Transactions

of the

Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History

and

Antiquarian Society

LXXX 2006

Transactions

of the

Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History

and

Antiquarian Society

FOUNDED 20th NOVEMBER, 1862

THIRD SERIES VOLUME LXXX

Editors:

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

ISSN 0141-1292

2006

DUMFRIES

Published by the Council of the Society

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EDITORIAL

Contributions are invited on the Natural History, Geology, Antiquities and Archaeology including Industrial Archaeology, of South-West Scotland or the Solway Basin, and preference is always given to original work on local subjects. Intending contributors should, in the first instance, apply to the Editors for 'Instructions to Contributors', giving the nature and approximate size of their paper. Each contributor has seen a proof of his or her paper and neither the Editors nor the Society hold themselves responsible for the accuracy of scientific, historical or personal information in it. A copy of the current Rules, dated 13th October 1995, appeared in volume 69.

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

The Council is indebted the following bodies for substantial grants towards publication costs viz McMillan Plant of the Ryanmix Works of Aird Quarry, Stranraer, Castle Kennedy for the paper on the Aird Quarry excavation; Historic Scotland for the paper on The South West Crannog Survey; The Frederick Soddy Trust for the paper on the Field Study Meeting in Galloway and also Dumfries and Galloway Council for their annual contribution to the Society.

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

THE FORMER USE OF FLIGHT-NETS TO CAPTURE WILDFOWL ON THE INNER SOLWAY FIRTH

by John Young

"So far as we knew the only way in which wild geese had been caught alive in this country was in the flight-nets set on the sea marshes, in which shore birds are mainly caught, with an occasional goose." (Scott, 1936.)

Throughout the latter part of the 19th century, while shooting was widespread, 'flight-netting' emerged as an alternative method of obtaining wildfowl and waders for the table, barter or the market. Netting was practised intensively only on the north shore of the Solway Firth and in Morecambe Bay, Lancashire, though market netting was also recorded on the south shore of the Solway, southern Ayrshire and the firths of Forth and Clyde.

During the 19th century there was a massive expansion of the Scottish inshore fishing fleet, mainly to exploit the herring, which could be cured and so transported and marketed more cheaply than fresh fish. The growth of the fishery was made easier by the development by James Patterson in Musselburgh in 1820 of a net-loom, which made possible the production of relatively cheap hemp nets. In 1884 there were over 100 boats fishing, principally for herring, in the Inner Solway alone. As the fishing fleet decreased quickly after that, due to over-fishing, large quantities of redundant netting of a suitable mesh for catching birds became available.

"What most fowlers used on the stakes were wore-out 'long-shore herring nets, these poles were 7 feet high above the sands, planted along-shore and were inspected early next mornon', they often had a mixture of dunlin, knots, plovers, godwits, stints, dotterel, whimbrel – now and agin a kitty or a turnstone – even larks struck them." (Stevenson)

The Flight Net

The principles of flight netting are elementary: nets are held vertical by being attached to poles, with the aim of intercepting flying birds. In estuaries, gulls and shore birds fly regularly between roosting and feeding areas, in response to tidal cycles and at dusk or dawn. On occasion movements occur due to disturbance by falcons or other predators, or the activities of fishermen and wildfowlers. At times netters resorted to deliberate driving to move the flocks.

Netting supports varied in size, depending on the length and weight of the net, and the substrate into which the stakes were inserted. For small snipe nets willow or hazel wands were used. Larger nets, for wildfowl and bigger waders, usually required stronger, though slim, stems. In the Solway area these were 3-5 inches (75-130 mm) in diameter, 10-12 feet (3.3 – 3.6 m) long and inserted 2 feet 6 inches (0.76 m) in to the ground. The common practice was to use any timber source nearby, especially if it were freely available. Birch was frequently used, in spite of its propensity to rot quickly, simply because it could be cut locally and, being light when dried, was relatively easily carried to the site. At Glencaple, Dumfriesshire, most of the poles were cut from the Blackwood near Bankend. At the end

of the season the poles were often buried on site in a nearby creek and covered with estuarine mud, aiding preservation and allowing reuse in a second season. In the Flookburgh area of Morecambe Bay (the only other significant flight-netting area in the U.K.), ash and hazel were available and preferred and lighter stakes, of only one-inch (2.5 cm) diameter, were used.

These flight net poles should not be confused with the stouter materials necessary in the construction of fixed salmon stake nets. Discussing plantations in Dumfriesshire in 1805, the Rev. R. O. Forsyth noted 'there are likewise large and thriving plantations of various kinds of fir, also of ash, etc. which (being carefully enclosed, and great numbers of them were sold yearly for stakes used in the salmon fisheries upon the Solway Firth).'

Many birds were found accidentally killed in the salmon nets. Gladstone (1910) for example records a great northern diver and Robert Service (1896) red-throated divers being found drowned in them. This caution is required when historical references refer to specimens 'taken in the nets'.

Setting

The Solway nets were elevated with their poles about 15 yards (14 m) apart, dug into the sand and supported with guys. These precautions were necessary due to the very soft substrate and the powerful tidal surge. Individual nets were no more than 50 yards (46 m) long and varied in height between 3 ½ feet (1.1 m) and 10-12 feet (3 – 3.6 m). The lower edge was set about 20 inches (50 cm) to 3 feet (1 m) above the predicted tide height, and was altered daily to accommodate that. Variations in the length and height of the nets suggest that some were especially knitted to suit very specific local conditions. Solway poles were either cut with a fork at the top, or a notch was cut to take the top rope. A long forked stick (always tied to the end stake) was used to lower the nets to extract birds trapped in the upper reaches, and to assist with tying up the nets during some of the higher tides.

A great deal of thought and preparation, allied to local knowledge of winds and tides, was involved in the selection of the netting sites. Nets were only erected following detailed reconnaissance on observed feeding and roosting areas and established flight lines. They were invariably sited totally above normal high tide limits, especially over the Solway salt marshes or merse land. If circumstances dictated, the whole operation was relocated. During periods of high spring tides the netting was either temporarily removed from the supports or, more often, the lower ties were released, allowing the nets to 'float' with the tide.

'Fly-netting' at Flookburgh

At Flookburgh, the other main netting centre, the support poles did not require to be guyed but were simply placed into a hole formed with a crowbar. These nets were deployed over cockle beds, principally to take oystercatchers. The 18-20 families involved on average set 300 yards (274 m) of netting each, potentially a total of 6,000 yards (3.4 miles or 5.4 km) in use at any one time. They were regularly set in tandem, to establish a continuous

netting area. The use of significantly lighter stakes allowed one person to carry up to 30 on to the sands at one time. The nets, supported on light stakes, were mobile and were advanced or retreated daily to be in line with the predicted 'brod', the expected tide height. The nets were erected on stakes placed at intervals of 8 – 10 yards (7.3 – 9 m) and simply secured with the cordage given a half-hitch round the top of the stake to form a slack bag or 'busom' of about 4 feet (1.2 m) and set 12-18 inches (30 - 45 cm) above the sand. Birds striking the nets became enmeshed in these bags.

At the peak of operations at Flookburgh, some 24 horses and carts were used to transport the netting, and to remove large catches of birds. (The carts were used primarily to carry cockles, the main crop.) The manpower available, allied to the light structure, allowed complete removal of the nets during periods of very high tides or gale force winds.

On the Solway and at Flookburgh 'catching efficiency' was enhanced during periods of light winds (Beaufort 0 – 2), and during periods of rain and, especially, fog.

Seasons and access

Flight netting seasons usually extended from early October until the end of February. There was no strict legal restriction that could be enforced at that time. Setting up, maintenance and harvesting from the nets were a winter activity, practised in the main by locally-based estuarine fishermen, both to supplement a restricted diet and to augment what had become a meagre income from fishing.

On the Scottish Solway, flight-nets first appeared about 1885. Their use quickly spread along the Blackshaw Bank in the parish of Caerlaverock, now a National Nature Reserve. Later they were recorded in Ruthwell, to the east, and at Kirkconnell, on the west bank of the River Nith, in Kirkcudbrightshire. No restrictions were placed on access or on the scale of activities, provided that access to the foreshore was gained via a public point or right of way. Management of the area between the tidal limits was strictly the province of the Crown Estate Commissioners, who during this era were not involved in any form of administrative control. The major landowners in the area where the nets were regularly used were Lord Herries and the Duke of Norfolk. Neither of their head-gamekeepers, Myles Quinn and latterly James Straiton, nor any of the factors objected to the practice, nor attempted to control it.

On the English side of the Solway, the major landowner was Lord Lonsdale and the Lowther Estates similarly placed no restrictions on the fixing of flight nets. Nor were there ever any enforceable restrictions in Morecambe Bay, where flight netting had been carried out since at least 1880.

Catches

Other than at Flookburgh and in the Solway, flight-nets were known to have been in use in Kent, Norfolk, the Derwent Valley the Blackwater estuary (Essex), in Ayrshire and on the firths of Forth and Clyde. Despite widespread appeals in the British and Irish press, no details from any of these sites have been forthcoming.

At Flookburgh, most of the birds caught were oystercatchers, with a few dunlins and knots. Other than general statements to the effect that 'birds were caught on most days that the nets were set' and that daily catches 'frequently reached 3-4000 birds.' William & Cedric Robinson, Pers. comm. no detailed data are now available.

Rather more records have survived from the Scottish Inner Solway. The earliest (Mackay 1893-94) refer to unusual catches: 'A specimen of the bartailed godwit (*Limosa rufa*) was given me by Mr Charles Turner. It was caught in the nets on Caerlaverock in the beginning of February' [1893]. In the next volume he recorded that in January 1893 Mr Turner had given him a [Leach's] fork-tailed petrel *Procellaria leucorrhoa* caught in the same place. Robert Service (1904) noted that one of a flock of snow geese *Anser caerulescens* seen in Cumberland in 1881 turned up in the nets at Newbie, and that during a fierce southwest storm on 24th February 1903 many puffins [*Fratercula arctica*] were caught in the Caerlaverock nets.

Macpherson (1897) noted that in 1888 Service had recorded that 'John Kennedy says flight-nets are now an established custom all along the Blackshaw. They were first put up some three years ago. Some good catches have been made. About a score of barnacles [*Branta leucopsis*] were caught in each of two nights in one net lately.' Macpherson continued, 'It is satisfactory to be able to state that of more recent years this "custom" has not been found to repay the labour of setting the nets. So many valueless fowl are enmeshed by the use of the "flight-nets" that it is hoped this engine of destruction may ere long fall into disuse, or, better still, become prohibited by law.'

Though Macpherson (1897) was primarily interested in the birds of Cumbria, he also reported that Irvine Murray had used flight-nets on the Scottish side of the Solway for a good many years. 'He tells me that he finds it necessary to shift the nets from one position to another occasionally. He lives in a cottage on the shore and his "better half" walks down the sands at daybreak to take the birds out of the nets. It often happens that there is nothing in any of the nets except an odd dunlin [*Calidris alpina*] or a few sea-gulls, but enough birds are taken in the last three months of the year to remunerate the old couple (the man is a Crimean veteran) for their expenditure upon netting.'

By the early years of the 20th century the practice had virtually ceased, due to diminishing financial returns and reduced demand for species other than ducks and geese, and also due to the concerns of the public about its wastefulness.

Sir Hugh Gladstone (1922) noted that the use of flight-nets seemed to have become more general during the Great War (1914-1918), 'doubtless due to the increase in the value of the catch – being sufficient during recent years to repay the labour of setting the nets.' There are very reliable records of 'rows of knots and dunlins' on sale in the local markets and even the formerly 'valueless fowl', mainly oystercatchers and gulls, were keenly sought after, especially by the large number of Belgian refugees billeted in the area at that time. Even starlings and blackbirds were being trapped and, once plucked and with the heads and wings removed, sold as snipe, while lapwings, similarly treated, were sold on as golden plover.

Gladstone again: 'The nets used locally are not more than fifty yards long and set, about four feet from the ground, on poles. Those, which I have seen in Caerlaverock parish, have

been placed on the 'merse-land', where wildfowl resort at night and, though of course Geese are the booty most desired, all sorts of birds are liable to be caught.

'It is for this very reason that the use of these engines of promiscuous destruction is deprecated: valueless birds are often entangled and when it is on record that a hundred Gulls have been taken at a single 'haul' it will be readily understood how fatal, on occasion, these nets are to birds. The unfortunates which become enmeshed in their toils die lingering deaths and it cannot be claimed that there is the slightest element of 'sport' in the use of these 'flight-nets' which, in my opinion, should be prohibited by law.'

There was another resurgence of flight netting in the Second World War (1939-1945) when there was a great increase in the market value of wildfowl as an unrationed source of protein and they were again sold openly at the Shambles market in Carlisle.

The last two professional flight-netters on the Solway provided more details of their catches than their predecessors though, unfortunately, in both cases most of their records were inadvertently destroyed.

James Wilson started his wildfowling career at Glencaple and was still commenting on hunting in 1945. Although an active netter, he mainly stalked and shot his birds (J.Young & H.Boyd, in prep.). The account of his wildfowling that he began in 1938 includes few references to his netting activities. He noted the capture of 3 greylag in nets, about 1900 – among the first of that species to be obtained in the Inner Solway – and the netting of two white-fronted geese on 26th November 1920.

