyjafjallajokull glacier in Iceland, also in 2010, which catapulted fine-grained ash into the air and grounded aircraft in Europe; the earthquake in SW Pakistan on 24 September 2013, to name but a few.

Remembering the statement that the past is the key to the future, there is a sleeping giant, namely Yellowstone, which erupts every 600,000 years. Another eruption is overdue by 30 thousand years. The magma chamber's pressure is building up by 5 metres every year.

Continental drift continues almost imperceptibly. What does the future hold? At Gullfoss Waterfall in Iceland, where America and Europe came together, a bridge was built. Europe is drifting away from America at the rate our fingernails grow. The Atlantic is widening. Australia is moving northwards and will collide with SE Asia. In 250 million years' time Scotland will be further north and cooler.

It is a dynamic earth, a small blue ball hanging in the infinity of space; but it is home, a home we are still learning about and need to know more about …

The talk ended with David Attenborough reciting the words of the Louis Armstrong song, 'What a wonderful world!'

17 January 2014

Peter Norman

The origins, archaeology, history and wildlife of the Lochar Moss

A large audience enjoyed the first talk of 2014, given to Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society. The speaker was Peter Norman, the Biodiversity Officer for Dumfries and Galloway Regional Council. His subject was 'The origins, archaeology, history and wildlife of the Lochar Moss', sometimes referred to as 'The Great Moss'.

Peter described the huge extent of the original Lochar Moss and its impact on the development of Dumfries and its environs throughout the centuries.

Utilising excellent diagrams and photographs, the speaker explained how peat mosses are formed and he described the detailed development and archaeology of the moss, demonstrating how the two were closely inter-related. Particular attention was paid to artefacts which are available to view in Dumfries Museum. Peter showed how the moss might well have been utilised for ritual deposits using evidence, such as the Lochar torque, which is a find of world importance. He suggested that the discovery of 'bog-bodies' might indicate that human sacrifices once took place.

The earliest written evidence is from a warrant dated 1524 which concerned a dispute over the rights to extract peat. Attention was then drawn to the commercial development of the moss, commencing with work carried out by the Duke of Queensberry to drain parts of it in the mid-1750s. Photographs and plans were used to show these works and their resultant effects today.

Local folk lore is associated with the moss. In September 1837 The Royal Highland Agricultural Society held their annual show in Dumfries. They paid £250 to bring an enormous steam plough to the event. For two days the demonstration was successful, but on the third day a combination of heavy rain and the attendance of over 2,000 visitors meant that the plough failed to operate. That the plough is still buried in the moss is a tale that persists: but Pater was able to inform the meeting that the engine was salvaged and transported to Egypt. Parts of the plough may well still lie in the moss despite the fact that several attempts to locate them have proved abortive.

Commercial peat extraction and forestry have had an effect on the wildlife and ecology of the moss. Some species recorded in the 1850s are no longer present, but the picture is not a totally gloomy one. The schemes to rescue parts of the moss, to clear commercial forestry and to manage the peat moss have proved successful. It is hoped that these schemes can be extended. Several extremely rare plants are present, notably Baltic Bog Moss. Bog rosemary is prevalent. The large heath butterfly is still on Longbridgemuir land, Ruthwell. Some of the key plants essential for peat formation, such as Sphagnum cuspidatum, are thriving.

Why is this moss so important? Wild life, ecological and archaeological issues may be obvious, but what may not be appreciated is that the equivalent of all the carbon emissions Dumfries produces in a year are stored in the moss. Its absence would cause carbon to be released into the atmosphere, a factor which would significantly add to our global warming problems.

The talk ended on the optimistic note that it was still possible to save parts of the moss and that over a period of many years they could be re-instated to their former glory.

31 January 2014

David Dutton

'A nasty, deplorable little incident in our political life': the sacking of the editor of the Dumfries Standard, 1957

This was the arresting and surprising title of the talk showing on the screen for the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society meeting at the end of January. It emerged that the speaker booked for that evening, had called off because of illness. 'Old Icelandic Literature' might be a topic for the future.

David Dutton, a Society member, who taught history at Liverpool University for many years before moving to Dumfries, was sufficiently well-organised to be able at short notice to present his Members' Night talk a fortnight early. The audience was not disappointed: the well-researched topic had local interest and related to a period in the lives of many in the audience.

