Transactions

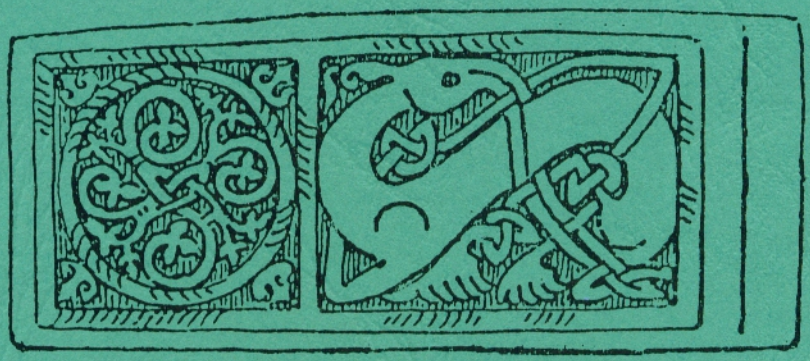
of the

Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History

and

Antiquarian Society

HODDOM VOLUME 2



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EDITORIAL

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

A list of members appeared in volume 63, and a copy of the current Rules appeared in volume 61.

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Limited grants may be available for excavations or other research. Applications should be made prior to 28th February in each year to the Hon. Secretary. Researchers are also reminded of the Mouswald Trust founded by our late President Dr R. C. Reid, which provides grants for work on the Early Iron Age, Roman, Romano-British and Early Christian periods. Applications for grants should be made to Primrose and Gordon, Solicitors, Irish Street, Dumfries.

The Council is indebted to Historic Scotland for a grant towards the publication costs of Chris Lowe's and Olwyn Owen's papers on Hoddom and Halfway House, Kirkcowan, respectively.

The illustration on the front cover is of the Wamphray "grave slab" from the article "The Early Church in Dumfriesshire" by W. G. Collingwood, in volume 12, Series III (1926) of these *Transactions*.

AN UNUSUAL REPTILIAN TRACKWAY FROM LOCHARBRIGGS, DUMFRIESSHIRE

by

J. B. Delair

Introduction

Last century, when quarrying was much more actively pursued than today, fossil footprints (ichnites) were repeatedly encountered at several quarries in Annandale and in one at Green Mills in Nithsdale. The finds occurred either as natural casts or moulds on the surfaces of slabs of fine-grained Permian sandstone excavated at those workings. The footprints themselves displayed a wide range of foot shapes and sizes and an equally variable degree of individual preservation; thus, while some were remarkably detailed, others were scarcely more than squelch-marks.

Most of the discoveries consisted of footmarks arranged more or less in regular series representing tracks or portions of tracks. The shapes of the individual footmarks one to another immediately indicated that these 'trace fossils', as they are now termed, had been made by primitive reptiles, although in no documented instance have bony remains been found in association with footprints in southern Dumfriesshire.

The present paper notices a recent discovery exhibiting some unusual features.

Brief History of the Earlier Annandale Discoveries

The first known find of fossil footprints in Annandale, made at Corncockle Muir, occurred in 1828, but others of great interest, came to light not long afterwards at Craigs, Redhill, Locharbriggs, Templand, and Corse Hill, and at Green Mills in Nithsdale. These aroused much interest among contemporary naturalists, who described, named and debated several of these early discoveries in a whole series of publications of uneven merit. Extinct tortoises were initially thought to have originally created some of the footprints, although even before the mid-1800s had been reached it was realised that other saurians must have made some of the others, Accordingly, *Chelichnus*, *Herpetichnus*, *Saurichnis*, *Chelaspis* and *Batrichnis* were proposed as separate 'ichnogenera' to distinguish the various kinds of footprints discovered.[1]

A little later, in 1853, Sir William Jardine published a detailed account of the best specimens then discovered, in a sumptuous volume devoted exclusively to them and which featured life-sized coloured illustrations of all the finest examples. He described and named several new varieties (ichnospecies) of footprints referable to the above named ichnogenera and added a further new ichnogenus, *Actibates*, to the list to accommodate a number of other then novel footmarks.[2] The great value of Jardine's visually splendid book was that it illustrated for the first time all the kinds of Annandale fossil footprints then named, and, as such, was an invaluable record.

1. Delair, J. B. 1966. "Fossil Footprints from Dumfriesshire, with descriptions of new forms from Annandale", *Trans. Dumfries. & Galloway Nat. Hist. & Antiq. Soc.*, 3rd series, vol. xliii, pp. 14-30; see pp. 15-16.
2. Jardine, W. 1853. "The Ichnology of Annandale, or Illustrations of Footmarks impressed on the New Red Sandstone of Corncockle Muir" (Edinburgh).

Although additional finds of fossil footprints continued to be made in Annandale up to the close of the nineteenth century the post-Jardine years witnessed a marked dwindling in the number of such discoveries, as quarrying operations there declined or, as may sometimes have been the case, incentives to report and preserve new finds faded. Indeed, both quarrying and discoveries had virtually ceased in Annandale by World War I.

Nevertheless, scientific interest in the previous discoveries continued unabated, and in 1901, for example, Geikie suggested that some of the Corncockle footmarks had perhaps been made by Labyrinthodonts (extinct amphibians) rather than by reptiles.[3] Then, eight years later, Hickling, in an important review of all the forms of British Permian inchnites then known,[4] reaffirmed their reptilian genesis. As pointed out by the present writer in 1966, however, Hickling's review did not apparently encompass all the Annandale material available at the time,[5] although it did, for the first time, compare the Dumfriesshire footprints with others of coeval age found during the 1860s near Penrith in neighbouring Cumberland,[6] and demonstrated that all these ichnites could henceforth be regarded as useful Permian guide fossils.

Various references to the Annandale footprints continued to appear over the next fifty years, a period which saw comparisons made with Permian ichnites from continental Europe and the perpetration of a surprising number of nomenclatural errors.[7] Indeed, the latter were not in fact generally recognised until the appearance of the present writer's resurvey of these trace fossils in 1966, when several specimens not examined by Hickling in 1909 were listed and new ichnogenera, *Cardiodactylum* and *Procheirotherium*, and ichnospecies, *Chelichnus pricei* and *Herpetichnus robustus*, were described in some detail.[8] A year later, the same writer noticed twelve further Permian tracks or portions thereof from Annandale, then only just acquired (in September 1966) by the Royal Scottish Museum in Edinburgh, and two others respectively housed in the Institute of Geological Sciences in London and the Sedgwick Museum in Cambridge.[9] The Edinburgh specimens represented a collection formed during the nineteenth century and were certainly never a part of the material studied by Hickling.

In 1971, Haubold reviewed all the Permian ichnites of Europe and concluded that the ichnogenera *Batrichnis* and *Saurichnis* were synonymous with *Chelichnus*, and that *Chelaspis* probably was also. One of the ichnospecies attributed to *Chelichnus* by Jardine in 1853, *C.ambiguus*, and the form named *Herpetichnus robustus* by Delair in 1966, were transferred to the American *Laoporus* (founded by Lull in 1918 on material from Colorado[10]), as *L.ambiguus* and *L.robustus* respectively. However, Haubold retained

3. Geikie, A. 1901. "The Scenery of Scotland", 3rd edition (London); see p. 456.
4. Hickling, G. 1909. "British Permian Footprints", *Mem. Manch. Lit. & Philos. Soc.*, vol. liii, no. 22, pp 1-30.
5. Delair, J. B. 1966. *Op. cit.*, p. 17.
6. Delair, J. B. 1966. *Op. cit.*, p. 14.
7. Delair, J. B. 1966. *Op. cit.*, pp. 17-18.
8. Delair, J. B. 1966. *Op. cit*, pp. 18-25.
9. Delair, J. B. 1967. "Additional Records of British Permian Footprints", *Trans. Dumfries. & Galloway Nat. Hist. & Antiq. Soc.*, 3rd series, vol. xliv, pp. 1-5.
10. Lull, R. S. 1918. "Fossil Footprints from the Grand Canyon of Colorado", *Amer. Journ. Sci.*, series 4, vol. 45, pp. 337-346.

Actibates, *Cardiodactylum*, and *Procheirotherium* as valid, if problematical, ighnogenera presently incapable of satisfactory classification.[11]

A general history of all the Dumfriesshire discoveries and published opinions about them up to 1972 was given by Sarjeant in 1974,[12] the footprints themselves again receiving attention by Haubold and Katzung the same year.[13] One year later, Paton listed all the Annandale specimens in the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh, in an official catalogue of the fossil vertebrata preserved there;[14] and in another publication produced in 1979 Haubold summarised virtually everything known about each of the Dumfriesshire ichnogenera as part of a study of all European footprints of Permian age, classifying the different forms more or less as in his earlier study of 1971.[15]

Subsequent references by Leeder *et al*[16] and Mossman and Sarjeant[17] amount to little more than brief distillations of previous summaries of the Annandale evidence.

More important was Sarjeant's 1982 account of the first definite occurrence of *Laoporus* footmarks resembling those previously described from Corncockle Muir, as *Laoporus* (*Herpetichnus*) *robustus*, from Permian strata at Lazonby near Penrith.[18] This showed that the Cumbrian record included not only the *Chelichnus* footprints reported by Hickling in 1909 and Delair in 1967, but also a second typical Annandale form, *Laoporus*, thereby confirming that the Permian ichnofaunas of Dumfriesshire and Cumbria were indeed closely similar.

Conversely, Sarjeant's list of the Dumfriesshire specimens in his 1984 catalogue of ichnites in various British museums[19] was, though useful, essentially a composite of those issued by Delair in 1966 and 1967 and certainly not as factually substantial as his supplemental work with Delair in 1985.[20] This detailed several interesting, but long forgotten or little known, early nineteenth century accounts of discoveries at Corse Hill, Craigs, and Corncockle Muir. Inadvertently omitted from Sarjeant's otherwise monumental review of British ichnites of 1974, these increased the relevant literature to ever more impressive dimensions.

As far as is known, no further references to these trace fossils have appeared since 1985, although at least one new discovery, made at Locharbriggs, *has* taken place. Of singular import, it is discussed in some detail against the historical backdrop just outlined.

11. Haubold, H. 1971. "Ichnia Amphibiorum et Reptiliorum fossilium", in O. Kuhn (editor), "Handbuch der Palaeoherpetologie" (Stuttgart), 124 pp.; see pp. 90-91.
12. Sarjeant, W. A. S. 1974. "A History and Bibliography of the Study of Fossil Vertebrate Footprints in the British Isles", *Palaeogeography, Palaeoclimatology, Palaeoecology*, vol. 16, no. 4, pp. 255-378.
13. Haubold, H. 1974. "Die Fossilen Saurifährten" (Halle-Wittenberg), 168 pp.
14. Haubold, H., and G. Katzung. 1974. "Die Position der Autun Saxon-Grenze (Unt. Perm.), in Europe und Nord-Amerika", *Z. Geol. Wiss. Themenheft*, (Berlin).
15. Paton, R. L. 1975. "A Catalogue of Fossil Vertebrates in the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh. Part 4: Amphibia and Reptilia", *Royal Scottish Museum Information series*, no. 5, ix + 34 pp; see pp. 25-30.
16. Haubold, H. 1979. "Die Tetrapodenfährten aus dem Perm Europas" (Halle), 55 pp.
17. Leeder, M. R., R. S. Hazeldine, and A. P. Howard. 1981. "Coastal plain facies of Carboniferous and Jurassic age in North-East England and Southern Scotland", pp. 2.1-2.11 in T. Elliot (editor) "Field Guide to Modern and Ancient Fluvial Systems in Britain and Spain", *Proc. 2nd Internat. Fluvial Conf.* (Keele), September 1981.
18. Mossman, D. J., and W. A. S. Sarjeant, 1983. "The Footprints of Extinct Animals", *Sci. Amer.*, vol. 248, pp. 74-85.
19. Sarjeant, W. A. A. 1982. "Further Vertebrate Footprints from the Lower Permian Sandstones of Cumbria", *Proc. Cumberland Geological Society*, vol. 4, pt. 2, pp. 111-114.
20. Sarjeant, W. A. S. 1984. "British Fossil Footprints in the collections of some principal British Museums", *The Geological Curator*, vol. 3, no. 9, pp. 541-580.

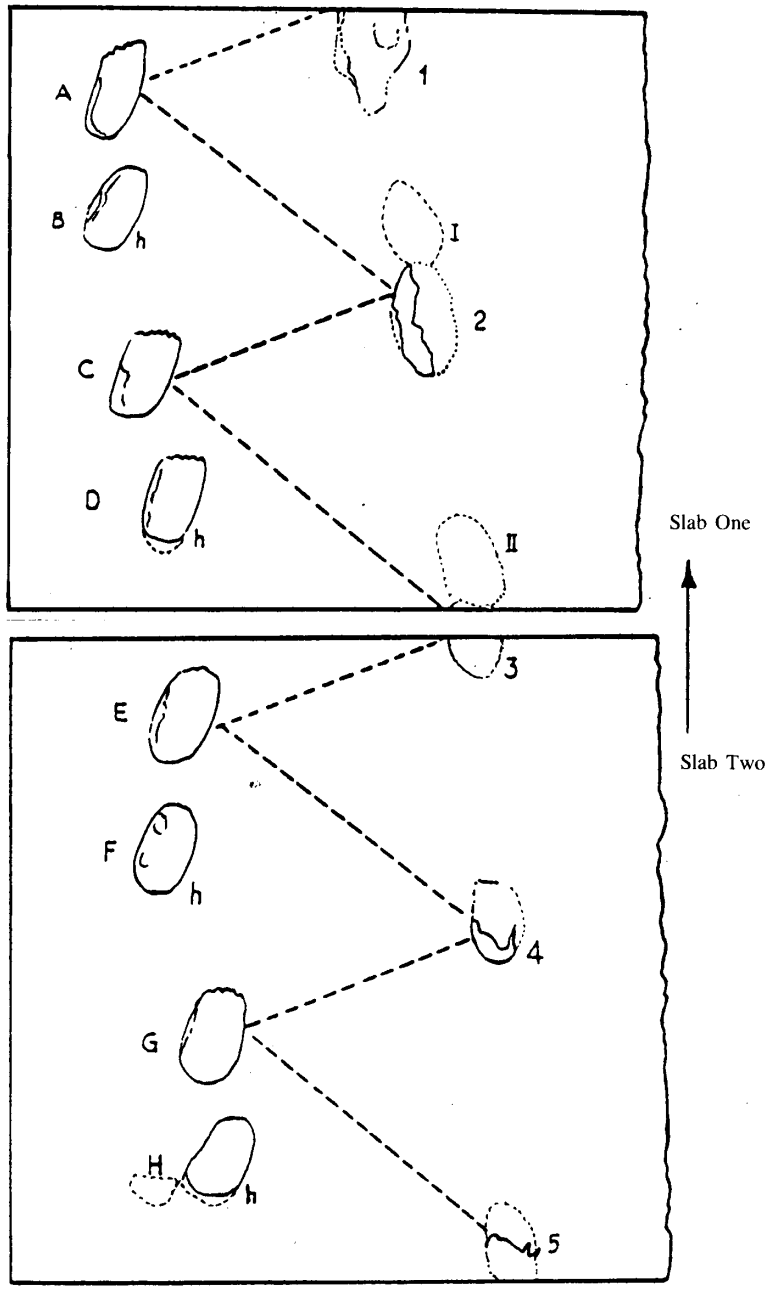

Fig. 1 Dumfries Museum

Cf. *Chelichnus* trackway from the Permian sandstone of Locharbriggs

Approximately ⅓ natural size

Slab One

Slab Two

Fig. 2. Trackway (91.2 *Dumfries Museum*) of *Cf. Chelichnus sp.* from the Permian sandstone of Locharbriggs. Approximately ⅓ natural size. *Photographs by Mary Sweeney.*

The Locharbriggs Discovery

Recent stone cutting at Locharbriggs quarry by Baird & Stevenson (Quarrymasters) Ltd. laid bare an incomplete vertebrate trackway occupying two pieces of cut Permian sandstone, Slabs One and Two (Figs. 1 and 2). These were retrieved during the summer of 1991 by the quarry manager, Donald Urquhart, who, on July 15th that year, presented them to Dumfries Museum, where they are now registered as *91.2 Dumfries Museum.*

Locharbriggs quarry (grid ref. NX 992807) is situated about 4 miles North of Dumfries.

It is not unreasonable to infer that further portions of this track, both before and behind the preserved section, originally existed but, being unnoticed, were destroyed during quarrying operations.

The surface of the footprint-bearing stratum is fine-grained, predominantly pink coloured, and extremely even; its thickness is also singularly constant throughout at 19mm (¾in.). It overlies a still more fine-grained sandstone of markedly darker colour, some 23mm ($^{9}/_{10}$in.) thick. Nowhere does this exhibit any gradation with the superincumbent footprint-bearing sandstone or with a third subjacent stratum which, as far as compaction and colour are concerned, is practically identical with that hosting the trackway. As preserved, this third stratum is 50mm (2in.) thick. The demarcation between each of these three sandstone layers is startlingly sharp and uniform.

The trackway itself is unusual in that it consists of four *pairs* of natural casts (A-B, C-D, E-F, and G-H) arranged in a line parallel to five *single*, generally indistinct, footmarks (1-5) constituting part of a continuous series. Imprints 2 and 3 on Slab One are also accompanied by indistinct 'ichnoid' shapes (I and II in Fig. 1). Though well seen in Fig. 2, these are scarcely perceptible on the actual slab unless side-illumination is applied. They nevertheless occupy the correct positions of forefeet imprints (relative to the analogous arrangement of footmarks A-H), and not improbably represent the remnants of two genuine imprints of the right forefoot. Apparently only the footmarks made by the left feet of the track maker — clearly a quadrupedal animal — have been properly preserved. The implications of this point are considered more fully below.

Owing to a general absence of preserved detail, relatively few features (distinctive of this trackway) need to be highlighted. Points of interest, however, can be gathered from a consideration of the dimensions of the footmarks, especially those comprising series A-H (Fig. 1). The dimensions are as follows.

Footmark	Greatest antero-posterior length of Footmark	Greatest width of Footmark	Distance between centres of Footmarks
A	47mm (1⅞in.)	25mm (1in.)	56mm ($2^{1}/_{5}$in.)
B	38mm (1½in.)	23mm ($^{9}/_{10}$in.)	63mm (2½in.)
C	47mm (1⅞in.)	23mm ($^{9}/_{10}$in.)	56mm ($2^{1}/_{5}$in.)
D	35mm (1⅜in.)	22mm (⅞in.)	56mm ($2^{1}/_{5}$in.)*
E	47mm (1⅞in.)	23mm ($^{9}/_{10}$in.)	50mm (2in.)
F	38mm (1½in.)	21mm($^{4}/_{5}$in.)	63mm (2½in.)
G	44mm (1¾in.)	23mm ($^{9}/_{10}$in.)	48mm ($^{9}/_{10}$in.)
H	38mm (1½in.)	19mm (¾in.)	

*The mechanical saw trimming of these slabs has resulted in an estimated sandstone loss (distributed between both slabs) of approximately 10mm ($^{4}/_{5}$in.).

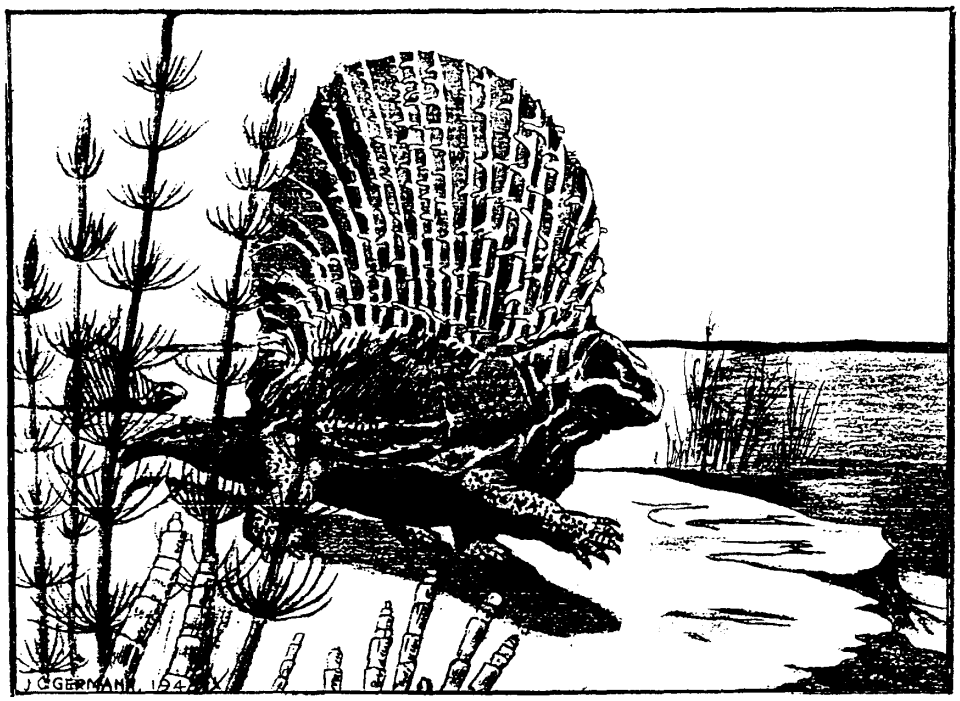

Fig. 3 After John C. German

Edaphosaurus, a Permian caseasaur: length about 5 feet

Especially noteworthy is the consistently smaller size of the hind foot imprints (designated 'h' in Fig. 1) in each *pair* of footmarks. That these do exemplify hind footmarks is indicated by the traces of small toes discernible on the outer margins of several imprints, namely, A, C, D, and G. The toe marks are indistinct and, due to the vaguaries of preservation, vary in number from imprint to imprint, the greatest number seen being four. These establish the line of advance taken by the track-maker and thus the *identities* of the smaller (hind) and larger (front) footmarks.

The five definitive imprints representing the right feet are immediately problematical in that there appear to be too few of them. Fragmentarily preserved and devoid of toe marks, each is about the size of the larger (front foot) imprints in the paired series just discussed. Consequently these must be front footmarks also. They are, moreover offset directionally from the front foot imprints in the parallel set of paired imprints, in exactly the manner in which quadrupeds advance through alternating foot-placements of opposite limbs.

If this interpretation is correct, then the effects embodied in this trackway are consistent with those of a quadrupedal reptile progressing across fine sandy terrain while putting weight on three legs only — with the body balance shifted over the left feet and the greatest weight thrown onto the forefeet — the right hind foot making no or only occasional imprints.

Several explanations for this, admittedly conjectural, are available. Either the track-maker was unable to consistently use its right forefoot through injury or disease or it may

have suffered from congenital deformation of that foot (or limb). Whatever the reason, the nearest modern analogy would be modern canine spoor left by dogs progressing (as they occasionally do) on three legs only. Such compensatory shifts of body weight and balance could well account for the poor preservation of toe-marks and the unexpectedly large size of the front feet imprints in this trackway; consistent with this is the fact that the outer margins of nearly all the left footmarks (A-H) exhibit noticeably thicker rim-like edges, as though the track-maker's main body weight was shifted well forward and to the left. The large size of these front footmarks is thus probably fortuitous rather than a reflection of a once real anatomical condition.

To the writer's knowledge, no fossil trackways exhibiting such (inevitably rare) effects have been recorded before. This specimen is therefore unique and affords a brief glimpse of a calamity experienced over 200 million years ago.

Identity of the Trackmaker

At first sight the configuration of these footmarks generally resembles the predominantly oval, toe-less, imprints of *Chelichnus duncani* from Corncockle Muir illustrated by Jardine in 1853.[21] Jardine's example, however, consists largely of quelch-marks and the similarity is superficial. Comparison with figures of better preserved imprints of *C.duncani* published by Hickling in 1909,[22] in which at least three toes occur, and with others possessing five toes also ascribed to that ichnospecies from the Cornberger (Permian) strata of Germany,[23] shows that, when clearly preserved, the long diameters of the main sole or pad of the foot in *C.duncani* tended to be transverse rather than antero-posterior as in the present footmarks. The imprints named *C.pricei*, which feature four toes,[24] are apparently closer to those under consideration but are insufficiently numerous as a series or individually well enough preserved to confirm the identity of the present track-maker as *C.pricei*.

No other described Permian ichnites resemble these Locharbriggs footmarks, which are thus closest to, but not identical with, those attributed to *Chelichnus* ichnospecies. They may, of course, ultimately prove to represent a distinct new ichnogenus characterised by antero-posteriorly long oval-shaped imprints furnished with at least four very small toes. Reference within any diagnosis, however, to the hind feet being smaller than the fore feet is considered unsafe since, as mentioned above, this detail is almost certainly fortuitous.

For the moment, therefore, it is perhaps wisest to refer to this track as Cf.*Chelichnus* (= like *Chelichnus*), without placing it firmly within that ichnogenus.

Most of the known Dumfriesshire fossil footprints and tracks have been attributed to a group of long extinct primitive reptiles called caseasaurs.[25] One of the best known

21. Delair, J. B., and W. A. S. Sarjeant. 1985. "History and Bibliography of the Study of Fossil Vertebrate Footprints in the British Isles: Supplement 1973-1983", *Palaeogeography, Palaeoclimatology, Palaeoecology*, vol. 49, pp. 123-160; see pp. 124-125.
22. Jardine, W. 1853. *Op. cit.*, pl. iii.
23. Hickling, G. 1909. *Loc. cit.*
24. Schmidt, H. 1959. "Die Cornberger Fährten im Rahmen der Vierfussler-Entwicklung", *Abh. hess. L. A. Bodenforsch.* (Wiesbaden), vol. 28, pp. 1-37.
25. Delair, J. B. 1966. *Op. cit.*, p. 22, fig. 1.

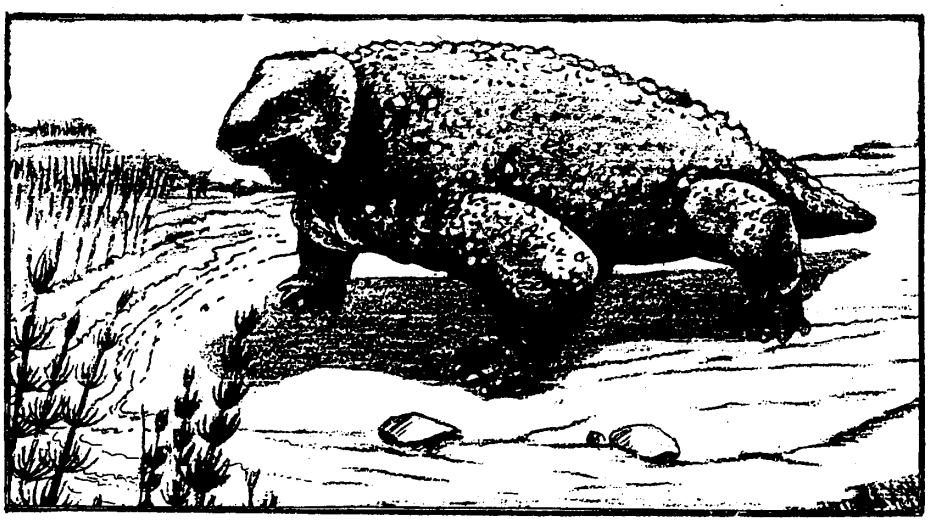

Fig. 4 After John C. German

Scutosaurus, a large Permian pareiasaur: length about 7 feet

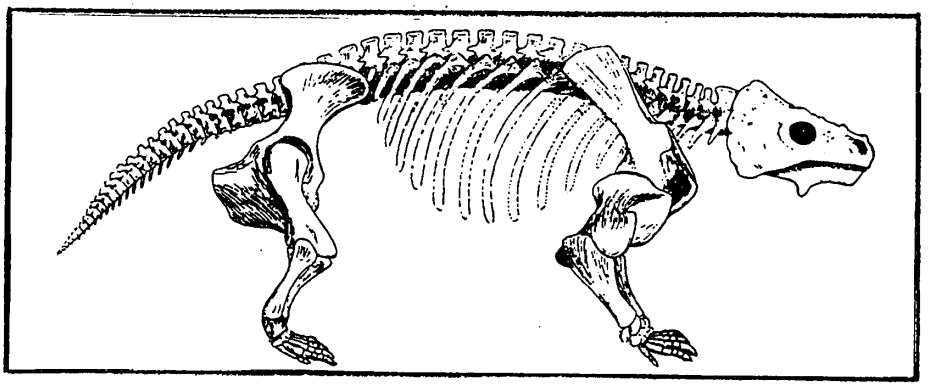

Fig. 5 After R. Broom

Skeleton (partly restored) of *Bradysaurus*: length about 8 feet

of these is *Edaphosaurus* (Fig. 3). The present track, however, was conceivably left by a small pareiasaur contemporary of the caseasaurs. *Scutosaurus* (Fig. 4), which attained the size of an ox and was a clumsy vegetarian, was one of the larger representatives of this ancient reptilian group which, as the skeleton of its near relative *Bradysaurus* (Fig. 5) demonstrates, were primitive and awkwardly constructed creatures. No bones of any of these reptiles have yet been encountered in Dumfriesshire, but the numerous footprints left in these Permian sandstones confirm that they or their relatives flourished there in considerable numbers millions of years ago.

Acknowledgements

My best thanks are due to Dr Ian Rolfe of the Royal Scottish Museum for bringing this latest discovery to my notice; to Mr David Lockwood, cultural services manager at Dumfries Museum, for making the described material available for study and for providing sundry items of helpful information; and to Prof. W. A. S. Sarjeant for kindly reading the original MS. and commenting upon it constructively.

NEW LIGHT ON THE ANGLIAN 'MINSTER' AT HODDOM

RECENT EXCAVATIONS AT HALLGUARDS QUARRY, HODDOM, ANNANDALE & ESKDALE DISTRICT, DUMFRIES & GALLOWAY REGION

by

Christopher E. Lowe,[1] with contributions by Derek Craig[2] and Dianne Dixon[3]

Location

Hallguards quarry is located three kilometres south-west of Ecclefechan in Annandale, an area of low-lying, prime agricultural land. The ruins of the old parish church and graveyard, at Nat. Grid. Ref. NY 1667 7267, dedicated to St Kentigern, lie on a lower terrace next to the River Annan, some 250 m to the south of the quarry (Figure 1).

Historical and Archaeological Background

Hoddom is traditionally associated with St Kentigern, the patron saint of the cathedral of Glasgow and reputed founder of the Christian Church in the ancient British kingdoms of Strathclyde and Rheged in the second half of the sixth century. His death (*Conthigirni obitus*) in AD 612 is recorded in the *Annales Cambriae*. According to the twelfth century Life of St Kentigern by Jocelyn of Furness, Hoddom (*Holdelm*) was the place where Rhydderch ap Tudwal, ruler of Strathclyde, met Kentigern in c.AD 573 after the latter's return from exile in Wales (*Vita cap* 32). That same source goes on to relate that Kentigern's see was temporarily established at the site, that churches were built and priests and clerics ordained (*Vita cap* 33). The whole concept of the link between Kentigern and Hoddom, however, has been viewed by Jackson (1958, 321) as a spurious invention based on later dedication evidence and a reflection of Hoddom's later ecclesiastical importance as the site of a Northumbrian monastery. Nonetheless, others have interpreted the site as an early ecclesiastical centre for South West Scotland, which, as a relic of the Romano-British Church would have been organised along episcopal and diocesan lines (Thomas 1971, 18; 1981, 293: Radford 1953, 175-7: Laing 1975, 42-5).

An eighth century Northumbrian monastery at Hoddom has long been postulated on the basis of the large corpus of fine monumental sculpture which has been recovered from the site over the past two hundred years (Collingwood 1927; 1932: Radford 1953: Cramp 1960). Indeed, the most likely period during which a Northumbrian monastery might have been founded at the site is the latter half of the seventh century or the first half of the eighth. The reigns of the Northumbrian kings Oswy (642-670) and Ecgfrith (670-685) might provide the most likely historical context, since it was at this period that the Northumbrian kingdom of Bernicia was at its greatest extent and its political hegemony was at its height.

The Hoddom sculpture is pure Northumbrian in style, execution and content. The earlier pieces are considered to be closely related to work at Hexham and Dacre, the later stones with West Yorkshire and Lancashire (Cramp 1960, 11). The figure carving at

1. AOC (Scotland) Ltd., 4 Lochend Road, Edinburgh EH6 8BR.
2. Dept. of Archaeology, University of Durham.
3. 170 Newbattle Abbey Crescent, Dalkeith EH22 3LS.

Hoddom is also closely related, in style and composition, although not scale, to the nearby crosses at Ruthwell and Bewcastle. The Hoddom sculpture is generally dated eighth to tenth century (Cramp 1960, 14: Collingwood 1932, 44-48: Radford 1953), much of it unfortunately now lost since it was broken up in the early 1940s and used as hardcore for the road up to Hoddom castle (Maxwell-Irving 1987, 213).

The remains of the church, possibly unicameral in origin but now of nave and chancel type, were partially excavated in 1915 (RCAHMS 1920, no. 271, 93-4) and re-examined by Radford in the early 1950s. The masonry was found to contain dressed Roman stone, including gutter sections and a piece bearing, within a cartouche, the inscription LEG.VI.VI. This material is assumed to have been brought from the Roman fort at Birrens, which lies six kilometres away. The building is dated to c.AD 700 by Radford (1953, 180-1; 1967, 117), the use of megalithic quoining in the nave being likened to Anglo-Saxon work at Jarrow, Escomb and elsewhere.