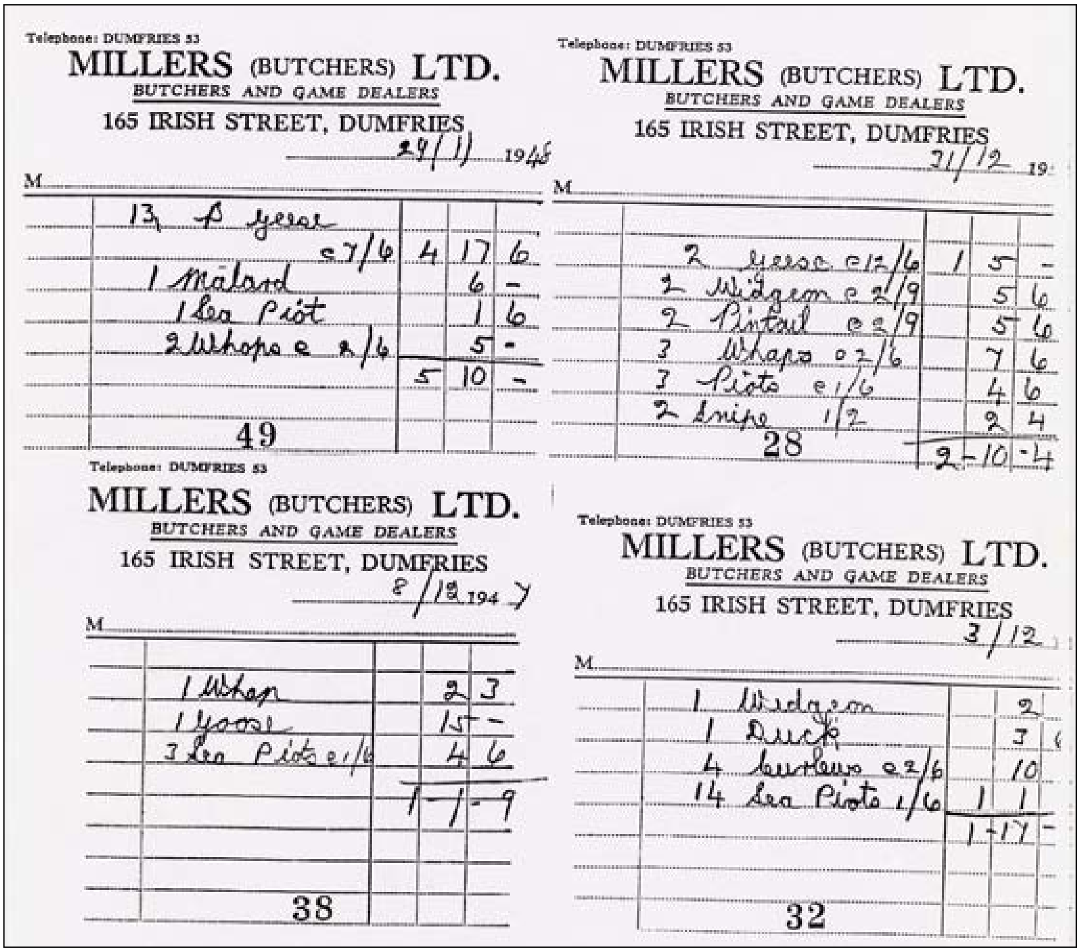
He is thought to have given up netting in 1937, following a legal dispute with a local constable, concerning the shooting of wildfowl on a Sunday, in which Wilson was not involved. He was apparently asked to take down his nets on a Friday and to re-erect them on the Monday, to comply with the ban on Sunday hunting. This proved impracticable and he opted to retire from the netting scene. His son Robert subsequently stored all his nets and equipment. In 1968 JY helped Robert to destroy the rotted nets.

The very last of the Solway netters was James (Jimmy) McNoe. By all accounts he was a remarkable character, who ran away to sea aged 15 and worked at the bird guano trade in Chile, in the course of which he went round the Horn under sail on seven occasions. Returning from sea to live in Glencaple, he put his seamanship experience to use, by working at hand-knitting nets for salmon stake nets, haaf nets (another local form of salmon fishing) and bird nets, which he sold to the remaining practitioners. Later he was employed, at 4 pounds a week, to erect stake nets for others. He haaf netted on the Nith and both shot and netted wildfowl.

His flight-netting records are the most complete yet to have come to light. They include complete records from one of his last seasons, 1947-1948. Tables 1 and 2 show that McNoe was successful in catching birds on only 24 (19 %) of the 123 days in October-January, with an average catch of 10. Only two days in December yielded catches.

Waders made up more than three-quarters of the catch. He caught 28 geese, 14 shelducks and only 11 other ducks. He sold the birds to a local butcher and was paid for all the birds listed, even a gull and a grebe. The total amount he received – especially when

expressed at current values – appears as a useful addition to the income of a fisherman/fowler. But it takes no account of tax (carefully recorded and paid), of expenses incurred in knitting and mounting nets, nor, most of all, the time devoted to the daily tasks of inspecting, repairing and cleaning the nets.


Telephone: DUMFRIES 53
MILLERS (BUTCHERS) LTD.
BUTCHERS AND GAME DEALERS
165 IRISH STREET, DUMFRIES
24/11 1946
M

13 G geese @ 7/6	4	17	6
1 Malard		6	-
1 Sea Piot		1	6
2 Whaps @ 2/6		5	-
	5	10	-

49

Telephone: DUMFRIES 53
MILLERS (BUTCHERS) LTD.
BUTCHERS AND GAME DEALERS
165 IRISH STREET, DUMFRIES
31/12 19
M

2 geese @ 12/6	1	5	-
2 Widgeon @ 2/9		5	6
2 Pintail @ 2/9		5	6
3 Whaps @ 2/6		7	6
3 Piots @ 1/6		4	6
2 Snipe 1/2		2	4
	2	10	4

28

Telephone: DUMFRIES 53
MILLERS (BUTCHERS) LTD.
BUTCHERS AND GAME DEALERS
165 IRISH STREET, DUMFRIES
8/12 1947
M

1 Whap		2	3
1 Goose		15	-
3 Sea Piots @ 1/6		4	6
	1	1	9

38

Telephone: DUMFRIES 53
MILLERS (BUTCHERS) LTD.
BUTCHERS AND GAME DEALERS
165 IRISH STREET, DUMFRIES
3/12
M

1 Widgeon		2	
1 Duck		3	
4 Curlews @ 2/6		10	
14 Sea Piots 1/6	1	1	
	1	17	-

32

Butchers receipts.

Enough waders are listed to illustrate some features of their passage through the Solway. Oystercatchers seem to have arrived later than golden plovers and lapwings later still. Golden plovers seem to have become scarce in January, when most curlews were taken. It is regrettable that records from other years have not been found.

Jimmy McNoe was active between 1943 and 1949, but certainly did not continue after a vehicle accident in 1952. He died aged 77 in 1957. The passing of this ‘character’ ended the era of flight netting on the Inner Solway.

	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan.	Total(s)	Unit Value (1948)
Grebe	1	-	-	-	1	4/-
Pink-Footed Goose	-	-	-	2	2	8/-
Greylag Goose	2	5	3	2	12	8/-
Barnacle Goose	-	-	-	14	14	5/9
Shelduck	4	9	-	1	14	4/-
Widgeon	-	-	-	3	3	4/-
Mallard	-	3	-	1	4	6/-
Pintail	-	-	-	2	2	4/-
Shoveler	1	-	-	-	1	4/-
Scaup	-	-	-	1	1	4/-
Moorhen	-	-	-	1	1	1/6
Oystercatcher	7	40	10	42	99	1/6
Golden Plover	8	9	-	2	19	1/6
Lapwing	-	8	-	-	8	1/6
Curlew	9	10	1	22	42	2/6
Redshank	5	6	-	4	15	1/6
Gull	1	-	-	-	1	1/6
Totals per month	38	90	14	97	239	
% per month	15.9	37.6	5.9	40.6	100	

Table 1

Month	Days	Catch days	Birds caught	Range	Mean
October	31	7	38	1-13	5.42
November	30	8	90	5-32	11.37
December	31	2	14	5-9	7.00
January	31	7	97	3-20	13.85
Totals	123	24(19%)	239	1-32	9.41

Table 2

Acknowledgements

I am especially grateful to Hugh Boyd for advice on this revised manuscript and to Derek Skilling and James Williams who commented on the original document.

James Allan arranged that I saw the Robert Service manuscripts at the National Trust for Scotland's Broughton House, Kirkcudbright. The Trustees kindly allowed access to the private diaries of the late Ernest Blezard at Carlisle Museum. I also enjoyed access to the papers and private library of the late Sir Hugh Gladstone, courtesy of Mr and Mrs Robert Gladstone of Capenoch. Mrs M Harrison made available the records of her late husband, Mr D G Harrison's work on Morecambe Bay. Richardson Henderson provided important access to notes by his late grandfather, James McNoe and Lady Phillipa Scott loaned the notebooks of the late James Wilson, the property of the late Peter Scott to Hugh Boyd.

The paper was enhanced following discussion with Allan Allison, the late Dr John Berry, Ken Bruce, the late Colin Brown, the late Stan Craig, the late Sir A B Duncan, H. D. Hay, Andrew Haining, Lady Mary and Group Captain Mumford, Dr George Quinn, Angus McTavish, William and Cedric Robinson, John Wilson and the late Robert (Cappy) Wilson.

Mrs Fiona Margaret Thomson typed earlier drafts and converted the manuscript to machine readable form.

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EXCAVATIONS OF A BRONZE AGE ROUNDHOUSE AND ASSOCIATED PALISADE ENCLOSURE AT AIRD QUARRY, CASTLE KENNEDY, DUMFRIES AND GALLOWAY

by Martin Cook[1]
with contributions by Alan Duffy & Melissa Melikian

Remains of a prehistoric roundhouse within a palisade enclosure were identified during an archaeological evaluation in advance of a quarry extension in 1999. In accordance with planning conditions an archaeological excavation by AOC Archaeology Group was subsequently undertaken in 2002, on behalf of Andrew McMillan Ltd. The excavation identified two phases of roundhouse construction dating to the Late Bronze Age, which were associated with two human cremations. While radiocarbon dates showed further evidence of activity dating to the Neolithic and Middle Iron Age, no additional significant structures were identified.

Introduction

The site at Aird, Castle Kennedy (NGR: NX 0975 6005) was recognised as a cropmark (NMRS No: NX06SER26) from an aerial photographic survey in 1984 and comprised a roundhouse within a palisade enclosure (Figure 1; Truckell 1984, 201). An archaeological evaluation was required as a condition of planning consent in advance of the proposed quarry extension at Aird Quarry (Cook 1999) and confirmed the aerial photographic evidence. The evaluation demonstrated that the site was plough truncated and devoid of surviving floor levels. In 2002 AOC Archaeology Group were commissioned to undertake an excavation over the entire area of the roundhouse and palisade enclosure.

The site was located on former pastoral farmland immediately to the west of Castle Kennedy, on the top of a knoll 32 m O.D. (Figure 1). The site was bounded by open farmland to the south and west, the A75 to the north and a minor road to the east. The local soils were of the Yarrow Association and comprised stony sand loam topsoils and well drained coarse gravel subsoils (Bown *et al* 1982, 128). The soils around Aird possessed a capability of 3:1 (*Ibid*, 134-139), indicating the potential to produce consistently high yields of a narrow range of crops, mainly cereals and grass.

In general, the south-west of Scotland has contributed little to the later prehistoric settlement record of Scotland as a whole (Armit and Ralston 1997, 187; Banks 2002, 27-34). Recent work in the area, including the three RCAHMS surveys (1985, 1994, 1997) as well as the two surveys of promontory forts (Toolis 2003) and crannogs (Henderson *et al*; 2003) have gone in some way to remedy this problem, but there is a general lack of modern excavated and well dated sites (Cowley, 2000, 167). A further problem lies in the fact that when settlement sites have been excavated they have produced very little evidence for the material culture and economy of the area (Banks 2002).