The introduction cited several instances of press barons influencing political thinking and policy from Victorian times to the present day. Max Aitken, later Lord Beaverbrook, and successive

Harmsworths, headed by Lord Northcliffe, built up newspaper empires and reaped their rewards from Conservative and Labour Prime Ministers. Churchill, in opposition in 1949, spent five weeks writing his memoirs at Beaverbrook's luxurious holiday villa near Monte Carlo. The activities of the Rupert Murdoch empire in recent times look moderate by comparison. However, with dwindling newspaper circulations the influence of the press has inevitably waned.

By the middle of the twentieth century only about twenty small newspapers from Greenock to Aberystwyth gave their support to the Liberal Party, which had once commanded a big following throughout the country. A haemorrhaging of support in the 1930s had been caused by a split in the party over Free Trade. A new party, known as the Liberal Nationals and led by Sir John Simon, was formed. The name of the party changed to National Liberals in 1948, by which time they were virtually indistinguishable from the Conservatives.

The *Dumfries and Galloway Standard and Advertiser* remained loyal to Liberalism — superficially. Founded in 1843 and based in Queensberry Square near the Midsteeple, *The Standard*, as it was generally named, had long given support to Liberalism. James Reid, editor since 1919, was also chairman of the Dumfriesshire Liberal Association; but when Dr Joseph Hunter, MP for Dumfriesshire since 1929, joined the Liberal Nationals, the *Standard* gave its full support. Only Langholm out of all the constituency branch associations remained loyal to genuine Liberalism. Hunter's death in 1935 caused a by-election, the victor of which was Sir Henry Fildes, another Liberal National.

Major Niall Macpherson (1908–1987) won the Dumfriesshire seat in the 1945 general election. So close was his association with the newspaper that he held his surgeries in the *Standard's* offices. Genuine Liberals did not contest the seat between 1950 and 1963 for fear of splitting the Liberal vote and letting in the Labour candidate. Yet at the 1950 general election The *Standard* declared to Liberal voters that a good Liberal was standing in a straight fight against Labour. Macpherson, who styled himself a 'National-Liberal-Unionist (as he continued to do), won the seat and was later appointed Joint Under-Secretary of State for Scotland by Sir Anthony Eden.

In 1954 the octogenarian Reid stood down as editor. A.G. Williamson succeeded despite being a committed orthodox Liberal. The *Standard's* proprietors perhaps thought they could induce a change of mind. They were wrong! Williamson stuck to his Liberal principles. A marked change in editorial tone received a warm reception from the readership. When an orthodox Liberal performed well in a by-election in Inverness, The *Standard* declared that the National Liberals were now mere henchmen of the Conservatives. Personal criticism of Macpherson was, however, muted because he was a conscientious constituency MP.

The Suez crisis changed matters. Liberals like Jo Grimond denounced the military action against the Egyptian occupation of the canal whereby Eden tried to topple Nasser. Macpherson as a junior Minister had to support the Prime Minister or resign. His backing of the Government to the hilt incurred resentment from Williamson. Britain was castigated at the United Nations where it used its veto for the first time. This elicited a harsher tone towards the MP in *The Standard*: the fact that 60 nations voted against Britain in the Security Council showed the extent of world condemnation. The newspaper argued that no true Liberal could support the British government.

Macpherson was clearly annoyed by the newspaper's stance and he and Williamson were invited by the directors to a meeting in the *Standard* editor's office. The chairman asked Williamson to leave the room, his own office. The eventual outcome was that Williamson was dismissed on 19 June 1957 and replaced by R. Fergusson.

The idea that the MP had been responsible for the editor's removal was raised in the House of Commons. Labour MP for Hamilton, Tom Fraser, told the Commons that the minutes of the meeting had been deleted and new ones, which did not record Macpherson's presence, inserted. Claim and counter-claim circulated. The matter was even reported in the United States.

Harold Macmillan, who became Prime Minister in 1957, noted in his diary that this ‘ridiculous row’ had become a national scandal. Labour forced a heated debate in the House of Commons in which the words in the title of this talk were used. Parliament divided along party lines, giving victory to the Conservatives by 293 to 233.

Macpherson survived to serve under future Prime Ministers, Sir Alec Douglas-Home and Edward Heath, until 1974. In 1963 he was raised to the peerage as Baron Drumalbyn. Only then, in the resulting by-election, did the Unionist candidate drop his ‘National Liberal’ designation. The true Liberal party could now re-emerge.