An eighth to tenth century *floruit* for the site may be indicated by the sculpture. Two eleventh century crozier drops have also been recovered (Radford 1955: Michelli 1986). Later activity on the site is indicated by a series of Romanesque memorial slabs, probably twelfth century in date and possibly commemorating, as Radford (1953, 183) suggests, the priests of the old monastic community. There was no attempt, however, at establishing a reformed monastery on the site, unlike the situation at many other great Northumbrian monastic houses, for example Whithorn and Jarrow, and this was clearly a factor of some potential significance for the preservation of structures and deposits. Rights to the patronage of the Church at Hoddom were ultimately ceded to the Bishop of Glasgow in the late twelfth century (RCAHMS 1920, 94: Radford 1953, 183-4). The site seems then to have survived into the later medieval period as the parish church and burial ground.

The Threat

The excavated site, threatened by quarrying, is located on a gravel terrace, some 250 m from the ruined church and graveyard which lies on a lower terrace next to the River Annan. The scant remains of a substantial ditched enclosure on the upper terrace, and in the path of the approaching gravel quarry, were first identified in December 1990 as a cropmark (Figure 1). There was every likelihood, on the basis of the known artefactual and architectural assemblage from the graveyard and the hints in the documentary record, that the enclosure ditch might well represent the remains of the *vallum monasterii*.

The Response, Methods and Approach

The line and extent of the ditch, and a terminal date for its infill, were indicated during a small-scale assessment of the site over the course of two days in January 1991 (Carter & Dalland 1991; Lowe 1991a: Areas 1 to 4 below). A magnetometer survey of the field was subsequently undertaken (Figure 1: Gater 1991a). This clarified the line of the ditch but most importantly indicated also the presence of a large number of substantial geophysical anomalies, both within and outwith the enclosure. One of these (Area 5 below) was subsequently examined as part of a second, larger, assessment exercise over the course of six days in April (Lowe 1991b). The geophysical anomaly was found to coincide with the remains of a large timber 'hall', its floor surviving substantially intact. The building has been radiocarbon-dated to the seventh or eighth century AD. A soil survey, to identify

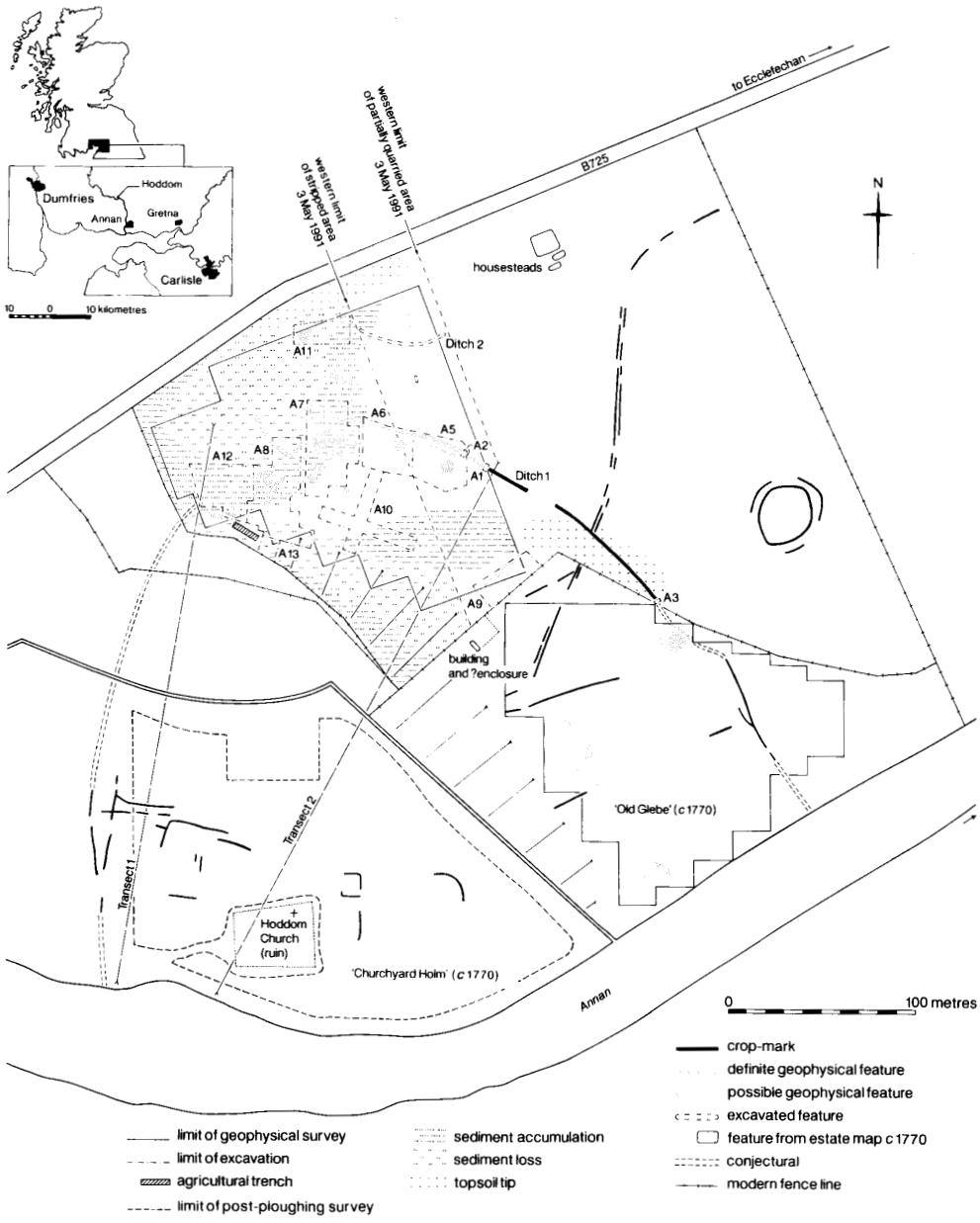

Figure 1. General site plan with excavation areas, cropmarks, geophysical anomalies.

zones of accumulation and erosion, was undertaken at the same time. Large scale open-area excavation followed in earnest, from June to October. This was augmented by soil surveys of the Old Glebe field, originally threatened by the quarry development, and the Churchyard Holm field, threatened by ploughing. A magnetometer survey was also undertaken in the Old Glebe field (Figure 1: Gater 1991b). The whole was complemented by a post-ploughing and metal-detector survey of the Churchyard Holm field. The field element of the project was concluded by a small team in December 1991. The excavations were arranged and funded by Historic Scotland.

Site Morphology: An Introduction

The site of the monastic settlement is bounded by the River Annan to the south, and to the north and east, possibly the west as well, by a ditch, the whole forming a curvilinear enclosure with the church located south of centre. The ground enclosed extends to roughly 8 ha (20 acres), comparable to the size of the enclosure at Iona (RCAHMS 1982, 36) and is an indication of the site's status. The ditch was roughly 2.6 m to 3 m wide and 1 m deep in its eroded state. It was exposed over a distance of 250 m and was traced elsewhere as a cropmark and geophysical anomaly. It appears to rise near the river in the east, extends across the upper terrace and skirts the lower margins of a low, now denuded, knoll to the west before seemingly dropping down to the river, to the west of the graveyard. The ditch was associated with a palisade slot or fence-line and in those areas to the west, below the knoll, where the site was buried by a deep topsoil, the remains of a bank were also preserved. In these areas the elements of the enclosure comprised, internally to externally, a bank, palisade, berm and ditch. Minor realignments in the course of the ditch, manifested as recuts, were also noted.

A large number of buildings, with little sign of activity in between, were located at more or less regular intervals around the perimeter of the enclosure, a reflection of the fact that most were clearly associated with fire-related activities. These were investigated through open-area excavation (Areas 5 to 8). Prospective excavation, to investigate those areas within the enclosure which were seemingly devoid of cropmark or geophysical anomalies, was also undertaken (Areas 9, 10, 12 and 13). A complex of additional structures and features in the northern part of the field, seemingly unrelated to the monastic phase of occupation on the site, was also recorded during the watching brief. Some of these were excavated as part of Area 11. Others were salvaged in advance of quarrying.

The Excavated Areas

Areas 1 - 4

These were keyhole excavations of the ditch and other cropmark features, undertaken during the early assessment stage. Charcoal from secondary ditch fill material on Area 1 was radiocarbon-dated to 920 ± 50 ad (AD 970-1030: GU-2984; *Note 1*).

Area 5

A large, post-built, timber structure (Figure 2) lay adjacent to the palisade trench and enclosure ditch, no trace of a bank surviving in this part of the site. At least two phases of occupation were noted. The building was trapezoidal and measured roughly 16.5 m

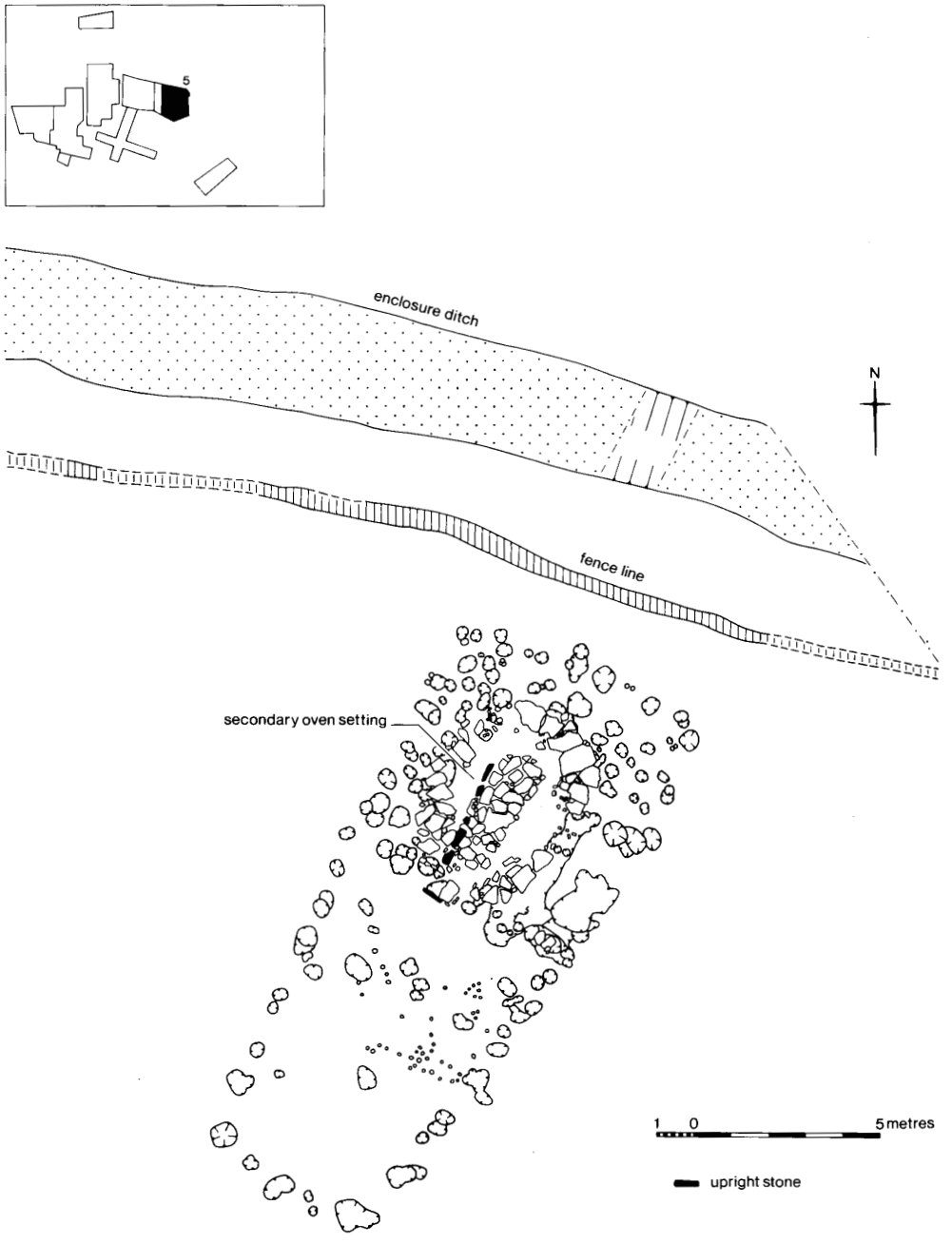

Figure 2. Area 5 post-built structure, with oven superimposed: and palisade and ditch.

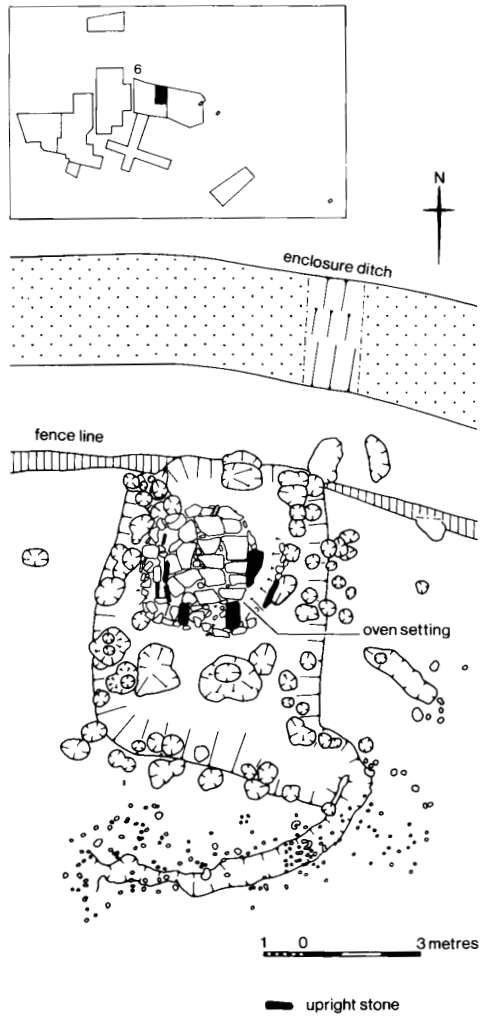

Figure 3. Area 6 post-built structure, with oven superimposed: and palisade and ditch.

long, 6.9 m wide at the north and 4.8 m wide at its south end. The side walls were slightly bowed and the remains of an internal partition wall survived towards the south end of the building. A possible entrance was traced near the north end of the east wall-line. A primary hearth was sited in the centre, near the north end of the building. Part of the primary clay floor also survived. A subcircular, stone-lined, sunken structure, 4 m to 5 m across, was subsequently inserted into the northern end of the building. It was associated with a series of post-holes, much daub and burnt clay. This feature is interpreted as a possible timber and clay-domed bread-oven. A similar structure, Saxon in date, has been recorded at Fladbury in Worcestershire (Wilson & Hurst 1968, 162).

A series of radiocarbon dates suggests that the post-built timber structure can be assigned to the seventh or eighth century AD. An *in situ* oak post, the later of two repairs in the area of the entrance to the building, has been radiocarbon-dated to 610 ± 50 ad (AD 625-685: GU-3032). Charcoal from the south-west corner post was radiocarbon-dated to 660 ± 70 ad (AD 650-790: GU-3030). Meanwhile, a radiocarbon-date of 700 ± 50 ad (AD 665-815: GU-3029) was recovered from the destruction horizon within the building. Comparable radiocarbon dates were also recovered from primary ditch fill material (550 ± 70 ad, AD 605-675: GU-3031) and hazel roundwood in the adjacent palisade trench (580 ± 50 ad, AD 625-680: GU-3028).

Area 6

A large sunken-featured building (Figure 3), of at least two phases of construction, lay adjacent to the enclosure ditch and was partially built over the course of the palisade trench. The building was sub-rectangular, roughly 7.8 m by 5.8 m and up to 75 cm deep at its south end. The north end of the building, however, had been left higher, to accommodate the base and sides of an oval stone feature, up to 3 m across.The primary, post-built, timber construction, with large post-pits to the south of the centre of the building, was subsequently partially refurbished in stone after an early conflagration. A sunken, protruding, entrance, 1.2 m wide and long, was located at the south-east corner of the building. The structure was filled with charcoal-rich deposits, containing animal bone. Two iron knives were also recovered. The building is interpreted as a possible 'smoke-house' for curing meat and the structure is similar in form to Middle to Late Saxon examples from Thetford, Dorchester and Sutton Courtenay.

Area 7

The major features comprised a palimpsest of at least three post-built timber structures and the well-preserved remains of a multi-phase, stone-built, corn-drying kiln (Figure 4).

The kiln-house was sunken below the contemporary ground surface, cutting through the enclosure bank and partially intruding upon the backfilled ditch to the north. At least one of the adjacent timber buildings was also truncated at this time. The kiln-house was square, roughly 5.9 m across within walls up to 1 m wide and high. The walls, constructed of crudely coursed large sandstone blocks, were faced internally and bonded with clay. Traces of a clay render were also present. Single post-holes, for the support of an internal wattle panelling, were located at each corner of the building and the remains of the partially paved kiln-bowl, 4.3 m in diameter, lay in the centre. Charred grain was recovered from the paved floor which extended between the bowl and the interior wall-face.

There was clear evidence of subsidence in the north wall of the building. It was subsequently revetted internally on more than one occasion, sealing the earlier floor on the north side of the kiln-house and its associated deposits. A second kiln, of 'keyhole'-type, was subsequently erected over the remains of the earlier feature and the floor on the south side of the kiln-house was re-laid. A flight of stone steps or possibly a corner-buttress was also inserted at this time in the south-west corner of the building. The kiln-flue extended through the entrance, terminating at an external hearth. Traces of a second flue, possibly fired from the same hearth, may have serviced a second kiln to the south of the building. At a relatively late date in its history, the building and a crude annexe

Figure 4. Area 7 post-built structures, kiln-house and kiln, with bank remains, palisade and ditch.

or yard to the east were filled with slag, its source unknown, and other debris. Much of this comprised hearth slag, hearth bottoms and linings, the residues of smithing (pers comm D. Harvey).

The clear ground-plans of at least two large post-built timber structures were recognised in the area to the south of the kiln-house. Both lay parallel with the ditch and appear to predate the construction of the kiln-house. One, 13.5 m by 6.75 m, was subrectangular with slightly bowed walls. A second building, immediately to the southwest, was slightly longer (15 m) and its wall-lines more bowed. The possible remains of a third building, on a different alignment to the others and truncated by the kiln-house, have also been recognised.

Area 8

The principal features comprised the enclosure ditch and bank, a series of sunken-featured buildings, an early pre-bank stone building and a large post-built timber structure.

Three of the sunken-featured buildings are relatively late since they overlie the enclosure bank or ditch. The function of the two smaller structures is not clear. The largest (Figure 5), 10.7 m by 4.4 m externally in its eroded state and 1.25 m deep, however, appears to be associated with metal-working activity, and was possibly the source of the smithing debris which was found in the kiln-house on Area 7 nearby. The pit, inside which the building was erected, overlay and cut through the backfilled ditch deposits. This coincidence of features cannot be accidental and suggests very strongly that the location of the ditch must have been known or, indeed, that the line of the ditch was still visible at the time of the building's construction.

A substantial post-built structure was subsequently constructed inside the pit. Posts, with evidence of recutting, were erected against the interior basal edge of the pit, set on average 1 m to 1.5 m apart, to form a sub-rectangular building 8.5 m long and 3.2 m wide. The remains of a sill-beam across the centre of the building appears to have divided the structure in two. Evidence for timber panelling between the upright posts, either keyed into the posts or set into a sill-beam, is inferred on the basis of the very angular form and extent of the charcoal-rich destruction horizon which extended throughout the building. The finds recovered from this surface, seemingly *in situ* material associated with the use of the building, consisted principally of lumps of smithing debris (pers comm D. Harvey) and fragments of iron objects. A large fire-box or hearth, set within a pit 40 cm deep, lay close to the centre of the building.

Two sunken entrances into the structure were located; one at the south-west corner of the building, the other in the centre of the south wall. The south-west entrance, roughly 2 m long and 1.5 m wide, appears to have been covered by a small porch or an extension of the roof. The centre south entrance, which was nearly 3 m long and 1.3 m wide, appears not to have been covered, the only associated post-holes being located close to the south wall-line of the building itself.

The building form is analogous to the Middle to Late Saxon *Grubenhaus*. The example from Hoddom, however, is probably medieval in date. Few buildings of this type and date, and on this scale, are known in Britain. On its abandonment the building appears to have been rapidly infilled, through erosion or by deliberate backfilling. Two turf-

regeneration horizons, separated by gravel infill, point to a period or periods of abandonment or changes in the local agricultural regime.

The enclosure bank was well-preserved in this area and from it was recovered a crude cross-incised pebble (Figure 6). These deposits sealed the remains of an early stone building

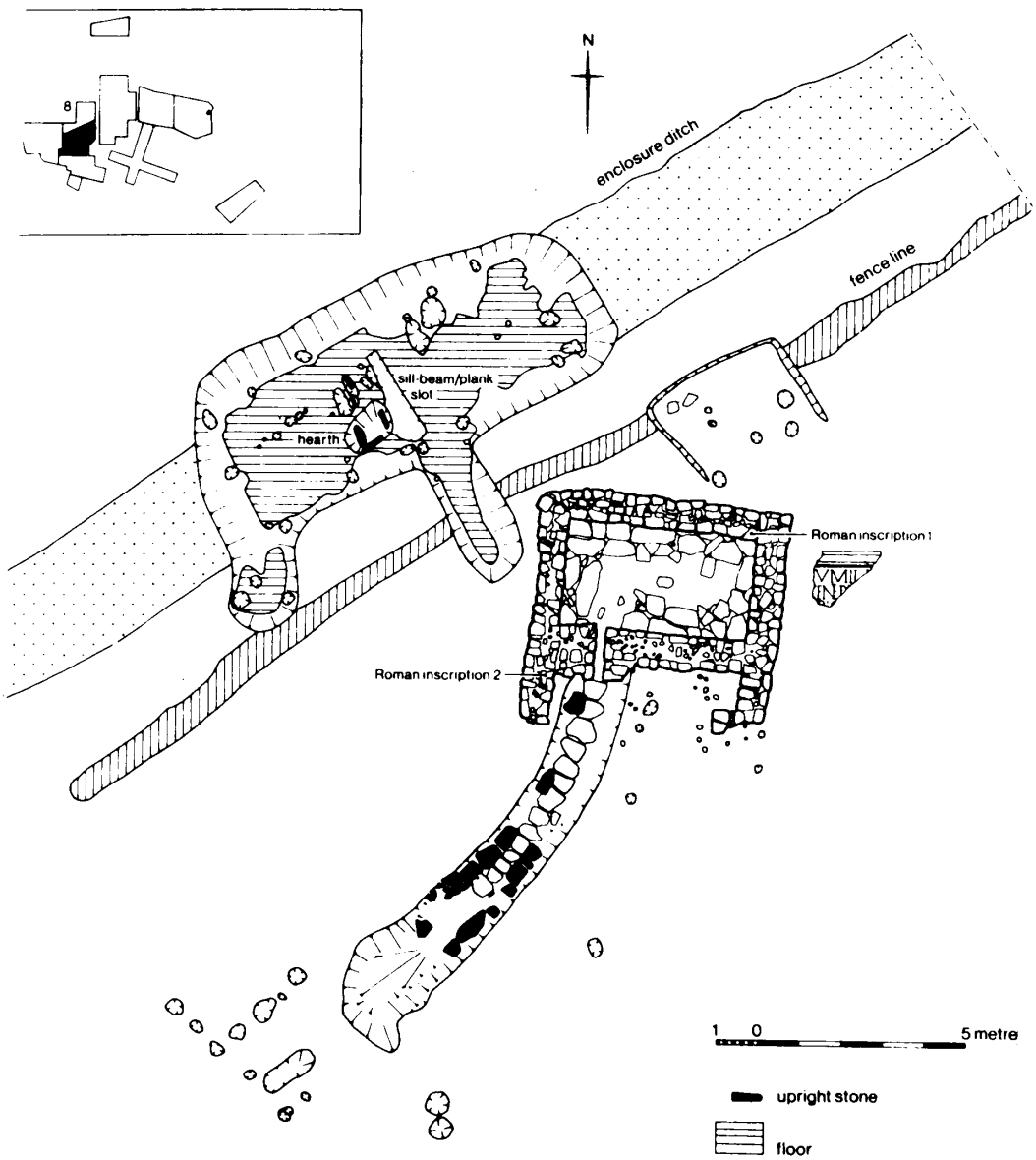

Figure 5. Area 8 sunken featured buildings (two timber structures and stone building with sunken passage), also depicting bank, palisade and ditch.

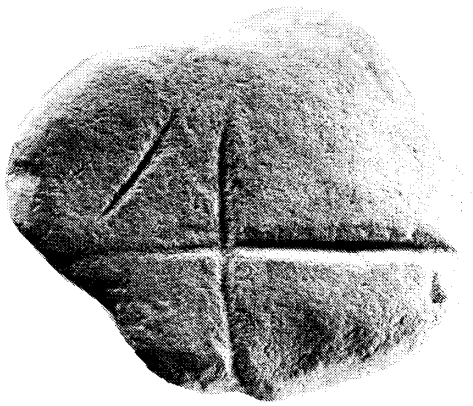

Figure 6. Cross incised pebble 151 from enclosure bank — Scale ½. For description see Appendix.

(Figure 5). The structure, oriented east-west, was buried beneath the enclosure bank and comprised both above- and below-ground elements. The subterranean element measured 4.5 m by 2.6 m within walls 70 cm to 80 cm wide and 1 m upstanding. This part of the building was constructed inside a large subrectangular pit, 6 m long, up to 4.25 m wide and 1.15 m deep, which had been cut through the old ground surface. The base of the pit was paved throughout with large flat slabs of split sandstone, closely fitted together and luted with clay, and it was on this surface that the interior walls were subsequently erected to form a small, sunken subrectangular building. Two short 'wing-walls', up to 1.3 m long and of the same width as, and of one build with, the side walls to the north, were erected over the old ground surface. Traces of a return wall, possibly a stone footing for a timber superstructure, were defined along the south. A series of post- and stake-holes in this area, however, may suggest that the south side of the building was wholly constructed in timber. The overall dimensions of the building, including the 'wing-walls' and possible south facade, were 6 m by 5.4 m.

A large amount of clay was used in the construction of the building. The walls were founded on a clay skim, overlying the floor slabs. The masonry, constructed of square dressed sandstone blocks, was also clay-bonded. The walls were backed with a rubble and clay fill and, in places, the latter effectively lined the sides of the pit.

The masonry of the building is of Roman type and may represent material robbed from the Roman fort at Birrens or from some nearer, unlocated, site. The record of the discovery of a Roman purse at Hallguards, just half a kilometre away, may be significant (RCAHMS 1920). However, it is of some interest, and potentially of some significance, that the church on the lower terrace was also constructed with Roman masonry.

Fragments of two Roman inscriptions were recovered. The first (Figure 7) was set, face-uppermost, into the north-east corner of the building and seems to contain an invocation to the *numen* or deity of the emperor:

N] VMIN [▌] ENTE . PI [▌] DIC [
. . . . .

Figure 7. Roman inscription 1 from stone building in Area 8. Scale 1/4th approx.

The second (Figure 8), built into the west 'wing-wall', contains the bottom right-hand corner of an inscription, set within a deep border. The monument appears to have been set up by soldiers of legions VIII Augusta and XXII Primigenia:

] VIII AVG |] XXII PR | F

Figure 8. Roman inscription 2 from stone building in Area 8. Scale 1/5th approx.

Both legions served together in the province of Upper Germany and it appears that soldiers from that province were undertaking building operations in Scotland. Both slabs probably date to the mid to late second century AD (pers comm Dr D. Breeze).

No trace of an entrance into the building was located. It may have been sited in an overlying timber superstructure. A carbonised oak plank, possibly part of a sill-beam associated with a timber superstructure, lay along the wall-plate on the north side of the building. The plank was well preserved over a length of 2.5 m. It had been dislodged from the wall-plate to the east but is considered to have originally extended the length of the building. The timber has been radiocarbon-dated to 450 ± 50 ad (GU-3130: AD 525 - 625).

A steep curving passage, 11 m long, 1.5 m wide and up to 1 m deep, was located at the south-west corner of the building. The passage and the building are contemporary, the cut for the passage simply being a continuation of the cut for the pit in and around which the building was erected.

The passage was entered from the south-west corner of the building, through a narrow, constructed gap in the wall 30 cm wide. The paving consisted of large flat slabs and extended from beneath the south wall of the overlying building and represents a continuation of the paved floor inside. Over the flagged base of the passage was erected a series of large subangular stones, set on edge and crudely coursed in those places where the feature was best preserved. The identified stone-types included blocks of limestone and lumps of conglomerate. The sidestones were overlain with thick red clay, free of any inclusions.

The passage was paved for just over half of its length. The sidestones extended a little further and appear to have formed a constructed end to this feature. The gap between the end of the paving and the constructed end of the sidestones was roughly 2 m long and it was in this area, at the deepest point within the passage, that the primary deposits, comprising charcoal-rich silts with unburnt bone, were found to have accumulated.

A post-built timber structure to the south may be broadly contemporary with the early stone building. Only the north wall-line and part of the east and west gable ends survived, the south wall-line having been almost wholly removed through ploughing. The building was roughly 17 m long and 5 m wide. Two heavily burnt features lay along the centre of the building. The smaller feature, towards the east end of the building, may be a hearth. The longer enigmatic feature, to the west, appears to represent a water-channel or drain, possibly associated with the heating of water. This feature, like the passage to the north, incorporated blocks of limestone and lumps of conglomerate in its construction.

Area 9

This area was located at some distance from the line of the enclosure. The truncated remains of a large number of pits and post-holes and a possible fence-line, at right-angles to the line of the enclosure ditch to the north, were investigated. A subrectangular post-built timber structure may be indicated. No floor surfaces, however, survived and no diagnostic finds were recovered.

Area 10

Extremely few archaeological features were located in this area. The post-holes and pits excavated form no coherent ground-plan.

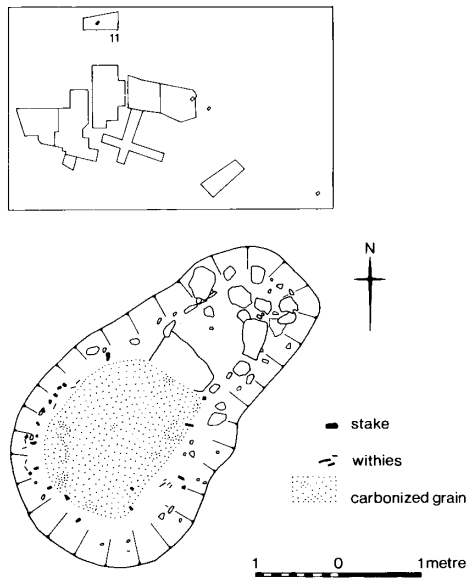

Figure 9. Area 11 corn drying kiln.

Area 11

The well-preserved remains of a small corn-drying kiln (Figure 9), part of a ditched enclosure and several miscellaneous, relatively modern, cut features were excavated in this area. The ditch, first encountered during machine stripping of the topsoil in the field to the east of Area 11, was roughly 1.25 m deep and up to 3 m wide. The ditch forms an arc to the north and has presumably been cut by the modern road (B725). The corn-drying kiln was located outside the ditch. It was pear-shaped and had been cut into the hillside, its flue, 1.6 m by 1.9 m, aligned to the northeast. The pit, 2.5 m across, cut into the sand and gravel subsoil, had been lined with clay and stones and revetted with a wicker hurdle structure, formed of oak stakes and hazel withies. The structure had burned down at least twice and on both occasions was relined with clay and refurbished in timber. A large assemblage of carbonised cereal grain (oats) was recovered from the kiln floor. A second corn-drier, of identical type and similar size, was located 50 m to the east, inside this northern enclosure. The corn-drying kilns are of a similar type to those excavated at Abercairny (Tayside Region) and Capo (Grampian Region). These have been radiocarbon-dated to the eleventh and thirteenth centuries (Gibson 1988). A similar date may apply to the examples from Hoddom.

Area 12

A large rectilinear post-built timber structure, trapezoidal in form and measuring 12.8 m by 3.2 m to 5 m wide, was located just inside the enclosure ditch. The building was aligned north-east to south-west, parallel with the enclosure ditch. It was divided internally into three roughly equal compartments, with an entrance 1 m wide giving access to the centre compartment from the south-east side. A large number of truncated features, comprising post-holes, pits, fence-lines of pre- and post-enclosure date and a hearth, the latter possibly prehistoric in date, were also located.

Area 13

The remains of a crudely coursed drystone wall were traced at the south edge of the field, coincident with the edge of the terrace. This appears to have been constructed as a revetting wall, to prevent soil creep and inundation of a small stone-lined spring or well, just over 2 m across and 50 cm deep, which was traced immediately adjacent, on the downslope side of the wall. Waterlogged organic material was recovered from the spring.