The recent excavation of later prehistoric settlement sites in the south-west has been achieved through the recognition of more sites through the aerial surveys, such as

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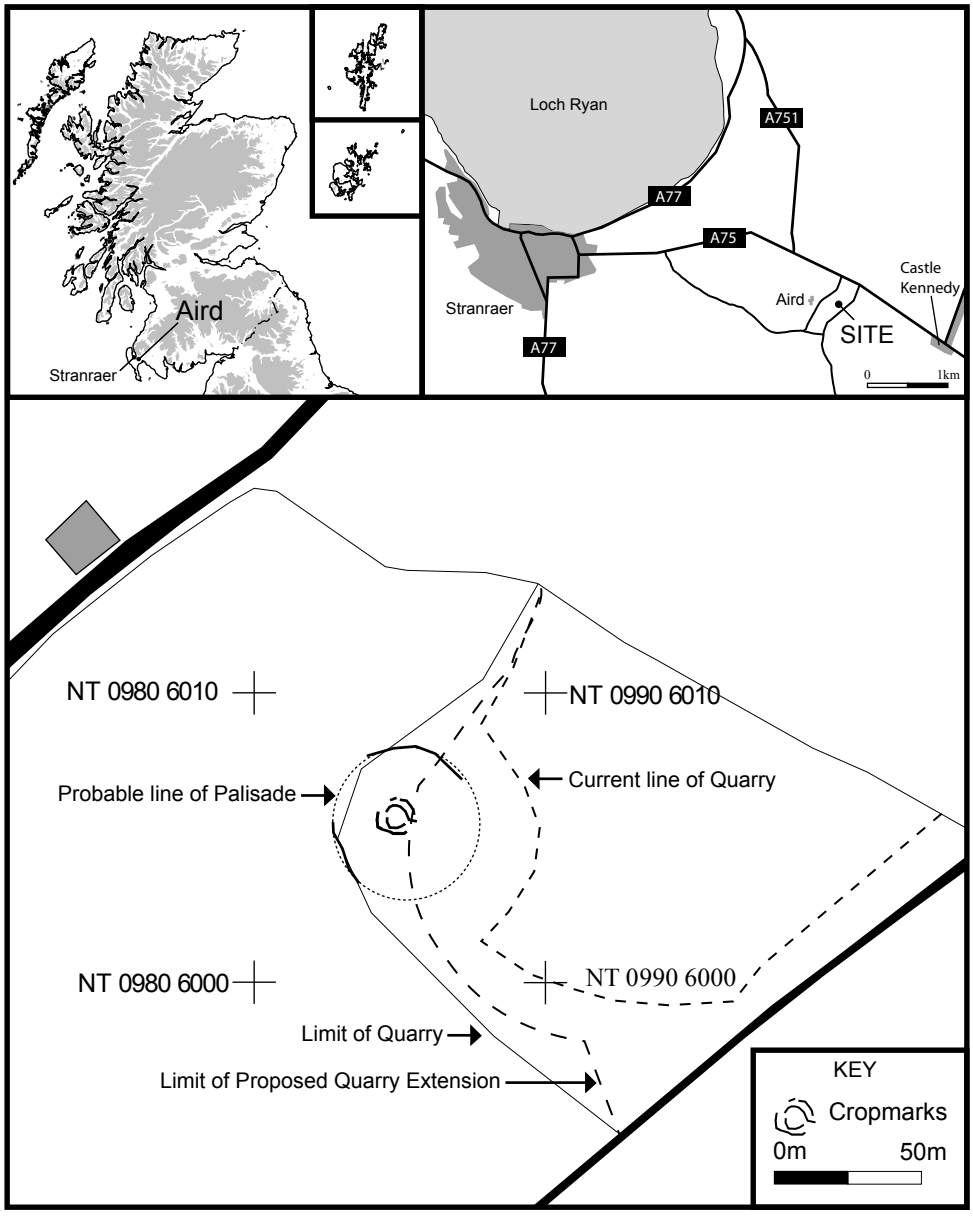

Figure 1 Location of Site

Kirkmabreck (Poller pers comm.); commercial work at Ross Bay (Parry 2003), Blairhall Burn (Strachan *et al*; 1998) and the Fox Plantation (MacGregor pers comm.) and private research at Carghidown (Toolis forthcoming). In conjunction with the ongoing surveys of the RCAHMS and in parallel with Aird, the publication of these sites should contribute greatly to the settlement record of the south-west.

Results

The excavation comprised the machine stripping of 3000 m^2 of topsoil under archaeological supervision. This area included the cropmark and a 10 m buffer zone beyond the palisade. The western extent of the palisade was not investigated as it existed beyond the limit of the proposed quarry extension, within a separate landholding (Figure 1). The excavation investigated the entire interior of the palisade enclosure and comprised the complete excavation of the roundhouse and 15 % of the palisade trench. Soil samples were taken from all excavated features in order to retrieve environmental remains and maximise the recovery of artefacts. 30% of the total samples were subsequently processed during the post-excavation analysis stage of the works.

Chronological Sequence

The radiocarbon dates identified three apparent phases of activity dating from the Neolithic/Early Bronze Age (4000-1500 BC), Late Bronze Age (1000-750 BC) and Middle Iron Age (400-100BC). However, as many of the archaeological features contained little material suitable for radiocarbon determinations, only six individual radiometric dates were obtained (Table 1). The majority of archaeological features were subsequently dated through physical association with dated archaeological features, such as the varying components of the roundhouse.

Context	**Laboratory code**	**Sample**	**C14 bp**	***d*^{13}*C***	***Cal 1 sigma BC* 68.20%**	***Cal 2 sigma BC* 95.40%**
017	SUERC-(GU-12257)	*Quercus*	2730±35	-26.3‰	900-830	930-800 (92.6%)
059	SUERC-(GU-12258)	*Quercus*	2440±35	-25.8‰	550-410(48.6)	600-400 (59.1%)
069	SUERC-(GU-12255)	Cremated Bone	2695±40	-22.6‰	845-805 (39.4%)	920-790
112	SUERC-(GU-12259)	*Quercus*	2645±35	-27.2‰	826-798	900-780
112	SUERC-(GU-12256)	Cremated Bone	2510±35	-22.1‰	690-510 (58.4%)	800-510
136	SUERC-(GU-12260)	*Corylus*	4745±35	-25.3‰	3640-3550 (47.6%)	3440-3370 (75%)

Table 1: Radiocarbon Dates

Neolithic/Early Bronze Age Activity

A single isolated pit (135) was identified to the east of the ring-groove but within the enclosure, which contained a small assemblage of charcoal. The pit measured 0.90 m in length and up to 0.25 m in depth. The charcoal comprised of both oak and hazel. The fragment of hazel charcoal was dated and produced a date of 4745 ±35 BP (GU-12260).

The remnant piece of a Late Neolithic to Early Bronze Age fine disc scraper made from dark brown flint (Figure 4) was recovered from the interface between the topsoil and the natural, within close proximity to the roundhouse.

Late Bronze Age Activity

The majority of the features recorded on the site are attributed to the Late Bronze Age. This comprised a ring-groove roundhouse, associated post-holes and an enclosing palisade (Figure 2).

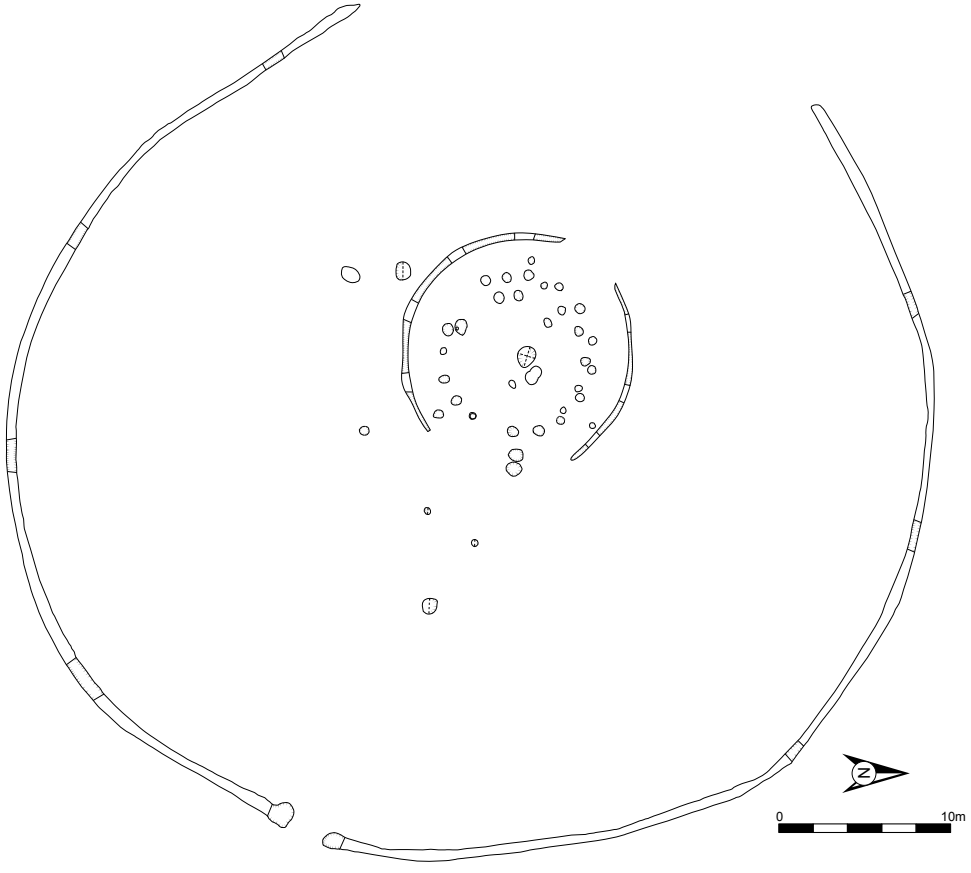

Figure 2 Site Plan

The roundhouse comprised a sub-circular ring-groove, approximately 12 m north to south and 12.5 m east to west (Figure 3). A series of thirty-four post-holes and pits were identified within the ring-groove. No evidence for floor levels or hearths survived.

The ring-groove itself was filled with a homogenous medium brown sandy silt, with no obvious packing stones or evidence of post-pipes or impressions of posts. The cut of the ring-groove was faint and measured between 0.30 m and 0.40 m in width and up to 0.18 m in depth (Figure 3). The ring-groove contained a single gap in the eastern part of its circuit, assumed to be an entrance. A single sherd of prehistoric hand thrown pottery as recovered from the ring-groove trench (Anne MacSween pers comm.). Oak charcoal was also recovered from the ring-groove, but proved too fragmentary to use for dating purposes. A single piece of local grey flint was recovered from the fill of the ring-groove and comprised a small, inner platform rejuvenation flake (Engl 2004).

The internal features within the ring-groove comprised a central ring of sixteen post-holes, a secondary phase of building repair that took the form of an arc of post-holes and a series of pits and partitions (Figure 3). The central ring of posts was positioned in the approximate centre of the ring-groove, separating the interior space from the exterior annular space. The post-holes had a rough line of symmetry aligned on the gap in the ring-groove, which matches the pattern discussed by Guilbert (Guilbert 1981). The post-holes survived to a width of between 0.34 m and 0.67 m and to a depth of between 0.20 m and 0.35 m (Figure 3). The spacing between the post-holes varied between 0.70 m and 1.20 m. A 1.70 m wide gap occurred in the south-eastern part of the post-ring. A second 2.60 m gap occurs in the south-western part of the post-ring and is postulated to represent the entrance in to the annular space between the ring-groove and central post-ring (Figure 3). Very few artefacts or environmental remains were recovered from the post-ring but feature (050) produced a single sherd of prehistoric pottery, which originated from the same vessel as that identified from the ring-groove (Anne MacSween pers comm), while another post-hole (048) produced remains of charred hazel nutshell and a single charred wheat grain (Hall 2004). Charcoal was also recovered from a variety of the structural post-holes but in only in two cases was there enough to radiocarbon date. The oak charcoal from post-holes (112) and (017) produced a date of 2645 ±35 BP (GU-12259) and 2730 ±35 BP (GU-12257) respectively.

Two human cremations were located within the fills of post-holes (068) and (111) (Figure 3). The human bone was subsequently dated and produced dates of 2695 ± 35 BP (GU-12255) and 2645 ± 35 BP (GU-12259). A sample of oak charcoal recovered from post-hole (111) was dated to 2510 ±35 BP (GU-112256). The four dates from the structure are statistically similar. It is assumed by this author, on the basis of the physical location that they relate to the same broad phase as the roundhouse.

A second arc of eight post-holes lay within the central ring (042, 117, 036, 018, 014, 006, 008 and 109) (Figure 3). The arc respected the central ring of posts and ring-groove. Oak charcoal was recovered from two of these features (037 and 019) but was of insufficient amounts for radiocarbon dating.