14 February 2014

Elaine Kennedy

Maria Riddell — The Friend of Burns

Elaine Kennedy, former curator of Dumfries Museum and current editor of the *Transactions of Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, undertook at short notice to fill a gap in the programme, brought about through illness. Her talk was much appreciated.

Her subject, ‘Maria Riddell — The Friend of Burns’, relied largely for source material on Sir Hugh Gladstone’s Presidential Address to the Society in 1914. Burns’ biographical details are familiar to most Dumfries audiences; Maria’s are less well-known.

Maria Banks Woodley Riddell (1772–1808), born and educated in England, was one of seven children of William Woodley, owner of plantations in the West Indies and Captain-General of the Leeward Islands. It was in the West Indies that she met and married Lieutenant Walter Riddell, a widower and brother of Robert Riddell of Friars’ Carse, Dumfries. Their first daughter, Anna Maria, was born in London in 1791. Walter made part-purchase of Goldielea estate, near Dumfries, which he renamed Woodley Park in his wife’s honour. A second daughter, Sophia, was born in 1792.

While in the Leeward Islands in 1790 she had collected material for a book that was published in 1792 entitled: *Voyages to the Madeira, and Leeward Caribbean Isles; with Sketches of the Natural History of these Islands* by Maria R. She is now acknowledged as one of the earliest women writers to publish such a study in English.

Late in 1791 Maria Riddell met Robert Burns, farmer turned exciseman, who had moved from Ellisland and was now living in Bank Street, Dumfries. Burns was already a celebrity and through their friendship she became a more famous personage in history. For instance, Burns supplied her with a letter of introduction to William Smellie, first editor of the Encyclopaedia Britannica, when she visited Edinburgh in 1792. Burns warned his friend not to dismiss lightly this ‘lively West-Indian girl’.

Burns went on to list her achievements. She wrote poetry; she played the harp and piano; she sang and wrote songs. She was a keen student of Natural History and a linguist. Like the two Roberts, Riddell and Burns, she was a political radical, a supporter of the French Revolution and of parliamentary reform in Britain. Having much in common, she and Burns corresponded in 1792 and 1793.

Late in 1793 a quarrel arose between the Riddells and Burns, about which there has been much speculation and controversy. Initially Burns tried to heal the breach with Maria. On finding ‘cold neglect’, he vented his anger in ill-natured poems. Sir Hugh Gladstone commented: ‘Whatever may have been low and despicable in Burn’s nature is nowhere more clearly seen than in his attacks on Maria Riddell’. In less than a year they were again exchanging poems and songs, sharing books and discussing current affairs.

In the interim life had become difficult for Maria. Her husband had financial difficulties and was mostly away from home. She was reduced to living at Tinwald House, which she described as 'a crazy, rambling, worm-eaten, cobweb-hunting chateau of the Duke of Queensberry.'

She moved from there to Halleaths near Lochmaben where she and Burns met for the last time. She sent her carriage for him to come and dine with her in July 1796. Close to death, he met her with the memorable words: 'Well, Madam, have you any command for the other world?'

The appreciation of Burns, which Maria was invited to prepare for the Dumfries Weekly Journal, is generally accepted as one of the most informative first hand descriptions of Burns as a writer and as a man. Possibly harking back to their estrangement she wrote: 'He was candid and manly in the avowal of his errors, and his avowal was reparation.' (Elaine urged her audience to seek out this article of about 6,000 words in order to gain a true picture of him.)

Maria facilitated the acquisition of material for Dr James Currie's biography of Burns. Furthermore, she maintained her interest in his widow, Jean and the family.

In 1797 she left Dumfriesshire for good and went to live in Dorset and later London. That year her daughter Sophia died of whooping cough. Her husband, who had deserted her, died in the West Indies in 1802. In that same year she edited *The Metrical Miscellany* of songs by herself and eminent people of the day. She began to move in the highest society, including royal circles. Sir Walter Scott was enchanted by her.

She married a landowner from Flintshire, Colonel Phillips Lloyd Fletcher, in 1808. Sadly she died in December of that year at the age of 36 years, one year short of the lifespan of Robert Burns.

28 February 2014

Brian Morrell

The Life and Times of Sir John Richardson, Our Forgotten Local Hero

The Life and Times of Sir John Richardson, Our Forgotten Local Hero was the topic of the talk given by Brian Morrell of the World Wildlife Trust, Caerlaverock, to Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society.