The Post-Ploughing Survey (Figure 10)

Severe plough damage was recorded in the scheduled area of the Churchyard Holm field. Fragments of a grave-cover and -marker and part of a cross-shaft, all of Northumbrian type and eighth to ninth century in date, were recovered from the ploughsoil to the east of the graveyard (Appendix 1). A Carolingian denier of Louis the Pious, minted at Pavia in Italy in 819 x 822, and a *styca* of Aethelred II of Northumbria, dating to c.841 x 844 (pers comm E Pirie) were also found. Human bone was also recovered during the survey, emphasising, like the discovery of the cross-slabs themselves, the fact that the cemetery was once more extensive than that which now survives. Over 350 items of lead, including pierced fragments of lead sheet, lead droplets and possible fragments of window came, were also recovered. Structural remains, to the east of the graveyard, and disturbed occupation material at the eastern margins of the field were also identified. Further cross-slabs (Appendix 1) and architectural fragments were also found in the rubble from the collapsed graveyard wall.

Conclusions & Prospect

An integrated programme of field assessment, soil, magnetometer and aerial surveys, large scale open-area excavation and field-walking has succeeded in highlighting the considerable archaeological potential of the site. This is the first time that a substantial proportion of the 'service-sector' of an early Northumbrian monastery has been investigated and a great potential exists for the study of the site economy, for example in its use of woodland and in its management of cereal produce. Organisation is manifested in the laying-out of the timber buildings and in the evidence for the zoning of the different food processing activities. These activities are clearly related to large-scale production, presumably for the supply of bread and meat to the monastic settlement, both ecclesiastical and secular. It is not inconceivable that income too may have been generated as a result of these activities.

Pre-monastic and post-monastic structures and features are also in evidence and it is here that a great potential exists for understanding how, and perhaps why, the monastic settlement was established on the site and how its resources and buildings were used after its abandonment. Hoddom will have much to contribute to the study of early rural monasteries in the north of Britain in the last quarter of the first millennium AD. Its contribution to the archaeology of the Late- or Post-Roman period and the later medieval period too, where rural sites are extremely rare and little explored, however, may prove ultimately to be just as significant.

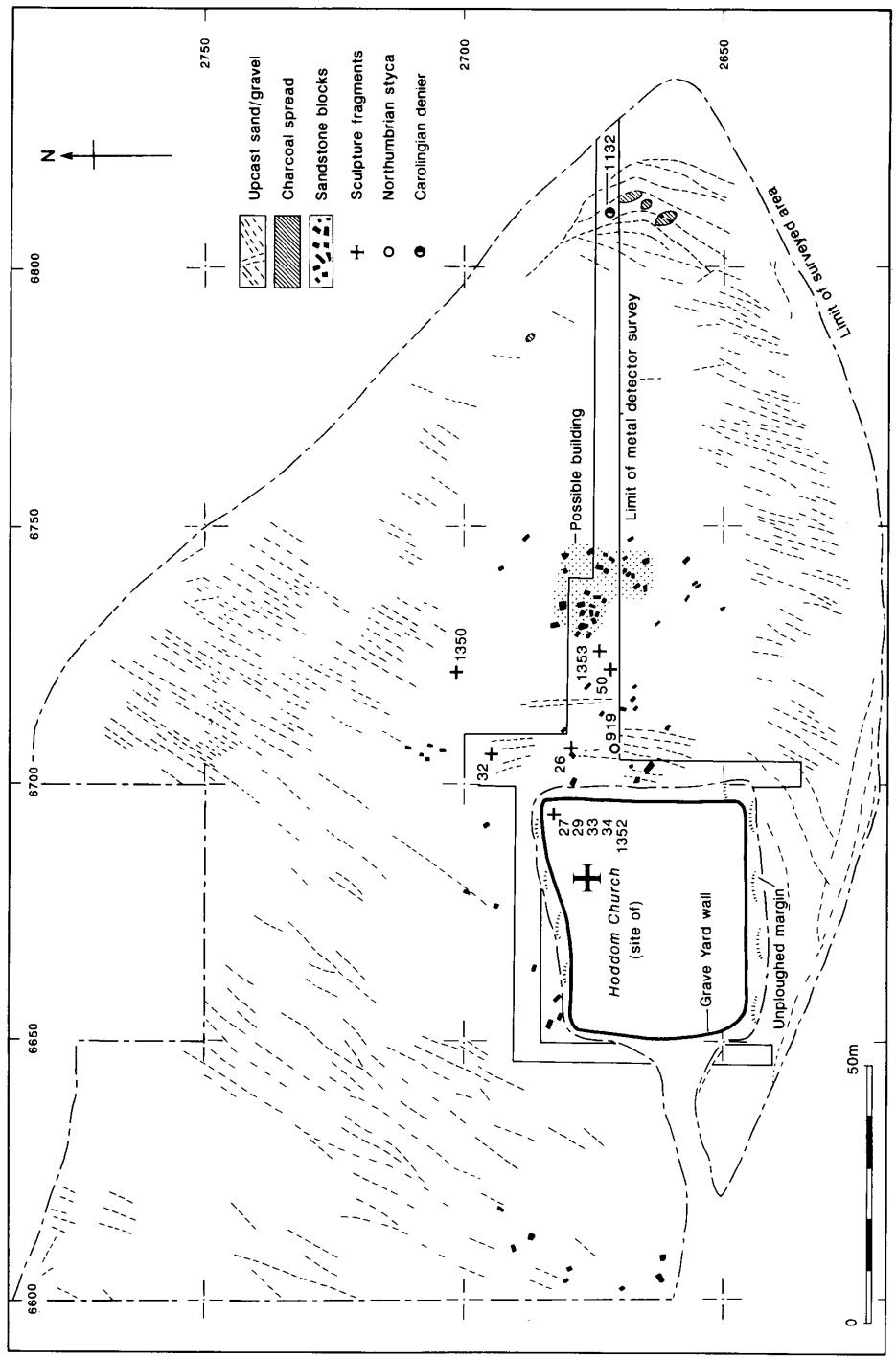

Figure 10. Post-ploughing survey of Churchyard Holm field

Note 1

All quoted radiocarbon dates have been calibrated with respect to their calendrical age in accordance with the procedures described by Dalland pers comm. The 'Short Continuous Range' dates are equivalent to the 1-sigma level of confidence.

Acknowledgements

The site would never have been brought to the attention of Historic Scotland without the vigilance of Alfred Truckell former curator of Dumfries Museum and Jane Brann, Regional Archaeologist.

The work at Hoddom has been an integrated programme of fieldwork, combining the skills and dedication of many people. Particular thanks must go to Magnar Dalland (Assistant Director), Jerry O'Sullivan (Area Supervisor), Hazel Moore (Area Supervisor), Graeme Wilson (Site Assistant) and Fred Stevenson (Site Assistant). The integrity of the excavation record was maintained by Alan Duffy (Data Manager). Soil surveys were conducted by Dr Stephen Carter. Environmental services were provided by Dr Coralie Mills and Sheila Boardman. The intensive environmental sieving programme was supervised by Phil Miller, Lennard Anderson and Tom Lyon. The metal detector survey was conducted by Mr Alan James, to whom grateful thanks are due. Magnetometer survey of the site was undertaken by Geophysical Surveys of Bradford. Thanks must also go to Mr and Mrs W. F.Cormack for their hospitality, encouragement and practical advice and assistance.

Thanks are also due to the various specialists whose provisional findings have been incorporated into this report ahead of their definitive publication. On matters Roman, I am grateful to Drs. David Breeze, Lawrence Keppie and Roger Tomlin for their comments on the inscriptions. The illustrations were drawn by Christina Unwin (Figures 1 - 5, and 9) and Sylvia Stevenson (Figure 10). The photographs were taken by Michael Brooks (Historic Scotland).

The co-operation of the landowners, Hoddom & Kinmount Estates, through the offices of the Factor, Mr D. Rothwell, and the quarry developer, Mr W. Vallance of Hoddacrete are also gratefully acknowledged. Historic Scotland arranged and provided funding for the excavations, post-excavation analysis and publication of this report.

APPENDIX 1:

The Sculptured Stones from Hoddom, 1991

by

Derek Craig,

with lithological identifications by Dianne Dixon.

No. 50/1350 (Figure 11)

Discovery: Turned up by the plough to the east of the graveyard, in close proximity to a putative building, now plough-damaged.

Measurements: L 55; W 45 > 39; D 7.5 > 5 cm

Lithology: Very coarse, pinkish-beige sandstone, with iron-stained voids concentrated in layers and scattered angular pebbles, grades sharply into white, finer-grained sandstone layer. The pinkish-beige sandstone becomes finer grained and even-textured under the white layer.

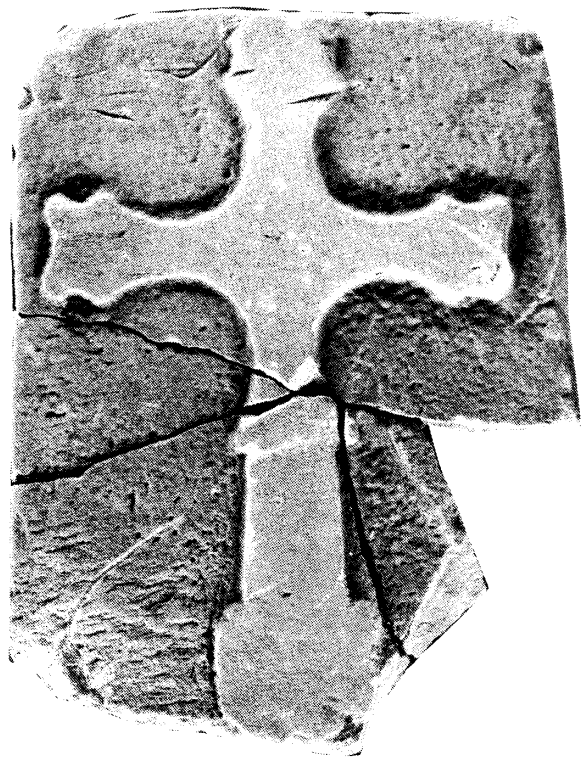

Figure 11. Cross 50/1350 Scale $^{1}/_{6}$th

Description: Cross-slab in four fragments, the reverse face uneven, the narrow edges dressed, with rounded corners. The lower right corner is damaged. The decorated face of the cross-slab has been formed by the use of two contrasting colour bands. The upper part has been dressed back to leave a white cross in relief against a red background. The cross is approximately equal-armed and stands on an indented shaft. The horizontal arms, unlike the upperarm, do not meet the sides of the slab. These three arms have wide semicircular armpits and double-curved cusped terminals. The lower arm is wedge-shaped, and rests on the neck of the shaft. The lower part of the shaft is expanded, and abuts the curved foot of the slab.

Discussion: The varying thickness of this slab and the unevenly worked reverse face suggest that this slab was recumbent. Against this is its short length, less than half the height of an adult male, and the curved foot of the slab. But there is no space left below the base of the cross-shaft for the slab to be inserted into the ground without hiding the sculpture. The remarkable use of two colour bands in the sandstone to form a cross appears to be unparalleled in the pre-conquest period.

The narrow cusped terminals of the cross are unusual on a slab, and suggest that it may be a skeuomorph or a representation of a freestanding cross, of a type which has

been found at Hoddom, most notably the lost cross-head with haloed figures and cusped arms (RCAHMS 1920, 101, fig. 75; Radford 1953, 184-7, pls. II-V). A cross of this type probably stood in the base which now lies outside the south-east corner of the graveyard (Radford 1953, 181, 187).

Its short length also separates it from the group of cross-slabs from Hoddom also listed by Radford (*op. cit.*, 190-6, nos. 8-17), and now in Dumfries museum. It appears to be more closely paralleled by slabs such as Jarrow 12 (Cramp 1984, 110, pl. 94.506) or the lost grave marker from Knells, Cumbria (Bailey & Cramp 1988,126, ill. 425), and more distantly Hexham 17 (Cramp 1984, 183, pl. 181.971) and Bewcastle 4 (Bailey & Cramp 1988, 73-4, ill. 127). It therefore probably dates to the mid ninth century, when cusped heads became widespread (see Cramp 1978, 9). While it could have imitated an existing freestanding cross at any time, the highly unusual experimental use of the geology of the stone to form a two-colour image suggests a period of technical mastery and theological subtlety, when Northumbrian monastic culture was still strong.

No. 1353

Discovery: Recovered close to the ploughed-out building, to the east of the graveyard.

Measurements: H 29; W 18 > 16; D 13 cm

Lithology: Parallel-laminated, dark and light terracotta reds, medium/fine grained sandstone.

Description: Damaged and incomplete shaft of a freestanding cross, with one broad face completely destroyed. The surviving faces of the shaft are plain but crisply dressed, with grooved inner and outer edge mouldings. The inner groove is narrower and shallower than the outer, which has a V-shaped channel forming a partly rounded corner. There are faint remains of pocking in the grooves. On one narrow face the edge mouldings have been destroyed, on the other the grooves survive adjacent to the remaining broad face. The lower part of each face has been destroyed, possibly in order to produce a squared building stone.

Discussion: While plain shafts are very difficult to date, the blank panels and edge mouldings of this fragment are reminiscent of the shaft from Hoddom with haloed figures separated by blank panels, now in the Royal Museum of Scotland, which probably dates to the ninth century (Radford 1953, 187-8, pl. X; Cramp 1971, 62, taf. 47.1). But similar finely dressed plain shafts have been found at Whitby (Peers & Radford 1943, 35-8, nos. 3, 7, and 8, pl. XXIXa, figs. 1 and 2) and York Minster (Lang 1991, 61-2, nos. 16 and 19, ills. 66-9, 82-5), which are dated to the mid eighth century.

No. 26 (Figure 12)

Discovery: Turned up by the plough a few metres to the east of the graveyard.

Measurements: L 62; W 66; D 6 cm

Lithology: Parallel laminated, layers dark and light terracotta-red, medium-grained sandstone.

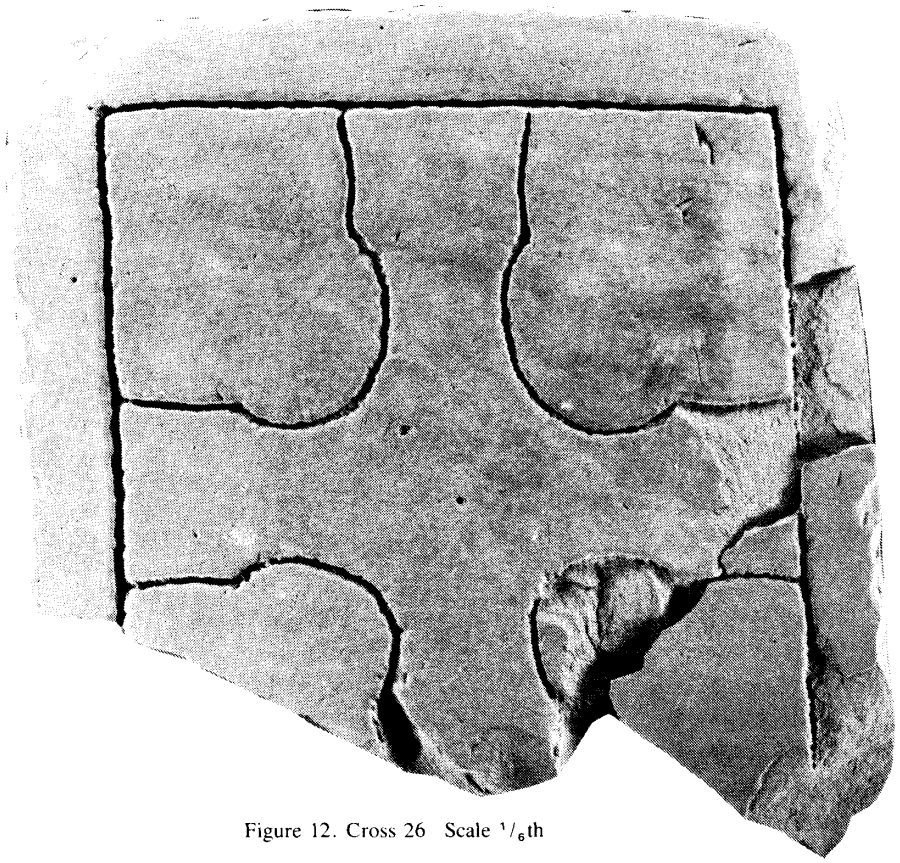

Figure 12. Cross 26 Scale $^1/_6$th

Description: Upper part of a cross-slab in one large and several smaller fragments. The reverse face is smooth and flat, the narrow edges smoothly dressed on one face and chisel-cut on the other. The surviving end is uneven, but curved in one corner. The other end is damaged, probably by the plough, but the largest remaining fragment adjoins one edge. The decorated face of the cross-slab is smoothly dressed. Within a broad outer border is an incomplete equal-armed cross with wide curved armpits and cusped terminals, formed from deeply cut grooves and with a laying out hole at the centre. This hole appears to have been drilled, and the grooved outline of both cross and border is formed by a series of drilled holes linked together. The channels have not been reamed smooth and the outline arms of the cross are only approximately symmetrical.

Discussion: There is a striking contrast between the smoothly dressed surface of the slab and the irregular and unfinished appearance of the cross and its border: compare York Minster 23 (Lang 1991, 66, illus. 95, 97), which Lang dated to the early eighth century on the basis of the resemblance of its terminals to the Hartlepool name stones. But the partly cusped terminals of this slab suggest, like 50/1350, that it may date to the ninth century though it is a far less sophisticated piece of carving. Slabs with an outer border and cusped terminals, but carved in relief, have been found at Lindisfarne (Cramp 1984, 207, no. 38, pl. 201, 1135) and Norham *op. cit.*, 214 no. 16, pl. 207, 1190) in Northumberland. These are dated to the ninth or mid tenth centuries, and may be somewhat later than this piece.

Figure 13. Cross 1352 Scale $^1/_6$th

Figure 14. Cross 32 Scale $^1/_6$th

No. 1352 (Figure 13)

Discovery: Recovered from the collapsed north-east corner of the graveyard wall.

Measurements: L 36; W 24.5; D 7 cm.

Lithology: Massive, medium/coarse, less intense terracotta red sandstone.

Description: Edge fragment of an oblong cross-slab. The reverse face is broken and uneven, with a lump of mortar adhering, and the narrow edge is slightly curved underneath. The decorated face is smoothly dressed, with the remains of a broad incised border abutted by the terminal of a double cusped cross-arm incised in outline. The arm is incomplete and its length is unknown. The channels are pocked and grooved, but deeper on the edge moulding.

Discussion: This fragment closely resembles no. 26, but the measurements and lithological differences show clearly that it came from a different slab.

No. 32 (Figure 14)

Discovery: Turned up by the plough to the north-east of the graveyard.

Measurements: L 31; W 21.5; D 4 cm.

Lithology: Deep terracotta red laminations, some micaceous layers, medium-grained sandstone.

Description: Corner fragment of an oblong cross-slab. The reverse face is flat but uneven, and the narrow edges are straight, with transverse tooling on one side. The decorated face is smooth but slightly undulating. It is incised in outline with part of one corner of an equal-armed cross, with semicircular armpits and squared terminals. One arm abuts the side of the stone; the adjacent arm is about 9.3 cm from the other edge, but not parallel to it. Both arms are incomplete and their width is unknown. The grooves are deeply pocked and vary in profile; that across the surviving terminal has not been smoothed. There are

also faint incised lines parallel to both edges of the slab and crossing in the corner, which form a border 2.5 cm wide on one edge and 2 cm wide on the other.

Discussion: This type of cross-head is first seen on the plain freestanding crosses from Whitby (Peers & Radford, *op. cit.*) but the crude cutting of the outline is closer to a slab from York Minster which may have been reworked (Lang 1991, 66, no. 23, ills. 95, 97). This slab appears to be following a somewhat earlier fashion than nos. 26 and 1352.

No. 34

Discovery: Recovered from the collapsed north-east corner of the graveyard wall.

Measurements: H 23; W 36; D 9 cm

Lithology: Thinly laminated, cross-bedded, duller terracotta-red sandstone.

Description: Cross-slab fragment, damaged above and below, and on one edge. The remaining fragment is oblong, probably from reuse as a building stone. The reverse face is flat but with lumps of cement adhering. The surviving narrow edge has been dressed. The surface of the decorated face is smooth but with diagonal grooves across it, probably from the original cutting of the slab. At what was probably the centre of the slab, 16.5 cm from the edge, are four adjacent V-shaped channels, running the full width of the stone. These appear to have formed part of the tapering narrow stem of a cross with grooved edge mouldings. The channels are not cut straight and the two outer grooves are slightly deeper. There is also a faint incised line at the centre of the shaft, and a similar groove in the same position on the reverse face of the slab. These were probably marking out lines.

Discussion: There is a similar narrow incised stem with edge mouldings on York Minster 19 (Lang 1991, 62, ill. 82), though this monument is square in section and more finely cut.

No. 29 (Figure 15)

Discovery: Recovered from the collapsed north-east corner of the graveyard wall.

Measurements: L 30; W 19; D 9.5 cm

Lithology: Laminated, evenly bedded, characteristic 'Old Red Sandstone' warm red colour, medium-grained sandstone.

Description: Cross-slab fragment, damaged on three edges. The remaining fragment is oblong, and carved in relief on both faces. The surviving narrow edge has been dressed. On one decorated face is a cross with wedge-shaped arms which taper sharply towards the remains of a large round centre. Only one arm is complete, measuring 15 cm long and expanding from 7.5 cm at the neck to 20 cm wide at the terminal. The cross is surrounded by a grooved border which forms a roll moulding, interrupted in the centre of the complete arm by the remains of a narrow stem. Although the roll moulding appears to be complete on this side, the narrow edge is uneven and possibly broken. On the opposite face is a cross of the same type and size, but there is no edge moulding. The armpits are less carefully smoothed than the upstanding surface of the cross, and show the remains of radiating tooling.

Discussion: A slab with a cross of this type, recorded at Hoddom in 1915 by the Royal Commission (RCAHMS 1920, 104, fig. 7) but now lost, was dated by the Commission to the thirteenth century. More recently Professor Cramp has drawn attention to the problem

of crosses of this type, which she generally dates to the eleventh century in the north of England (Cramp 1984, 237, 239, 241-2, 248). But one example appears to be built into the seventh century fabric of Monkwearmouth church (*op. cit.*, 133-4, pl. 116.619), and another into the facade of the Merovingian baptistery of Saint-Jean at Poitiers, of similar date (Hubert, Porcher & Volbach 1969, 41, pl. 48). The Monkwearmouth crosses are unique in also having short stems. But none of these has an edge moulding, and only the lost Hoddom example is carved on an oblong slab.

No. 27 (Figure 15)

Discovery: Recovered from the collapsed north-east corner of the graveyard wall.

Measurements: L 38; W 19; D 7 cm

Lithology: Similar, but not identical to no. 29, medium-grained sandstone.

Description: Cross-slab fragment, damaged on one edge and on the back. Approximately half the cross is missing. The reverse face has been destroyed. The three remaining edges

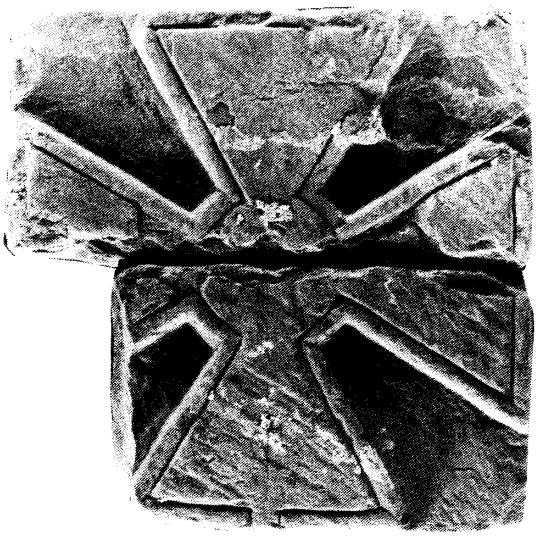

Figure 15. Cross fragments 27 (above) and 29 Scale $^1/_6$th

have been dressed with a diagonal tooling. On the surviving face is part of a cross carved in relief with wedge-shaped arms which taper sharply towards the remains of a large round centre. Only one arm is complete. The opposite edge of the slab has been cut down. The cross is surrounded by a grooved border which forms a roll moulding. In the centre of the surviving arm is a faint incised groove. This was probably a marking out line.

Discussion: It seems possible, although lithologically problematic, that this is the other half of no. 29, and that the back was removed to fit the slab into the graveyard wall. If so the complete slab would be approximately square, and the cross equal-armed. Since there would have been crosses on both faces the slab must have stood upright, and could not have been used architecturally, but there is no footing to allow it to be placed in the ground.

No. 33

Discovery: Recovered from the collapsed north-east corner of the graveyard wall.

Measurements: L 21; W 19; D 4.5 cm

Lithology: Finely layered, deep terracotta sandstone.

Description: Cross-slab fragment carved in relief on one face. The reverse face has been destroyed. The remaining fragment is irregular but the surviving narrow edge has been dressed. On the decorated face are the remains of two wedge-shaped arms partly obscured by a lump of cement on one side. There is no edge moulding around the cross. The armpit shows the remains of radiating tooling.

Discussion: It is possible that this is part of the reverse face of no. 27, and the other half of the reverse face of no. 29. The three fragments were found close together in the collapsed north-east corner of the graveyard wall.

No. 151 (Figure 6)

Discovery: Recovered from context F.8000, part of the enclosure bank which overlay and filled the sunken stone building on Area 8.

Measurements: L 11.5; W 9.5; D 3 cm

Lithology: Micaceous brown sandstone.

Description: Small cross-incised stone, its surface smooth but irregular. The cross is offset on the face of the stone and is not symmetrical. One arm measures 10 cm in length and the other 6 cm. The grooved channel is smooth and round bottomed, but wider and deeper at one end of the longer arm. The other arm is more evenly cut. In one corner of the cross is a diagonal groove running between two terminals but not joining them. This appears to be cut in the same manner as the cross.

Discussion: A cross-incised stone having some resemblance to this was found unstratified during the excavation at the Mote of Mark, Kirkcudbright, in 1973 (Laing 1973, 124). This has three pocked hollows lying at an angle between two terminals of the cross. As expressions of personal devotion by amateur carvers, such stones are difficult to date, but appear to be early.

Conclusions

Nos. 50/1350, 26, 32, and 1352 appear to be amongst the earliest recumbent slabs from the site, and possibly date to the ninth century. No. 1353, the plain shaft, may be earlier, dating to the mid eighth century. Nos. 27, 29, and 33 probably all formed part of one slab, but are more problematic. They may belong with the eleventh century slabs listed by Radford, but could possibly be seen as much earlier, following the continental tradition exemplified at Monkwearmouth. All the recently discovered stones from Hoddom therefore appear to have their closest parallels with Northumbria in the pre-Viking period, and no. 50/1350 shows an extraordinarily sophisticated use of lithology for decorative and indeed devotional purposes.

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BISHOP JOHN OF GLASGOW AND THE STATUS OF HODDOM

by

J. G. Scott

In 1147, at Jedburgh, Bishop John of Glasgow was buried by the Augustinian canons — at Jedburgh rather than Glasgow because he had been a co-founder of the priory over twenty years previously[1]. His episcopate had been long and eventful. More than forty years earlier he had been appointed tutor to David[2], the youngest son of Malcolm Canmore and Queen Margaret. After the death of Malcolm in 1093 David had been brought up at the English court. Henry I, who became king in 1100, married David's sister Matilda.[3] John's appointment as tutor cannot have been much later than 1100, and is in itself testimony that John, by his character and talents even as a young man, had impressed King Henry.

John's links with David remained strong throughout his life and career. He became one of David's chaplains[4], it was evidently David who chose him as Bishop of Glasgow[5] and it was with John's help that David founded the priory at Jedburgh.[6] As bishop, and apparently for reasons of conscience as he saw them, John fought for his own and his bishopric's independence to the point of defiance. He refused obedience to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, to three successive popes, and even to his sovereign, Alexander I, King of Scots, whom David succeeded as king.[7] To his contemporaries John must have appeared arrogant, stubborn, unreasonable and contumacious. He may well have been all of these things. Yet his diocese seems to have prospered under him, while David's esteem for him did not waver. Despite setbacks John survived all his opponents' attacks and died in undisputed possession of his bishopric.

The links between church and state in the 12th century were close and inescapable, and it was not unusual for men of religion to find conflicting interests difficult to reconcile. Uncertainties as to the succession to Malcolm Canmore, as to the relationship between the Kings of Scots and English, and as to the organisation of the church in the two kingdoms, led to tests of loyalty.

Three of David's brothers had ruled Scotia before him — his half-brother Duncan, and Edgar and Alexander, his full brothers. There had been rival claimants to the throne; both Duncan and Edgar had been installed only with the help of forces supplied by William II Rufus of England.[8] Alexander succeeded Edgar in 1107 without military help from England.[9] Scotia proper at this time extended only as far south as the Lammermuirs. Beyond lay Lothian to the east, Strathclyde or Cumbria to the west and Galloway to the south-west. Strathclyde was the rump of the former kingdom which, at its greatest extent, had

1. Sir Archibald Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters* (1905), 270.
2. *Ibid.*, 267.
3. *Ibid.*
4. G. W. S. Barrow, *The Kingdom of the Scots* (1973), 176.
5. Lawrie, *op. cit.*, 267.
6. *Ibid.*, 406.
7. *Ibid.*, 267-9, 289.
8. W. E. Kapelle, *The Norman Conquest of the North* (1979), 153-4, 157.
9. *Ibid.*, 196.

reached as far south as the North Riding of Yorkshire.[10] The Kings of Scots exercised suzerainty over Strathclyde after the death of Owain the Bald in 1018 — the last independent king of Strathclyde.[11] After the Conquest William I of England successfully extracted from Malcolm Canmore an acknowledgement of William's claim to overlordship.[12] William had problems enough in England, Wales and Normandy to make him content with this arrangement, whilst Malcolm for his part retained his hold on Cumbria. It is possible that Malcolm himself before he became king had governed Strathclyde under his father, and that this southern region was regarded by the Scots as an appanage of the heir to the throne of Scotia.[13] Thus Edgar, it seems, had estates in the region whilst his brother Duncan was king.[14] Edgar was childless, and had bequeathed these estates to David in 1107, perhaps in the hope that David might be granted rule over the whole of Cumbria.[15]

Alexander, who then succeeded, would not agree to Edgar's wishes, perhaps because he planned instead to instal his illegitimate son Malcolm. It was only after a threat of invasion by Henry I that David gained possession of part of his inheritance in Lothian, but Malcolm remained at large.[16] To give David the resources needed to hold these possessions Henry I, in 1113 or 1114, granted to him as wife the richest widow in England, Matilda de Senliz, great-niece of William the Conqueror, who had vast estates in the English midlands. By virtue of his marriage David became Earl of Northampton.[17] Henry furthermore granted large estates in Yorkshire to Robert Brus, a close friend of David, with the apparent purpose that he should give active support to David.[18]

However, Henry's action was far from altruistic, and must be viewed as a continuation of the policy for the north begun by his brother and predecessor, William II Rufus, who had felt strong enough to abandon his father's policy of containment. In 1092 Rufus had invaded Cumbria, driven out Malcolm Canmore's governor Dolfin and restored Carlisle, building a castle there and bringing settlers from the south to support it.[19] Malcolm was incensed, but Rufus refused to give him satisfaction. Malcolm finally resorted to an invasion of northern England, only to be defeated and killed, along with Edward, his eldest son, in Northumberland in 1093.[20] This gave Malcolm's brother Donald the chance to seize the throne of Scotia[21], but as already mentioned, Rufus successfully supported the claims of Malcolm's sons Duncan and Edgar in turn against him. Inevitably this had increased the dependence of the Kings of Scots upon the Kings of the English, and this Henry I continuously exploited. Alexander I was married to an illegitimate daughter of Henry.[22]

10. *Ibid.*, 34.
11. *Ibid.*, 38-9.
12. *Ibid.*, 125-6.
13. *Ibid.*, 42-3.
14. *Ibid.*, 156.
15. Barrow, *op. cit.*, 173.
16. A. O. Anderson, *Scottish Annals from English Chroniclers* (1908), 193; G. W. S. Barrow (ed.), *Regesta Regum Scottorum* I (1960); "The Acts of Malcolm IV King of Scots 1153-1165", 8, with footnote 4.
17. Barrow, *The Kingdom of the Scots* (1973), 173.
18. Kapelle, *op. cit.*, 198.
19. Anderson, *op. cit.*, 108-9.
20. Kapelle, *op. cit.*, 152-3.
21. *Ibid.*, 153.
22. Lawrie, *op. cit.*, 294.

David, at the time of his marriage, would have been considered not as a future King of Scots but as Henry's man in the north, intended as a check upon the power of Alexander. There is indeed a suggestion of friction between the brothers; Alexander may have resented the influence which David now wielded south of Scotia.[23]

David clearly regarded one of his first tasks as the restoration of a bishopric for Cumbria, vacant for many years. Between 1109 and 1114 Michael was ordained Bishop of Glasgow, and was consecrated by Thomas, Archbishop of York. However, though nominally Bishop of Glasgow, Michael seems to have worked entirely in those parts of Cumbria which were outside Alexander's control, acting as a suffragan of the Archbishop of York. He died in 1114, and was buried at Morland, in Westmorland.[24]

In this David may be seen as acting for Henry rather than for Alexander, since there is no hint that Alexander was consulted before Michael's election as bishop. Nor apparently did he consult Alexander when he chose John to succeed Michael. Although the Archbishop of York subsequently claimed that John had been elected as his suffragan in the chapter at York, John refused to acknowledge York's superiority. He was consecrated by Pope Paschal II at some time between 1115 and 1118.[25] David's attitude in the dispute with York is not known: Henry I can hardly have been pleased.