Eight individual features were enclosed within the post-ring (Figure 3). Two of these features, pits (022 and 024) were larger than the structural posts and contained a small

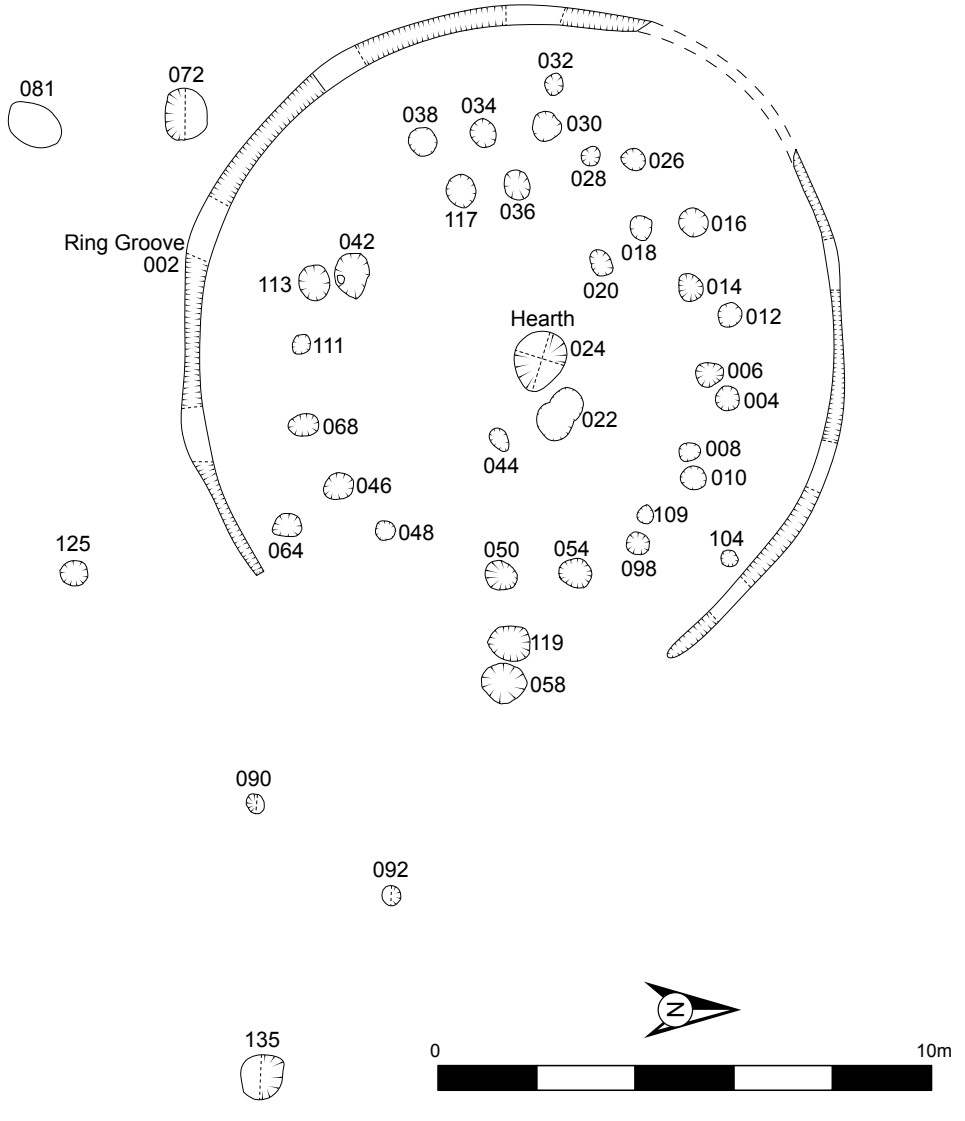

Figure 3 Round house plan

charcoal assemblage. The remaining internal features were of generally the same width as the central ring of posts but were all much shallower and are considered to represent internal post-holes or fittings.

The roundhouse was located in the approximate centre of a palisade enclosure. The enclosure was curvilinear in plan, measured approximately 60 m in diameter and enclosed approximately 2500 m^2 (Figure 2). The palisade trench measured up to 0.50 m in width and 0.50 m in depth. No individual post-holes were identified within the palisade trench.

The entrance comprised a single 1 m gap on the eastern side of the enclosure, on the same alignment as the ring-groove entrance. Although pieces of charcoal were recovered from the palisade trench they were too fragmentary to be identified.

The Iron Age

Two adjoining pits (058 and 119) were identified and excavated just outside the central post-ring of the roundhouse and between the terminals of the ring-groove (Figure 2). A radiocarbon date of 2440 ±35 BP (GU-12258) was obtained from oak charcoal recovered from pit fill (059). A single sherd of prehistoric pottery was recovered from the same fill and originated from the same vessel as the pottery recovered from the ring-groove fill (003) and post-hole fill (059) (Anne MacSween pers comm.).

The Undated Isolated Pits

Five individual features (072, 081, 090, 092, and 125), were identified outside the perimeter of the ring-groove but within the palisade enclosure (Figure 2). None of the five features could be stratigraphically related to either the ring-groove or the enclosure.

Two of the features contained charcoal (072 and 081), including fragments of oak. The primary fill of pit (132) contained 47 barley seeds, of which 7 were naked barley, 40 hulled (Hall 2004).

Specialist Reports

The following reports are summaries of those compiled by the specialists. The full reports are lodged with the site archive in the National Monuments Record of Scotland.

Charcoal and Radiocarbon dates
Alan Duffy

Charcoal, deriving mainly from oak, was recovered from 20 individual contexts during the excavation. Pit fill (136) produced a mixture of fragments from small and medium round wood including bark. Some of the charcoal contained evidence for pre-carbonisation woodworm, implying that either the wood was stored or existed as part of an upstanding building prior to the burning phase.

Despite the disadvantages of using oak for radiocarbon dating, with little variety in the samples, it was felt necessary. In the case of pit fill (136), hazel was used, while the two cremations were also dated. The results are presented in Table 1.

Human Bone
Melissa Melikian

Cremated bone was recovered from nine contexts; the fills of five post-holes, two pits and two separate samples from the ring-groove trench. The majority of samples consisted of less than 1g of cremated bone, although two samples were more substantial, post-hole fill (069) contained 35.9g of cremated bone and post-hole fill (111) contained 121.5g of cremated bone.

The bone was worn with a chalky appearance, with little trabecular bone present. This is likely to be indicative of the soil conditions. The majority of the samples contained less than one gram of cremated bone.

Pit fill (069) consisted of 35.9g of cremated bone. The sample size was small and fragmentary with 47% of the bone in small fractions (5-2mm). Consequently, the amount of identifiable bone was small (6.9%). The sample consisted of human cremated bone of an adult of unidentifiable age or sex. The bone was generally white with some blue fragments in the skull and the internal surfaces of the bone. Context (111) weighed 121.5g and again was fragmentary with 65.8% of the bone in the mid fraction (10-5mm). The sample contained one identifiable fragment of cremated animal bone. It is probable more unidentifiable animal bone is present in the sample, possibly as a result of funerary practices. Only 11.5% of the bone was identifiable as human. The individual was classed as an adult of unknown age or sex. The bone was generally white with some grey and blue fragments in the skull and extremities.

Discussion

The Neolithic/Early Bronze Age

There was no evidence for *in situ* burning within pit (135) from which charcoal dated to 4745 ±35 BP (GU-12260), was recovered, indicating that the charcoal was probably redeposited. The post-excavation analyses revealed that the pit contained roundwood which showed evidence of pre-carbonisation woodworm, implying that the wood had been stored after it was felled (Alan Duffy above). While it is possible that the wood was stored for use in a fire, and later dumped in the pit, there is no evidence for any nearby structures or activity from the same period other than the flint. It seems more likely that it formed part of some sort of structure, and was subsequently burned. If a structure did exist in the local vicinity, the pit may represent a burial of a token representation from a building of importance at another location of significance. The significance of pit digging within the Neolithic period has been discussed by (Thomas 1999, 63-74). Alternatively, the pit may have supported a single post which was later removed, burnt and re-deposited. While there are no known examples of single wooden posts in the immediate area, the evidence from Dunragit suggests that groups of massive wooden posts may have been removed and burnt and then votive deposits left in their place (Thomas 2001).

The continued importance of Aird from the Neolithic onwards is demonstrated by the succession of activity into the later prehistoric period. While it may be coincidental, there

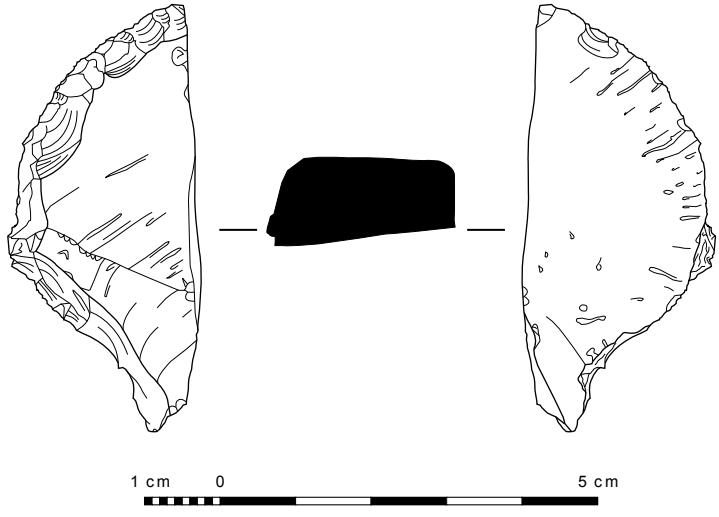

Figure 4 Late neolithic, early bronze age flint

are known examples of Neolithic monuments being reused in later periods (Hingley 1996) and it is not inconceivable that the post or oral memory of it formed a focus for later attention, such as the enclosure (Driscoll 1998; Gosden and Lock 1998).

The Later Bronze Age

The majority of activity within the site dated to the Later Bronze Age, and despite the truncation of the upper levels of the site, activity identified comprised at least two phases of roundhouse construction (or repair), an associated palisaded enclosure and two human cremation burials.

An absolute date could not be obtained for the palisade due to the lack of suitable dating material. However, the positioning of the roundhouse in the approximate centre of the enclosure as well as the parallel alignments of the entrances suggests they were planned in association with each other and therefore implying contemporaneity.

The initial roundhouse comprised a central ring of post-holes, enclosed by a ring-groove 12.5 m in diameter (Figure 3). Despite the occurrence of this type of roundhouse across Scotland at sites such as West Acres, (Renfrewshire, Toolis forthcoming), Inverness (Strachan & Dunwell 2003), Dalkeith (Midlothian, Cook 2000) and Ailsa View (Ayrshire, Gooder forthcoming), they appear to be less common in the south-west. Although Structure F, excavated at the Fox Plantation is of similar design and of probable first millennium date, it was not securely dated. Other sites in the south-west dating to the Later Bronze Age tend to comprise of post-ring structures such as at Blairhall Burn (Strachan *et al*; 1998), Ross Bay (Parry 2003) and Fox Plantation Structure A (MacGregor pers comm.). The status of the enclosure is unclear, but it is not necessarily an indication of high status (Hingley

1992; Harding 2004, 91-95) and certainly the roundhouse was too small to suit Hingley's classification of a substantial roundhouse (Hingley 1992, 27-28). Single roundhouses with associated palisade enclosures are common in Scotland with examples being located in the south-west through aerial photographic survey (Cowley 2000, 172). More generally examples have been excavated in Scotland at Bannockburn (Homestead 1; Rideout 1996, 204), Falkirk (Myrehead; Barclay 1983) and Angus (Ironshill; McGill, 2003, 29-30).

The field interpretation of the ground plan of the post-holes was that the central post-ring would have been used to secure a ring-beam and thus form the main structural element of the house, as suggested in Reynolds model (1982). However, as is discussed and explained below, if a phase of repair took place, then the secondary smaller arc of post-holes could not have supported the larger ring-beam. In this case, the house would not have been supported during the rebuilding phase and would have had to have been completely reconstructed. A likely alternative is that the roof was supported on a bank as well as the central ring of posts as at Douglasmuir (Kendrick 1995, 63). It may be possible to postulate the roundhouse duration from the second phase of repair or rebuilding. At least eight of the post-holes were replaced, despite the protection they would have received within the interior of the roundhouse. A series of papers have analysed the lifetime of roundhouses (for summary see Bruck 1999) with suggestions ranging from 15-25 years to hundreds of years. However, recent work at sites such as Buiston Crannog has highlighted the short lifecycle of these wooden structures, with one house surviving 5 years and another lasting 17 years (Crone 2000, 64-66). This suggests that if the posts needed to be replaced as little as every 5-17 years, a structure such as that at Aird with two phases of work may only have lasted up to 20-40 years. This fits in well with evidence from other sites with extensive radiocarbon dates, such as Lairg and Arran, and supports the argument that houses of the Scottish Bronze Age had short lifespans (Barber and Crone 2001, 77).

The palisade enclosure, unlike the roundhouse showed no evidence of replacement or repair. An unprotected palisade will only survive for a short period before it needs to be replaced (Reynolds 1982, 46), which infers that the enclosure and roundhouse may have had differing lifetimes. However, unlike for example a post-hole, it seems possible that a palisade could be replaced without leaving any evidence, simply by lifting out the timber. Alternatively, if the palisade was not replaced, the settlement therefore went through two phases, either from open to enclosed (as at Myrehead, Barclay 1993) or from enclosed to open (Dryburn Bridge, Dunwell forthcoming). The parallel alignments of the roundhouse and enclosure entrance suggests that they were planned (Figure 2), as was suggested at Dryburn Bridge, Phase 1 (Dunwell forthcoming), and the palisade subsequently fell in to disrepair or was used as a non-functioning barrier, demarcating the area. Although the reasons for the construction of enclosures vary, a palisade being allowed to go out of use is unusual and suggests that the feature had become redundant, with the requirement and use of space varying over time (Bruck 1999, 153). Therefore while there was no evidence of the palisade being replaced, it is a strong possibility.