Spitzbergen Barnacle Geese, having come close to extinction at 300 in the 1940s and now numbering 300,000, winter at Caerlaverock. Brian has paid four visits to their summer breeding grounds, which lie farther north than Alaska and Siberia. In modern times it was possible to fly straight to his destinations. Nowadays accoutrements for such expeditions include an electric fence, tepee and portable stove, plus of course a rifle because of the threat of encounter with a polar bear. Compare that with the conditions later in the talk experienced by Sir John Richardson in the course of the three expeditions he joined in the 1800s.

John Richardson (1787–1865), the eldest of twelve children, was born at Nith Place, Dumfries, on 5 November. His father, Gabriel (1759–1820), hailed from Kirkpatrick Juxta and his mother, Anne Mundell, came from Mouswald. The family settled at No 11 Nith Place. Gabriel, a brewer, produced a fine porter. The business, now demolished, survived until 1910/11. Gabriel was Provost of Dumfries. Anne lived to the age of 80 years. The family gravestone is in St Michael's Churchyard.

John, who was taught at home, began to read at the age of four. Robert Burns, resident nearby, visited the Richardson home regularly. He loaned John a copy of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*. Burns' son, Robert, was a friend and contemporary at Dumfries Grammar School.

Two days short of his thirteenth birthday John became an apprentice to his uncle, a surgeon, Dr James Mundell, at his High Street practice. Attached also to Dumfries and Galloway Royal Infirmary, John would write up the Minutes of meetings and perform junior doctor services. He qualified as a surgeon at nineteen years of age.

He joined the Navy as assistant surgeon and served on six ships; he rose to full surgeon on 'The Blossom'. He returned in 1812 to complete his M.D. at Edinburgh University. He married Mary Stiven in 1818.

The British Government offered £20,000 to the man who succeeded in finding the North-West Passage. Having no previous experience, Sir John Franklin decided to lead an expedition (1819–1822), which Richardson joined as a surgeon and naturalist. Landing in Hudson's Bay, the expedition set off on foot. Having run out of food, they were reduced to scraping lichen off rocks. While crossing a river Richardson lost the feeling down one side of his body. Hood and Richardson were on their own when they met up with Michel Terohaute, who appeared to have a supply of fresh meat. The suspicion was that he had turned cannibal. Michel shot Hood and Richardson thereafter shot Michel. Having traversed some 5,500 miles, Richardson returned to Chatham for a couple of years.

The second expedition (1825–1827), with Franklin was safer. As a naturalist Richardson was in his element identifying new species of insects, birds and plants: thus, for instance, Richardson's cackling goose (a sub-species of Canada goose), Richardson's ground squirrel, skunk, owl and Franklin's Gull, etc, found their way into *Fauna Boreala Americana*, published in 1828 (and which can be read online).

In 1831 his closest brother and his wife died. He met and married Franklin's niece, Mary Booth. She died in 1845. He had four sons and two daughters. His third wife was Mary Fletcher.

His name had become established in the naturalist world; and also in the medical world through his groundbreaking work, promoting hygiene and fresh air at Haslar Hospital, Portsmouth. He corresponded with Darwin, Florence Nightingale and David Livingstone.

Richardson did not join Franklin's third expedition because of the need to stay behind and care for his family. However, he set out in 1845 to find his friend, who was reported lost. He was joined by a doctor-surgeon, John Rae from Orkney. The overland treks were tough for Richardson, now in his sixties. He had a heart attack. John Rae stayed with the expedition and four years later he found the remains of Franklin's expedition. Again cannibalism was suspected. Exactly who found the North-West Passage has been the subject of controversy.

On returning home Richardson continued medical work at Haslar. He moved in retirement to Grasmere where he lived at Llancrigg, now a hotel (which Brian visited). In 1846 he was knighted by Queen Victoria; Dublin University awarded him an Hon. LLD. Sir John Richardson died at the age of 72 and was buried in St Oswald's Churchyard, Grasmere.

Various Richardsons were in the audience and Mrs Balmer, in particular, had interesting information to add to an excellent talk. A biography of 1868 was written by J. McIlwraith.

Sir John Richardson deserves to have more honours conferred on him by his home town. There is a plaque in Nith Place; late in the day, a street, Sir John Richardson Place, has been named on the former Cresswell Hospital site; and moves are afoot to have him listed on the plaque at Dumfries Academy commemorating famous former pupils.