When consecrated by Pope Paschal John is said to have been unwilling to accept the bishopric. His opposition to acceptance of the Archbishop of York as his superior continued under Paschal's successors, Gelasius and Calixtus II, by the latter of whom he was suspended in 1122. John then went to Rome to plead his cause, but was unsuccessful. He proceeded to Jerusalem, and there stayed for some months, acting as suffragan to the Patriarch. He finally obeyed an order to return to Scotland in 1123, but remained recalcitrant.[26]

It is possible that John's refusal to acknowledge York's superiority may have had some connexion with Alexander's disputes with Eadmer, Bishop of St Andrews, over consecration at York or Canterbury, following Eadmer's election in 1120. So disturbed was Eadmer by these disputes that he turned to John and two monks of Canterbury for advice. Their reply has been preserved, and is illuminating. "If thou wishest, as a son of peace, to live in peace, seek it elsewhere; here, so long as this (king) reigns, there will be no communion between peace and thee. We know the man. He wishes in his kingdom to be all things alone, and will not endure any authority have the least power in any matter, without his control. Now he is inflamed against thee and knows not why; never will he be fully reconciled with thee, even if he should see wherefore. And therefore know that thou must either leave all, or lead thy life in dishonour continually among the Scots, following their usages, contrary to the safety of thy soul. But if thou prefer to depart, thou art compelled to restore to him both the ring which thou didst receive from his hand, and the staff which thou didst take from off the altar. Otherwise, except thou art able to fly over it, thou shalt not escape from his land."[27] It seems fair to deduce from this

23. *Ibid*, 21, no. XXVI.
24. Anderson, *op. cit.*, 133-4.
25. *Ibid*, 133, note.
26. Lawrie, *op. cit.*, 267-8.
27. Anderson, *op.cit.*, 144.

that John had sought to exercise his ministry throughout Cumbria, including Glasgow, probably soon after his consecration, but finding it impossible to serve under Alexander's terms had withdrawn beyond the reach of Alexander's influence, determined not to return until after Alexander's death. Since, as will appear later, there is no evidence for a bishopric at Glasgow before 1109x1114, it could be argued that it was Alexander who had originally proposed that Glasgow should be the seat of the Cumbrian bishopric.

But if John, and for that matter, Michael, could not use Glasgow as the seat of the bishopric, what alternative did they have? The answer appears to be Hoddom. Ralegh Radford has published what he described as "a fragment from a staff shrine of Celtic type, which was found at Hoddom", dating it to about 1000 AD. He pointed out that "the preservation of such a relic associated with the saint" — (Kentigern) — "in the church at Hoddom could legitimately be interpreted as indicating the former existence of a Cathedral."[28] This interesting and important observation seems never to have gained acceptance, but a recent study by Dr Perette Michelli of this relic and of a similar object also found at Hoddom goes far to substantiate Dr Radford's suggestions. She points out that both objects are in fact "drops", or ornamental terminals of horseshoe-shaped crosiers. The drop described by Radford, now in the Royal Museum of Scotland (reg. no. KC3), she dates as "no earlier than the first years of the 12th Century".[29] The second drop, now in the British Museum (reg. no. 51.7-15.5), she would place in the "early part of the 11th century".[30]

The presence of these two drops at Hoddom, and by inference of the two crosiers from which they came, surely supports if not cathedral status then at least an association with bishops. The most likely explanation would be that they derive from burials of bishops at Hoddom. The early 12th century drop/crosier would fit precisely with Michael's episcopate, though it is difficult to understand why, if he was buried at Morland, his crosier should be at Hoddom. The earlier drop/crosier may also be linked to one of two bishops, Magsuea and (an earlier) John, consecrated by Archbishop Cynsige of York between 1051 and 1060. As Norman Shead points out, there is no evidence for a bishopric at Glasgow, rather than elsewhere in Cumbria, before 1109x1114, since the identification by Jocelin of Furness of "Cathures" with Glasgow in his Life of St Kentigern is etymologically unsound.[31] Thus there seems to be no reason why Bishops Magsuea and the earlier John should not have been based at Hoddom, one of them eventually to be buried there with his crosier.

The deaths of two individuals within less than two years changed the political scene. In 1120 Henry I's only legitimate son William was drowned in the wreck of the White Ship in which he was returning from Normandy to England.[32] In 1122 Alexander's queen Sybilla died childless, so that David became his brother's obvious successor.[33] David's

28. C. A. Ralegh Radford, "Two reliquaries connected with South-West Scotland,, *TDGAS*, 3rd ser., XXXII (1953-4), 115-16.
29. P. E. Michelli, "Four Scottish crosiers and their relation to the Irish tradition", *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* 116 (1986), 388.
30. *Ibid.*, 385.
31. N. F. Shead, "The origins of the medieval diocese of Glasgow", *Scot. Hist. Rev.*, 48 (1969), 220-2.
32. J. Le Patourel, *Feudal Empires Norman and Plantagenet* (1984), IX, 2.
33. Anderson, *op. cit.*, 150.

position was at once immensely stronger, and this is when he may have become known as the Prince of Cumbria. Henry I for the rest of his reign had to strive to secure the English succession for his daughter Matilda and her husband, Geoffrey of Anjou.[34] He needed David's support, for which David could make demands. Henceforth David was his own man, and no longer Henry's.

These events must explain why John was able to return to his bishopric from Jerusalem in 1123, even though he had still not complied with papal directions to recognise the Archbishop of York as his superior. His presence in his diocese was urgently required so that he could, perhaps for the second time, take up the question of Glasgow with Alexander. Sir Archibald Lawrie suggests that it was after John's return that David made an annual grant of 100 shillings from his demesne at Hardingstone, in Northamptonshire, towards the building and restoration of the church of Glasgow.[35]

Alexander's position at this time is not recorded, but that Glasgow was now to be recognised as the seat of the bishopric is confirmed by the *Inquest of David*.[36] This was what nowadays would be called a public inquiry, set up by David, at John's request, to find out which lands in southern Scotland belonged to the bishopric of Glasgow. A list of these possessions having been drawn up, David convened a meeting at which Leysing and Oggo,, described as *Cumbrenses judices*, or dempsters of Cumbria, along with three others, swore that the list was correct. The twenty-four witnesses did not include Bishop John, which suggests that the meeting was convened whilst John was still abroad, probably in either 1122 or 1123. Hoddom is included as one of the possessions, without comment as to its status.

According to the 12th century Life of St Kentigern by Jocelin of Furness, Hoddom for a time had been the episcopal see of Kentigern, who later transferred it to Glasgow.[37] Fine carved stone crosses attest Hoddom's continuing importance in Anglian times. That this importance persisted into the 12th century has been shown by Dr Radford. The series of Anglian crosses is succeeded by a number of 12th century tomb slabs.[38] Various features, in particular the stepped or "Calvary" bases which many show, are of the 12th century, but the cusped cross arms of some of the slabs hark back to Anglian tradition. The result is a distinctive type of tomb slab which has a restricted and, as will be seen, important and informative distribution in southern Scotland (fig. 1).

These slabs must represent the graves of deceased members of the 12th century religious community at Hoddom.[39] Furthermore, their distinctive style shows that that community had been "reformed", or brought into conformation with the latest thinking in religious matters. David as Earl, Prince and King, was a committed supporter of this movement for reform. It is probable, therefore, that the first steps to reform an existing community at Hoddom had been taken by Bishop Michael. Such reform would certainly have been promoted by Bishop John. If the argument is accepted that Hoddom served at this time

34. Le Patourel, *op. cit.*, IX, 2-3.
35. Lawrie, *op. cit.*, 293.
36. *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis* (1843), I, 3-7, No. 1.
37. A. P. Forbes (ed.) *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern* (1874), 95.
38. C. A. Ralegh Radford, "Hoddom", *TDGAS*, 3rd ser., XXXI (1952-3), 190-5.
39. *Ibid.*, 183-4.

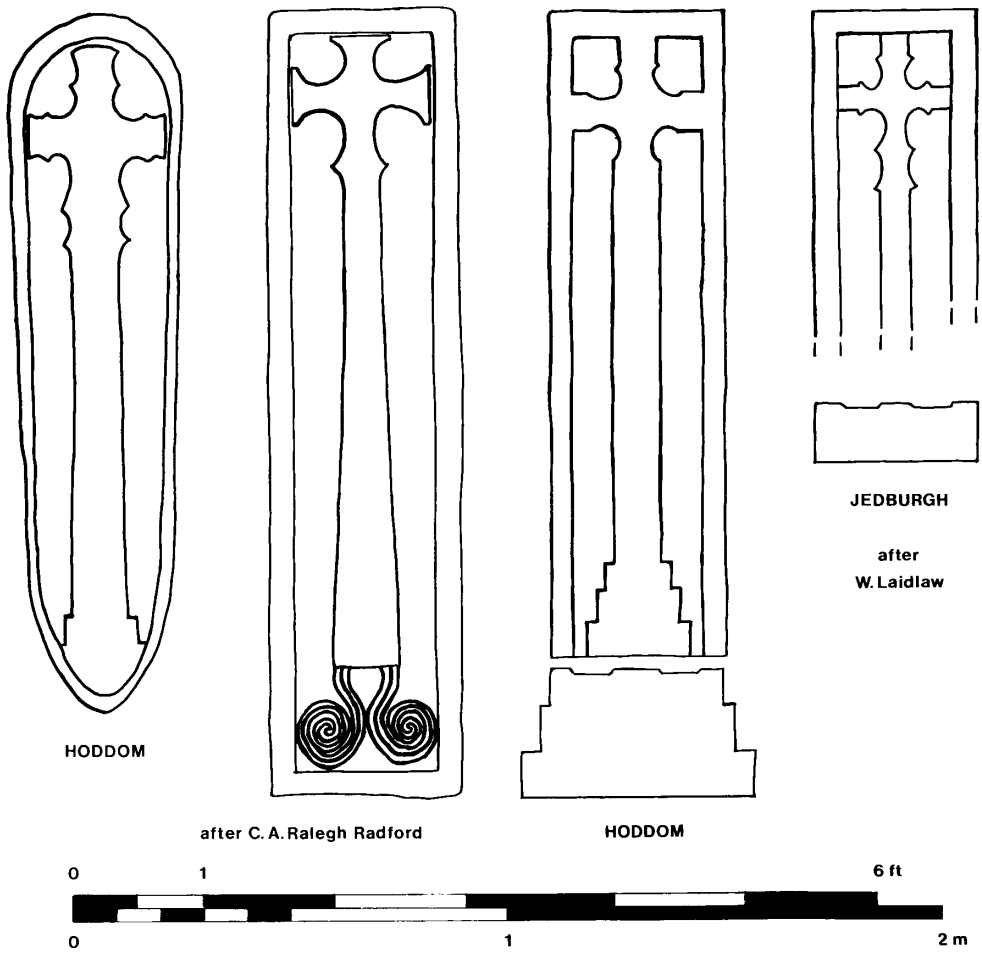

Fig. 1. Tomb slabs of "Hoddom" type.
The three from Hoddom are in the Observatory Museum, Dumfries.

as a bishop's seat, then it would have been essential to reform the Hoddom community to enable it to follow the latest accepted religious practice.

It must not be imagined that reform had of necessity to be forcibly imposed upon members of existing religious communities. There is evidence from England that some such bodies were inspired by the movement for religious reform, and proceeded to reform themselves.[40] Most of them became houses of canons following the Augustinian rule. For some of the reformed orders the normal number for a convent was thirteen, but records show that independent Augustinian houses were founded for converts ranging from sixteen down to ten, seven, or even three canons.[41] The religious vows were taken before the

40. J. C. Dickinson, *The Origins of the Austin Canons and their Introduction into England* (1950), 149.
41. *Ibid.*, 134-6.

bishop, who vested the initiates with the habit and gave them his official benediction. It is more than a possibility, therefore, that there was an Augustinian reformed community at Hoddom even before the time of Bishop John. Its head would have been a prior, and not an abbot, at this early date, which would confirm that the early 12th century drop/crosier found at Hoddom cannot have been that of an abbot.[42]

As has been seen, Hoddom was not listed as a priory in the *Inquest of David*, which suggests that by the time David convened the meeting to verify the findings of the *Inquest* the community was no longer at Hoddom. David was very active in introducing new orders of religious into Scotland. His foundation of Jedburgh Priory, for Augustinian canons, has been mentioned. In this he had been assisted by Bishop John.[43] Indeed, one source goes so far as to say that it was Bishop John who established a house of Augustinian canons there.[44] At the very least, John's part in the foundation must have been an important one, and it is suggested here that his contribution was to arrange the transfer of prior and canons from Hoddom to Jedburgh. This would indeed have been most welcome to David, for it is likely that he had already made Robert Brus Lord of Annandale. The transfer would then have appeared to settle the question of local lordship at Hoddom though, as will be seen, problems were to arise later. The advantage to John would have been that Hoddom church could be claimed by Glasgow.

It has been argued that one of David's foundations was for Augustinian canons from Beauvais and that, by elimination, this house must have been Jedburgh.[45] This does not rule out the transfer of canons from Hoddom. Since the foundation of Jedburgh was a joint undertaking by both David and John, canons from both sources may have combined to form the community at Jedburgh.

A prior of Jedburgh was first recorded in 1139, and it has been assumed from this that the foundation took place about 1138.[46] However, there are architectural objections to this date. Stewart Cruden has pointed out that, since Bishop John was buried at Jedburgh in 1147, it is correct to assume that the remarkable east end of the church should have been complete and roofed by that date.[47] A span of only nine years, from 1138 to 1147, would normally have been insufficient for the completion of this work, and would have been possible only if the work had been hurried.[48] On the other hand, Wynton's date of 1118 for the foundation is too early. A foundation date of 1120x1122, as suggested here, would agree well with the architectural constraints, and must be preferred to 1138.

Further support for the proposed link between Hoddom and Jedburgh comes from the use of the "Hoddom" cross slab at Jedburgh. What may be regarded as a typical such cross slab was found used as a covering slab to the wall passage in the south transept at Jedburgh, the wall itself assigned to the early part of the 12th century (fig. 1).[50] Radford

42. *Ibid*, 202.
43. I. B. Cowan and D. E. Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses Scotland* (2nd ed., 1976), 92.
44. Anderson, *op. cit.*, 221.
45. Barrow, *The Kingdom of the Scots* (1973), 180.
46. Cowan and Easson, *op. cit.*, 92.
47. S. Cruden, *Scottish Medieval Churches* (1986), 109.
48. *Ibid.*, 201, note 128.
49. *Ibid.*
50. W. Laidlaw, "Sculptured and inscribed stones in Jedburgh and vicinity", *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* XXXIX (1904-5), 41-2 (fig. 25).

has pointed out that such slabs are not common in Scotland.[51] A search of the literature has produced only two other close parallels, both from Oxnam, in Roxburghshire.[52] It will be no surprise to find that Oxnam was a Jedburgh possession in the 12th century.[53] Thus apart from a cross slab from St Andrews Cathedral[54], all cross slabs of the "Hoddom" type seem to be associated with either Hoddom or Jedburgh. This would suggest that the Hoddom canons continued to produce "Hoddom" slabs after their transfer (as argued here) to Jedburgh. Finally Radford notes that the supposed tomb of Bishop John at Jedburgh, although elaborate and decorated with interlace ornament, nevertheless has affinities with the "Hoddom" slab.[55]

Later in the century disputes arose between the Bishops of Glasgow and the Brus lords over ownership of land and rights of patronage of churches in Annandale, including Hoddom, although Hoddom had been confirmed to Glasgow by Pope Alexander III in 1170.[56] A settlement was reached probably about 1175, soon after Bishop Jocelin had succeeded Bishop Ingram at Glasgow. Robert II Brus thereby ceded the churches, including Hoddom, with all their pertinents to Glasgow, but had the lands restored to him on doing homage for them to the bishop.[57] Patronage of the churches evidently lay with Glasgow thenceforward. The agreement was confirmed by William the Lion in May 1187.[58]

There was, however, still another claimant to the right of patronage at Hoddom — Udard (or Odard) of Hoddom. A document drawn up by the Papal Legate John in 1202 records that Odard, in the Church of St Mary Magdalene at Lochmaben, had surrendered to the Bishop of Glasgow the sole right which he claimed to have of patronage at Hoddom.[59] Radford notes that he made this surrender *per librum* — "by means of a book". He suggests that this might have been an illuminated gospel, as sometimes used for the transcription of records: such a book might have passed into the hands of a hereditary lay keeper.[60] Dickinson records that in England not a few ancient churches in lay hands, which had sufficient endowments to maintain a few canons, had been converted easily and cheaply into small Augustinian priories.[61] This may have happened at Hoddom, with encouragement from Prince David and Bishop Michael. However, it should also be mentioned that "bookland" was a form of tenure.

It will have been noticed that the sources of evidence used in this paper are two and entirely distinct — historical and archaeological/architectural. With one exception, all the evidence for Bishop John of Glasgow is historical. Even that exception — that the elaborately carved tomb slab at Jedburgh may be his — is inferred and cannot be directly proved. On the other hand, all evidence for the connexion between Hoddom and Jedburgh, put forward here, including the time scale of that connexion, is archaeological and architectural.

51. Radford, "Hoddom" *op. cit.*, 192.
52. Laidlaw, *op. cit.*, 31-3 (figs. 12, 13).
53. I. B. Cowan, *The Parishes of Medieval Scotland (Scot. Record Soc.* 93, 1967), 160.
54. D. K. Fleming, "Notice of a sculptured cross-shaft and sculptured slabs recovered from the bse of St. Andrews Cathedral - -, with notes of other sculptured slabs at St Andrews", *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* XLIII (1908-9), 408 (fig. 19)-9.
55. Radford, "Hoddom" *op. cit.*, 192.
56. Glasgow *Registrum* I, 23-4, No. 26.
57. *Ibid.*, 64, No. 72.
58. G. W. S. Barrow (ed.), *Regesta Regum Scottorum* II (1971), "The Acts of William I King of Scots 1165-1214", 293-4. For the date A. A. M. Duncan, *Scotland The Making of the Kingdom* (1978), 186, note 16.
59. Glasgow *Registrum* I, 83-4, No. 96.
60. Radford, "Hoddom", *op. cit.*, 183.
61. Dickinson, *op. cit.*, 137.

It is therefore pertinent to ask whether historians should make use of such evidence, or simply ignore it. In giving his architectural reasons for rejecting the historically assumed date of about 1138 (which as has been shown he considers too late) for the foundation of Jedburgh Priory, Cruden states his position unequivocally. "Whether innovative or imitative, architecture is an historical document, and from it inferences may sometimes be drawn which might be as significant as those which are derived from characters and other forms of the written record."[62] Cowan and Easson, in *Medieval Religious Houses Scotland*, have an entry for Hoddom under "Early Religious Foundations", but nothing else.[63] After consideration of the archaeological and architectural evidence for a 12th century link between Hoddom and Jedburgh, as has been argued here, it is hoped that appropriate additions and amendments will be made in a future edition of their work.

62. Cruden, *op. cit.*, 109.
63. Cowan and Easson, op. cit., 48.

FERGUS OF GALLOWAY :
MISCELLANEOUS NOTES FOR A REVISED PORTRAIT

by Daphne Brooke

Fergus of Galloway is usually passed over briefly in general accounts of the medieval lords of Galloway, as a forerunner of his better documented descendents. Yet in the context of north Britain, Fergus stands out as one of the most interesting figures of the twelfth century.

A full and coherent account of his career is not possible until some obscurities and misunderstandings have been clarified. In particular, Fergus's relations with successive kings of Scots are still debated; and the commonly accepted version of the events of 1160 calls for closer scrutiny. The incident at Perth known as the 'revolt of the earls', was followed by Malcolm IV's three campaigns in Galloway. The current understanding of the secondary sources links the two incidents as cause and effect, but the resulting story is so improbable as to warrant seeking an alternative interpretation. Other points need clarification: Fergus's patronage of the church, his marriage, and the whereabouts of the lands of 'Galwyte' or Galtway, which Fergus gave the Knights of St John of the Hospital.

Fergus appears first in record in 1136, with a son old enough to witness a charter at the court of David I, and the probability is that Fergus had ruled Galloway from around 1120. His parentage and his title to rule are unknown. Numerous hypotheses have been advanced to fill the gap. Fergus was regarded by nineteenth-century writers as an Anglo-Norman upstart, a vassal of David I. Dr Ralegh Radford depicted him as a Gallgaidhel chief, using the term to imply Hiberno-Scandinavian origin [1]. Documentary evidence yields little support for either. Fergus styled himself the 'King of the Galwits' which seems to imply that he saw himself as a hereditary ruler, and identified with all his people, not just one ethnic group among them.[2].

Several aspects of Fergus's career have been recently reviewed by Dr Richard Oram.[3] He stresses Fergus's independence of the king of Scots, a view acceptable if it is read with the shades of meaning proper to the twelfth century. For most of Fergus's time the king of Scots was David I, whose territory included Cumbria, and according to Oram, the district called 'Cro' (between the rivers Nith and Urr). As long as David reigned and held Cumbria, Fergus was compelled to temper his policies with discretion. That was mutual; for Fergus was sufficiently strongly allied and well-defended for David to respect both his frontiers and his jurisdiction.

None of David's Anglo-Norman vassals, his sheriffs, or other officers were imposed upon Galloway in David's reign. Professor Duncan makes this point, but assumes that

1 Ralegh Radford and Gordon Donaldson: *Whithorn and the Ecclesiastical Monuments of the Wigtown District*. HMSO 1984.

2 W Dugdale: *Monasticon Anglicanum*. 6 vols. 1846.

3 Richard D Oram: *The Lordship of Galloway c 1000 to c 1250*. Thesis for the degree of PhD. St Andrews. 1988.

tribute exacted of Fergus's sons was paid by Fergus also[4]. This ignores the radical political change that took place in 1160.

Galloway and the Kingdom of the Scots

The balance of Scottish-Gallovidian relations was essentially precarious and practice sometimes differed from theory. The twelfth-century kingdom or principality of Galloway seems to have evolved from the Northumbrian 'colony' of the eighth century, and there is a strong probability Fergus was descended from a long-standing dynasty of Anglo-Cumbrian princes.

Place-names and other linguistic evidence indicates that once the the kingdom of Northumbria collapsed under Viking attack, the Brittonic peoples still surviving in the south-west acquired political power, and Galloway probably became a tributary of the British kingdom of Cumbria (Strathclyde). Despite coastal settlements by Scandinavian-speakers, which may have been negotiated in exchange for coastal defence, Cumbria's claim to tribute and military service devolved after 1018 upon heirs apparent of the kingdom of Scots as Princes of Cumbria.

There may have been times when these claims were not enforceable in Galloway; but Malcolm III numbered a detachment from Galloway among his war host. David I's invasion of England in 1138 in defence of the Empress Matilda, was likewise accompanied by a Galwegian force. David I almost certainly regarded himself in some sense as Fergus's overlord, though not in the clear-cut terms of the feudal contract. Fergus's perception of his obligations to David is less clear. The concept of kingship in the twelfth century was in process of development and change, and there is much to suggest that theirs was a traditional relationship, involving service in David's war host and occasional attendances at David's court, but compatible with Fergus's exercising a considerable degree of autonomy.[5]

The implication to be drawn from this reading of the relationship between Galloway and Scotland at this period, settles the doubts cast on Fergus's patronage of the church. The revival of the bishopric of Whithorn (1128), the building of the Cathedral Church (c 1150) and the founding of the abbeys of Soulseat and Dundrennan - so often ascribed to David - can almost certainly be credited to Fergus. In his ecclesiastical policy Fergus's emulation of, even rivalry with David, becomes apparent. David revived an ancient bishopric (Glasgow). Fergus did the same at Whithorn. David founded abbeys including Holyrood and Holm Cultram. Fergus did likewise at Soulseat and Dundrennan. David granted lands to the Knights of St John of Jerusalem: Fergus gave them Galtway. Fergus's wealth was spent lavishly, demonstrating both his piety and his standing as a king.[6]

His status as a ruling prince is supported by the supposition that he married a natural daughter of Henry I. Dr Oram's investigation of how Henry allied his illegitimate daughters

4 A A M Duncan: *Scotland: the Making of a Kingdom*. Edinburgh. 1975. page 163.

5 Dr Oram suggests interestingly that Fergus may have accompanied David on his campaign in defence of the Empress Matilda because of his own relationship with Henry I by marriage. It would be hard to argue that David recognised no right to call on Fergus for a military muster, or that Fergus did not recognise such an obligation.

6 *The Knights of St John of Jerusalem in Scotland*. edd Ian B Cowan, P H Mackay, and Alan Macquarrie. *SHS* Edinburgh. 1983.

to princes ruling the territories peripheral to his own, both in France and in the north (for they included Sibylla who married Alexander I), disposes of any love-match.[7] We may now contemplate a much more probable diplomatic marriage, advantageous both to Galloway and to Henry. That would be all of a piece with Henry II's insistence on kinship with the Gallovidian house, and his strategic and political interest in Galloway's affairs.

Chalmers named Fergus's wife as Elizabeth the youngest natural daughter of Henry I, and gave authorities for the statement.[8] It may still be necessary today to call attention to the fact that the authorities he quoted say nothing of the kind. There is no written record whom Fergus married : but the inferences to be drawn from later sources seem inescapable (Appendix A).

The Balance of Power

As long as a David I remained alive the powers peripheral to his kingdom were held in check. In Moray in 1134 Malcolm MacHeth had levelled a direct challenge to David's kingship. His military campaign was defeated, and Malcolm was still David's prisoner in Roxburgh Castle in 1153. His son Donald had in the meantime reached manhood and was the protégé of his uncle, Somerled of the Isles.

The western Isles and Man acknowledged the king of Norway as overlord (when it suited them). Somerled's ambitions brought him into collision with Olaf of Man (his own father-in-law) and with his son Godred. Fergus was allied to the Manx princes by the marriage of his daughter Affrica. In this criss-cross of family loyalties, the conflicting interests and animosities that characterised the politics of the Irish Sea, there seemed to be one contact - the hostility between Somerled, supporting the MacHeths, and the princes of Man, supported fitfully by Fergus. Records are probably incomplete, and an opportunist change of sides was always possible, especially once it became practical politics to make common cause against the king of Scots.

Up to the year 1153 Scotland had been relatively strong, and England weakened by civil war. Within little more than a twelve-month, the balance of power between them was abruptly reversed. David I died to be succeeded by a boy of twelve, and in 1154 Stephen also died. His successor was not only fully adult, but the ruthless and effective Henry of Anjou.

The effect of Scotland's weakness on the western principalities was immediate: Somerled and Donald MacHeth raised their standard. In 1156 Donald MacHeth is reported as having been captured near Whithorn with the implication that he was handed over to Scottish authorities and imprisoned with his father at Roxburgh.[9] The event, if it took place, is not explained. Nor are we told how it came about that in 1157 both father and son were released, their bid for the Scottish crown apparently a thing of the past. Scottish chronicles covering this period are cryptic and uninformative.

7 J F Robertson: *The Story of Galloway*. Castle Douglas. 1964.

8 George Chalmers: *Caledonia*: 1887-1902.

9 This entry (in the *Holyrood Chronicle*) relating to Malcolm MacHeth appears in the *Chronicle of Melrose* for the year 1134.

In the same year, Henry II met young Malcolm IV, now fifteen, and induced him to cede to him what is now English Cumbria. Strategically this benefited Galloway. The effect on the district known as 'Cro' (between the rivers Nith and Urr) will be discussed later. Scottish territory no longer lay both north and south of Galloway. When in 1159 Malcolm, accompanied by 'his barons', joined Henry II at Toulouse, to any belligerent Gallovidian leader, his absence was a heaven-sent invitation to raid southern Scotland.

Fergus, an ageing man, was probably not eager for trouble. Records cannot be relied upon to give a complete picture, not the available evidence suggests that Fergus had avoided armed conflict betwen his defeat at the Battle of the Standard in 1138 and 1160, apart from repelling an attack by the assassins of Olaf of Man (his son-in-law) in 1153. Neither then, nor when Somerled laid Man waste in 1158, is there any indication of reprisals from Galloway.

Despite the savage reputation of Gallovidian fighting men, Fergus was not a successful war leader, perhaps because his host, who seem to have fought on foot, were not equal to mailed and mounted Anglo-Norman knights. However cautious about engaging in hostilities Fergus may have become, a sharp difference of opinion divided the three princes of Galloway at this time. His sons, men in early middle age, were shouldering their father aside, or trying to. Disagreements between them over matters of policy are implied by Walter Daniel's account of the situation in 1159. His description of the visit of Ailred of Rievaulx relates[10] that he found:

> 'the princes of the province quarrelling among themselves. The King of Scotland could not subdue nor the bishop pacify their mutual hatred, rancour, and tyranny. Sons were against father, father against sons, brother against brother, daily polluting the unhappy little country with bloodshed'.

This highly-coloured account has often been taken at its face value. The scene was of course, being set for 'Ailred the peacemaker' to effect a reconciliation. In the event it did not prove lasting. Though much of what Daniel said was rhetoric, he did not exaggerate the tension between Uchtred and his abler brother, Gilbert. It was eventually to cost Uchtred his life. Walter dismissed as mere viciousness the divisions between the brothers, but it is worth considering the pressures that antagonised them.

The first seems to have been uncertainty who should succeed Fergus. No principle of primogeniture seems to have been recognised by their tradition. It may imply that the Gallovidian chieftaincy was virtually elective within a royal line.

Uchtred's marriage to Gunnild of Allerdale brought him estates in English Cumbria, for which he owed allegiance to Henry II. His later charters show him infefting several of Anglo-Norman landowners of Cumbria in lands in eastern Galloway.[11] Everything conspired to steer his interest and alliances in the same direction. His sympathies were pro-English, pro-Norman,[12] and while he shared Gilbert's desire for independence, he was readier to cooperate with William the Lyon than his brother (Malcolm having died in 1165).

10 Maurice Powicke (ed): *The Life of Ailred of Rievaulx*. 1950.

11 F Grainger and W G Collingwood (edd): *The Register and Records of Holm Cultram Abbey*. Kendal. 1929. (abbreviated *HC*).

12 For example, Uchtred's charter to Richard son of Truite is addressed to 'all his men and friends, French, English, and Galwegian'. (ed) F W Ragg. *TDGNHAS* 1916-18.

Of Gilbert we know less, and most of it is inferred from after his father's death. He shunned the Scottish court, and is recorded as a charter witness only twice after Malcolm IV had established his hold on Galloway in 1160. R C Reid depicted him as opposed to feudalism, but according to a charter by Roger de Scalbroc, he held lands in Carrick of Gilbert on feudal tenure (Melrose Lib 31). Otherwise we hear of Gilbert mainly through English chronicles and Exchequer accounts. His personality emerges vividly as clever, ruthless, and single-minded. He shared to the point of obsession his father's resolution to be his own master, and accomplished it in his day without regard to means or cost. It is an assumption, but a reasonable one, that Gilbert's horizon had always been western even within Galloway, and that some of the wealth for which he became notorious came from maritime adventure.

His subsequent career suggests that Gilbert would have been a strenuous advocate for undertaking a major cattle raid on Scottish territory while opportunity offered. For all Walter Daniel's faith in a Christian reconciliation, it may have seemed to Fergus that the one course that would unite his sons and himself would be a concerted attack on the common enemy.

The Revolt of the Earls

Malcolm's return from France in 1160 is described by the Chronicle of Melrose:

> 'And when he had come to the city that is called Perth, Earl Ferteth and five other earls (being enraged against the king because he had gone to Toulouse) besieged the city, and wished to take the king prisoner ; but their presumption did not at all prevail.'

The Chronicle goes straight on in the next sentence:

> 'King Malcolm went three times with a great army into Galloway; and at last subdued them'.[13]

This somewhat lame passage is normally interpreted in terms of a military operation at Perth, an insurrection on the part of Scotland's senior native noblemen. These were the men (or their immediate successors) whose office it had been seven years before, to stand round the Stone of Destiny at the boy Malcolm's investiture, his elders and godfathers, whose presence was necessary to inaugurate his reign.

They are here represented, not only as in open rebellion against the king, but in alliance with Fergus of Galloway, a largely autonomous prince, regarded by contemporaries as leading a rabble of terrorists. More, on meeting with resistance from Malcolm and his knights, we are to visualise the earls retreating all the way south to Galloway rather than to their own homelands.

The essential incredibility of this story appears as soon as one attempts to identify individually the other earls who were with Ferteth. Professor Barrow has expressed this unease: 'Why the earls needed to be defeated in Galloway would be clearer if we knew

13 *Chronicle of Melrose* (Facsimile edition) edd A O Anderson and others. London. 1936.

who the other five earls in league with Ferteth were. . . . There would seem to be four earls to be accounted for . . . Fife and Dunbar were among Malcolm's closest supporters. Three others were Gillebrigde of Angus, Malcolm of Atholl, and Morgan of Mar. Gilchrist of Menteith was not recorded as earl until 1164, and the earldoms of Buchan and Lennox were probably not filled in 1160'.[14] Nevertheless the number is usually made up to six with Fergus of Galloway, though only one contemporary ever called Fergus an earl, and that was the English chronicler, Richard of Hexham.[15]

The Chronicle of Melrose

The Chronicle of Melrose takes the form of annals and is laid out accordingly. Each event of each year is recorded in sequence without any separation, one from the next. What happened at Perth in 1160 makes better sense if Malcolm's encounter with the earls and his three expeditions into Galloway are considered as separate, though not unconnected, events.