The use and function of palisade enclosures in the later prehistoric period has recently been discussed with regard to defence, display, social status and delineation of activity and community areas (Collis 1996). In the case of Aird it seems unlikely that the palisade could have acted as a physical barrier to humans as it would have been too unstable to act

as a realistic physical defence (Alexander and Watkins 1998, 246). However, if the purpose of the palisade was simply to demarcate an area of ownership, in the same way a garden fence would, it would have been adequate, and thus it may never have required intensive maintenance. An alternative function would be for agricultural use. In a period of agricultural intensification the enclosure could have acted as a barrier to animals, either to keep them in or out. The palisade is of similar size to the recently excavated ditched enclosure at Ailsa View, in which a pastoral role was concluded for the use of the site (Gooder 2004 forthcoming). Alternatively, the excavator at St Germains suggested that the enclosure may have been constructed to protect the settlement space from animals (Alexander and Watkins 1998, 246). While it seems unlikely that the large enclosure was built simply to protect the house from animals, it could have been used to keep them in, as a large amount of animals are required to support a relatively small population supported only by pastoralism (Barber 1997, 147). However, it is unlikely that a settlement would have only herded animals (Barber 1997, 147), especially in the well drained soils at Aird. The prevailing view of agriculture at this time is of a mixed system of tillage and animal husbandry in which manure produced by the animals would fertilise the crops, which would in turn provide winter fodder for the former (Barber 1997, 147). The palisade could have been used to protect an infield from animals and could have been used to allow manuring at night or over winter, and then protect the crops from domestic and wild animals in the summer. The presence of burnt bone suggests that the inhabitants had access to animals for cooking. The presence of burnt cereal grains and the capability of the soil around Aird to produce consistently high yields of a narrow range of crops, mainly cereals and grass may support this system (Bown *et al* 1982, p128). This system would be especially relevant if the roundhouse and enclosure had only supported a single resident social group no larger than an extended family, as Watkins suggested for St Germains (Alexander and Watkins 1998, 245). However, without any real evidence for animal husbandry on site, it is hard to conclude that the site was used for pastoral activities.

With regard to the roundhouse, the evidence suggests that the roundhouse went through two phases of occupation and then the settlement moved away from this specific site, in contrast to the pattern suggested from excavations at Kintore (Cook forthcoming) and Carn Dubh (Rideout 1995, 186). While it is possible that the settlement moved to another site within close proximity, the aerial photography does not support this, and it may be that social or environmental factors such as perceived soil exhaustion resulted in abandonment (Bruck 1995).

While it has been suggested that the structure was a roundhouse, the excavated plan suggests that the building contained two stages of phasing. The inner post-ring represents only a phase of repair and approximately half of the posts were not replaced (Figures 5). As has been suggested with other roundhouses such as Structure 2 at Ednie, it is believed that a framework, supported on a post-ring would have separated the annular and interior space (Strachan & Dunwell 2003, 158), creating two distinct areas. Because the replacement posts were located within the primary post-ring, the central space within the second house must have been smaller with a diameter east to west of approximately 7 m (Figures 5). While the total area within the house remained the same, the annular space opposite the entrance increased. Unless there was structural reason for locating the replacement

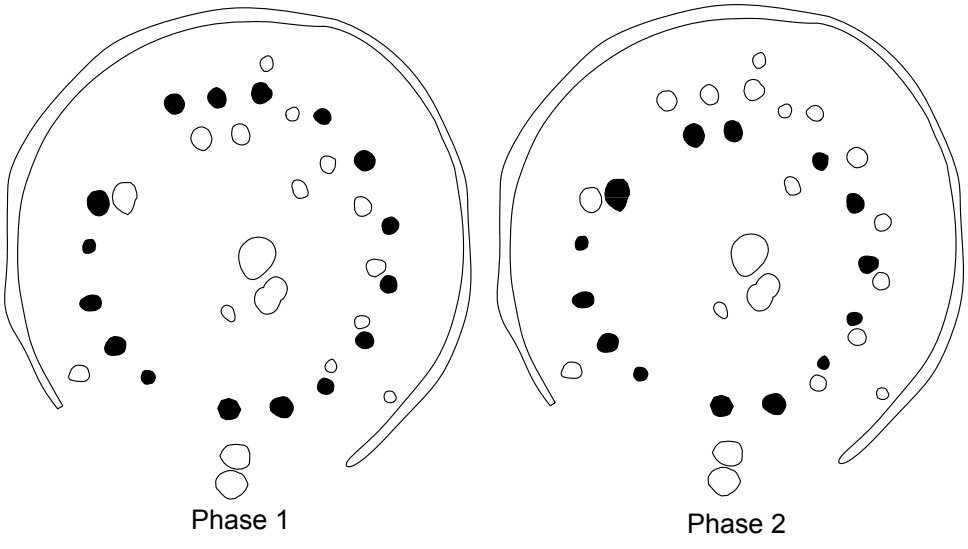

Figure 5 Phases

posts were they were, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that there was a deliberate attempt to increase the annular space within the north-western quadrant or to decrease the central space. If this was the case we are presented with a deliberate change of spacing within the roundhouse, presumably for functional reasons.

If we assume that the central space was used as a living space then it is difficult to envisage the group coping with less space then they had previously possessed, unless the family unit decreased. Although it is possible that the annular space was increased to accommodate activities held there, the lack of any evidence to support this argues against it. A decrease in the family unit may be caused by for example the children left the family unit making a larger house surplus to requirements (Bruck 1999, 149). This idea is supported by the existence of a single structure within the enclosure suggesting that the resident social group may have been no larger than an extended family (Alexander and Watkins 1998, 245). If this were the case, the site could have been inhabited for a period of as little as 20-40 years, or a single generation (Bruck 1999). However, it is also possible that the annular space was increased to help perform whatever tasks were undertaken in this space. For example if more storage space was required or that the annular space was devoted to a specific non-utilitarian function and that this was increased as a response to specific circumstance.

The division between central and annular space in roundhouses has been discussed (Armit 1997, 31-32; Harding 2004, 68-69), in regards to storage and living space, particularly focussing on the poor survival rates of internal features and floor levels. Where the annular space and entrance of the roundhouse are considered large enough to accommodate cattle, the function of the area has been suggested as a byre, for example at Douglasmuir (Kendrick 1995). The lack of evidence for domestic features within the central area of a roundhouse has also been assigned to the fact that animals may have been kept in this area,

with an upper floor housing the family unit (Armit 1997). The identification of a bovid within the interior of a hut circle at Arran may support this (Barber 1997, 11).

As is common to later prehistoric settlement sites the truncation of the upper levels of the roundhouse has limited the conclusions we can make, so while field interpretations were made, the results of the post-excavation analyses have altered these. For example, the initial interpretation of the two central pits as hearths or fire pits was revised during the post-excavation analyses (Figure 3). Although the fills of the two features showed some evidence of burning, substantiated by the evidence of the soil chemistry (Inglis 2004), roundhouses from this period generally do not possess such central hearths (Armit 1997, 32; Harding 2004, 68-69). Where evidence for internal hearths exists at roundhouses, they have been identified in both the annular space as at Lintshie Gutter (Terry 1995) and Culhawk Hill (Rees, 1998) and the central space as at West Acres (Toolis forthcoming). However, if the central area had been used to accommodate the domestic aspects of the house one may have expected there to be more evidence of on-site activity, but there was very little at Aird. The only evidence of any food production or preparation came from the animal bone (068 & 111), charred hazel nut shell and a charred wheat grain (049) recovered. There was also a complete lack of tools such as querns or flint blades. In this respect Aird is similar to the majority of later prehistoric domestic sites in South-west Scotland, which generally produce very little evidence for their economy (Banks 2002), though the inhabitants presumably practiced a mixed economy. If the hearths were not located within the roundhouse it is likely they were positioned outside (see below).

However, while no obvious pattern of activity cycle could be identified in the roundhouse from either the artefact distribution as at Thatcham, Berkshire (Fitzpatrick 1994, 68-72) or patterns of erosion as at Lairg (O'Sullivan, 1998), the use of space within the building appeared to be structured. For example, the entrance of the roundhouse was aligned on a south-easterly orientation, a feature which has long been considered important in later prehistoric settlements (Oswald 1997; Parker-Pearson *et al*; 2004). Furthermore, while the function of the two central pits may have been central posts as at St Germains (Alexander & Watkins, 1998) it is also possible they represent some sort of 'special pits' as at Lambs Nursery (Cook 2000) (Figure 5). The role of non-structural pits and structured deposition has been discussed in relation to the maintenance of settlement and society (Bruck 1995, 254). While the use and function of the central pits remains ambiguous the significance of the cremations may be explained.

Whereas no obvious pattern of activity could be identified from the internal features to support Fitzpatrick's model (1997), the deposition of the cremations within sites has been suggested as a means of controlling non-funerary practices (Bruck 1995, 250). Parker-Pearson using evidence from his excavations at Cladh Hallan demonstrated that the organisation of on-site activities may be dictated by the movement of the sun (Parker-Pearson 2004 et al; 69-73). Certainly, the Late Bronze Age is generally accepted as a transitional period in which the focus of the living became more concerned with the household (Bruck 1995, 245; Thomas 1997, 211-216; Parker-Pearson 2004 *et al*; 69-73). While generally there was a decline of an archaeologically visible burial rite (Ashmore 2001, 2), the deposition of human remains within settlements becomes more prevalent (Cunliffe 1992, 69-73). The excavation of sites from the Later Bronze Age and Iron Age has witnessed the

recovery of human remains from pits (Hornish Point: Barber *et al*. 1989, 773-778), within the wheelhouse structure (Cnip: Armit 1996, 156-157), ditches (Torwoodlee: Piggott 1951; Dryburn Bridge: Dunwell forthcoming), ramparts (Crosskirk Broch: Fairhurst 1984, 102) and middens (Broxmouth: Hill 1982). The importance of such locations is their liminal potential, marking the boundary between two different areas such as insiders and outsiders (Bruck 1995, 257). Whether the cremations were intended as foundation or closing deposits, the deposition of such material in close proximity to the entrance of the roundhouse, a location consistently encountered, would have reinforced the ownership of the site (Bruck 1995, 260). Therefore the deposition of cremations would certainly have played a part in organising the activities within the house.

However, while the deposition of human remains within settlements is clearly an aspect of the Later Bronze Age, there is still a general lack of burials dated to this period. A bias in the retrieval of information paralleled with a variation of how the dead were interred may account for some of this absence in information (Ashmore 2001, 2-3). For example, after 1500 BC cremation probably became the most common method of disposing of the dead (Ashmore 2001) while excarnation may also have been used (Armit 1996, 156), both of which can leave little trace. However, despite the often ephemeral nature of cremations and excarnations, evidence of these rites does survive. There is perhaps, therefore, a likelihood that those buried were subject to specific circumstances which ensured their remains survived (Bruck 1995, 248). For example, bog bodies are often assumed to be the remnants of a special act, while more specific to Scotland the remains at Hornish Point are thought to have been interred due to odd circumstances rather than as a normal practice (Barber *et al.*, 1989). The teenage boy, cut up and deposited in four separate pits under the wheel house at Hornish Point is thought to have died at sea and was subsequently treated differently to the usual victims of death (Barber *et al.*, 1989, 777). If the act of burial was committed only under special circumstances, then one may expect an accompanying celebration such as a feast, which would in some way explain the occurrence of animal bone mixed with the cremated human bones. The fact that the animal bone was cremated suggests that it was burnt at the same time as the funerary remains, perhaps as an offering to the dead, rather than the living.

The burial of human remains within a settlement is clearly part of a ritual activity, whether it is in the form of a foundation or closing deposit, or simply daily use. The absence of more human remains from general Late Bronze Age settlements may indicate that this was a rare activity, perhaps linked with the death of the head of the household in odd circumstances and may have been enough to lead to the abandonment of the settlement (Nowakowski 2002, 140). However, when this event is identified through the archaeological record there may be evidence of a deliberate act of abandonment, a feature missing from the site (Nowakowski 2002, 140; Parker-Pearson 2004 *et al*; 76). It seems likely to the author therefore that the burials form some sort of foundation deposits. The identification of both human and animal remains at Iron Age wheelhouse sites, such as Hornish Point, Cnip and A'Cheardach is said to demonstrate the existence of a foundation ritual (Barber *et al.*, 1989; Armit 1996, 156; Harding 2004, 258). The relationship of the burials to the occupants is unknown but it is tempting to see them as ancestors who had been transported from a previous settlement or structure as at Cladh Hallan (Parker-Pearson *et*

al; 2004). The lack of subsequent structures is puzzling, but may be connected with the small sample size of the excavation, in comparison to larger landscape studies such as Lairg (McCullagh and Tipping 1998) and Kintore (Cook forthcoming). However, single roundhouses with no evidence of subsequent land- use have been excavated, for example at Ailsa View, Ayr (Gooder forthcoming).

The Iron Age

The two radiocarbon features dated to the Iron Age represent isolated pits and cannot be stratigraphically related to any other feature, although they appear to respect the layout of the roundhouse (Figure 3). The single piece of pottery recovered from the pit (058) was from the same vessel as the pottery recovered from a post-hole (050) and the ring-groove (002) (Anne MacSween, pers comm). The presence of fragments of the same Late Bronze Age vessel within two different parts of the roundhouse (across three different features) including the feature dated to the Iron Age suggests a variety of explanations. It is possible that the pot was residual and was deposited in to one of the internal contemporary features of the roundhouse, while the structure was in use. Further erosion could have then resulted in the pot being distributed among three different features. While the Iron Age date attributed to the pit (058) would suggest the feature was later than the roundhouse, it is more likely that charcoal was deposited at a later date. However, irrespective of it's relationship to the roundhouse, the presence of the charcoal proves the occurrence of Iron Age activity in the area.