14 March 2014

Jim Johnson

By Leaves We Live: Some Thoughts About the Continuing Relevance of Patrick Geddes

New and Old Edinburgh and the enduring legacy of Patrick Geddes was the subject chosen by Jim Johnson, architect and former director of the Old Town Committee for conservation and renewal, when he spoke to Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society in March.

Patrick Geddes (1854–1932), a polymath and man of action, was the youngest child of a very intelligent father who educated and guided his son, especially in practical mathematics. Geddes' views on city planning were formed by his home setting on Kinnoull Hill, Perth, where he spent his early childhood and from which the rural hinterland could be viewed.

Geddes gave up studying Botany at Edinburgh University after one week. He did not believe in exams, as a result of which his career advancement maybe suffered later in life. He went to London to work under Huxley, a follower of Darwin. In 1879 he became a demonstrator in Botany at Edinburgh University. His interest extended from the microscope to planning where he learned to classify information according to a triad of place, work and folk.

In the 1860s and 1870s he occupied a flat in James Court in the Lawnmarket, which had become a place for those living in poor conditions, since wealthier people had moved to the New Town. He did not want to demolish the whole area as Haussmann did in Paris and as had been done in Chambers Street, Edinburgh. Be gentle and don't lose the historical context were his guiding principles. Thus he practised 'conservative surgery' in the Lawnmarket. 'The task of town planning is not to coerce people:' they must be given care as tender as for flowers.

In 1880 he married Anna, a remarkable lady, who accepted the slum conditions of the Lawnmarket. They were always short of money. They had two sons and a daughter.

Geddes applied unsuccessfully for the chair of Botany at Edinburgh, despite having secured Darwin's support. In that capacity he would have been in charge of the Botanical Gardens.

One of his supporters set up a funded chair for him as Professor of Botany at University College, Dundee, in 1883 where he worked only in the summer term. He and (Sir) John Arthur Thomson published five or six collaborative studies over the ensuing 30 years.

When working in India in the 1890s he started summer schools, for which he engaged good speakers from Europe where he had travelled widely. They were popular with women teachers and helped him reach a wider public.

In mid-career, he had a fundamental disagreement with Darwin and Huxley. Instead of the 'survival of the fittest' he believed that 'individual cells become diminishingly competitive and contribute to the whole.'

At Ramsay Gardens, Edinburgh, now a National Trust property near Edinburgh Castle, he had a seven-bedroomed flat on the third and fourth floors. He could not afford to occupy it and let it to his son-in-law, Frank Mears, who in turn let it. Gradually people were attracted back into the Old Town. He began to buy up properties for use as student halls, at Riddle's Court for example, which extends three or four floors below ground level. It is now used as an education building; the hope is that it will become a Geddes Centre. He set up several of these hostels as self-governing co-operative settlements. Sadly for him students did not share his strong moral outlook.

He used the Camera Obscura on the roof of Observatory Tower in High Street as a teaching aid: the views far and wide helped to inculcate the principles of surveying which he had gained from Kinnoull Hill. The first ever Town and Country Planning Exhibition was staged in Edinburgh in

1911. He and Frank Mears planned it. During the subsequent voyage to India the exhibition sank and had to be re-done.

From 1915 he was regularly in India for the next 20 years. Instead of wholesale clearing of towns, he relieved congestion by opening up alleyways to let air in and he planted trees. The reservoirs were thought to attract mosquitoes. He cleaned them up by introducing fish and ducks. In India he was remunerated for his work.

The year 1917 brought personal distress: his elder son, who had served alongside his father, was killed by shrapnel; and his wife died.

In his later years his energies and enthusiasms continued unabated. He was invited to plan a Zionist University in Jerusalem. In 1923 on his last voyage back from India, he landed at Montpelier to set up a College des Ecossais, a project which he continued until his death and which involved his love of building, creating gardens and planning the environment. He was in great demand as a lecturer in the USA and he was still engaged in his annual summer commitment in Dundee.

In 1931 he accepted the offer of a knighthood, an honour, which he had rejected 20 years previously. He believed it would prove to be more rewarding financially, although he was not a mercenary man. Unfortunately it entailed spending that winter in London — to the detriment of his health.

He was always fond of pageants and his funeral was his best pageant ever. 'By leaves we live … and we live not by the jingling of coins but by the fullness of our harvests.' Patrick Geddes.