Then the confrontation at Perth takes on a different aspect. The earls, the elder statesmen of the realm, were rightly incensed with the young Malcolm. Having been induced by Henry II to cede Cumbria two years before, he goes careering off to France with him, taking his younger brother, his heir, with him, and for what? In pursuit of a knighthood! He seems wholly under the influence of the Anglo-Norman party - 'his barons' - some of whom accompanied him to France. The earls' anger is understandable, and it would have been all the greater if in Malcolm's absence his kingdom has been attacked by one of the peripheral western princes, Fergus of Galloway for example, or Somerled of the Isles. That, I suggest, is what had happened; but no such attack was recorded. It is however surely more reasonable to assume that Malcolm's next move - his three campaigns in Galloway - were a punitive response to just such an attack, than to posit that the earls of Scotia conspired with Fergus of Galloway against their king, and then took refuge in the unfamiliar and unfriendly terrain of the south-west.

It is not difficult to believe that his earls confronted Malcolm at Perth, with a show of arms against his 'barons', and with a threat that they would take him back into tutelage if he would not defend his realm like a king. Malcolm, whose self-confidence and manliness had increased by his experiences in France, seems to have stood up to them and satisfied them, undertaking to put Galloway in its place.

This hypothesis is supported by Malcolm's subsequent relations with his senior nobility. As Professor Barrow says, the earls of Fife and Dunbar were Malcolm's staunchest supporters, a fact that can now be seen as quite compatible with their taking part in the confrontation at Perth. Both they and the other earls of the time continued to act as charter witnesses at Malcolm's court in the months immediately following, and there is no suggestion that any of them were penalised for their conduct at Perth. M O Anderson refers to two charters of the Priory of St Andrews which were witnessed at Perth, one (page 129) on 6th November, 1160, and the other (page 132) soon after 6th January following.[16]

14 G W S Barrow: *The Kingdom of Scots*. 1973.

15 Richard of Hexham: *de Gestis Regis Stephani et de Bello Standardii in Chronicles of Stephen* iii. The reference to Earl Fergus may be an error for Earl Fereteth.

16 A charter of St Andrews (p 199) of May 1161 was witnessed by 'Earl Fergus' This was almost certainly in error for Fereteth.

Ferteth earl of Strathearn, supposed ringleader of the 'revolt', witnessed the first. Malcolm earl of Atholl, Gillebrigte earl of Angus, and Duncan earl of Fife witnessed both; and Cospatrick earl of 'Lothian' (Dunbar) appears in the second. Five out of a complement of six earls - seven at most - remained close by the king and clearly in his favour. Four remained with him over Christmas. It was known as 'the Christmas after the king's reconciliation with with Somerled'. Reconciliation with five men far more important to the king thus went unremarked, presumably because it had not been necessary.

If what had happened at Perth was a rough but fatherly carpeting of a young king, who proved himself equal to it, no one would have been inclined to report the proceedings. Hence the annalist of Melrose was in the dark, and had to fall back on the statement that the earls' 'presumption did not at all prevail'. It is however clear that the Chronicle intended to convey a different story. It continues straight into the statement that 'King Malcolm went three times with a great army into Galloway; and at last subdued them'; and the pronoun 'them' (eos) can only relate to the earls.

A O Anderson says in a footnote 'i.e. the earls'[17]; and there seems to be no alternative but to accept that the annalist of Melrose believed from the start that Fergus was at Perth with the earls and the earls, or some of them, were later with him in Galloway. The Chronicle of Melrose is preserved in its original twefth-century text and there is no room to suggest that the text had become corrupt with recopying.

The Holyrood Chronicle

An alternative account of the Galloway end of the story appears in the Holyrood Chronicle, which exists in two texts, one (K) in a thirteenth-century hand was preserved at Karlsruhe, and the other (L) in a late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century hand at Lambeth. Both texts are copies, both contain errors, some common and some not. While the early parts of the chronicle is thought to have been compiled at Coupar Angus, Anderson was satisfied (page 9) that the entries after 1150 were written at Holyrood.[18]

Neither text (K or L) record the encounter at Perth, and both begin at the relevant passage with: 'In 1160 King Malcolm led an army into Galloway three times;'. K then goes on: '*et inde devictis inimicis suis federatis cum pace et sine dampno sui remeavit*' (after he had subdued his confederate enemies he returned with peace and without loss) (M O Anderson's translation).

Manuscript L reads: '*et inde deiet inimicis suis devictis: federatis cum pace et sine dampno sui remeavit*' (he returned after he had made a treaty with his conquered enemies - p 136 note).

Anderson regarded the colon after devictis as inserted in L probably as a result 'not of scribal error, but deliberate alteration', and considered that the most natural interpretation derives from the reading without a colon. Anderson's English translation

17 A O Anderson: *Early Sources of Scottish History* vol ii. 1990.

18 A Scottish Chronicle known as the *Chronicle of Holyrood*. ed M O Anderson. *SHS*. 1938.

of L conveniently meets our objections to the involvement of Fergus with the Scottish earls, but the Latin seems forced and Anderson's mistrust of this version is a formidable argument against it.

Accepting that K is the better text, its phrase 'confederate enemies' supports the Melrose version only if one is already preoccupied with the idea of the Scottish earls 'retreating' to Galloway. The confederate enemies could have been three forces led by Fergus and his two sons respectively, or the Gallovidians and any allies they had with them - the lords of Nithsdale, for example.

Anderson has called attention (p 44) to Fordun's use of this passage of the Holyrood Chronicle and his reading (*tandem devictis federatis ac subjectis*) and comments that it seems to confirm K's meaning; 'but Bower . . . adds to Fordun's words 'ipsis' (to himself) before *devictis* and thus agrees with L'. Roger de Howden's account (p 217)[19] shows, according to Anderson, 'several slight variations' and reads: 'Malcolm led an army three times into Galloway and subdued it to himself'. None of these sources support the Melrose Chronicle, or make any reference to the earls.

When it comes to a choice between the Holyrood Chronicle and the Chronicle of Melrose, the canons of Holyrood were better placed to know what happened to Fergus in 1160, since he spent the next and last year of his life among them. All sources are unanimous that when the Gallovidians surrendered, Fergus was permitted to retire to the life of a tonsured canon in Holyrood Abbey. Galloway was then apparently divided by the king between Uchtred and Gilbert.

In the settlement of 1160 Fergus was handled with kid gloves and full recognition of his 'royal' standing, or else he managed to drive a hard bargain. He had secured a dignified - and very traditional - exit for himself, while preserving his sons' inheritance. M O Anderson suggests that the 'statement that Malcolm suffered no loss suggests his opponents avoided battle' (p 137). Fergus's abdication points to military defeat, while the terms he was able to make imply that Malcolm had not had everything his own way. Whether the three campaigns represented three attempts, or three separate Gallovidian forces to be overcome is not clear ; but the chronicler may have minimised the cost to Malcolm.

The question remains: why did Malcolm reduce Galloway to submission, apparently with some difficulty, if the so-called revolt of the earls was a domestic affair in which Fergus had no part? Had there been a foray from Galloway into Scottish territory during Malcolm's absence in France? Two separate series of land transactions immediately following the events of 1160 at least imply as much. They concern the district called 'Cro' between the rivers Urr and Nith, and upper Clydesdale.

If the river Urr was indeed the boundary of Fergus's territory rather than the Nith, Uchtred's well-documented possession and parcelling out of estates between the two rivers among his Cumbrian neighbours, suggest that the area had recently come into Galloway's

19 Roger de Howden: *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Hovedene*. ed W. Stubbs. Rolls Series. 1868-71.

control.[20] Two of his charters support the assumption. Uchtred appeared to regard Christian, bishop of Whithorn, as bishop throughout his lands although the deanery of Desnes Cro was within the diocese of Glasgow.[21]; and he was having to pay tribute in kind traditionally due to the king of Scots in that district, *'chaan del Cro'*, and hoped to be rid of this obligation.[22]

About the same time Malcolm IV granted an extensive area covering the Biggar gap to a family-group of Flemings (held to be the most formidable among the Anglo-Norman knights).[23] This route between Galloway and Edinburgh, approached through Nithsdale and the Dalveen pass, was being firmly closed against Gallovidian marauders. The strategic purpose of these infeftments is as clear as David I's closure of the main north-south corridor had been, when in 1124 he granted Annandale to Robert de Brus for the service of ten knights (ESC). The lands granted between Crawford and Biggar imply that upper Clydesdale had recently been shown to be vulnerable from the south-west.

Both districts, upper Clydesdale and the deanery of Desnes Cro had encompassed ancient - and probably moribund - ecclesiastical estates within the church of Cumbria (claimed by David I when Prince of Cumbria c 1120 as belonging to the diocese of Glasgow)(ESC). They were both good grazing and arable lands, and their continued tenure by landlords unable to defend them effectively was a danger to the realm of Scotland in upper Clydesdale, and to Galloway between the Urr and Nith.[24]

Galtway

On being accepted as a canon by the Abbey of Holyrood Fergus gave the monastery the lands and churches of Galtway and Dunrod. These medieval parishes lie on the east bank of the river Dee below Kirkcudbright, and thanks to the Abbey's possession, are relatively well documented. Earlier Fergus's sole (undated) charter had granted the lands of 'Galwyte' or Galtway to the Knights of St John of the Hospital. At least one historian of Galloway has identified both estates as contained in the medieval parish of Galtway near Kirkcudbright; and it seems worthwhile to try to identify the lands of 'Galwyte' and set the record straight.[25] Appendix B tells a confused and amusing story. Despite the doubt in the late fifteenth century as to whose land was which, it eventually becomes clear that the lands of Galtway both in the parish of Balmaclellan and the parish of Dalry were Hospital lands, and they can safely be identified with the lands of 'Galwyte' that Fergus gave to the Hospitallers.

20 The status of the district of Cro in the time of Fergus is obscure. If it was part of David I's Cumbria, held by Radulph of Nithsdale, it apparently changed hands between 1157 and 1160. After that Uchtred held it, and a charter of 1170 refers to Radulph's territory as east of the Nith (HC 133).

21 A charter quoted in Edgar *History of Dumfries* concerning a croft in Troqueer in the deanery of Desnes Cro is addressed by Uchtred to 'my lord and father, Christian bishop of the Galwegians, Abbots, Priors, and all good men' . . . the bishop of Glasgow in whose diocese Troqueer lay, is not mentioned, nor apparently was he represented among the witnesses.

22 Charter by Uchtred to Richard son of Truite edited by the Rev F W Wragg (*Wigt Chrs* p xix-xx).

23 G W S Barrow: *The Anglo-Norman Era in Scottish History*. Oxford. 1980. (page 57).

24 Daphne Brooke: The Church of Edingham and the Deanery of Desnes Cro. *TDGNHAS*. 1988. (Uchtred leased much of the actual estate of Edingham including the parish of Kirkgunzeon, to Holm Cultram Abbey.)

25 R C Reid: *Wigtownshire Charters* Edinburgh 1960 p xviii.

Conclusions

The following conclusions are suggested:

The relations between Fergus of Galloway and the king of Scots appears to have allowed Fergus a considerable degree of autonomy even in the lifetime of David I, though David almost certainly saw himself in some sense as Fergus's overlord. It was not a feudal relationship but derived from an older order of society.

Fergus, and not David, was the lay patron responsible for the revival of the bishopric of Whithorn (1128), the building of the Cathedral church (c 1150), and the foundation of the Premonstratensian monastery of Soulseat and the Cistercian Abbey of Dundrennan.

The marriage of Fergus to an illegitimate daughter of Henry I, is an assumption, but it is strongly supported by later documentation. These sources appear to rule out the often repeated suggestion that Uchtred and Gilbert were half-brothers.

The secondary sources on which we depend for the events of 1160 are neither wholly satisfactory nor conclusive. There are strong reasons for regarding the military character of the confrontation at Perth between the Scottish earls and Malcolm IV as exaggerated, both by the Chronicle of Melrose and the interpretation traditionally attached to it. It is improbable that Fergus of Galloway was involved. Malcolm IV may have wished to show his mettle by attacking Galloway soon afterwards, and his three campaigns have the appearance of punitive expeditions. For this part of the story the Holyrood Chronicle (K), despite some ambiguity, is to be preferred to the Chronicle of Melrose. Malcolm's punitive action had probably been provoked by an attack or attacks on Scottish territory by Fergus and his sons - annexing Cro, and harrying upper Clydesdale.

Finally, the lands of Galtway in the parish of Balmaclellan, perhaps with associated hill-land in the parish of Dalry, were the estate of Fergus granted to the Knights of St John, and not the medieval parish of Galtway (now in the parish of Kirkcudbright) which he gave to the Abbey of Holyrood.

Acknowledgments

I should like to thank my friends Professor G W S Barrow, W F Cormack, and Dr Richard Oram very warmly for their help and exchange of ideas in relation to this paper.

APPENDIX A: FERGUS'S WIFE

Chalmers' statement that 'the property and chieftaincy of Fergus descended to his son Uchtred by Elizabeth the youngest natural daughter of Henry I' has often been repeated. (*Caledonia* 1807. vol i page 366). He gave as his references: Yorke - the *Union of Honour*, and Sandford *Genealogical History*.

Yorke, writing in 1640, listed the illegitimate children of Henry I and ended 'There was another naturall daughter Elizabeth, but who married her is not certainly knowne' (facsimile published 1969 page 9). This gets us no further.

Sandford, writing in 1707, says that the seventh and youngest natural daughter of King Henry by Elizabeth, sister of Waleran, Earl of Melent, married Alexander, King of Scots. He cites as his authority the chronicler Ordericus Vitalis, and give the page number 702b.

The *Historiae Normannorum Antiqui* was published in Paris in 1619 and this appears to have been the edition of Ordericus Vitalis that Sandford used. Page 702b reads: '*Alexander regnavit et filiam Henrici regis Anglorum ex concubine uxorem duxit*' (Alexander reigned and took to wife a daughter by a mistress of Henry King of the English). We are of course, familiar with this lady, not as Elizabeth, which Sandford did not call her, but as Sybilla, wife of Alexander I, whose death is recorded by the Chronicle of Melrose in 1122. Sandford's statement is impeccable down to the page number. He said nothing about Fergus of Galloway.

Three sources, imply nevertheless that Fergus was related in such a way to Henry I that marriage with one of his many natural daughters, is the only reasonable explanation:

a) In relating the violent death of Uchtred son of Fergus, Roger de Howden records that Henry II claimed that Uchtred was his cousin.[26]

b) King John of England (Henry II's son and great-grandson of Henry I) is quoted as writing in 1210 'And while we were at Carrickfergus after the capture of that castle, a certain friend and relative of ours, Duncan of Carrick, announced to us that he had taken prisoner Matilda de Haye and her daughter . . .'[27] Duncan of Carrick was the son of Gilbert son of Fergus.

c) In the year 1166 the chronicler Robert de Torigni refers to the king of the Isles (Godred of Man) as 'the cousin of the English king (Henry II) on the side of Matilda the Empress his mother (Henry I's legitimate daughter).[28] Godred was the son of Fergus's daughter, Affrica.

These three inferences, involving each of Fergus's known children, make together very strong reasons for regarding Fergus as a son-in-law of Henry I. They also refute the suggestion, still sometimes made, that Uchtred and Gilbert were half-brothers with different mothers.

26 See note 19.

27 *Foedera, Conventiones, Litterae et Cuiuscunque Generis Acta Publica*. ed T Rymer. Record Commission edition. London. 1816-69.

28 O A Anderson: *Scottish Annals in English Chroniclers*. London. 1908.

APPENDIX B: THE LANDS OF GALTWAY

1 Fergus's undated grant of the lands of 'Galwyte' to the Knights of St John of the Hospital, was recorded in a list of the Hospitallers' properties of 1434, compiled by Brother Thomas Stillingfleet.

2 In 1160 his gift to Holyrood Abbey of the lands of Galtweied and Dunrod is recorded by the Chronicle of Holyrood and Holy Lib. It has been assumed that both lands lay in the medieval parish of Galtway near Kirkcudbright (*Wigt Chrs* p xviii). That is not so.

3 In 1455 the demesne lands of the ninth Earl of Douglas as lord of Galloway were confiscated by the crown, and their management was recorded by the Exchequer. In 1456 the lands of Galtway and Knockynwane (mistranscribed for Knockynmane, now Knockman) were leased for three years at one pound per annum (one and a half merks). (*ER* vi). Thirteen shillings and fourpence (one merk) was collected in 1458, but the lands of Knockman were then waste. In 1460 Galtway was waste. The lands were listed by the Exchequer in 1488, 1490, 1492 and 1500. They seem to have lain in the parish of Balmaclellan (approx NX 6783).

4 In 1476 William Knollis, Commander of Torphichen served a summons on behalf of the Hospitallers on Alexander Gordon 'upoun the wrangwis withhaldin fra thaim of the soume of 9 merkis which the said Alexander took up of the saidis landis of Galtwayt' (*ADA*). Another entry in the same year records that the 'Lordis Auditoris decrete and deliver that for ocht that they have sene producit and schewin before thaim, the sade Alexander has tane up nane of the sadis malis bot at the command of umquhile Robert of Schaw be virteu of his said Sir William's letters' (*ADA*).

5 In 1481 the Exchequer reports that the rents were outstanding for the lands of Galtway, Knockman (Knockynwen) and Lowis, and that John Gordon of Lochinvar was claiming them as his by hereditary right 'until such time as the Justice in Ayre or the Commissioners of the lord king verify the leasing of the lands and enquire into the matter' (*ER* ix).

6 Thus far it may be assumed that these were the lands of Galtway that Fergus gave to the Hospitallers, who had depended upon an agent to collect the rents. In 1455 the crown seized Galtway in error with other lands belonging to the ninth Earl of Douglas, and attempted to collect the rents. By 1481 the Gordons were claiming the lands as their own. In 1498-99 the Lords of Council found John Gordon guilty with others, of 'wrangwis withhaldin fra the Kingis hienes his landis of Galtway, Lowis and Knokinvane'; required him to 'remove from the landis of Lowis'; and set a date for him to exhibit his enfeofments of Galtway and 'Knokinvane'. Otherwise they were to be judged to be the King's property. In 1500 the Lords Auditors decided the lands belonged to the King.

7 It is doubtful whether the King, through the agency of his Exchequer, ever gained possession, for eighteen years later the Exchequer, indefatigable but ineffective, recorded that 'Galtwellowis cannot be found although it appears in the rental' (*ER*). The name had become garbled and the lands unidentifiable. So neither the Gordons nor the the crown profited. We may picture the baillie of the Knights of St John of Jerusalem tranquilly continuing to collect the rents, as they had done for the best part of four hundred years.

8 The rental of the Knights of St John of Jerusalem (the Hospitallers) for 1539-40 records that the lands of 'Galtua' were 'set for 5 zeris takkis to the laird of Orchardtoun and his sone payand therefore zerely of male forty-three shillings and grassum as my lord and he agrees'. Cairns of Orchardton acted as baillie to the Hospitallers. They had possession of Galtway, and there is every reason to suppose that these were the lands that Fergus had given the Knights of the Hospital in the twelfth century.

9 In the same rental the Hospitallers' list of properties in Galloway included 'Knokover Galtua' (this appears in *Retours* (331) and also in Drem and Macquarrie). It was apparently Galtway-Knockgray. The Parish Book of the Ordnance Survey recorded the existence of the lands of Galtway on the Craig of Knockgray in Carsphairn in the mid-nineteenth century. This Galtway may have been quite independent of the holding in Balmaclellan, but more probably Galtway-Knockgray was hill-land belonging to it.

ABBREVIATIONS

ESC: *Early Scottish Charters* before 1153. ed A C Lawrie. Glasgow. 1905.

Holy Lib: *Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis*. Bannatyne Club. 1840.

ER: *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*. ed J Stuart and others. 1878-1908.

ADA: *Acts of the Lords Auditors of Causes and Complaints*. ed T Thompson. Edinburgh. 1839.

Melrose Lib: *Liber Sancte Marie de Melros* (Bannatyne Club) 1837.

Retours: *Inquisitionem ad Capellam Domini Regis Retornatorum quae in publicis archivis Scotiae adhuc servantur*. Abbrevatio. ed T Thompson 1811-1816.

Parish Bk: *Ordnance Survey* (c 1847).

Drem: *Notes of Charters etc. . . .of the Barony of Drem 1615-1627*. ed. J Maidment. Edinburgh. 1830.

HC: see footnote 11.

SHS: *Scottish History Society*.

TDGNHAS: *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*.

THE CASTLES OF BUITTLE

by

Alastair M. T. Maxwell-Irving

The acquisition of the site of the old castle of Buittle by Balliol College, Oxford, in 1984 has, in a sense, brought history full circle. Buittle was the home of John de Balliol (d.1269), who, c.1260, hired a house in the suburbs of Oxford for the accommodation of sixteen poor scholars.[1] Oxford University was then in its infancy, and this was the beginning of Balliol College, the second oldest college in the university. After John's death, his widow, Dervorguilla, daughter and co-heiress of Alan, the last Celtic Lord of Galloway, continued his good work, and it was at Buittle, in 1282, that she sealed[2] the Statutes laying down how the scholars were to conduct their everyday lives.[3] Dervorguilla also founded the Cistercian abbey of Sweetheart, or New Abbey,[4] in 1273, in memory of her husband and as a last resting place for them both.

The old castle is now little more than a heap of rubble, giving no idea of its former greatness, while Sweetheart Abbey is a ruin. Balliol College, on the other hand, has continued to go from strength to strength, and is universally recognized as one of the foremost seats of learning anywhere, an enduring tribute to John de Balliol and his great wife, Lady Dervorguilla[5]

Now that Balliol College is planning a programme of excavation on the site of the old castle, it seems an appropriate time to give a brief, up-to-date account of the owners of Buittle and the strongholds they built.

The Old Castle of Buittle

Buittle appears to have been the principal seat of the Lords of Galloway at least since the 12th century, when they built a large motte-and-bailey castle on the west bank of the Water of Urr, possibly on an even earlier fortification. With its extensive earthen ramparts and ditches, it covered an area of some 5½ acres.[6] The palisades and other structures on the motte were later rebuilt in stone. This work may have been started by Alan (d.1234), the last native Lord of Galloway,[7] or his successor, John de Balliol (d.1269), who married Alan's daughter, Dervorguilla; but the present remains are those of a typical 'Edwardian' castle dating from the end of the 13th century. The Balliols, who succeeded to the greater part of Alan's estate in Galloway, also used Buittle as their principal residence. There is, thus, nothing remarkable in the fact that it was here that Lady Dervorguilla sealed the Statutes for Balliol College.

1. Jones, J., 1988 *Balliol College: A History, 1263-1939*, 2.
2. The arms of Balliol College, as used today, comprise the crowned lion rampant of Galloway impaled with the orle of Balliol, both of which devices are found on Dervorguilla's seal.
3. A full translation of the Statutes is given in Jones 1988 Appendix A.
4. RCAHMS, 1914, *Fifth Report and Inventory of Monuments and Constructions in Galloway, Vol II. County of the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright*, No. 380.
5. On her mother's side, Dervorguilla was the granddaughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon, a grandson of David I of Scotland.
6. Coles, F. R., 'Motes, Forts and Doons of Kirkcudbright,' *PSAS*, XXVI, 132-5.
7. Alan's second wife, and mother of Dervorguilla, was Margaret, daughter of the Earl of Huntingdon and great-granddaughter of David I.

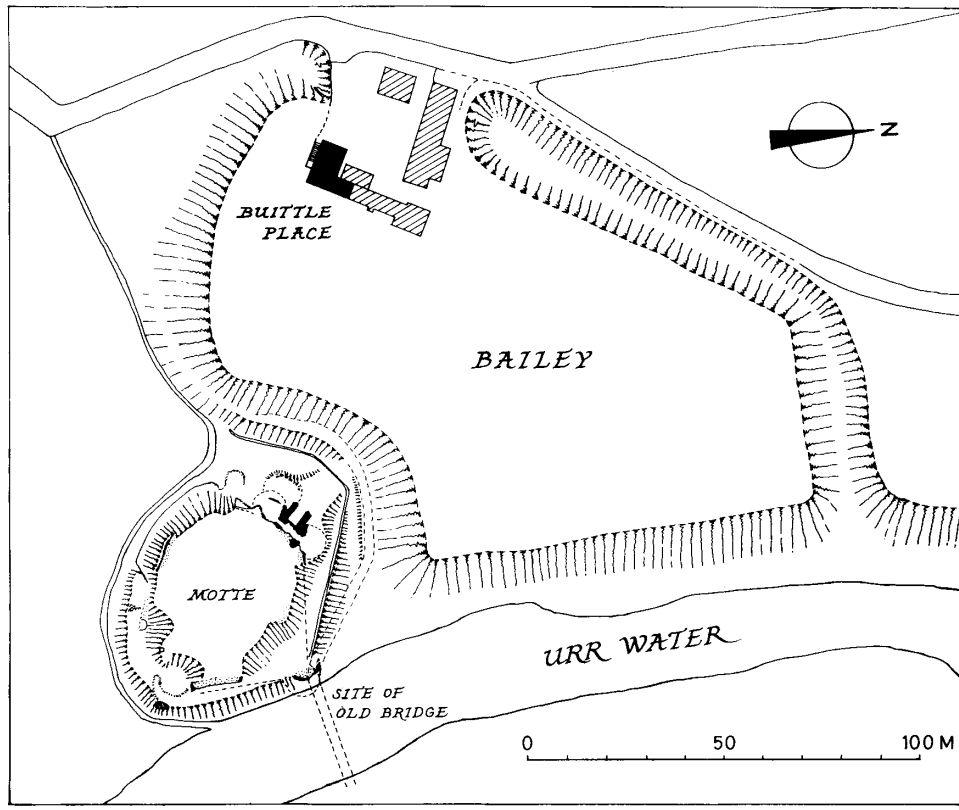

Fig. 1 Buittle Castle. Overall site plan based on first O.S. map, a survey by the author and information from the RCAHMS.

John Balliol, 2nd of Buittle, subsequently became a contender for the Scottish Crown and, in 1292, King of Scotland. However, he soon rebelled against Edward I's claims of overlordship, and attempted to assert his authority; but in 1296 he was defeated at Dunbar. Soon afterwards he abdicated and retired to the continent. Edward I then put Buittle in the charge of Henry de Percy, who was succeeded the following year by John de Hodelston.[8] Then, in 1298, he granted the lands of Buittle to Sir John St. John, who was also given charge of the castle.[9] It was under the supervision of one of these Norman knights that the new, Edwardian castle must have been built. It was quadrangular in shape, enclosing an area measuring approximately 150ft by 100ft, and had round towers at the corners and a strong gatehouse flanked by two drum towers, each 27ft in diameter over walls 6ft thick.[10]

8. Reid, R. C. 'Buittle Castle', *TDGAS*, 3rd Ser., XI, 200.
9. Ibid., 200-1.
10. RCAHMS 1914, No. 74. Similar castles in the area are to be found at Kirkcudbright and Tibbers.

In 1300 Sir John St. John was ordered to provision the castle, and to give no truce.[11] Two years later he was succeeded by his son, who was still in command c.1309 when Edward Bruce compelled an English force to take refuge in the castle, while he drove off the local cattle.[12] It is not certain whether the Bruces subsequently besieged and captured the castle, but, for whatever reason, it does appear to have been partially dismantled some time between 1309 and 1313.[13] Then in 1324/25, Bruce granted "all our lands of Botyll" to Sir James Douglas, "The Good": there is no mention of the castle.[14] The Balliols, however, still claimed possession, and Edward Balliol appears to have repaired the castle, at least in part, and resided there for a while sometime after his brief reign as King of Scotland in 1332.[15] He certainly dated two charters at his "castle of Bottel" in 1352[16] The following year David II granted the lands of Buittle, together with many other lands, to Sir William Douglas, nephew of the Good Sir James and later 1st Earl of Douglas;[17] and the Douglases continued to hold the lands until their forfeiture in 1455.[18] Little is known about Buittle during this time, but in 1427 Henry VI of England complained to James I about the plight of some English fishermen imprisoned in the castle by William Carnys.[19] After the forfeiture of the Douglases, the lands passed to the Crown. By this time, the old castle was probably ruinous,[20] although it is still mentioned in charters of the lands to Sir William Monypeny of Ardweny in 1458[21], and William Levenax of Caly, armour-bearer to James III, in 1485.[22]

The 16th century

During the 16th century, the feudal superiority of the lands of Buittle changed hands between the Douglases, Earls of Morton, and the Lords Maxwell with surprizing frequency as their fortunes changed. In 1516, the Earl of Morton was granted a 19-year tack of the lands.[23] At the end of this period, Lord Maxwell received a crown charter of Buittle in feu-farm,[24] and this was confirmed in 1537.[25] Three years later, however, on the enforced

11. Fraser, W. 1885 *The Douglas Book* . II, 603.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid. Fraser points out that the oft quoted statement that Bruce took Buittle in 1313 is based on a misreading of 'Bute' in Fordun's *Chronica*, which has subsequently been repeated. It is, nevertheless, a fact that many strongholds were destroyed by the Bruces as part of their deliberate, scorched-earth policy.
14. *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, Appendix 1, No. 37. According to one account, Douglas was first granted the lands in 1309 — M'Kerlie, P. H. 1877 *History of the Lands and their Owners in Galloway*, III, 237.
15. RCAHMS 1914, No. 74; Reid 202; M'Kerlie III, 237. According to Cardonnel (*Picturesque Antiquities of Scotland*, 1788), in 1334 Balliol granted Edward III a great part of Galloway, reserving for himself only the castles of Buittle, Kenmure and Kirkgunzeon.
16. Reid, 202.
17. RMS I, Appendix 1, No. 123.
18. Ibid, No. 154.
19. *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, 1881-8, V, No. 1003. William Carnys, or Cairns, would have been one of the Orchardton family.
20. A sasine in 1406 refers only to the "Chief place of the barony of Buittle". — Fraser 1885, 604.
21. RMS II, No. 626.
22. Ibid, No. 1627.
23. *Registrum Secreti Sigilli*, I, No. 2835.
24. RMS III, No. 1475; Fraser, W. *The Book of Carlaverock*, 1873, I, 171.
25. RMS III, No. 1692.

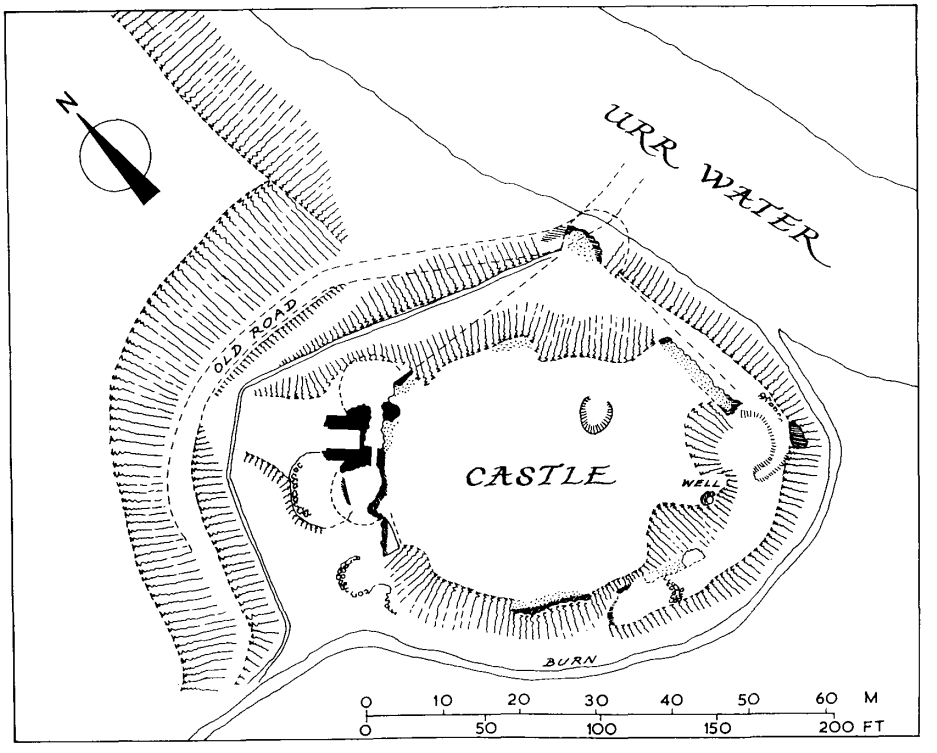

Fig. 2 Buittle Old Castle, site of.
Based with permission on a survey carried out by RCAHMS in 1987.

resignation of the Earl of Morton, James V granted the lands of Buittle to Sir Robert Douglas of Lochleven;[26] but within three months Douglas was forced to give them back to the king, who now gave them to Lord Maxwell again.[27] Then, in 1543, on the petition of the 3rd Earl of Morton, the Court of Session revoked the resignation of 1540, whereupon Queen Mary gave Morton a new charter of the lands.[28] This was confirmed in favour of the 4th Earl in 1564,[29] and again in favour of the 7th Earl in 1589.[30] However, in a charter of 1592/3 to Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar, it states that the lands and barony of Buittle belonged to Lord Maxwell,[31] and in 1605 the 8th Lord Maxwell was infeft in the lands as heir to his father.[32]

26. Ibid. No. 2213; *The Scots Peerage*, 1904-14, VI, 360. It is not clear how they had passed from Maxwell to Morton during the years 1537-40.
27. Scots Peerage VI, 360; RMS III, No. 2368.
28. RMS III, No. 2901.
29. RMS IV, No. 1535.
30. RMS V, No. 1674.
31. Ibid. No. 2278.
32. Fraser 1873, I, 300.