The Isolated Pits

The lack of any dating material or associated artefacts has meant that we can say very little about the isolated pits. Two of the features (072 & 082) demonstrated evidence of burning, and their location outside the ring-groove, is consistent with the position of hearths identified on sites such as Lintshie Gutter (Terry 1995, 378).

Summary of the Sequence

It would appear from the evidence that the site at Aird was occupied in episodes from the Neolithic to the Iron Age. The limited activity evident during the Neolithic may have acted as a focus either from an upstanding structure or perhaps oral tradition, to later generations. However, whether this represents deliberate reuse or is coincidental is unclear.

The roundhouse and associated enclosure were constructed at a time when, due to climatic deterioration and agricultural intensification, lowland land use would have been at a premium (Thomas 1997). It has been suggested that palisades initially often form the first phase of settlement (Harding 2001), and this seems to have been the case at Aird. It is suggested here that the primary role of the enclosure was linked to a settlement functioning as part of a self sufficient economy with a mix of both pastoral and arable agriculture, as has been suggested for settlement in Arran (Barber, 1997, 147).

The palisade may have protected the crops in the summer, while the animals would have fertilized the land in the winter. The deposition of agricultural material including burnt bone and barley seeds in and around the entrance may suggest that processing activity took place around the doorway of the roundhouse.

While the palisade probably could not have offered a realistic physical barrier to intruders, it did serve a domestic function. The orientation of the enclosure or the roundhouse suggest that was not an entirely functional one and the inclusion of special deposits could have offered a symbolic purpose (Bruck 1995), as with the cremations in the structural post-holes.

Outwith the entrance orientation there is little evidence to support a cosmological interpretation of the roundhouse and the inclusion of the burials in the south-east quadrant of the site contradicts this model. The evidence from various timber structures suggests they had short life spans (Barber and Crone 2001, 75-77), due to either social or economical factors (Bruck 1995) and it would appear that the roundhouse at Aird was deserted after two phases of occupation, perhaps indicating a lifespan of only 20-40 years (i.e. one generation).

It is common for settlements to vary between open and enclosed, as at Dryburn Bridge (Triscott 1982). The absence of post-enclosure phases as at Dryburn Bridge and Myrehead (Barclay 1983) may suggest that the site was only reoccupied in a limited manner, due to social or perceived economic conditions.

The site was again used in the Iron Age to accommodate two adjoining pits, reflecting the continued use of the site.

Conclusion

Generally the south-west is under-represented in the archaeological record due to a lack in modern excavations and the tendency for existing synthetic work on the south of Scotland to focus on the south-east of the country. Recent survey work paralleled with modern excavations can go some way to remedy this situation. The excavation at Aird has contributed to the limited understanding of settlement and funerary practice of the Later Bronze Age in Dumfries and Galloway. It has raised implications for the lifespan of settlements and has exhibited similarities with architectural and funerary traditions identified elsewhere in Scotland.

Acknowledgement

Andrew McMillan Ltd funded the excavation and post-excavation works including the publication costs. The author would like to thank the following for their assistance during the excavation: Murray Cook, Ian Craig, Rob Engl, James Hepher and Ralph Troup. Andy Dunwell, John Gooder, Gavin MacGregor, Ann MacSween, Tessa Poller and Ronan Toolis kindly provided access to unpublished work. The illustrations were prepared by Graeme Carruthers. Murray Cook, Ciara Clarke and Ronan Toolis edited the text.

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THE SOUTH WEST CRANNOG SURVEY:
Recent work on the lake dwellings of Dumfries and Galloway

by Jon Henderson, Graeme Cavers[1] and Anne Crone[2]

The second season of the SWCS Phase 2 was carried out in September 2003 and January 2004 and comprised detailed digital survey of submerged and dry areas of selected crannog sites in Dumfries and Galloway. Small scale underwater excavations at one site, Loch Arthur, were also carried out in order to stabilise and record exposed eroding timbers. The results presented here detail the findings from the monitoring project, which is on-going, but also outline the archaeological significance of this work on the crannogs of South West Scotland.

The project was grant aided by Historic Scotland, the Scottish Trust for Archaeological Research (STAR), the University of Nottingham and AOC Archaeology Group, and was conducted by the Underwater Archaeology Research Centre (UARC) as part of the Scottish Wetland Archaeology Programme (SWAP).

Background

The 2002 fieldwork season identified 6 crannogs in 6 lochs as suitable candidates for monitoring on grounds of perceived threat and ease of access: Milton Loch; Loch Arthur; Whitefield Loch; Barhapple Loch; Cults Loch and Barlockhart (see figure 1). Their selection addresses the full range of threats encountered in the two study areas: drainage, fluctuating water tables, potential nitrate run-off and the effects of micro-organisms caused by active biological environments (Henderson and Crone 2002; Henderson *et al.* 2003).

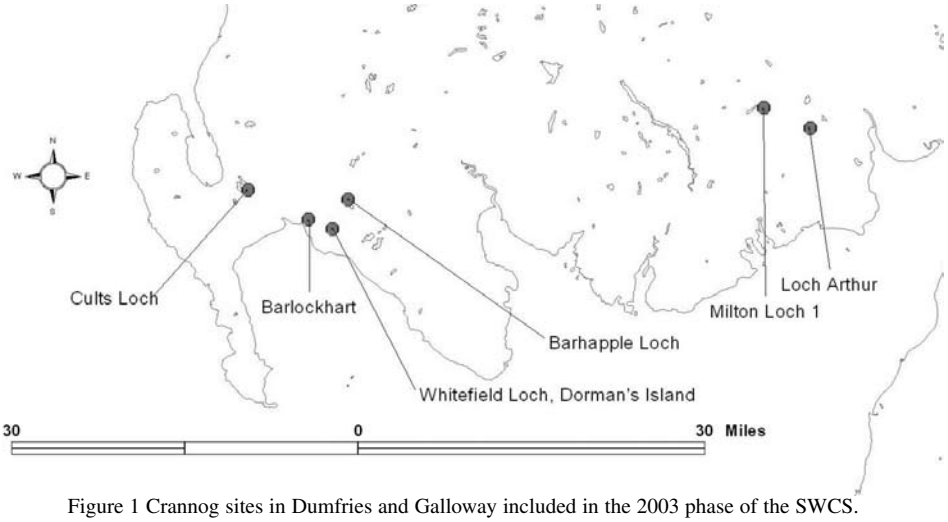

Figure 1 Crannog sites in Dumfries and Galloway included in the 2003 phase of the SWCS.

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Radiocarbon dates were obtained by SUERC from timber samples taken during the 2002 season from the following sites:

Dorman's Island, Whitefield Loch (GU-10917)
Black Loch of Sanquhar (GU-10918)
Cults Loch (GU-10919)
Barhapple Loch (GU-10920)
White Loch of Myrton (GU-10921)
Barlockhart Stake 1 (GU-11563)
Barlockhart Stake 2 (GU-11564)

The calibrated dates are displayed in figure 2.

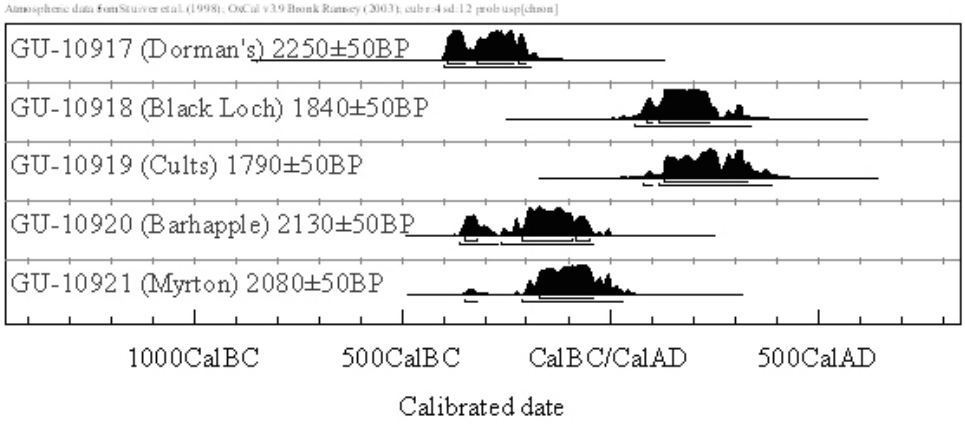


Figure 2 Radiocarbon dates obtained from samples taken from crannogs during 2002 season.

All of the dates obtained fall firmly within an Iron Age context, clustering around the first and second centuries BC/AD. These results are in general agreement with the current hypothesis which sees artificial island settlement in Scotland as a predominantly Iron Age phenomenon (e.g. Henderson 1998). The results highlight how crannogs offer a unique opportunity for research into this later prehistoric horizon, and the SWCS dates allow us to confidently assign crannog settlement as a major element of the Iron Age archaeology of the region. The dates furthermore raise interesting questions over the nature of the relationship of Scottish crannog settlement to that in Ireland, where crannog dates falling in the Iron Age category are much less common that those in earlier and later periods (O'Sullivan 1998; Fredengren 2002). A full discussion of the significance of the dates from the 2002 work will be presented in a further paper.

The 2003 Season

The following section presents the results of the survey work carried out under the monitoring remit of the 2003 fieldwork season. Digital surveys were carried out on the surviving remains of the selected sites and detailed observations on the state of the sites' preservation were made.

Survey at Barhapple Loch, Glenluce

Background

The crannog in Barhapple Loch, Glenluce, Wigtownshire (NX 2595 5915) was first noted by the Rev George Wilson in 1878 during reclamation drainage works, and brief excavations were carried out by members of the local antiquarian society and latterly the Earl of Stair (Wilson 1882; Munro 1882:182-190; Munro 1885:116-121). Several hundred piles were noted during these antiquarian investigations, and the report published by Munro describes an artificially created islet consisting of layers of log platforms and peat, retained by a perimeter palisade. The island was also recorded as being connected to the shore on the east and north shores by timber gangways. A range of worked wooden artefacts were recovered, as well as several shale rings.

Barhapple Loch was first visited by the SWCS in July 2002 when the wooden structural remains of the site were inspected, and found to be in a poor state of preservation (Henderson and Crone 2002; Henderson *et al* 2003). During that survey a timber sample was taken for radiocarbon dating; a determination of 2130 ± 50 BP (GU-10920) was obtained.

Given the poor condition of many of the timbers on the site at Barhapple, a systematic survey of the surviving remains was undertaken during the 2003 phase of the SWCS, with the aim of documenting the position of each visible timber. Silt levels and the loch water level were also recorded for comparison with future measurements in later seasons of the survey.

Methodology

An electronic survey of Barhapple was carried out using a shore-based total station. The site was systematically surveyed by snorkelling along swim-line ropes, and timbers were recorded by taking a point on each vertical pile or two points on each horizontal timber. The survey was non-invasive and as such timbers were not actively searched for beneath the silt - only those timbers which were visible on the surface of the loch bed were recorded.

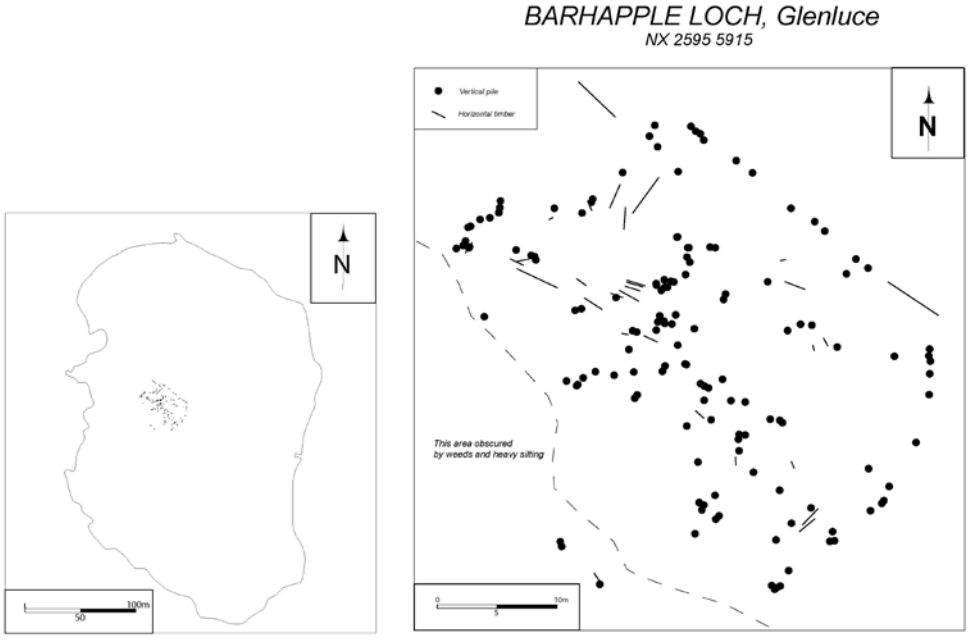


Figure 3 Plan of the visible structural remains at Barhapple crannog, Glenluce

Results

144 vertical piles and 31 horizontal structural timbers were recorded (see figure 3). The results gained from the survey are broadly concurrent with the plan published by Munro (1882: plate III). However, due to heavy silting and thick aquatic plant growth part of the SW corner of the site was not detected during the 2003 survey; it is likely that timbers survive beneath the loch bed silts in this area. The area of the site within the perimeter wooden palisade measures 43.4m north-south by 45.3m east-west, and is filled with vertical timber piles, arranged in no obviously coherent pattern. The piles are mainly oak (*Quercus sp.*), with some alder (*Alnus glutinosa*), and most protrude from the loch bed by 10-20cm. The average diameter of these piles is between 10 and 20cm. Interspersed between these vertical posts are many horizontal timbers, some up to 5m in length. The NW quadrant of the site is particularly densely covered with these horizontal timbers. No evidence of either the northern or eastern walkways mentioned by Munro was detected.