Two years ago his statue was erected in the public garden of Sandeman House, off High Street, Edinburgh. His sculpted head sits atop a beehive on which the occasional bee crawls. Jim Johnson's book, *Renewing Old Edinburgh: the enduring legacy of Patrick Geddes*, will give further insight into a fascinating subject and an in-depth appraisal of 'The Father of Town Planning'.

12 April 2014

Warren Bailie

Dunragit: the prehistoric heart of Galloway

The last meeting of Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society for the season 2013–2014 was held in Castle Douglas Church Hall in Queen Street. Warren Baillie from GUARD Archaeology Limited addressed a large audience on the subject of 'Dunragit, the Prehistoric Heart of Galloway'.

He had been involved in the excavations at Dunragit for 20 months and, having just scrubbed up for the presentation, arrived almost hotfoot from the archaeological site. The Society was treated to one of the earliest reports of what has been considered to be a most successful and exciting period of study, brought about thanks to a vital re-routing of transport: hence the avowed claim that Dunragit was the prehistoric 'heart' of Galloway, though it is still not clear why this particular stretch of land holds such rich archaeological material.

Warren presented a series of excellent slides to accompany a very informative talk, thus making it difficult, in the absence of the pictorial material, to give as colourful a report.

The opportunity to conduct this important project was offered by the decision to create the Dunragit bypass on the A75 to avoid the Challoch railway bridge, the scene of innumerable collisions and cause of frequent disruption of traffic. Transport Scotland, Historic Scotland, Amey Mouchel and R.J. McLeod were all involved in the scheme.

Previous archaeological site studies had been conducted by Manchester University using Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland aerial photographs in the period

1999–2002 at Dunragit and Drumflower. A third site, Droughduil Mound, was excavated by Julian Thomas in 2002.

GUARD Archaeology, during the recent exploration, found evidence from multiple periods dating back 9,000 years in an area of about 7.4 kilometres, straddling both sides of the A75. Remarkably these included a Mesolithic occupied site; a Neolithic/Bronze Age presence; a Bronze Age Cemetery complex extending over multiple phases; and an Iron Age settlement. Ten buildings were found and sixty-two archaeological sites were recorded.

The mode of the search comprised digging 252 separate trenches, 40 metres long and creating a central trench from which 20-metre offsets branched. Archaeology was present almost throughout the whole site.

Immediately the topsoil was removed it was surprising to find quite large post holes, 6 metres deep: clear-cut features are not expected on a Mesolithic site. Multi-element sampling was conducted at two-metre intervals. Worked stone lined the pit from its base. Approximately 20,000 flint pieces and various tools came to light. (R.J. McLeod employed `www.hawkeyesscotland.com` aerial photography to monitor what we were doing, said Warren.)

At the scene of Neolithic/Early Bronze Age activity beads, beakers, an arrow head, two jet necklaces, both associated with pots, were found but no bodies or bones came to light. Jet from Whitby was involved in creating the precious necklaces, such as had never been found in the area before and which required most careful handling.

The Bronze Age cemetery complex threw up quite a few burnt mounds. It will be interesting to see how they tie in when dated. Ring ditches and post-hole lines show up on the overview. The posts must have been major features at the time. A serrated flint artefact, a small pot with lots of decoration and a human bone were found. There was evidence of aceramic and ceramic cremations on site. Burnt wooden planks were in situ, causing specialist archaeobotanist, Susan Ramsay, to be called in but, although various theories were considered, the experts remain baffled. An inverted urn with a perforation gave testimony to an adult cremation but nothing had been placed beneath to prevent the contents from escaping.

The Iron Age settlement, revealed by a crop-mark, presented a different environment. Several structures, each one unique and each one within a ten-metre diameter showed up. Hearths and a possible furnace were revealed for about 10 days, but no waste site was found. A hammer, rubbing stones, a perforated stone disc, and a quern stone fragment were unearthed. Thereafter very wet weather and heavy snow disrupted the scene in the spring of 2013.

There is more to be found on the edge of the new A75. Only four out of eleven sites have been worked. A much bigger settlement awaits detection. Clarification is confidently expected once samples are inspected and dating has taken place.

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The Early Crosses of Galloway, by W.G.Collingwood, reprinted from *TDGNHAS* ser.III, vol.10, 1922–3. (49 crosses illustrated and discussed, 37pp. £1.50 plus post and packing)
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