The Gordons

By this time the new fortalice of Buittle had evidently been built, although it does not appear on Pont's map as late as c.1595.[33] Nothing is known for certain about the builder, but in all likelihood it was the work of the Gordons, perhaps with some Maxwell help. In 1563, Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar married, as his second wife, Elizabeth Maxwell, daughter of John (1512-82), 4th Lord Herries, one of the most powerful men in the West March.[34] By this marriage he had a third son, John, who became "of Buittle", where he resided until his death, without issue, c.1611-14.[35] Buittle then passed to his brother, James Gordon of Barncrosh (d.1633), who is later referred to in charters as "of Buittle".[36] His eldest son, John, succeeded in 1639 as 3rd Viscount Kenmure, while his third son, James, appears to have inherited Buittle.[37]

Buittle Place, or the New Castle of Buittle

Over the years of occupation, ruin, restoration and modernization, "Old Buittle", or Buittle Place as it is now known, has undergone various structural changes that make it difficult to be certain of the exact building sequence. It evidently started life as a simple oblong tower of three storeys and an attic, with turrets corbelled-out at the NW and SE corners. To this was later added a wing, with a new entrance, and a corbelled-out stair-turret in the re-entrant angle. It was built on part of what had been the outer bailey of the old castle, and no doubt there was originally a barmkin and various other buildings, but all that remains is the tower and some of the older earthworks.[38]

The original tower measures 36ft 7in from E to W and 22ft 7in from N to S, over walls 4ft 2in thick along the sides and 4ft 3in thick at the ends. It is probable that it is largely built of rubble quarried from the old castle. The basement, which is vaulted and has a maximum height of 8ft 4in, was provided with two slit windows on the S side and one in each of the other three walls. That at the W end was later converted into a doorway, while the original doorway to the basement on the N side was blocked up. There is no evidence of any internal communication with the first floor, so it is presumed that in the original arrangement there was a separate entrance on the N side at first floor level, which was reached by a ladder or, more likely, a forestair, similar to, but on the opposite side from, the present entrance. Above basement level the walls are 4ft 3in thick at the ends and 3ft thick at the sides. Illustrations of the ruined tower c.1790[39] show chimneys in each gable and two windows at each upper floor level on the S side; in addition, it is likely that there was, as now, one window at each level on the opposite side.

The wing, which was added at the E end of the N wall, was probably built early in the 17th century, not long after the original tower. Slightly irregular in shape, it is 13ft 10in wide and has an average projection of 14ft 4in, over walls which vary in thickness

33. Blaeu, J. *Atlas Maior*, VI (Scotland), 66. 'Praefectura KIRCUBRIENSIS'.
34. See Maxwell-Irving, A. M. T. 'Hoddom Castle: a Re-appraisal of its Architecture and Place in History', *PSAS*, CXVII, 188-90, for a brief account of Lord Herries' life.
35. Scots Peerage V, 112.
36. Ibid; see Index to the *Particular Register of Sasines for Dumfries*, I, 108; M'Kerlie III, 238.
37. Scots Peerage V, 112.
38. Coles, 133.
39. Cardonnell, 'Buittle: Plate II'; Grose F. *The Antiquities of Scotland*, II, 12.

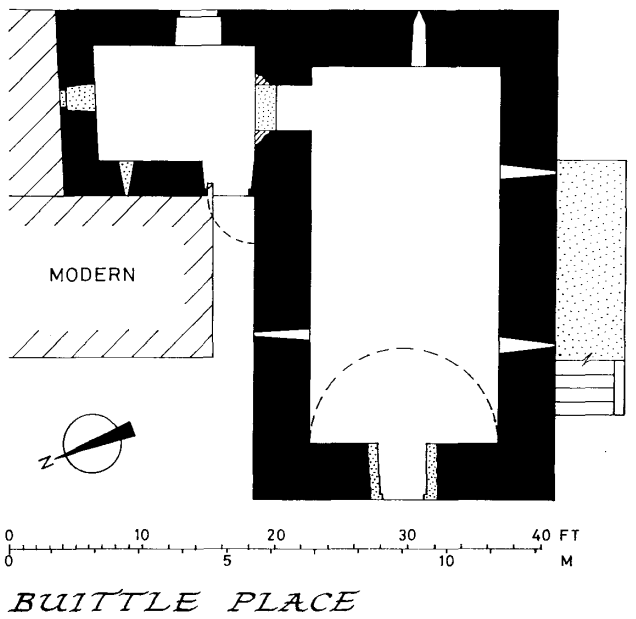

Fig. 3 Ground floor plan by the author.

from 2ft 6in to 2ft 8in. The purpose of this addition was undoubtedly to carry a stair up to the first floor — although this has now gone — and to provide further accommodation above, while a new stair-turret, carried on seven continuous corbel-courses in the re-entrant angle, rose to serve the upper floors. That this was not the original arrangement can be seen from: the E wall of the building, where the walls of the main block and wing are integral at ground floor level,[40] but abut one another throughout the rest of their height; the re-entrant angle, where the wall of the wing at ground level abuts that of the main block; and in the much reduced thickness of the walls themselves. The jambs and lintel of the new entrance doorway carry a QER (quirked edge-roll) moulding. Within the wing there are three upper floors, the levels of which do not correspond with the floor levels in the main block.

The 17th Century

In 1609, the 8th Lord Maxwell was declared guilty of treason for the murder of the Laird of Johnston, and all his lands, including Buittle, were forfeited.[41] Five years later, his brother, the 9th Lord Maxwell, had his honours and estates restored.[42] In 1620 he was created Earl of Nithsdale, and the following year he received a new crown charter

40. The lowest courses of the wing's SE wall are unquestionably contemporary with the original tower, but whether they first formed part of the barmkin, or part of some other, single storey structure, cannot now be determined.
41. *The Complete Peerage*, 1910-59, VIII, 598.
42. Ibid, 599.

Fig 4. Buittle Place in 1790, by Francis Grose.

incorporating all his lands, including the lands, lordship and barony of Buittle, into the Earldom of Nithsdale.[43] But the Earl's subsequent adherence to Charles I cost him dearly, and in 1644 he eventually forfeited all his honours and estates.[44] This does not explain a charter of confirmation of the lands and baronies of Borgue and Buittle, with the castles, etc., granted to the Earl of Morton in 1638,[45] but Nithsdale's declining fortunes were apparently the reason for a crown charter of 1643 granting all the family estates to the Earl of Buccleugh.[46] On payment of a fine of 10,000 merks in 1647, the 2nd Earl of Nithsdale had his honours and estates restored.[47] Nevertheless, the Scotts of Buccleuch still laid claim to various Maxwell lands, including Buittle, and in 1664 the Duke of Monmouth and his spouse, the Countess of Buccleuch, received a crown charter of numerous lands, including the lordship and barony of Buittle.[48] But all the Scotts eventually retained were the Langholm properties.

43. RMS VIII, No. 228.
44. Complete Peerage IX, 560.
45. RMS IX, No. 809.
46. Ibid. No. 1341.
47. Scots Peerage VI, 487.
48. RMS XI, No. 673.

It is not known when the Gordons' direct connection with Buittle came to an end, but it may have been a consequence of the marriage, in 1674, of William Maxwell of Kelton and Buittle, youngest son of the 3rd Earl of Nithsdale, to the daughter of Viscount Kenmure.[49] Although William evidently lived at Kelton, his kinsmen, the Maxwells of Breconside and Terraughty, appear to have acquired an interest in the property around this time, and it was at Buittle, in 1720, that the second son of John Maxwell, 3rd of Breconside, was born.[50] Four years later, on John's death, his widow, being in straitened circumstances, left Buittle and went to live at Kirkpatrick Durham.[51] This may be when the house was abandoned. The property subsequently passed to the Maxwells of Munches, who were still in possession in 1788 when the house is on record as being a roofless ruin.[52]

The Restoration of the Tower-house

Sometime during the following century, the Maxwells restored the old tower as a farm-house. It is as such that "Old Buittle" is on record in 1877.[53] As part of this work, the basement of both the main block and wing were relegated to store rooms, and one of the first floor windows on the S side was opened up to serve as the new entrance, reached by an unusually tall forestair. At the same time the turrets were removed, leaving only the first two courses of corbelling just visible below the wall-head. The house has since been further modernized, such that no other original features are now visible above basement level.

Acknowledgements

I am indebted to Dr. John Jones, Dean and Archivist of Balliol College, Oxford, for information regarding Dervorguilla's Statutes and the early days of Balliol College. I would also like to thank the Royal Commission on the Ancient & Historical Monuments of Scotland, and in particular Mr Geoffrey Stell, for their assistance, and Mr and Mrs McKune, late of Buittle Place, for their kindness and hospitality while I was surveying the old tower.

The plan of the motte and castle remains is based on a survey carried out by the RCAHMS in 1987. I am indebted to the Commission for permission to use it.

49. Fraser 1873, I, 396. There are, however, references to the Gordons of Kenmure receiving sasine of Buittle in 1723, which cannot readily be explained — M'Kerlie III, 243-4.
50. Fraser 1873, 572.
51. Ibid.
52. Cardonnel, 'Buittle: Plate II'; Grose II, 12.
53. M'Kerlie III, 245.

THE EXCAVATION OF A POST-MEDIEVAL BUILDING AT HALFWAY HOUSE, BY KIRKCOWAN, WIGTOWNSHIRE, DUMFRIES AND GALLOWAY

by

Olwyn Owen

with contributions from Barbara Ford, Doreen Grove and Bob Will

Summary

Excavation of a site, necessitated by the realignment of the A75 Dumfries to Stranraer road, revealed the foundations of a Post-medieval house.

Introduction

The site is located *c.* 12 km W of Newton Stewart, in Kirkcowan parish, Wigtownshire (NGR NX 305 617) (figure 1). It lies in a field under pasture adjacent to the present A75 Dumfries to Stranraer trunk road and bordered on its N side by an old military road. The projected route of the Halfway House to Shennanton road realignment will destroy the site in its entirety. The site was unrecorded prior to 1988 when Mr Andrew Gladstone, of the Craichlaw Estate Trust which owns the land, reported both its existence and imminent demise to SDD-HBM (now Historic Scotland). It was excavated by a small team from the, then, Central Excavation Unit of HBM, over three weeks in July 1989.

The area is underlain by sedimentary rocks of Lower Palaeozoic age including shales, siltstones and Greywackes (Brown *et al* 1982, 59-60). They are overlain by drift deposits which, at Halfway House, are thin and stony and derive very locally from the underlying rock. Outcrops of rock throughout the thin drift create an irregular patterned land surface of low knolls and intervening level ground. This stony drift supports freely draining soils of the Ettrick Association which are very shallow over the rock outcrops. The land is classified as moderately suited for reclamation as improved pasture and provides good all year grazing.

Site Description

The site lies in a grass-covered field on a low rocky knoll (*c.*95 m OD) which is situated at the end of a gently sloping, NE to SW trending ridge. Before excavation, the grass-covered outline of a rectilinear structure with some protruding stonework was visible, *c.*12 m long, aligned roughly N to S and partially enclosed by a crescentic bank (figure 2). It appeared relatively well preserved to the N and E and badly damaged to the S and SW where the ground slopes away sharply. The line of the crescentic bank, also grass-covered with protruding stonework, did not respect the alignment of the rectilinear structure. It was approximately 1.5 m wide at its base and stood 60-70 cm high. It, too, appeared best preserved to the N and E and faded away to the S and W.

The site was interpreted on ground surface indications as a pre-Clearance, perhaps medieval, farmstead (the rectangular building) overlying an earlier, possibly prehistoric site (represented by the crescentic bank). This hypothesis was tested by excavation.

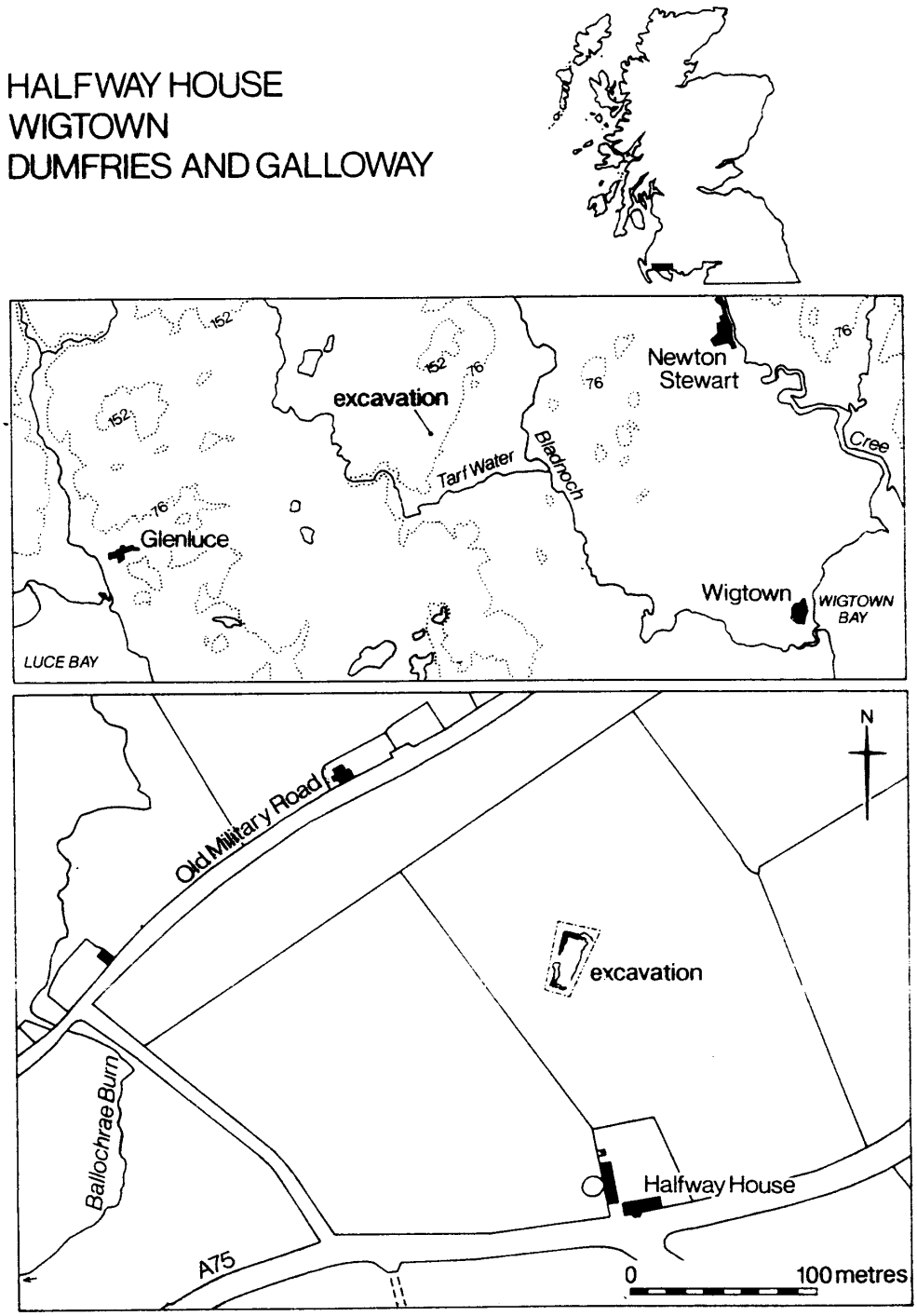

Fig. 1 Location maps

Results

Phase 1: Early Features (not illustrated)

Several early features had been preserved beneath the S end of the rectangular building, notably a clearly demarcated spread of dark brown clay loam containing burnt material and a small, right-angled gulley or slot, the latter located beneath the SW corner of the building. The truncated remains of one or two small pits cut into natural clay were identified within the later building. These fragmentary features were uninterpretable other than to signify the presence of earlier activity on the site. They produced no dating evidence.

Phase 2: The Rectangular Building (figure 3)

The building was very poorly preserved. Its walls survived in fragments only, primarily round the NW and SW corners. Elsewhere, their approximate lines were marked by clearly delineated, spread banks of clay and rubble. The builders of the structure had utilised a natural platform which sloped slightly from N to S and had a surface of stony clay and bedrock outcrops. It had been little modified (although some internal levelling had occurred) except at the NW corner where the edges of the platform fell away sharply. Here, a bank of rubble-packed peaty clay was backed against the platform edges to provide a stable foundation for the walls above. The walls survived nowhere higher than 1-2 courses, their basal stones comprising large blocks of varied size. They incorporated bedrock outcrops where they occurred, particularly the E wall in which a large boulder was also present. The clay-bonded walls were *c.*80 cm wide and had rubble and clay cores. An entrance, *c.*1 m wide, occurred in the centre of the W wall.

The building measured 9.2 by 3.2 m internally, giving an internal area of some 29.5 square metres, and does not appear to have been partitioned. The N part of the interior, however, had a clay floor while the S part (almost two-thirds of the floor space) was paved with large, flat slabs, often superimposed on each other to compensate for the underlying surface irregularities. Additionally, the paved area was 'stepped up' the slight slope towards the S, producing different paved levels. The paving terminated about 80 cm from the S wall and traces of a slabbed kerb here might indicate that a feature, such as a bench, was originally positioned against the wall.

The lowest level of paving, in the centre of the building, incorporated the capstones of a flat-bottomed drainage gulley, on average some 45 cm wide and 15-20 cm deep. This ran N to S adjacent to the E internal wall face, turned and ran E to W across the centre of the floor and broadened where it ran out through the entrance. At its N end, it appeared to run under the E wall but it was not discernible outside the building.

In the N part of the interior, a sub-rectangular hearth base of flat slabs was revealed, set into a slight depression in the clay floor. Most slabs were heavily burnt. Burnt clay underlay the slabs and was spread over the clay floor in their vicinity. On a level with the hearth base, a layer of mixed material including burnt debris was spread over most of the N half of the interior. These deposits probably represent the only *in situ* layers within the building. All overlying deposits had suffered disturbance and were mixed with rubble from the buildings' collapse.

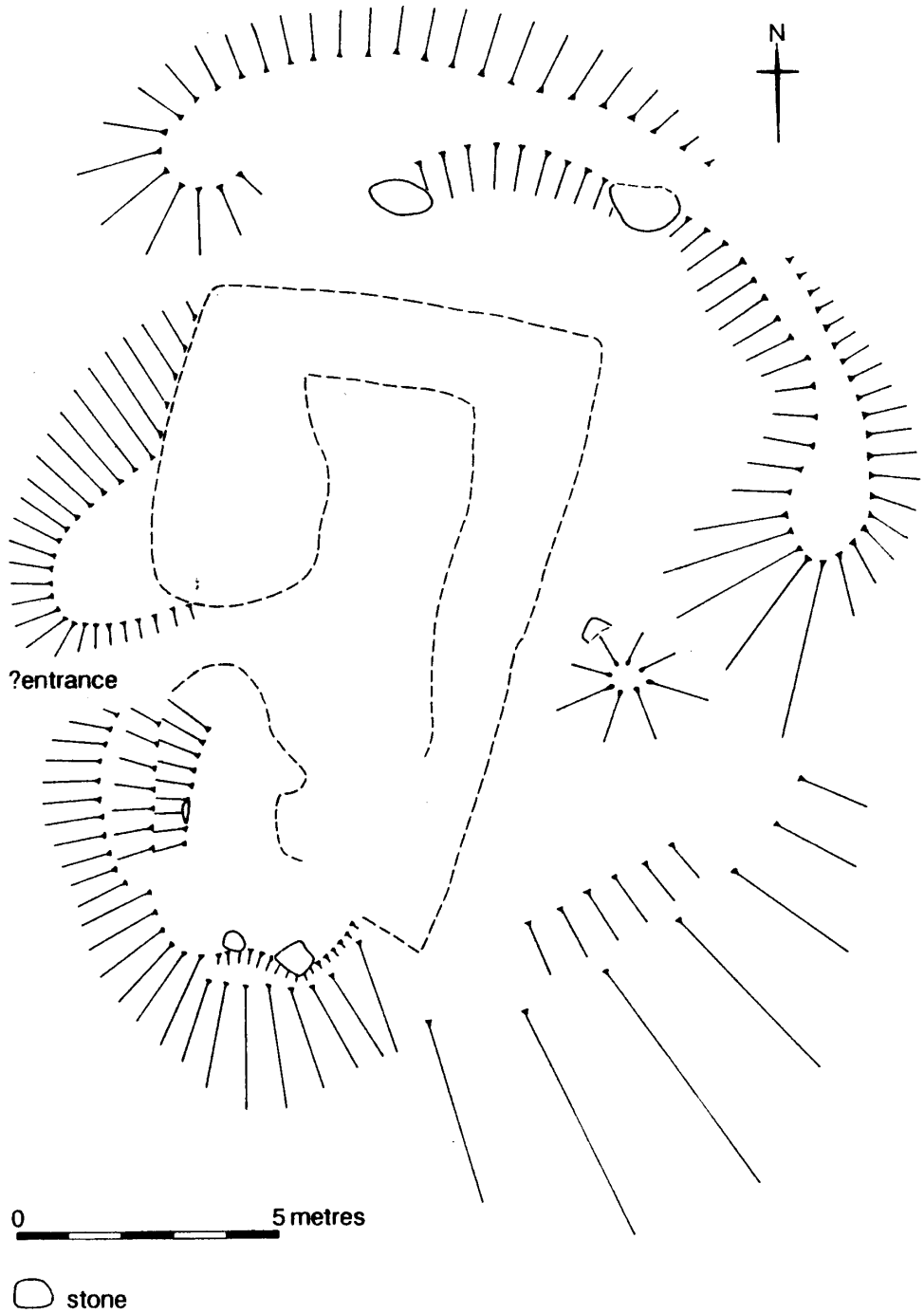

Fig. 2 The site before excavation

The nature of the subsoil made it difficult to identify negative features such as post-holes, or to trace the extent of linear features. However, a roughly circular pit, 65 cm across and up to 40 cm deep with a rounded base, located in the NE corner of the building, was probably contemporary with the building's use. Unfortunately, its fill of stony, redeposited clay and clay loam was uninformative.

The Crescentic Bank (figure 2; section not illustrated)

Two, *c.*1 m wide trenches were excavated across the bank extending from the N and E walls of the house. These and other surface features revealed that the bank consisted of rubble and redeposited clay and contained irregularly spaced boulders located, on average, about 2 m apart. The presence of a shallow scoop between the bank and the house indicated that at least some of the bank material had been scooped from this area. Here, a thin layer of turf and subturf directly overlay the subsoil with no surviving, intervening horizonation. Slight traces of a similar depression were noted along the outside face of the bank. It was not possible to demonstrate a stratigraphical relationship between the bank and the house although it seems likely that they are contemporary.

The Test Pits (not illustrated)

In test pits excavated some 20-30 m N, W and E of the structure, a 20-40 cm depth of homogeneous, very stony clay loam overlay the subsoil. Further coring exercises appeared futile given that traces of associated field systems or outbuildings would be difficult to identify, if any such survive, without large-scale stripping of the area.

The Artefactual Evidence

The site produced about 200 finds, almost all of which were discovered in disturbed contexts. The finds were, however, almost exclusively limited to the area of the house interior and were absent, with a few modern exceptions, from the area between the house and the bank and from the test pits. The assemblage appeared to display consistent traits in types of materials and, broadly, their dating brackets. These factors, combined with the absence of other monuments in the vicinity which might have caused contamination of the assemblage, indicate the strong possibility that many of the finds relate to the occupation of the house and became incorporated into its disturbed upper levels following its abandonment.

The assemblage is dominated by fragments of bottle glass, window glass and other glass items. A miscellaneous collection of metalwork, stone objects, clay pipe fragments, pottery sherds, burnt debris and some animal bones was also recovered. Given the lack of intact stratigraphy, only a selection of the more diagnostic finds (and none of the palaeoenvironmental evidence) was analysed in an attempt to ascertain broad functional and dating criteria for the building. The following summary of the dating and functional implications of the assemblage is based on reports provided by Barbara Ford (glass and metalwork) and Bob Will (pottery). Full reports have been deposited with the site record in the National Monuments Record (Scotland).

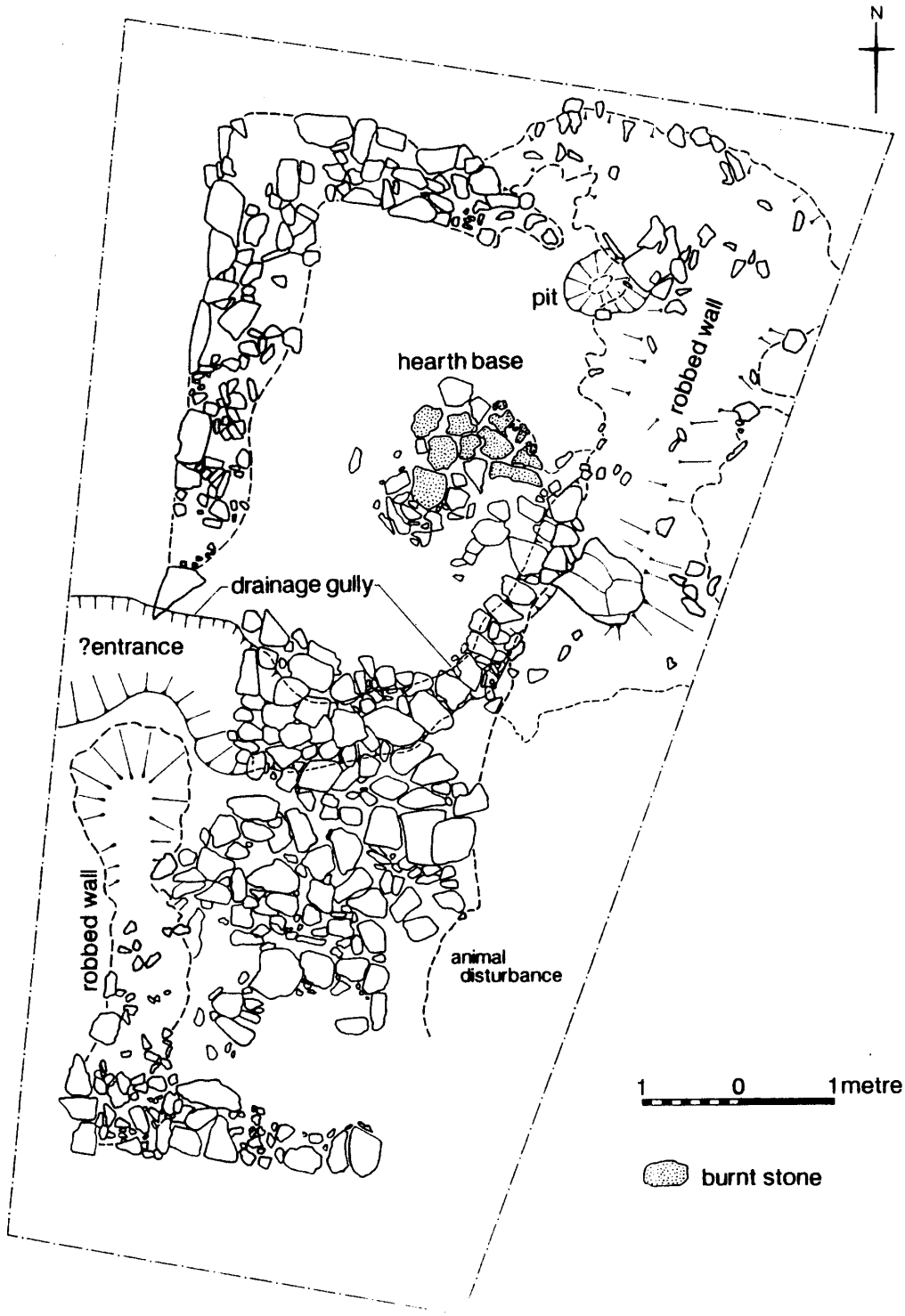

Fig. 3 Plan of excavated site

The glass assemblage was dominated by eighty sherds of thick green bottle glass, representing a maximum of twenty vessels, used to contain wine or mineral water. Sufficient fragments remain to enable classification of seven of the bottles. The earliest type was one of Noel-Hume's (1961) 'onion' type bottles which were common, at least in England, from 1680-1715. Also present were 'mallet' bottles, popular between 1715 and the mid-18th century, and 'cylinder' bottles which continued to be made well into the 19th century. It is interesting to note that 'shaft and globe' bottles, which are earlier than the 'onion' type, are absent.

The distribution of the bottle glass reflects the disturbed nature of the deposits, with fragments of the same vessels scattered through several contexts and with late 17th- to early 18th-century bottle fragments occurring in the same contexts as late 18th-, to 19th-century bottles. However, several of the forty-six sherds of the 'onion' bottle (*c.* 1680-1715) were recovered from the less disturbed clay floor deposits around the hearth.

Thirty-two fragments of plain window glass, 1-3 mm thick and mostly pale green in colour, were recovered. It is not possible to discern the original shape of the panes. Despite the variations in thickness, colour and quality of the fragments, the majority is probably 18th century in date.

Two, large, yellow glass beads (*c.* 13 mm in diameter) and a smaller, amber-coloured glass bead (8 mm) are probably 18th or 19th century in date and may be rosary or necklace beads. A tiny fragment of pale purple glass, from a pharmaceutical or perfume bottle, is a 19th-century product. Fragments of two, mould-blown bowls were found, both made of clear, colourless, crystal-like glass. One has a moulded ribbing, popular in the 18th century (Vose 1975). A five-faceted, colourless glass rod fragment may also have been part of some applied decoration from a vessel.

Of three wine glass fragments, two were in clear, colourless lead crystal glass, a method of manufacture first perfected by George Ravenscroft in 1674-6. The folded method of foot construction, seen on one of the fragments, was used in the late 17th to mid-18th century after which its popularity declined.

The metalwork also provided evidence for 17th-, to 18th-century activity. The straight sides and flattened, D-shaped cross-section of a fragmentary spur indicate a later than mid-17th century date; two horseshoe fragments were also recovered. Part of the neck and wall of a cast cauldron, 4 mm thick with a raised decorative cordon, was found; an almost complete example of this type came from a late 17th-, to early 18th-century level at Kebister, Shetland (Ford in Owen and Lowe, forthcoming). A swivel ring and hook and another complete ring were probably used to hang such vessels from a chain over a fire. A further hook is possibly the side arm of a handle from a small bucket.

Of three fragmentary knives, one blade fragment has a bolster between the blade and whittle tang, characteristic of knives from the mid-16th century (Hayward 1957). A further knife fragment comprises a badly corroded, whittle tang and bone handle. Of sixteen nails, four are complete; the others are shank fragments with rectangular or square cross-sections. Three of the complete survivals are woodworking nails, common in medieval and later contexts. The fourth, 25 cm long, was probably used for securing large posts, joists or rafters. A punch with a flat, circular top and tapering to a blunted point at the other end,

is of a type used in woodworking to sink nail heads and, in metalworking, to make holes in hot iron. It is similar to one from a late 14th- to 15th-century context at Northampton (Williams 1979, 71, fig. 17-18), and to two from the mid-17th century forge at Sandle Castle (Mayes and Butler 1983, 26-7, fig. 4).

The remaining metalwork includes three, fragmentary, flat iron bars; a corroded, rectangular, buckle frame of a type often used on horse harnesses; a rectangular, bronze strap end, its upper surface decorated with two incised lines and pierced with seven rivet holes, four of which retain parts of small iron rivets; and a bronze shotgun cartridge, all undated. A common, post-medieval type of key and a fragmentary, possible lockplate were found in disturbed upper levels.

The pottery consisted of material from two distinct periods: medieval and 19th century. Seven, probably 13th-, to 14th-century potsherds were recovered in disturbed upper levels and in the peaty levelling material around the NW corner of the building. They probably derive from a single, locally manufactured vessel, a small jug made of very soft fabric with few inclusions. Similar fabrics have been found in the surrounding area (G. Haggarty, pers. comm.). The sherds are badly abraded indicating, perhaps, that they were residual when deposited.

None of the pottery could be attributed to the 17th to 18th century, a period well represented by glass and metalwork. The 19th-century assemblage, found scattered in disturbed upper levels, comprises fourteen sherds. Nine sherds of white earthenware are factory-produced wares; and five of red earthenware represent two vessels, a *c.* 1800-1850 storage jar and a modern teapot.

Because of the disturbed nature of the deposits and the relatively wide chronological range of the finds present, the date of the house is extremely difficult to establish. On balance, the artefactual evidence indicates that a date of occupation between the late 17th and 18th century is most likely, assuming that the medieval jug is residual and the 19th-century material represents occasional activity at this location.

The Documentary Evidence

In an attempt to establish a more secure dating and interpretation, a survey of the historical and cartographical evidence was undertaken by Doreen Grove, a full copy of which has been lodged with the National Monuments Record (Scotland).

'Halfway House' is the name of an old public house situated in the SW corner of the same field as the excavated site (figure 1). It lies exactly halfway between Newton Stewart and Glenluce, hence its name. The present Halfway House was built about 1824 (A. Gladstone, pers. comm.), but the name also appears on John Ainslie's 1782 map of Wigtownshire, indicating that it may have had a precursor. In 1845, it was described as 'a low, thatched house . . . with about 40 acres of arable land attached . . . on the coach road' (SRO, RH4/23/230).