No discernible difference was observable between the state of preservation of the timbers between 2002 and 2003, though some loch bed silt movement had clearly occurred. While no noticeable change in preservation had occurred, sapwood is exposed on most of the timbers, and as such these timbers are liable to rapid erosion and decay. Heights were taken on a number of timbers with exposed sapwood, along with a full range of digital terrain points, to be compared with measurements in future seasons in an effort to detect the amount of silt movement taking place from year to year.

During the inspection of Barhapple crannog in the 1870s a plan of the site was made (Munro 1882: plate III; see figure 4, this paper). The position of the site as located by the SWCS in 2003 very closely matches that recorded by Munro, and although Munro's plan is somewhat stylised the general dimensions of the site are also similar. Munro records the presence of a perimeter retention palisade, 'It is surrounded by a row of oak piles, enclosing a space 175 feet long from north to south, and 127 feet broad, and rounded at the angles' (Munro 1882:183); a similar perimeter of vertical piles was recorded in 2003, though these were observed to be a mixture of oak and alder. Munro mentions that the palisade was discontinuous on the west and south sides, and this may in part account for the lack of piles noted in this area in 2003, though the thick coverage of aquatic plants and silt in this area of the site made the detection of timbers impossible. Nothing was seen in 2003 that resembled Munro's intact 'wood flooring', and it seems likely that periodic desiccation of these upper areas of the site have caused many of the timbers to be eroded away (as noted in the 2002 season; Henderson and Crone 2002).

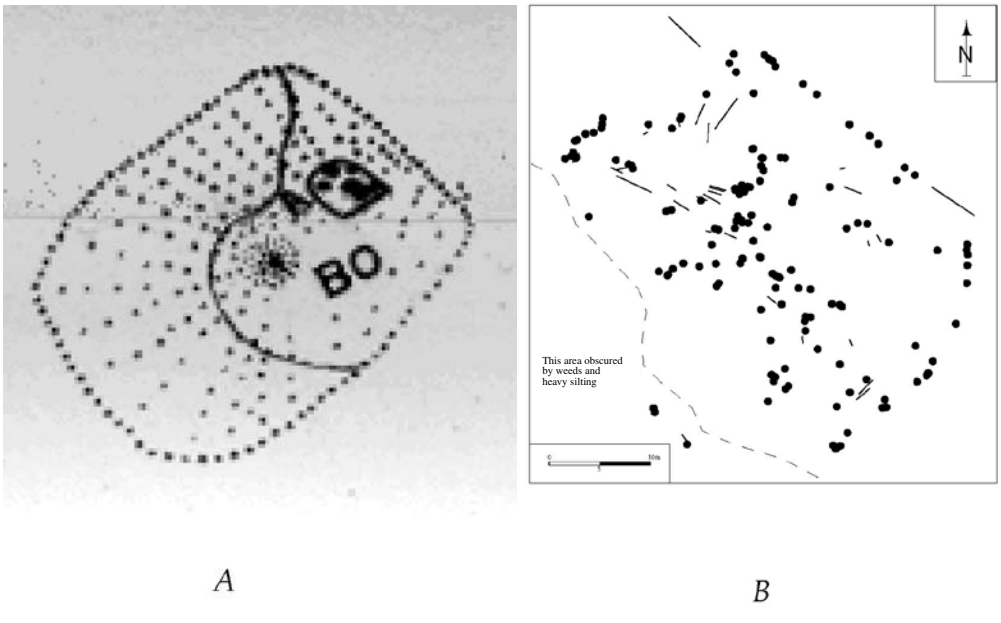


Figure 4 Comparison of the plans made by Wilson and Munro in the 1880s (A) and the SWCS in 2003 (B)

Indeed, Munro notes that 'in October 1880 some of the logs had rotted away, and others were pierced by the shoots of marsh plants, which are gradually covering the drained area' (1882:184), indicating that this process was already underway by the late nineteenth century.

Survey at Milton Loch I, Crocketford

Background

Crannog I in Milton Loch (NX 8388 7188) was inspected by the SWCS in 2002, when a number of oak piles were noted protruding from the loch bed (Henderson *et al* 2003:84). As these exposed timbers were deemed to be under threat from erosion and biological degradation, a total station survey was undertaken during the 2003 programme.

Methodology

A detailed survey of the site was carried out in 2003 to record the positions of the surviving features at Milton Loch. Due to the shallow nature of much of the site, fragility of the silts and timbers on the site and the extremely poor visibility (from 0.3 metres to zero), survey was as non-invasive as possible and only those timbers that were visible were recorded.

Results

As the survey was non-invasive only visible timbers on the crannog site were surveyed in, no attempt was made to located timbers beneath the silt as this would be detrimental to the survival of the site. 86 exposed oak timbers (*Quercus sp.*) were recorded. An arc of oak timbers, probably representing the perimeter of the site, was traced on the north side of the crannog, though this was discontinuous and disappeared in deep silt and reeds on the W and S sides of the crannog. Many horizontal oak timbers were visible, especially

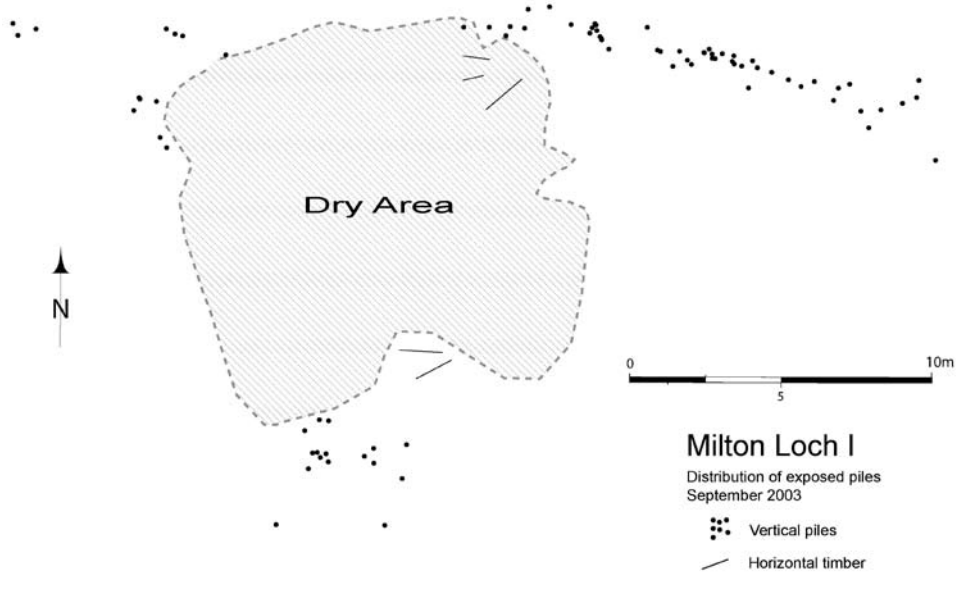


Figure 5 Survey of the visible remains at Milton Loch 1, Crocketford

around the margins of the dry area of the site, and several of these were exposed to air at the time of the survey. As was noted at the time of inspection in 2002, there are many loose timbers lying around the site, possibly resulting from the excavations carried out by Piggott in the mid 20th century (Piggott 1953). A double row of timbers projecting from the site toward the W shore of the loch probably represents the remains of the walkway recorded by Piggott (figure 5). This parallel row of piles disappears beneath the overhanging bank of the loch, which has now extended as a floating peat 'raft' out from the shore of the loch towards the crannog.

A comparison of Piggott's plan and that obtained by the 2003 survey (figure 6) shows that many of the piles exposed in 1953 are now missing. The majority of these are likely to have been covered by silting, which is particularly heavy on the south side of the islet. Much of the area around the site is thick with aquatic plants which may also have obscured timbers at the time of the survey. However, it is also a possibility that many of the piles exposed during Piggott's excavations have broken or eroded off the site, as there are many loose timbers lying around the edges of the site. Nothing could be seen in 2003 of the harbour feature recorded on the E side of the island by Piggott.

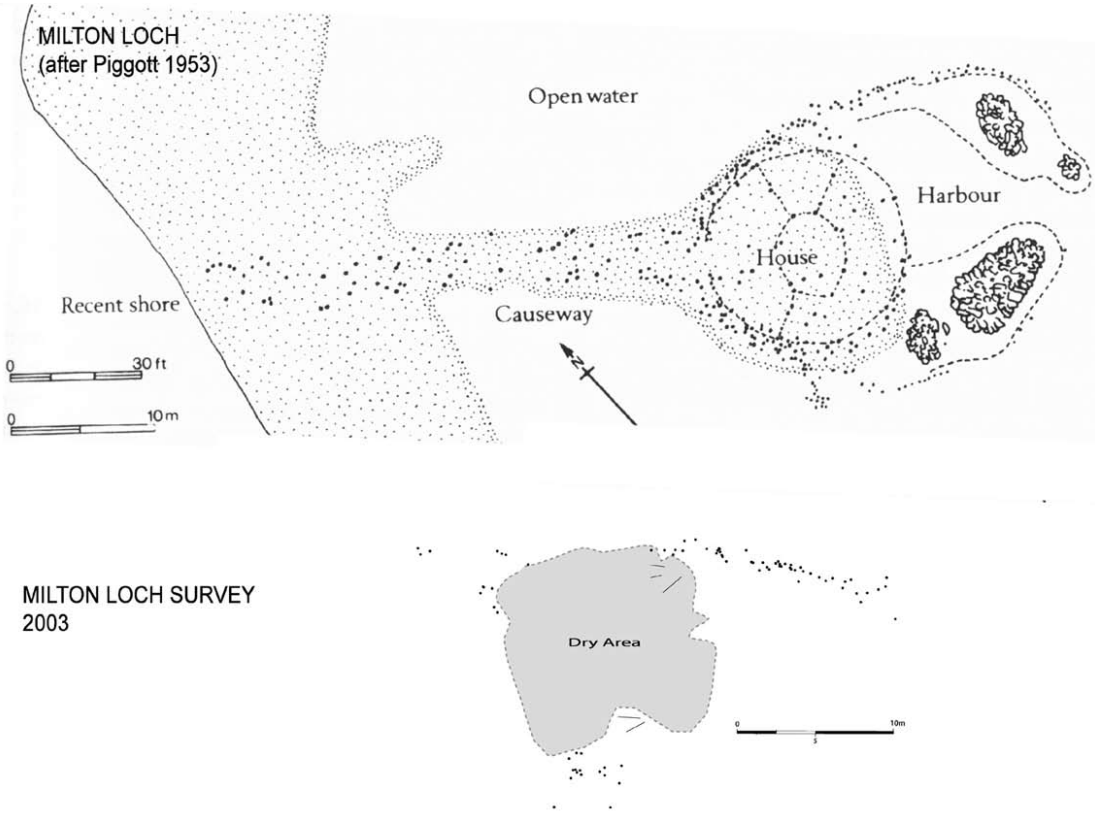


Figure 6 Comparison of plans made during excavation by Piggott (1953) and the SCWS in 2003

Survey at Cults Loch 1 and 3, Inch

Background

The existence of a crannog constructed of stones at NX 1206 6047 in Cults Loch was first noted in 1872. Inspection last season revealed the loch was in the process of being drained by the landowner (Henderson *et al* 2003:97-8). This activity was reported to the local monument warden and has now stopped. However, the main threat to the organic deposits on the site is considered to be the effect of fluctuating water levels. Staff on the Stair Estates (who own the land) remember that, about 40 years ago, they were able to walk out to the crannog after the loch was temporarily drained. A pile sampled off the north west margins of the mound in 2002 provided a radiocarbon determination of 2130±50 BP (GU-10919). The site is a Scheduled Ancient Monument.

Methodology

A detailed contour survey of the site was carried out in 2003 to assess the size of the site, its location within the loch and to record water and silt levels (to be used for comparison with measurements in future seasons).

Results

The position of the crannog is indicated by a small reedy, peat bank, measuring 6m by 6m, which lies over the main structure of the crannog. The crannog itself is a large, circular silty mound, measuring 24 m in diameter, rising some 3.5 m off the loch bed. The site sits at a depth of 2.5 metres on a relatively flat area of loch bed which quickly shelves off to a maximum depth of c.11 metres on its western side (see figure 7). No trace of a causeway structure linking the site to the shore could be ascertained.

Zero visibility in the loch, caused by sediment suspension in the water, meant that visual inspection of the submerged remains was impossible. However, there is a very low chance of organic decay underwater as the site can be felt to be well protected by a thick (c.1m) covering of silt. Structural timbers can be felt underneath this silt. Most of the timbers are horizontal, some lying at 45 degree angles, but are very secure and form part of the main matrix of the mound. The contour survey revealed no evidence of erosion of the submerged area of the site.