No specific name is recorded for the excavated site, nor does it appear as a building, named or otherwise, on any early maps (Annex A). Its absence from a Craichlaw estate

map of 1795 would seem to indicate that the building had been demolished by the late 18th century.

This particular field was, in historical times, always owned by the Craichlaw estate (on the evidence of sasine records and family estate papers). In 1692, twenty-three named properties were listed in the Hearth Tax papers as liable in rent to the Craichlaw estate (Jones 1979), but it is not possible to identify which name belongs to the excavated building. A list survives from 1684 of all people over the age of twelve in the parishes of Wigtownshire and Minnigaff, which includes Kirkcowan (Scot 1684; J. Hunter, pers. comm.). Under the Kirkcowan parish estate entitled 'The Barrony of Craiglaw', individuals' names have been grouped into twenty-two named residences, eighteen of which have modern OS map equivalents while four do not. These latter are Barbea (three residents over twelve years old), Drumwhirry (four), Gargary (nine) and Ballachrea (three). It is at least possible that the 'nameless' farmstead at Halfway House may be one of these.

The documentary search has not been exhaustive but further work seems unlikely to yield information in the absence of a confirmed property name. Additionally, no information has been found about the date and history of the old military road nor, indeed, the later road, either of which may have affected the use of the building.

Discussion

The hypothesis that this building might represent a rare lowland survival of a medieval farmstead with, conceivably, a prehistoric precursor was disproved. The few, uninterpretable, Phase 1 features indicate that pre-building activities had taken place on this small knoll, but their nature and date are obscure. The discovery of a probably 13th-, to 14th-century jug is of intrinsic interest given the sparsity of medieval ceramic material from the area, but it had been redeposited in fragments in the later building.

On the basis of the artefactual evidence, a late 17th-, to 18th-century date for the use of the building is postulated, supported by the admittedly sparse documentary evidence which suggests that the building had been demolished by the late 18th century. The date of the building's foundation is harder to establish. All that can be said is that it was probably in existence by the late 17th century.

The Building and its Function

The excavated building was clearly intended for human habitation; the nature of the artefacts and the presence of the hearth indicate a dwelling house rather than barn or byre. The lack of evidence for ancillary buildings may not be significant in that the location of the building on the knoll may have led to its preferential survival. In East Rhins, Wigtown District, a recently surveyed area to the W of Halfway House, several single buildings have been identified as 'medieval and later settlement' (RCAHMS, list no. 26, 64-72). However, most settlements do include surface traces of more numerous and varied features: two or more rectilinear buildings, enclosures, kilns, enclosed fields, rig and furrow, etc.

The agricultural basis of any early farmstead here could not be ascertained because of the likely contamination of the palaeoenvironmental evidence. Today, economics and mechanised farming practices rule out cultivation because of the stoniness of the soil and

the frequent rock outcrops. Climatically, however, the land is suitable for cereal cultivation. The current emphasis on grassland may therefore not reflect the situation at a time in the past when arable farming was perhaps necessary for subsistence (S. Carter, pers. comm.). This surmise is supported by the 19th-century reference to '40 acres of arable land' attached to the present Halfway House (SRO, RH4/23/230; above), which indicates that an arable and pastoral farming economy was viable at some level, in the 19th century at least, in the immediate vicinity of the building.

The documentary search has failed to reveal a named farmstead here. This is unusual in that, although there was no real need for individual estate properties to be identified, the majority do appear in either written records or early cartographic sources. Physical evidence for habitations of this period is often difficult to detect and so far, few sites have been tested by excavation. Investigations at Kirkconnel, Waterbeck, failed to produce conclusive structural evidence of a suspected medieval village (Laing and Talbot 1977). Limited excavations were undertaken at Polmaddy, New Galloway, of a rare survival of an upland 'ferm-toun' on record from the early 16th century, but most of the extant remains probably date to the 18th or early 19th century (Yates 1978). They include an inn, which stands close to the old Kirkcudbright to Ayrshire pack road (*ibid.*, 134, 136; Stell 1986, 68, no. 19). A recent survey of Gleniron Fell (Yates 1983), some 10 km W of Halfway House but *c.*50 m higher in altitude, revealed several rectangular buildings comparable in size to the excavated house. Nearby were several 'C-shaped' structures built of large boulders and about 3 m across (*ibid.*, 347), which recall the crescentic bank at Halfway House.

Contemporary accounts offer some clues as to the nature of rural 18th-century buildings locally and indicate, perhaps, why they are so rarely preserved. Robinson (1872) described the rather makeshift constructions of Wigtownshire but concludes that:

> 'rough and uncouth as the structure seemed, when the floor was swept up and a bright fire blazing on the ground, there was a show of rude homely comfort about it . . .'(*ibid.*, 40).

Clay construction was a local tradition and, at Dornock, in the late 18th century:

> 'all the cottages are built of mud or clay . . . (erected on) . . . a row or two of stones, . . . yet these houses, when plastered and properly finished within (as many of them are) are exceeding warm and comfortable' (after Stell 1986, 66, 69, no. 20).

The substantial clay banks over the ruinous stone courses of the excavated building may indicate that it, too, was primarily built of clay, hence its scant remains. The window glass sherds indicate that the building had been glazed; and Robinson's descriptions suggest that thatched roofs were usual. Such buildings could endure for considerable periods if their fabric was upkept; the last-known example (at Dornock) was demolished in 1965 (Stell 1986, 66).

An alternative hypothesis to that of a farmstead is that the excavated building, like the present Halfway House, functioned as a staging post between Newton Stewart and Glenluce, serving travellers on the old military road. On this model, the later Halfway House might have been constructed once traffic had been re-routed on to the present A75 road. Such an interpretation might explain the presence of the name 'Halfway House' on

John Ainslie's 1782 map of Wigtownshire which could, conceivably, refer to the excavated structure rather than to an antecedent on the site of the present 19th-century building. If so, the excavated structure was also called Halfway House. Elements of the artefactual assemblage, particularly the preponderance of bottles, wine glasses and other glass vessels, would become easier to interpret in this light; and the relative sparsity of common domestic and agricultural indicators would appear less surprising. The flaw in this argument is that, although the entrance faces out towards the old military road, the structure lies slightly over 100 m from the road.

Robinson also describes the cottars' dwellings:

> 'Cothouses were detached, in spots best suited for the surveillance of the farm. . . . It might be twenty-five feet by fifteen, in which space were sheltered the hind and family — and in very many cases — the cow and poultry . . . One third of the cottage was allotted for (the cow's) use, she going in and out of the same door as the family. . . .' (1872, 40-42).

The physical similarities between the excavated building and this description of a cothouse are striking: its detached location on the knoll, its dimensions and its paved southern part where a cow might have been housed; but the artefactual assemblage seems anomalous in this context. Nevertheless, this is, perhaps, the most likely explanation of the building's function, that it was a cothouse attached to a 17th-, to 18th-century antecedent to the present Halfway House. The absence of documentary evidence for an estate farmstead on the site tends to support this hypothesis. It seems reasonable to assume that, like the 19th-century Halfway House with its '40 acres of arable land', an earlier hostelry would also have had land attached to it and would have needed the services of farm workers. The proximity of the excavated building to a putative 17th-, to 18th-century hostelry may account for its anomalous artefactual assemblage. One may conjecture that this was small compensation for its inhabitants at a time when:

> '. . . the face of the county is yet disgraced by huts in which many poor families are obliged to shelter, that are almost unift for a hog of any taste. . . .' (Robinson 1872, 44).

Finally, the excavation of a rural medieval site in the area should remain a high priority. On a more cautionary note, reasonably well-preserved, rural medieval sites are likely to continue to prove elusive.

Acknowledgements

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Annex A: List of primary sources

Principal Cartographic Sources:

1580-1660 Bleau's Atlas of Scotland, based on the surveys of Timothy Pont;

1747 Map of Glen Luce to Newton Stewart, Roy;

1782 Map of Wigtownshire, John Ainslie;

1795 Craichlaw Estate Map;

1860 Ordnance Survey.

Manuscript sources:

Craichlaw Estate papers, held at Craichlaw, including Rental papers, Tacks and correspondence from 1712 onwards;

SRO = Scottish Record Office;

SRO Sasine Records for Wigtownshire;

SRO E69/21/1 Hearth Tax Records, 1692 (published by Jones, H. C. (1979), see References, below);

SRO RH4/23/230 Ordnance Survey Namebook, 1845 (list of names collected by Captain Robert Barlow);

SRO, other Ordnance Survey books and Valuation rolls — the run started too late to be of relevance.

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THE NEW ABBEY CURLING CLUB

A HISTORY

by

F. J. Stewart

1830-80

"Curling", according to Chamber's *Encyclopaedia*, published in 1923, "is a sport on ice common in Scotland, where it is played by all classes of people in winter. Frozen-over lakes and rivers answer for the purpose, but under the auspices of curling clubs artificial shallow ponds are maintained for this popular national sport; and the *bonspiels*, or set matches, are contested with great spirit. The remarkable and pleasing peculiarity of curling is that it produces for the time a thorough mingling of ranks - peers, peasants, clergymen, farmers, country gentlemen, and tradesmen, all meeting familiarly and hilariously for the occasion."

Some 100 years before that was written it seems to have become the fashion for local parishes to form their own curling clubs whose members not only competed amongst themselves but also issued challenges against neighbouring parishes. The New Abbey Curling Club was one of the earliest in the district. According to the Minute Book, (from which almost the whole of this article is derived,) its first Meeting was held in New Abbey on 27th December 1830. The impression is that the formation of the Club was inspired by the Parish Minister of the day, the Rev. James Hamilton, and that a good deal of propaganda had been issued beforehand. Certain it is that no fewer than 73 inhabitants of New Abbey Parish - a fairly high proportion of the active adult male population at the time - signed the Club's Constitution, and unanimously elected their Minister as their first *preses* or President, a post which he held for the next 9 years.

There is nothing special about the 1830 Constitution. In that year every man in the parish had the right to become a member of the Club, but thereafter new members had to be elected by a majority of those present at an Annual Meeting. The President, a Clerk and a Treasurer were to be elected annually by ballot and so were the skips, who were to have the power of choosing their respective rinks from the Club members. The Club was to have a silver medal "to be played for once every year that the weather will permit, which will remain in the custody of the skip of the victorious rink till another spiel shall take place."

The cost of the medal, which was designed by Mr Lizars of Edinburgh and shows on one side a view of Sweetheart Abbey from the north-east and, on the reverse, a view of Loch Kindar and the neighbouring hills, was 5 guineas. An Appeal was launched which produced £7-8-6d from 57 subscribers, thus enabling also the purchase of a box in which to house the medal.

In the early years curling was only on Loch Kindar, so it was natural that the first inter-parish bonspiel should be against Kirkbean. It took place on 18th January 1833, with 4 rinks a side, but was not a total success as a thaw set in and the ice was covered with water. In the final count New Abbey won 84 - 49. The match was followed by a "dinner"

at the Commercial (now the Criffel) Inn consisting of two glasses of toddy and bread and cheese (plus one glass of whisky on the ice) all for the price of two shillings and sixpence a head.

Five years later, in 1838 which seems to have been a hard winter, matches were arranged against the other neighbouring parishes of Troqueer and Lochrutton. The latter was played on Lochend Loch, (referred to in the Minutes by its earlier name of Locharthur from 1881 onwards,) as being more convenient to both parties. New Abbey was fortunate in having two available lochs within the parish. Travelling was difficult, particularly during the type of weather suitable for curling. The alternatives were by foot, by horse, or by cart - probably the latter because curling stones are heavy and not the easiest things to carry around.

Although matches against these 3 parishes continued for very many years, there is no doubt that the main rival was Kirkbean. This was confirmed when, in 1849, Mr J.Stewart of Nateby Hall in Lancashire, (and nothing to do with the Stewarts of Shambellie,) during his residence at Arbigland in Kirkbean, presented a gold medal to be competed for annually between the parishes of New Abbey and Kirkbean.

The enthusiasm of the 1830s and 1840s, when there were 35 to 40 regular playing members began to wane in the 1850s. This was due partly to a succession of mild winters when no, or very little, curling took place. Also, the attendance at Annual Meetings dropped noticeably, which is not surprising as the Meetings seem to have been pretty dull affairs. The only business was to appoint a President and other officials and to elect skips for the following year, and this nearly always resulted in a repeat of the appointments of the previous year. For instance, John Sproat, farmer in Landis, who succeeded the Rev. James Hamilton in 1838, was automatically re-elected as President for the next 36 years, (as well as being a skip for 42 years). There were only two Secretaries between 1830 and 1855 when Robert Welsh, New Abbey Mill, took over the duties and retained them for 46 years; while William Caird became Treasurer in 1844 and continued until 1878. No doubt they were all worthy men, but it did mean that the administration of the Club remained for a long time in the hands of a small clique, which may have discouraged some of the younger members.

Curling had now become a popular sport throughout Scotland and in 1838 the Royal Caledonian Curling Club (the R.C.C.C) was formed as a controlling body and produced a set of Rules in an attempt to standardise play within the many clubs which had grown up haphazardly. The New Abbey Club eventually adopted these Rules in 1856. The most significant changes were that, from then on, all stones had to be of the same weight, shape and size, and that whereas in matches hitherto each rink had consisted of 8 curlers playing one stone each, rinks were now to be of 4 curlers playing two stones each, which is the rule to this day. Occasionally 5 members were allotted to each skip at the start of the season, but this was simply to ensure that 4 turned up on the day.

By the 1860s curling had become so universal in parishes throughout the district that in 1863 James McKie of Ernespie, M.P., accepted a challenge from the curlers of Wigtownshire to the curlers of the Stewartry to a match of 81 rinks each to be played on Carlingwark Loch, Castle Douglas, and the New Abbey Club agreed to provide 3 rinks.

It is not recorded if the match ever took place, but it would have been a wonderful sight if it did. Two years later an annual competition was instituted for the Queenshill Cup, limited to clubs from the Stewartry. New Abbey regularly entered 2 or 3 rinks annually for the next 100 years, but never actually succeeded in winning it.

The carrying of curling stones to Loch Kindar for each competition was still causing difficulties so, in 1873, the Club applied to Mr R. A. Oswald of Auchencruive and Cavens, the owner not only of the Loch itself but also of the farms surrounding it, for liberty to erect a house on the side of the Loch in which to store stones. His generous reply was that he would build one on the farm of Inglestonford at his own expense, and he did. It is still there.

During the 1870s interest in the Club revived and the total membership again exceeded 40, with Annual Meetings sometimes attended by over 20 of them. For convenience, the members divided themselves into two sections between the Upper and Lower Districts of the parish operating from Lochend and Loch Kindar respectively, and by 1875 there were 5 skips elected annually in the Lower District and 4 in the Upper, the leading light in the Upper District being John Hamilton of Newhouses, near Beeswing, who was a skip for over 40 years and Vice-President of the Club for 20.

By 1880 the Club had acquired several new trophies. Reference has already been made to the silver Club or Rink Medal, bought in 1831, and the Gold Medal presented by Mr J.Stewart of Nateby Hall for competition between New Abbey and Kirkbean parishes. In 1840 a Mr. Patrick Hay (of whom no further information is given in the Minute Book) presented a silver mounted snuff mull, or box, and it was decided to play for it "single-handed", i.e. individually, instead of by rinks. When the Club was split into two sections it was decided that the original silver medal should be limited to those in the Lower District, and that a new silver medal be provided for competition among the rinks of the Upper District only. And then, in 1876, a gift was intimated from John Brown Esq., Merchant, Manchester, the tenant of the farm of Barbeth and a keen playing member for many years, of "a silver Butter Cooler in the form of a curling stone supported on four besoms resting on two crossbars of the same expensive material", for presentation to the curlers of the Lower District, to be competed for annually by rinks.

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1880 - 1940

For some time the Club had considered the possible benefits of constructing a special Curling Pond. Such a pond, being shallow, would freeze more quickly than Loch Kindar and would be far less dangerous in a thaw. In 1877, therefore, after several years when very little curling seems to have been possible, it was decided to go ahead, and a small committee was appointed to select a suitable site for it. They advised an area on Barbeth farm, on the north side of the Glen Burn, close to where it crossed the Mill Lade which ran from Loch Kindar to the Corn Mill in New Abbey village. The Secretary was authorised to ascertain if Mrs Sloan, widow of the late proprietor of Barbeth, and the above-mentioned John Brown, the farm tenant, would agree to this use of their lands. They not only agreed, but even suggested a much larger pond than that applied

for. In the end, about half an acre was levelled, the excavated soil being piled up to form banks all round it. Water from the Glen Burn was diverted into the Pond by means of a lade controlled by a sluice gate to prevent flooding when the burn was high, with an outlet at the lower end of the Pond, also controlled by a sluice gate, to return the water into the burn as and when required.

The agreement reached with Mrs Sloan was that she leased to the Club "that piece of ground on the lands of Barbeth, which they have converted at their own expense into a Curling Pond, for use as such Curling Pond only, with all reasonable access thereto during the curling season". The lease was to run for 11 years and the rent was to be 5 shillings a year. The Club was to be liable for all damage from flooding the adjoining lands; and the proprietor of Barbeth was to be entitled to use the Pond for fishing, boating, or any other purpose not inconsistent with its use by the Club as a Curling Pond.

The only problem was how to meet the cost of construction. An Appeal was launched and the Club Secretary wrote to Capt. William Stewart of Shambellie as Chairman of the New Abbey School Board requesting the use of the School for a Concert and Assembly (Dance) for the purpose of raising funds. The Board granted permission for the Concert, but *not* for the Assembly! Even so, the Appeal raised £60-4-3d, while the expenses came to £58-9-6d for the Pond itself, plus £1-17 shillings for erecting a fence around it and giving the fence posts two coats of tar. A satisfactory result.

The rent of 5 shillings was duly paid to Mrs Sloan annually, but she set it aside on deposit and, in 1901, she presented the accumulated sum to purchase a new medal, to be called "The Sloan Medal", for competition within the Club.

The acquisition of a private Curling Pond and the local publicity surrounding it had certain effects, not all of which had been anticipated. By chance, the winter of 1890, the year after the Pond was opened, was a hard one, and several competitions are recorded as having taken place on it with success. This in turn created a new enthusiasm, and the membership increased noticeably.

Unexpectedly, perhaps, another result was a greater participation by the local lairds in the Club and its activities. Capt. Stewart of Shambellie became a member in 1887 and was immediately elected President. As such he attended and acted as chairman of almost every meeting until his health began to fail: and shortly after his death in 1906 his son, another Capt. (later Major) William Stewart of Shambellie, succeeded him as President until his own death in 1930. He, too, attended nearly all meetings as chairman, and both of them played an active part as skips. (During that period skips were still allowed to select members of their own rinks and it is of interest that over the years the Stewart rinks always included the Shambellie gardener, the Shambellie coachman, and latterly the Shambellie gamekeeper.) Major Julian Oswald of Cavens and Lochhill was also a skip for 5 years, and Mr R.J.J.Sloan, who had succeeded his mother as owner of Barbeth in 1902, was a skip for 21 years. Moreover, he agreed to renew the lease of the Pond on similar terms.

In 1889, probably to celebrate the opening of the Pond, it was decided to hold a formal Dinner, to which were invited members of other parish Curling Clubs that New Abbey was in the habit of competing against. The menu was to consist of :- Hare Soup;

Roast, Boiled and Salt Beef, or Rabbit Pies, potatoes and vegetables; Cheese, Bread and Butter, Biscuits, etc. The Hare and Rabbits to be provided to the caterers free. The contract was put out to tender and was won by Mr Kerr of the Commercial Inn at a price of 2 shillings a head, plus "Spirits and Liquors of good quality at the usual prices". The dinner was held in the School, (no problem about permission this time, apparently,) but unfortunately there is no report in the Minutes as to how successful it was, or how many attended.

Indeed, for the next 30 years or more the Minutes become rather dull and uninformative. Annual Meetings were held as before at which the Office Bearers and the skips were appointed. The names of newly elected members were also recorded until even this ceased after 1910. In the earlier years such Meetings had been held at various places at "Newabbey" or, from 1846, at "New Abbey" (two words), without stating the actual venues. From 1863 they were held in the School, or in the School House, the Mason Lodge, The King's Arms Inn or the Commercial Inn indiscriminately, but from 1890 onwards the regular meeting place became the Reading Room in the Parish Hall (now the Beadle's House).

For some time problems had arisen from the fact that the Upper and Lower Districts were being run by different committees and, in 1895, it was finally agreed that they should split into two separate clubs, the Upper District becoming the Lochend Curling Club, based on Locharthur. This does not seem to have had any detrimental effect on the membership of the old New Abbey Club which moved along uneventfully with 5 or 6 rinks of 4/5 curlers each, appointed annually. Little record was kept of how often curling took place but inter-parish matches were arranged against other local parishes, Southwick, Colvend and Dalbeattie, in addition to the traditional Kirkbean, Lochrutton and Troqueer. These appear to have generally been played on Loch Kindar while the Club's trophies were mostly competed for on the Pond.

The 1914-18 War had little apparent effect on the Club's activities. Capt. Stewart and Mr Sloan of Barbeth were temporarily replaced as President and Vice-President respectively while away on Active Service, but Annual Meetings were still held regularly and Office Bearers and skips appointed.

Mr Sloan moved to Dumfries soon after the War, but remained an active skip for 10 more years until his death in 1929. Meanwhile, in 1924, Barbeth had been bought by Mrs Keswick of Mabie and, although she did not actually take up residence there until several years later, she willingly agreed to renew the lease of the Pond once more.

Interest in the Club continued during the 1920s, and in 1929 no fewer than 22 members attended the Annual Meeting. The main topic for discussion was how to celebrate the Club's centenary in the following year. It was eventually decided to hold a Dinner, this time in the Oddfellows Hall in New Abbey on Tuesday 9th December 1930. It was clearly a very special occasion and, for the first time in the history of the Club, ladies were invited to partake. No details of the menu are given, or the cost, but the Minutes include a list of the 75 people who attended. This list is of particular interest because it states where everyone lived at the time. Many of those mentioned, or their descendants, were, or are, well known to present inhabitants of New Abbey.

The 1930s seem to have been a fallow period in the history of the Club. The excitement of the Centenary celebrations had encouraged some new members at first, but by 1940 there was some difficulty in producing 4 rinks. What is more, if the Minutes can be relied on (which is doubtful) very little curling actually took place. The Rink Medal was competed for in 1938 and 1939, but no other Club competitions or inter-parish matches are recorded. With War breaking out the Club's future was in the balance.

* * * * * * * *

1940 - 1970

During the 1939-45 War, in fact, the Club virtually closed down. That it was revived again soon after was due almost entirely to the energy and enthusiasm of three local families, all of whom now owned farms bordering on Loch Kindar — the Purdies (Inglestonford), the Kingans (Lochhill), and the Robertsons (Ardwall Mains). Indeed it is fair to say that, between them, they practically dominated the Club for the next 30 years, and that without their combined interest and dedication the Club would probably not be in existence today.

David Purdie arrived as tenant at Inglestonford in 1897, but it was his 3 sons who became interested in curling. The eldest, John, was a skip for 39 years between 1921 and 1960; the second, William, for a period during the 1960s; and the third, David Purdie of Ardwall, who joined the Club in 1930, for 20 years from 1946-66. By now the Presidency was changing year by year and all three brothers were President from time to time. Their mantle has since fallen on William's son, David William, who has been a leading light of the Club and a skip from 1964 to the present day.

The first Kingan to appear in New Abbey was a John, who was elected a member of the Club in 1843. However, neither he nor his son James seem to have been curlers. It was left to the latter's two sons, John of Ashcroft, and, in particular, James of Laneside, to play an active part during the 1950s. Since then their nephew, James Kingan of Lochhill, has been a skip since 1967, as well as Vice-President and President periodically and, more importantly, Club Treasurer for 12 years.

The Robertsons are a more recent family in the parish. John Robertson of Ardwall Mains was a skip from 1946 to 1956, became Vice-President, then President and continued as an active curler and attender at Meetings until his death 10 years later. His son, Alec, has been a skip for over 30 years and was Secretary of the Club from 1959 to 1970.

To illustrate the influence which these three families had on the Club during this period — and still continue to have to this day — it is a fact that each of them has been represented at every Annual Meeting since the War and, on occasions, have formed the majority of those present. In 1958, for instance, ten out of the twelve in attendance were either Purdies, Kingans or Robertsons. Not surprisingly a feeling arose in the Club that the office of skip was becoming a monopoly, so in 1955 it was proposed, and agreed to, that skips should be elected annually by ballot among all members. The result of the first such ballot was that exactly the same skips who had been appointed in the previous year were re-elected!

It was just as well that the Club had been resuscitated so quickly after the end of the War, for the winter of 1946-47 was a bitter one. During a period of 21 days, between 7th and 28th February, the Club was able to take part in no fewer than 14 competitions

or inter-club matches, mostly on Loch Kindar. New Abbey produced two or three rinks of four players on each occasion and the skips had an unusually busy time. So, indeed, did all the 12 curlers involved (of whom 3 were Purdies, 2 were Robertsons, 2 were Kingans and one was married to a Kingan!).

The Curling Pond had been left unattended during the War and had become overgrown with weeds, but it was decided to take no action for the moment. One reason for this was that, all of a sudden, the whole sport of Curling in Scotland had been completely transformed.

It was in 1907 that the first Indoor Ice Rink was built at Crossmyloof in Glasgow. It was intended mainly for ice-skating, with a little curling thrown in, but it proved unsuccessful and was closed ten years later. In 1928 the building was demolished and a new one built on the same site on a grander scale, with much more accommodation for curling. It was followed by another Indoor Rink in Ayr, built in 1939, and, after the War, both of them set out to attract local curling clubs to come and play there. This changed the New Abbey Club's pattern of activities significantly. In the past there had been many years - the majority in fact, - when no curling could take place at all, due to the lack of outdoor ice. Now bookings could be made well ahead and ice was assured. It became the habit of the Club to book several days a year at both Glasgow and Ayr, to which, at first, they travelled by coach or rail. One day was reserved for Club competitions only, with priority given to the old Rink Medal. The remaining days were used for matches against other parishes, Kirkbean, Lochrutton, Holywood, Kirkmahoe, etc.

On occasions, of course, when the weather permitted, some competitions and matches were still held on Loch Kindar as before:- in 1950 and in 1959, for instance, and particularly in 1963 when the loch was frozen from Christmas Eve until 3rd March, - but these were now regarded as a bonus. Also, the Club regularly sent representative rinks to take part in several wider competitions, such as the Queenshill Cup, and these, too, were played indoors. Four skips were appointed each year and with anything from 6 to 10 engagements annually it is notable how often they were prepared to lead their rinks, drawn from any Club members available on the day.

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1970 - 1992

Since the opening of the Lockerbie Ice Rink in 1967 travelling has become much easier and for the past 20 years or so the Club's activities have continued to follow a fairly regular pattern, though an expanding one. Ice has been booked at Lockerbie well in advance and all the Club's trophies are competed for each year. The Rink Medal is now played on a League basis throughout the season. The Gold Medal for the challenge match against Kirkbean is also competed for annually though a problem arose when the Kirkbean Club closed down. It was ingeniously resolved by drawing a new fictitious boundary line for this purpose between the two parishes, thus enabling some New Abbey residents south of the line, such as the Robertson family, to "represent" Kirkbean. Meantime another new trophy appeared, the Cargenholm Trophy, presented by the proprietor of the Cargenholm Hotel after a social evening there, to be competed for in the annual challenge match against Lochrutton. Friendly matches against other clubs continue and are on the

increase, while the Club also sends one or two rinks to take part in other local and national competitions, the individual skips for each competition being allocated before the season starts.

Lady members were first introduced in 1967 and they have taken their place in the rinks along with the men ever since, with not less than one lady in each rink. They also have a competition of their own, and regularly enter at least one rink for the national Ladies' Competition, the Henderson Bishop Trophy. One of the Club's lady members, Mrs Elizabeth A. Purdie, was selected to represent Lockerbie on a tour of Scottish Ladies to Canada in 1986.

Another indirect and more unusual honour came to the Club in the following year when the parish Minister, the Rev. William A. Holland, himself a keen curler and Secretary of the Club for 10 years, was appointed Chaplain to the Royal Caledonian Curling Club, which he has commemorated by presenting a new trophy called the Chaplain's Cup.

It has now become a custom of the Club to run a social dinner/dance every year for the curlers and their friends, with upwards of 50 in attendance. This has taken place in various hotels from time to time - Cargenholm, The Nith at Glencaple, Mabie House, etc. - but in 1991 it moved to the recently enlarged New Abbey Hall, where it seems likely to remain.

However, the biggest and best social occasion was inevitably that held on 12th December 1980 to celebrate the 150th anniversary of the founding of the Club. The whole 5 sheets of ice at Lockerbie were booked for the day and curlers from other clubs were invited to take part in a *bonspiel*. In the evening there was a dinner/dance in the County Hotel, Dumfries with 108 people in attendance. There were several guests present, including the Chairman-elect of the R.C.C.C. and his wife, together with representatives from Lochrutton, Kirkmahoe, Holywood, Kirkmichael, Kirkpatrick Durham and Caerlaverock Curling Clubs. Only one person who had attended the 100th anniversary in 1930 was able to be present, but four others sent apologies for their absence.

Although practically all curling today takes place indoors, every opportunity to play on outdoor ice is always welcomed. Alas, it happens infrequently. The only records in the Minute Book since 1970 are of 2 meetings on Loch Kindar in February 1978 and 6 in February 1979. In the hope that more outdoor curling might be possible, the Curling Pond was cleaned out in 1982, but the weather has been mainly unsuitable and the Pond has been used only twice since, to the disappointment of those who prefer the greater freedom, excitement and unpredictability of outdoor curling.

For the first 50 years of the Club there was no membership subscription as such, although in the 1830s and 1840s each member was asked to pay 3 pence to help buy a curling stone for the winner of a special competition for it. (In those days a stone cost 15 shillings). By the 1880s there was a minimum entrance fee of one shillng, and the skips were asked to collect sixpence from each member who appeared on the ice. In 1888 an annual subscription of sixpence was introduced to help maintain the Curling Pond and its fences, and 8 years later this was raised to 2 shillings, where it remained until after World War II. Inflation and increased administration costs then began to take over and the annual subscription today is £6, with an entrance fee of £3.

In spite of this the Club remains in good heart. There are 50 members (including 18 ladies) and they are all active curlers. Ten skips are appointed each year — 4 Day skips and 6 Evening skips — to suit the time of day when members are available, and rinks are chosen by lot. Another generation of Purdies, Kingans and Robertsons, both male and female, is coming to the fore, but there are other new names as well. All that is lacking are just a few cold winter spells to give the younger members a taste of the fun and experience of what proper outdoor curling used to be like in the old days.

THE RECESSED PLATFORMS AT CAITLOCH, MONIAIVE — NX 765 916

by

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Editorial Note. Unenclosed Platform Settlements were first recognised during the preparation of the Royal Commission's Inventory for Peeblesshire published in 1967. They were defined as "a number of level platforms, circular or oval on plan, situated on a hillside. The rear half of each platform was formed by quarrying into the hillside and the front part made up from spoil so obtained." Early excavations seemed to indicate that they supported timber houses and dated to the Bronze Age. However since then research in Argyll, chiefly by Miss Rennie, shows that many of these sites have been reused as, if not constructed for, charcoal burning in mediaeval and later times. Her identification of this type of monument in our area is therefore of particular importance.

A question asked of Mr Alfred Truckell at the 1990 Summer School sent the writer to Moniaive in the spring of 1991 to look for Recessed Platforms. The question was asked during a discussion about 'bloomeries' and the making of iron in medieval times. Charcoal is a necessity in this operation and the writer wanted to know if Mr Truckell knew where the charcoal was made for particular bloomeries. He did not know the precise location for the iron-working under discussion, but he said that so-called charcoal burning hearths had been seen near Moniaive. In March 1991 an expedition was made to find these and a group of Recessed Platforms was discovered. These resembled closely the Platforms found in South Argyll.[1]

Until about 8 years ago those in Argyll which were known were associated with the industrial charcoal-making for the Iron Furnaces of the mid-18th to mid-19th Cs.[2] As more and more new groups of Platforms were found these also were regarded as being charcoal hearths associated with the Furnaces. The groups known, now total 82+ ranging from Kintyre in the South to the Great Glen in the North — i.e. something between 1,500 and 2,000 actual Platforms. In spite of the accepted explanation and the fact that charcoal was found on the floor of some Platforms this reasoning as an explanation for their origin, seemed facile and illogical. The illogicality remained notwithstanding the fact, that in Glen Nant folk memory said that charcoal for the Bonawe Furnace had been made on the Platforms. Glen Nant is near to the Bonawe Furnace and is within the woods of the Muckairn Parish and these woods were leased for 100 years to the Furnace Company to allow for the cutting of the trees for charring.

A variety of reasons for disputing the theory that the Platforms were specially constructed by the colliers, is given in detail in a forthcoming article.[3] It is not disputed however, that many of the Platforms found in woods leased for charring, were used, recognised, and probably accepted thankfully by the colliers, as hard level areas built by unknown persons but ideally suited for charcoal pyres.

Some of the reasons for disputing that the Platforms were constructed by the colliers are summarised below:

(1) The effort of building a Platform — particularly a stone revetted one — is out of all proportion to the temporary nature of the charring. When naturally flat ground was available it would be used particularly so, as a wood once clear-felled and cut could not be used again until the trees regenerated — usually in about twenty years, i.e. the working life of most colliers. Most of the woods leased, though not the Muckairn ones, were leased as supplementary sources and there would be no thought in these woods for further charring twenty years ahead. Thus, the use of a Platform as a hearth would only be for one season.

(2) Areas are known where charring occurred and yet no Platforms exist — thus, there, naturally flat areas must have been used and Platforms are shown to be unnecessary.

Anyway, it is the practice of professional colliers to use an area large enough to have in close proximity 4 or 5 pyres baking simultaneously. Naturally level areas can be chosen to accommodate a few pyres, which a Recessed Platform cannot do unless it is extraordinarily large. A few pyres together save time and effort which were both very important commodities as charcoal making had to be financially viable.

1. *Discovery and Excavation*, 1991. p16. Caitloch, Moniaive.

2. Lorn — Vol. 2 of the *Argyll Inventory* of the R.C.A.&H.M.S. Items 347, 360 and 361. Mid-Argyll & Cowal — Vol. 6 of the *Argyll Inventory* of the R.C.A.&H.M.S., remark on p. 36.

3. Rennie, Elizabeth B. — 'Charcoal' — publication pending in the '*Scottish Naturalist*'.

The pyres also had to be near a source of water and in a sheltered area. Many Platforms do not conform to these conditions.

(3) 10 Platforms of the 1500+ that are known, have been excavated or partially excavated. Every one of these has been found to have been built as the foundation for a round timber-framed structure. This is shown by the post holes which go through the front lip (in many cases stone constructed) of the Platform to the natural ground surface below. These post holes must be a primary feature as the front lip has been constructed around them.

The front lips of the four Platforms which were built of stone had collapsed before the charcoal burning activity took place. On another Platform the black line of the charcoal burning level in the rear baulk, was captured by photography and shown to lie above the post sockets of the primary floor.

5 of these excavated Platforms had been re-used as charcoal hearths;
1 had been re-used by iron workers of the 13th-14th Cs. A.D. (the bloomery was adjacent and slag and pottery were tramped together into the floor);
1 had been re-used for a bonfire (probably recently);
2 had secondary floors (not used for charcoal making);
1 had not been re-used.

Statistically is it highly unlikely that out of the 1500+ known, the 10 chosen for excavation were the only ones to have been built as hut foundations. It is much more likely that most, if not all, were built to support huts.

(4) Many Platforms occur far above the tree line — some in Glen Nevis are at 400m altitude.

(5) Old tracks have been found to cross over and destroy some of the Platforms. A built track in Glen Nant is thought to be Medieval in date and it crosses 5 of them — thus showing that these Platforms are pre-4th C.

(6) Every Group (no matter how many were in the Group) has shown the same variety and ratio of size — viz. a few small Platforms, a few big Platforms and the majority between the two extremes. Further the Platforms have frequently been grouped on the hillsides in significant arrangements; i.e. often a bigger Platform surrounded by a few medium-sized ones, or the very large ones being set on their own away from the crowd. This pattern suggests Settlement rather than charcoal-burning hearths.

Another argument put forward is that some of the Platforms, although not associated with the industrial charcoal-making may have been made by local people for their own domestic use. Superficially this seems possible but recent research has shown[4] that charcoal for domestic use in the North and West of Scotland, was made in pits and not on a flat surface. Instead of making an airtight clamp above ground, an airtight pit was used which was often clay-lined and cut into the ground. Often peat was used instead of small timber. These 'pits' are now recognised as round depressions, and are widespread throughout the West and occur sometimes singly and sometimes in compact groups of 4 to 5 in the woods, and on the moors. This is a different distribution from the Platforms which usually occur in larger groups with an average of perhaps 100m between each Platform and with miles between each group.

In the South and East level areas might have been used for charcoal-burning, and although there is no tradition of such a practice, it is still unreasonable to suggest that such round foundations were built for a temporary use such as charring when round house Platforms are known to exist in quite large numbers. These are now known to be much more abundant than was recognised a few years ago as has been shown by the work of the Lanark and District Archaeological Society. They have found many groups of previously unknown Unenclosed Platform Sites in their survey of the route of the new M74[5] over the moors.

Thus, what of the Moniaive Group? 9 Platforms have been found on the hillside South and East of Caitloch House on the NE side of the hill between the B729 and the minor road that goes past Caitloch. There is the usual variety of sizes — viz. 1 of 9m, 4 of 8m, 1 of 7m, and 3 of 6m. The 3 of 6m are unusual but the other 6 are typical of the Recessed Platforms of the West. One of them can be seen, without excavation to have a vertical stone-built front lip, another is what is termed a 'stance', i.e. it is flat with hardly any lip at all but is circular with a perimeter kerbing of stone. One has a resemblance to the Lanarkshire Unenclosed Platforms at Crawford. It has a very high sloping front but unfortunately the back has been damaged and it is impossible to see how it was cut into the hill.

4. Rennie, *op. cit. Discovery and Excavation*, 1989, p.56 — Circular Depressions.
Discovery and Excavation, 1991, p.54 — Dunloskin, Dunoon; p.56 — Tom a'Chorachasaich — Ardchyline, Loch Fyne; p.57 Upper Kilail Burn.

5. *Discovery and Excavation*, 1991, p.65 — Survey: A74 and M74 Road Development Routes.
Lanarkshire, Inventory of the R.C.A.&H.M.S. pp.81-86.

It is possible that the three 6m Platforms may have originated as charcoal hearths made and used by local people. The use of pits for charring is regarded as a Highland and Western practice — the practices in the South are not known. However the argument questioning the expenditure of effort when flat ground was available, makes the suggestion doubtful. Nevertheless charcoal was found on these small ones and not on the others but they also could have been re-used.

There is above the Platforms but with the same exposure, a turf-banked Enclosure with a diameter of 35m. It is tempting to consider that the Platforms and the Enclosure are associated, but without excavation this cannot be assumed. Further it is thought that a U-shaped mound with a central hollow about 100m West of the Platforms might be a Burnt Mound.

Although the resemblance is close between this Moniaive Group and those of South Argyll there is no reason for suggesting that they are associated apart from the fact that they may all be hut foundations built into hillsides. The Caitloch Group are much more likely to be associated with the U.P.S. of the Borders and Lanarkshire. The difference between the Western Groups and the Border Groups is one of date — the former probably belonging to the 1st mill. A.D. while the latter seem to be 2nd mill. B.C. However there is no reason for placing them in either of these date brackets. Round Houses were the norm throughout the Iron Age and both before and after. They could belong to any date.

There is said to be another Group of Platforms 10km to the West. This is very likely as it is to be expected that hut stances occur extensively throughout the countryside. The Platforms are usually not recognised as they blend into the hillside and people have walked over them for years without noticing them. The huts they may have supported are unlikely to be of a particular type of classification. They would be simply round timber-framed structures built sometimes on level ground and sometimes on a slope and such huts must have been the normal form of construction for thousands of years. On flat ground, such huts cannot be recognised without excavation as only the post holes remain and these are under the turf. It is on sloping ground that the foundation can be noticed but even here the field walker's eye has to learn to see them.

A copy of the survey will be sent to anyone who is interested and would like to visit the area. The other site to the West might then be identified and perhaps other groups found.

EARLY STRANRAER RECORDS

by A. E.Truckell

When the writer and the late Dr. R. C. Reid were studying the shelves in the attic of the then Town Clerk of Stranraer in the late 'forties or early 'fifties in search of James Glover's Protocol Books (he knew they should be there - they were): we also found a complete bound volume of Town Council Minutes from 1685: this seemed to be continuous with the later volumes: in later years the writer did a good deal of work on this. (Incidentally, one of the protocol books was bound in a parchment page of Cistercian plainsong for the Easter Eve service, dateable to the early 16th century - now in Stranraer Museum).

So the matter rested for a good many years: and then, within the last few decades, a group of folios of Burgh Court Records, running from January 1596/97 to 1677, with considerable gaps, has been found. As Stranraer was only created a Burgh of Barony, with Ninian Adair of Kinhilt as Superior, on 12th November 1595, this takes us back to very near the Burgh's origin. The script of the earlier good many years is fine and neat, in the hand of James Glover himself who was Clerk of Court and who heads the sittings of the court in good Latin and writes good educated Scots of the period.

The earliest surviving date, 21st January 1596/97, is on folio 2, folio 1 being taken up with statutes - - regulations for innkeepers: indwellers to keep adequate supplies in their houses and not to keep in their houses, or let houses to, "vagabonds, or Idill persouns" and "vnresponsabill persouns". The final statute (repeated in a later year) is an interesting one. "Item it is statut and ordanit that quhensoevir ony buriall sall happin to be of corpis deceissand within the said burcht that the officers of the samin pas & wairne the haill Inhabitants of the samin to gang to the convoy of the buriall to the kirk or at leist geiff the persone deceissand be of mein estait to send ane servand wndir the pane of ten ss. for ilk refuisall to cum to the said buriall as it sall happin".

The last item on this first folio concerns an apprenticeship - James McCoun in Ayr pursues Thomas McClurg tailor in Stranraer: McClurg has dismissed William Kennedy his apprentice. McClurg replies that he has dismissed him "In respect of the vnhonestie of the said boy and his ewill maneris and conditions & that he is not leill and trew as becumis ane prenteis to be" and finds caution to prove his "vnhonestie".

Folio 2 begins with James McBryde owning that he should pay to William ?Alardice burgess of Stranraer for certain pecks of oats of his goods and geir of the 1596 crop, worth five pounds, "eitin & distroyit": the judges ordain him to be poinded for that sum.

Now we come to the first date (quoted above): the court is chaired by "honorablis vir" Hugh Kennedy. John Kennedy of Grennane claims that Ninian Muir burgess of Stranraer had "resett" in his houses Jonat Cacart & bessie Steill "quha war vnresponsabill personis contrair the act & ordinance maid thairanent" and that Muir should "restoir & refond" to him kale & peats worth forty shillings stolen & "away tane" by them out of his yard. Muir appears and does not deny the charge: he is ordained to repay the said "skaith" as far as he can prove "or tak vpon his conscience": Kennedy says the skaith is 30/- & the Judges ordain precepts of poinding to pass upon Muir.

The next item continues the case of the dismissed apprentice: George Purdie smith in Creachmoir & Uchtrie Boyle chapman in Stranraer "quha being deiplie sworne hes deponit that thai knew the boy prenteis to be ane pyker and that he staw sundrie small thingis sic as points pasmentis knyfis & peices of weluett & the like thingis as also that he -- of very evil inclinatioun & ane lyer as vas weill knawin to the witnesss and the said thomas McClurg euiteit farder probation in the said mater".

The early pages also fix customs on cattle (8d), sheep (4d): Hogg & lamb (4d): horse (xijd): a carcase of beef (6d): cow hide (2d), sheep skin, 2d, a creel of fish, 2d, a bacon carcase, 4d, "all creill fatts", 2d, a chapman's pack of goods, 2d, linen or woolen web, 4d, a stone weight of lint or hemp, 2d, a stone of wool 4d. "Item bi custumyng of All Meill Malt Beir quheit & uthir siclyk stoff the said Custumer halfand ane Irne ladill & out of euerie sek he sall tak the ffull of the said ladel as for the custum of the said stoff".

Now let us pick at random a few entries across the years.

20th June 1598. Every burgess to assist and concur with the baillies & officers in putting order to all abuses & tulzies to be comittit within the said burch "ather be landeit men or burgesses". "And for better performing heirof It is statut & ordanit That euerie ane of the said burch haif ane sufficient armor In reddynes and quhasa euir vsurpis in the contrarie sall pay ten punds for ilk falt As also It is statut & ordanit That all the burgesses & Induellirs in the said burch be in reddines To red tulzies & concure to the awayputting of misdoars & abuses quhither the bailzeis be present or nocht" (and goes on to repeat the statute on attendance at funerals).

Now a few items on the relations between Provost and Council:-

"The same day The said Niniane Adair hes constitut & creat Thomas Agnew brother to the Sherriff of Wigtown & Williame Gardiner Bailzies of the said Burch Gilbert Muir thesaurar James glover commoun clerk James McCon Seriand".

"The same day the said Niniane beand of gud mynde that baillies thesaurar & wther officars within the said burcht be electit & chosin hes convenit the former baillies & counsell thairof Quha war in office the zeir preceding & be thair awyse & consent hes chosin electit & presentit ----"

On the 13th of October 1598 Ninian Adair, provost "beand of mynd to pas aff Scotland and to remove furth of the cuntrie for the space of four zeirs Hes maid & constitut Williame adair his elest sone & apperand air and failzeand of him or In his absence John Kennedy of Grennane & Hew Kennedy of chapel coniunctlie & seuerallie Proveist deputts of the said burch With ffull power to thame To creatt balzies thesaurar & all vther officiars in the said burch Siklyk as the said Niniane mycht do be virtew of his infeftment thairof".

This is a far cry from the situation in the royal burghs, such as Dumfries with its references to the "auld & lovit sett of our toun", Kirkcudbright or Wigtown - the last phrase, "his infeftment thairof" could apply equally to his estate.

Incidentally, Adair does not in fact appear to have been away very long.

There was a "wattir bailzie" as well as a land baillie, responsible for customs by sea and by land respectively. On the 1st October 1598 David Stewart & Peter Hamylton, burgesses of Ayr, appear before the Council, having brought into Stranraer port a bark of 13 tons loaded with iron and salt and offered their cargo to the burgesses of Stranraer for 7 merks the stone of iron & 16 merks the boll of salt, there being in the said boat a hundred

bolls of salt and 300 stone of iron: the burgesses and council thought the price reasonable therefore they licensed them to sell to the country paying for licence and custom modifying the licence to £5 & the custom to another £5, which is delivered to the Treasurer for keeping. Incidentally, the annual lists of customs charges include "Ane greit Killing boitt ij killing: ane small boit J killing: ane herring boit of Hoylled herringe iij xx herring: Ankerage Everie boit for ankerage xld". Traffic appears mainly to have been with Saltcoats, Ayr and the Clyde coast: by the 1660's the Customs records (of which Nithsdale Archive Room has a microfilm copy) show Portpatrick as the very active port for the area - hence the comparatively insignificant traffic at Stranraer - really just goods for the use of the town: occasionally a burgess would own a small boat.

A few years on, we come to a short, very faded, entry in the midst of normal business: "12th january 1602:- The quhilk Robert McGa ?but preif ---preive ane famouss assyse chosin to nominat In his awin presence quhilk he culd nocht dowt Ues condampnit & demit to be tane to the gibbet of the said burcht and thair to be hangit to the dead" - that is a higher court - Sheriff or Commissary perhaps - had sentenced him to death and remitted to the burgh to carry out the sentence: it shows also that Stranraer had the right to a gallows.

Moving onward in time we find on ?25th November 1662 "Maister John Patersoune now scolemaister" having his contract for the next half-year settled:- "that therefore the said Maister obleisss him to teach the scole in the said burgh for the space of half ane zeir to wit fra the terme of mertimes Last anno Jaj sex hundreth thrie scoir twa zeiris till the terme of Whitsonday nixtocum Jaj sex hundreth thriescoir thrie zeiris And to teache the scollers in scottis and Lateine and to discharge ane faithfull dewtie as is bicumin ane honest and faithfull scolemaister" - 55 merks Scots for each of two quarters.

From time to time burgesses are made, mostly townspeople or small lairds around the town: but some time in September 1663 we find an unusually large and slightly different group:- "The Quhilk day Sir Thomas hay younger of park, John hay his brother: Jon Burnitt sone to thomas burnitt and Servitor to the said Sir thomas ar admittit Burgesss and gild of the said burgh Qm. Jurat. The samen day Johne Johnis in North hemptounes schyre In Ingland is admittit burges & gild. The same day Johne McMillane servitor to Sir Thomas Hay of Park is admitted burges & gild of the said burgh qm. Jurat. The Quhilk day doctor Williame vaus Rolleghem Mediciner doctor of Medeceine is admittit burges and gild of stranravir cum plena ---Potestate qm. Jurat. The quhilk day Williame Quhitheid serviter to ???????? " ..... "The Quhilk Day Captaine harie Rottra Captaine in the Majesties guards of foot SSeriand Jon Ladir Seriand to his Majesties guard of foote, Thomas Hubrie sojer Sservand to Captaine herie Rottra ar admittit Burgess & gild of the said burgh quem Jurat.

The quhilk day Alexander spens Corporall to Captaine harie Rottra And fracis Lwrance Srvitor to the said Captain harie Rottra ar admittit Burgess & gild quem Jurat".

There is a close parallel between this item and the burgess-ships granted at Dumfries to what you might term the occupying forces in this time (the 1660's) of religious and political stress.

No Burgh Records would be complete without a good brawl: here William Torbrane, on folio 58, is giving evidence. "Williame torbrane demandit quhat he hard betuixt the saids Persones declairit that he hard the said Cuthbert call the said Margrat ane filthie hure and bad her go ?out in ?the ?nycht ?quharteris Than he Came ben the hovss & tuik her be the Airme & they baith fell in the fyre & scho tuik him be the hair & that he tuik hir wpon the bak with his sword And scho callit him ane Bais Raskell".

As with Wigtown, I give a list of names occuring in the record.

McCully: John Kennedy of Grennane: Ninian Muir: Jonat Cacart: Bessie Setton: James McCoun: Thomas McClurg: George Purdie smyth in creachmoir: Walter Jois: Ninian Adair: Thomas Agnew: William Gardiner: Gilbert Muir: James Glover: James McCon: Andro McCa.nell: HewKennedy of chepell: Robert Benvin: John Adair: John McCrae: (or McCra) in myltoun: Gilbert McCalment in Portispitell: John McBryde: David Stewart: Petir Hamyltoun: David Kennedy: William Young: James McClenochen: William Adair of Ganoch: Quentin Muir of Achneill: William Agnew in Craigboy: David Boyd in Tippitroy: Gilbert ?Mowbray: Robert Bartoun: William McDowell: Agnes Whyte: Janet Cauldwell: Andro Kennedy: Gilbert Or: Michell Adair in Kinhilt: James McBryde: Patrik Neilsone: Gilchrist McCullane: Agnes McLellan: Jonat Cairberie: Niniane Kinblok (this name occurs also as Kniblock, Knublock, Knubloe): Gilbert Darrache: James McMaiken: Hew Mc?Cefill: Alexander Roisss: James Crechtoun: David McClery or McCleny: John Lasoun: Niniane Chalmers: Agnes Quhyte: Jonet Cauldwell: Johne Martine of Saltcoats: Robert Keivin: John McAra in Myltoune: Hew McClessill: John Baird: Hew McClaffie: Robert Beatoun: Thomas Wilkie: Michell Porter, Kirkcowan: John Heughan (or Kegan?) in Drumfad: John Lorimer: Fergus McDowall of Downance: John Lorimer.

These can be compared with the Wigtown list, or with the 1685 Parish List - and of course with the Dumfries and Kirkcudbright lists: one sees differences even with Wigtown.

The above brief notes cover only a tiny percentage of the material spread across eighty years; but perhaps they give an idea of the richness of this hoard of Stranraer history.

KIRKBEAN PARISH

by A. E.Truckell

The earliest surviving Kirk Session Minutes of Kirkbean parish take up in 1714: they run discontinuously from then on. The earlier volumes contain Baptismal Rolls and Marriage and Death lists whilst those of the 1830's and 40's possess Veto Rolls or Heads of Household Rolls. The Minute Books are at the time of writing in the Nithsdale District Archive Rooms. The material gathered for this paper consists, principally, of personal names and locations, and, with the addition of the Register of Testaments entries relating to the parish, from Dumfries Commissariot and the earlier Edinburgh registers (these latter kindly supplied by Mr Williams), cover almost three centuries - four if one includes the author's comments on the 20th century. Despite chronological gaps the names show a good deal of continuity but some personal names die out and some placenames no longer exist or have changed character.[1]

The location of population in the parish is due to its topography: the great granitic mound of Criffel, rising to 1866 feet, with a narrow, sloping, cultivable belt in the North widening to an alluvial plain on limestone to the South: the climate is maritime, mild, and windy: and Maps (the 1642, Gordon, Pont is poor and inaccurate for the parish) - estate maps from about 1735, the Roy map of 1753, the Ainslie of 1797, the Thomson of 1826, the first Ordnance 6'' map of 1850, help us to interpret the other evidence.

The Old Statistical Account of 1791-93 and the ''New'' or 1842 Account do so also: it is revealing to see the range of trades in the parish: the 1831 Census Enumeration Abstract helps also - as does the MS of the first Curling Club Minute Book, founded by the redoubtable Rev. Grierson.

Let us take the names first (most of them of course in the Southern part of the parish). Costen, Costein, Cowsten, Costine and so on occurs 12 times in the Register of Testaments before 1687 - the earliest being 1638 - and not at all after that: and the name occurs thrice in the Baptismal Rolls in 1722-24 and not at all in the Heads of Housholds lists. Owens or Oens occurs at Wreaths in 1661 and not again in any of the lists. Bridges or Briggs is prominent from 1638, weakening after 1688, though the name remained in the parish till the 1920's. Connell remained over a long period, into the mid-20th century but is now gone. Clark still exists having been long in the parish. Thomson turns up fairly late but persists. The McKune family was in the parish from at least 1540 into the nineteen twenties. Halliday persisted until then also. Change can be rapid: in the writer's lifetime, in Carsethorn village alone, the names Major, Oliver, Reid, Connell, Cannon, Halliday and Stitt have left the village, though there is still a Stitt, a retired man who has returned to the parish, as has a McCall. In the early 1920's there were 14 Robsons in the village: now there is one, a lady of 85: most of the other families mentioned were also large, with several members - and remember, there were only twenty or so houses in the village.

The Register of Testaments shows concentrations of families in the ferm-toun of Torrorie and in the Burgh of Barony and Regality of Preston (chartered 3rd August 1663 at the behest of the Earl of Nithsdale - he hoped to stimulate trade and shipping in the area, and it is perhaps no accident that the sole person mentioned in the Register as a merchant relates to Preston in 1660 just before it was chartered - at Prestonmill, at the village of Borron and at Kirkbean. The Roy map of 1753, which shows enclosures on Arbigland estate and a continuance of runrig for the most part elsewhere confirms this picture. Of these settlements Preston Burgh, Borron, and Torrorie no longer exist. The Roy map shows a few houses at Carsethorn but only a few names attest population there (''The Carsethorn'' was active as a port by the 1560's and probably long before). The Roy map shows a farm on the site shown as ''Criffel'' on the 1797 Ainslie map and as ''Criffelfoot - Ruin'' on the 1850 Ordnance map. Powside farm appears on the Roy map, but not Cauldside or Coldside which appears on the Ainslie map some distance further down the Kirkbean Pow. Neither appears on the 1850 Ordnance

which shows "Smithy" at what is still known as "Smithy Corner" near Carsethorn. Borron Village, its site now marked by a clump of old trees, appears on the Roy and Ainslie maps. Roy shows a Midtown between Borron and Tallowquhairn (not to be confused with the Midtown towards Drumburn). The early estate maps of Cavens and Arbigland confirm the general picture but they show peat-cutting access-roads (and possibly they served for transhumance of stock) running well up on to the foot of Criffel from the coastal plain. The terrace, "The Slate Row", shown in 1850 at the downstream end of Carsethorn, was demolished in 1935: the "Noggie" between Slate Row and The Barracks, does not appear on the maps but is probably the remains of Carsethorn Mill which appears in the documents - the Ainslie does show a mill lade - but at the North Carse end of the village. The Ainslie map shows South Carse farm as Longleys, with quite a cluster of buildings: the 1850 map shows it as South Carse with a row of yards and ruins running North from it along the cart road towards Carsethorn as far as the angle in the road which ran to Carsethorn until the 1940's when coastal erosion removed all of it North of the angle: it is clear that until near 1850 the South Carse complex has reached to within a couple of hundred yards of the Slate Row. The 1850 map also shows the Steamboat Inn as already so named, and the King's Arms across the green (on which until the late 1930's a weighbridge for coal stood) from it: the 1870-odd Ordnance sheet shows it as The Eagle, so it had changed its name from King's Arms: it is now a dwelling. The Ainslie shows the Lime Works and the Marl Pit on the road from Torrorie to Preston, and Limekills near the present Moor Cottage: near these it shows the cottages Hedgebrae and Curriefield: of these names only Limekills survives. The 1850 map shows the Brick and Tile Works (active from the 1820's to the 1890's) beside present Kennels Cottage near the mouth of the Kirkbean Pow, and a bridge over the Pow a little upstream: the kilns still stand to some degree but the bridge is long gone.

The last hundred-odd years have seen many changes in the population of the parish - 696 in 1801 had risen by 1851 to 982 and sunk by 1931 to 560 - so the Heads of Households lists come near to the population maximum. The census abstracts of 1831 tells us that there were then 142 inhabited houses in the parish, housing 161 families: no houses were under construction: eleven were uninhabited. Ninety-two families were chiefly employed in agriculture, thirty-two families chiefly in trade, manufacturing and handicrafts within the parish: there were 37 families which did not come under either of these categories. The parish had 362 male and 440 female residents, making a total of 802. A hundred and seventy eight were males of twenty and over. There were 18 occupiers of land employing labourers and four occupiers not doing so: 91 labourers were employed in agriculture: 34 residents were employed in the retail trade or handicrafts: there were 12 "capitalists, bankers, professional and other educated men": there was one non-agricultural labourer and 12 males of 20 or over who were not servants and did not fall under any of the above categories. There were two male servants of 20 or over, two under 20, and 66 female servants.

Masons and shoemakers were well attested in the sources: a Kirkbean parish mason is shown by an account in the Dumfries archives to have been cutting limestone from the Arbigland reefs in 1718 for work at Auchenskeoch in the next parish, and James Milligan the mason of Borron built Satterness Lighthouse for Dumfries in August-October 1748.

There is one interesting absence in the Kirk Session Minutes and in the material surveyed in this paper: Only one merchant mentioned, and practically nothing relating to the sea - a reference to beachcombing for iron in the 1720's, but otherwise the sea and seafarers are absent: yet the Dumfries records and the Customs and Excise documents show that in fact there was a great deal of maritime activity in the parish: the Kirk Session Minutes are overwhelmingly agricultural with no sign that the parish lay beside the sea.

Editorial Note.

Unfortunately limitations upon space and finance preclude the inclusion of the record extracts within these *Transactions*. However, typescript copies have been prepared and lodged with the Reference Department of the Ewart Library, Dumfries; the Nithsdale District Archivist and the Hon. Secretary of the Society - from the latter of whom photocopies may be obtained upon request. The material available may be summarised thus:-

1. Kirk Session Minutes of Kirkbean Parish: Extracts of Baptism (112), Marriages (6) and Deaths (11) for the period 1721-29.
2. Kirk Session Minutes of Kirkbean Parish: Composite "Lists of Regular Communicants, Heads of Families" for :- August 1834; October 1835; 21st November 1836; 30th October 1837; 10th December 1838 and 12th September 1840.

3. Extracts from the Register of Dumfries Commissariot: 111 entries for the period 1624-1800.
4. Extracts from the Register of Edinburgh Commissariot: 6 entries for the period 1579-1680.
5. Composite Index of Persons with "Extracts".
6. Composite Index of Placenames within "Extracts".

A POSSIBLE 'BRANDY HOLE' AT THE MULL OF GALLOWAY

by

Jane Page

In early March 1992 Mrs Janet Lammie of Mull of Galloway Farm in Kirkmaiden Parish reported to Stranraer Museum the appearance of a hole in 'the Barracks Fey' (or field) during ploughing. Before it was filled in, the opportunity was taken to investigate the feature.

It was located in a prominent position on a level area of a south sloping ridge between the road to the Mull of Galloway and the Auchie Glen at NGR : NX 1332 3260 approximately. The hole measured 0.70m east west by 0.86m north south. It transpired that this hole was a collapsed portion of the roof of a tunnel-like feature the base of which was about 2m below ground surface. However, this was a "false" bottom comprising fallen earth and stone. The tunnel which was 1.35m wide extended 1.6m to the east where it had been blocked with large (up to c.0.5m long) rounded beach boulders. The west end was 0.7m west of the access hole and had not been blocked. The sides and roof were unlined natural subsoil of orange/brown clay with stones (glacial till). There was no evidence to suggest a surrounding structure above and nothing to suggest date or function within. It was considered that the original access must have been somewhere to the east in the blocked area.

It is suggested however, that this might be a 'brandy hole', that is a hiding place for the storage of smuggled goods used during the late 18th century when such activities were rife. Discovery of such holes in the Mull of Galloway area in 1777 is noted by Macleod page 231 (*Discovering Galloway* 1986). A brandy hole found at Low Clone, Port William in the 19th century however had had its roof supported by wooden beams (inf. from J. M. Wallace).

The First Edition Ordnance Survey of 1848 shows ruined buildings to the south east in the same field at NX 1345 3255 approximately, adjacent to Barracks Bridge. Fragments of slate, shell, floor tiles, clay pipe bowl and generally black soil in the ploughsoil indicate the location of these buildings today, which were presumably the Barracks which gave their name to the bridge and field, and which would be built, probably about the same time as those at Sinniness and Port William (the last named about 1788 — *Ordnance Gazetteer*) to assist in suppression of the smuggling trade.

A COUNTRY SCHOOL 1798-1839 IN GLEN CAIRN, DUMFRIESSHIRE by Katherine Le Cren (Glenriddell, 1982), 33pp.

South West Scotland has been well served over the years by its local historians who have published the results of their researches in the pages of this journal, in the weighty volumes — scholarly or anecdotal — produced by the leisured, educated country gentlemen of a century ago many of whom saw it as their civic duty to record the character or antiquities of a society under transition and, in more recent times, in the numerous, more modest little publications exploring the past of a particular parish or village or even a building. Of this last category, Katherine Le Cren's *A Country School 1798-1830 in Glen Cairn, Dumfriesshire* could well serve as a model.

Mrs Le Cren's aim is to describe the establishment and running of the school set up in her house, Glenriddel, at the end of the 18th century under the auspices of the Society of Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge (SSPCK). This she does in a text that is clear and informative, enlivened with quotation and much detail, well documented and a thoroughly pleasant read. The author's statements are invariably backed up by precisely documented references to a wide range of sources, most particularly to the Glencairn Heritors and Kirk Session records and to the minute and account books of the SSPCK in the Scottish Record Office. Indeed, her fascination with this last source material informs her whole booklet.

Sensibly, Mrs Le Cren has confined more extensive quotation from her sources to a series of Appendices so that the flow of her narrative is not broken. This allows her to display in full material unearthed in her researches which is not strictly relevant to the subject of her essay but is sufficiently interesting to be worthy of publication — a technique that other authors of similar local histories could profit from copying. Here also, Mrs Le Cren has included copies of two contemporary maps which provide a helpful visual reference for the place names contained in the text together with a useful bibliography.

MMS

PROCEEDINGS 1990-91

19th October 1990
Annual General Meeting
Speaker: Mr P. D. Starling — 'Travels in Antarctica'

2nd November
Speaker: Mr D. Johnston — 'The Carronbridge Excavation'

16th November
Speaker: Mr G. S. Maxwell — 'The Work of the Royal Commission'

30th November
Speaker: Mr L. Masters — 'The Pyramids'

14th December
Speaker: Mr T. Adkin — 'Reading the Signs'

11th January 1991
Speaker: Mr A. Wolffe — 'Gatehouse of Fleet'

25th January
Members' Night
Speakers: Miss J. Page — 'Excavations of Maj. Gen. Scott-Elliot'
Rev. W. Holland — 'Life of Professor Charteris'

8th February
Speaker: Dr J. I. Spicer — 'Between the Tides'

22nd February
Speaker Dr I. Campbell — 'Thomas Carlyle'

8th March
Speaker: Rev. A. Swan — 'The Paddy Line'

16th March
This meeting was held at Gatehouse of Fleet
Speaker: Dr R. Jones — 'Helmets and Homesteads: the Newstead Project'

22nd March
Special General Meeting
Speaker: Mrs R. Green — 'Otters'

Publications funded by the Ann Hill Research Bequest

The History and Archaeology of Kirkpatrick-Fleming Parish

No. 1 Ann Hill and her family, A Memorial, by D. Adamson
No, 2* Kirkpatrick-Fleming Poorhouse, by D. Adamson
No. 3* Kirkpatrick-Fleming Miscellany
Mossknow Game Register 1875
Diary of J. Gordon Graham 1854
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History of Dumfries Post Office, by J. M. Corrie, 1912.*

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

Records of the Western Marches, Vol. II, "The Bell Family in Dumfriesshire", by James Steuart, W.S., 1932.*

Records of the Western Marches, Vol. III, "The Upper Nithsdale Coalworks from Pictish Times to 1925", by J. C. McConnel, 1962, £2.00 plus postage.

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

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The Marine Fauna and Flora of the Solway Firth Area, by Dr. E. J. Perkins, 1972. 112pp. £2 plus postage and packing. **Corrigenda.** Free on receipt of s.a.e.

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*Indicates out of print, but see Editorial.

Reprints "The Early Crosses of Galloway" by W. G. Collingwood from Vol. x (1922-3), 37 pp text, 49 crosses illustrated and discussed, £1, plus posts to Members.
"Flowering Plants etc of Kirkcudbrightshire" by Olga Stewart, 68 pp. Price on application to Hon. Librarian.

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