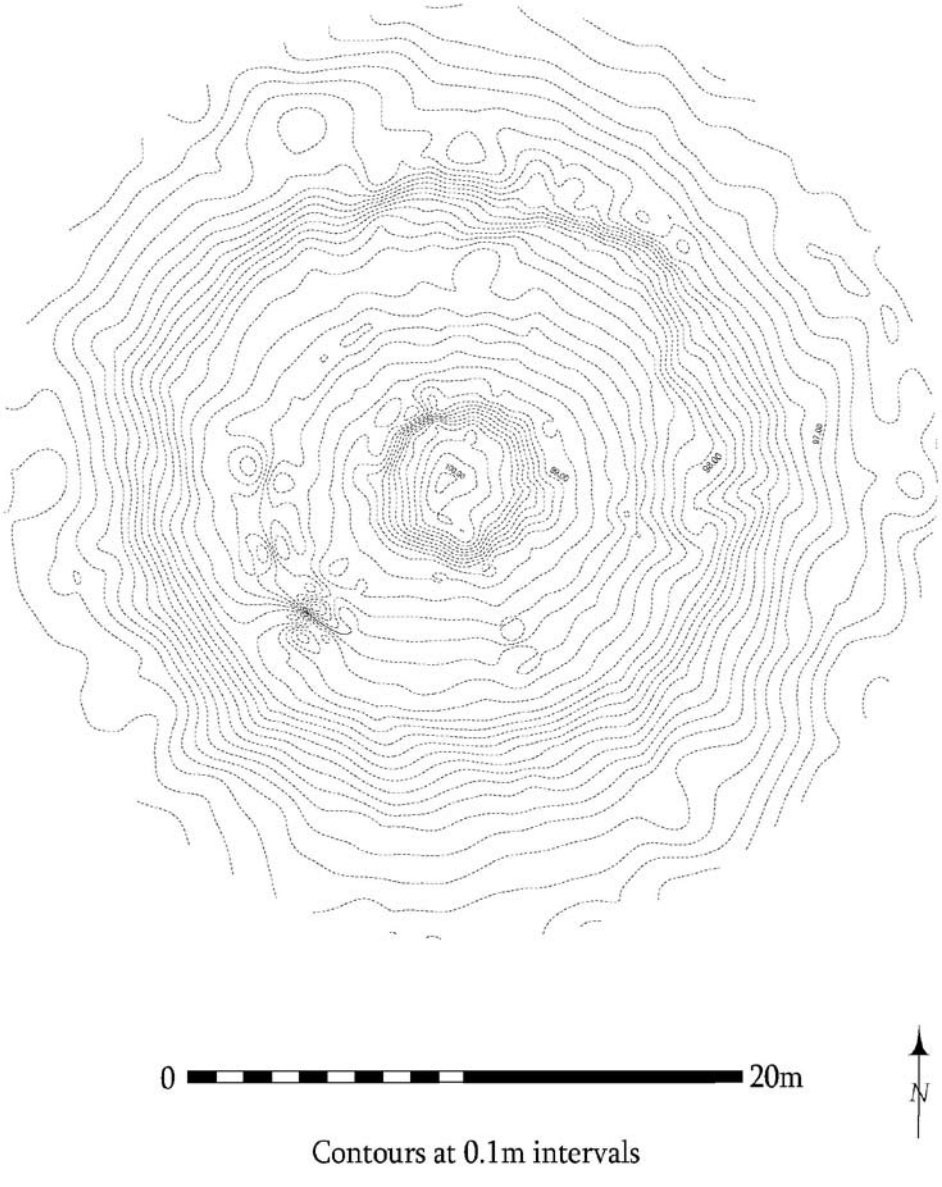


Figure 7 Contour survey of the crannog in Cults Loch, Castle Kennedy

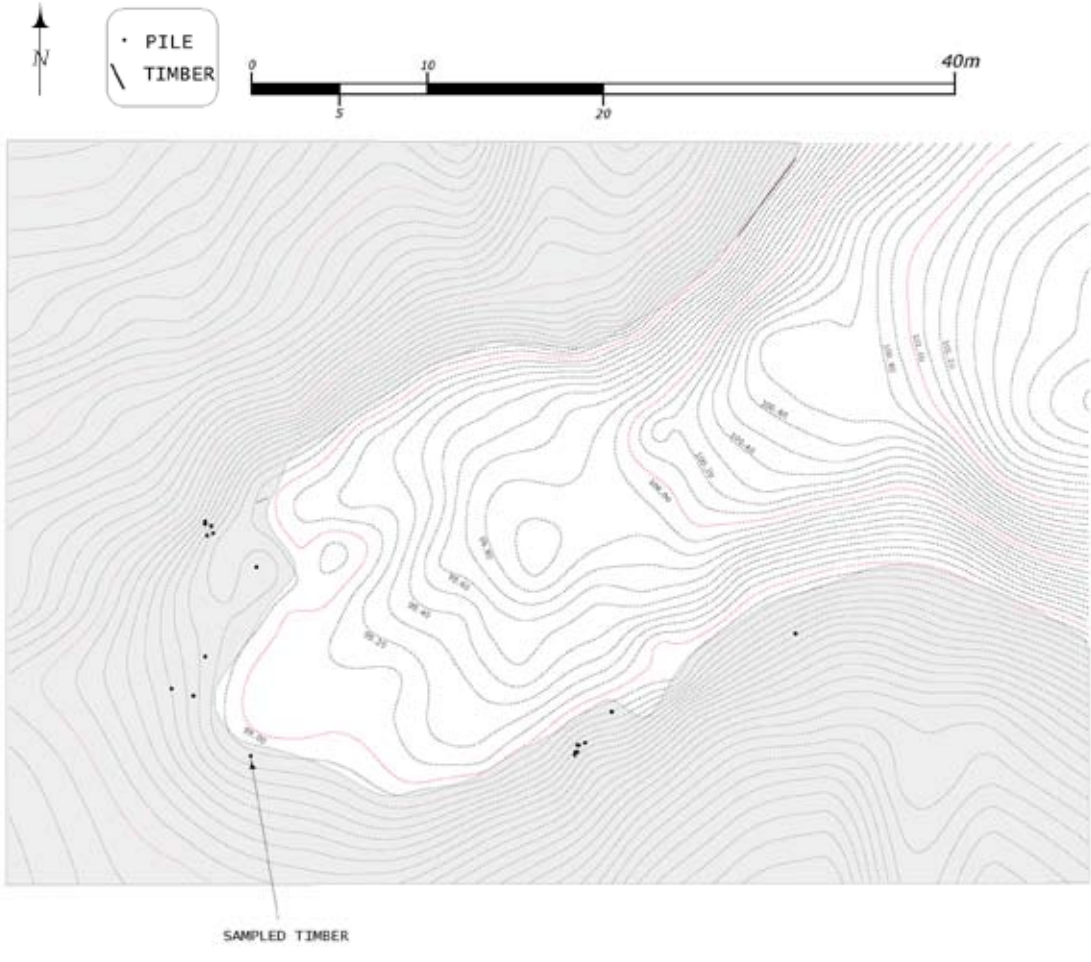


Figure 8 Survey of the Cults Loch promontory site

Cults Loch 3 (NX 1202 6058)

During phase 1 of the South West Crannog Survey (Barber and Crone 1993), the promontory in Cults Loch, Castle Kennedy (at NX 1202 6557) was cored following reports of structural timbers being noted along the shoreline of the promontory (RCAHMS 1987:56). Charcoal was noted in these cores, suggesting evidence of anthropogenic activity on the site. In 2003, during phase 2/season 2 of the SWCS the site was inspected and several structural timbers were noted in shallow water around the margins of the promontory, and as part of the current survey a detailed digital survey was carried out, and a sample timber was removed for recording and radiocarbon dating.

Survey

A detailed digital elevation model of the promontory was created, and all the visible structural piles were surveyed onto the model (see figure 8). The sampled timber marked on the survey was removed, and was found to be a worked oak stake measuring 76cm in length and 14cm in diameter (see figure 9). It was noted during recording that this pile had been fashioned from a much larger length of wood which had been split, presumably to create several piles from a single piece of wood. In all, 16 vertical piles and one horizontal timber were found encircling the promontory, although a comprehensive search below the water level was not undertaken and this number may be expected to increase if this were carried out.

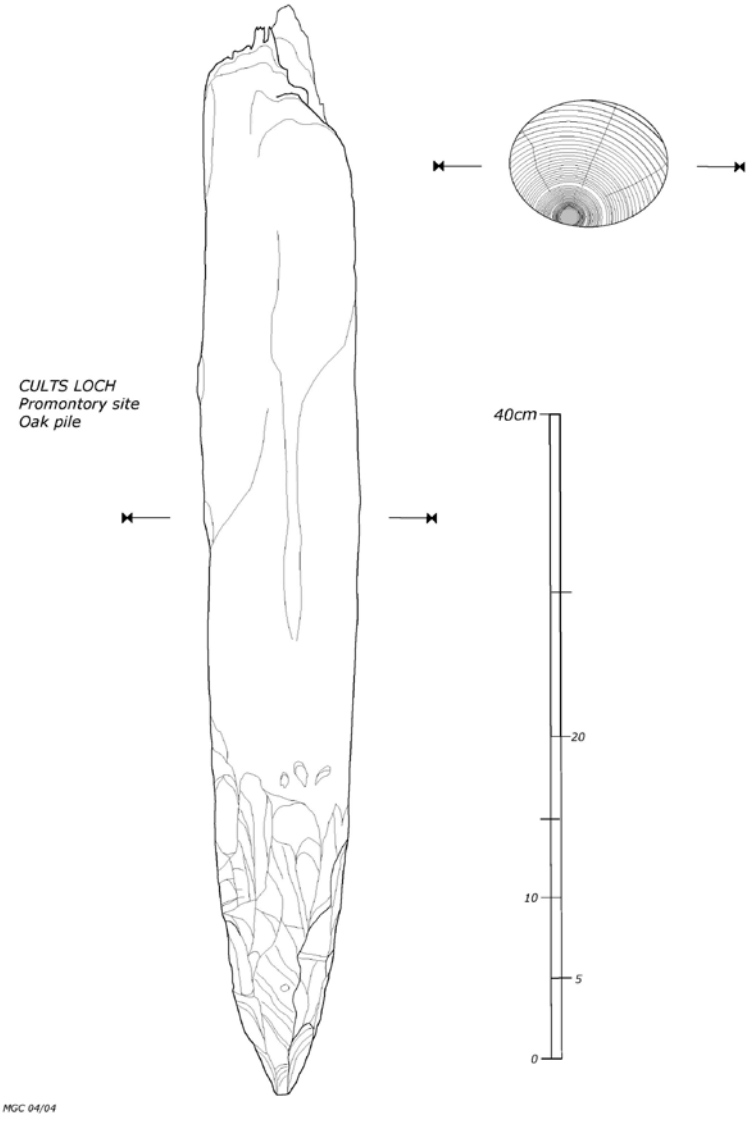


Figure 9 The oak pile taken as a sample from the Cults Loch, Castle Kennedy.

Discussion

The Cults Loch promontory site is significant in several ways. Firstly, if it signifies the remains of a loch-side settlement, it will be the first example of such a site noted in Scotland, and will have major implications for the survey of loch environs. While these sites are not common in Scotland, they are well known in Ireland, where examples such as Cullyhanna and Clonfinlough are datable to the late second and early first millennium BC (Hodges 1958; Moloney *et al* 1993). The dating of the Cults promontory is not yet ascertained, though it seems likely that one of two possible scenarios is correct: that the site predates the crannog in the loch, or that the site represents additional structures related to the crannog. The Cults Loch crannog is dated to the late Iron Age, in the early to mid first millennium AD, at 1790±50 BP (GU-10919). While the promontory remains do not appear to constitute any kind of harbour or jetty structure, and possibly represent the remains of a palisade around the promontory of the type encountered at Clonfinlough and Cullyhanna, it would be necessary to carry out excavation on the site to determine the exact nature of the remains. It was certainly not apparent from surface inspection that the promontory was artificial in any way other than the embedded timbers shown on the survey.

What is clear, regardless of whether the promontory site is contemporary with the crannog or not, is that there may be extensive organic remains preserved along the shores of lochs in Scotland, and particularly in the regions populated by crannogs. This has implications for the survey strategies that should be employed in recording freshwater bodies, and demonstrates that extensive remains may be preserved in shallow water areas which are difficult to survey using remote sensing equipment or by diving.

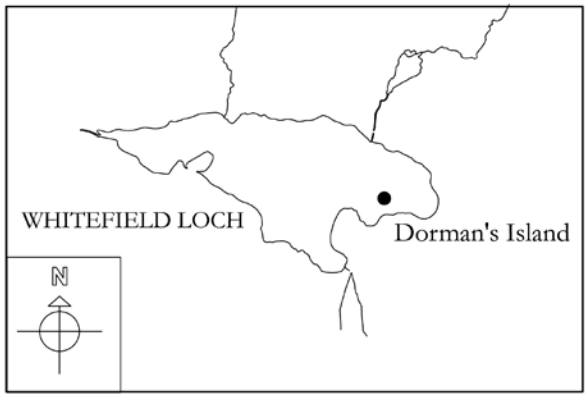
Survey at Dorman's Island, Whitefield Loch

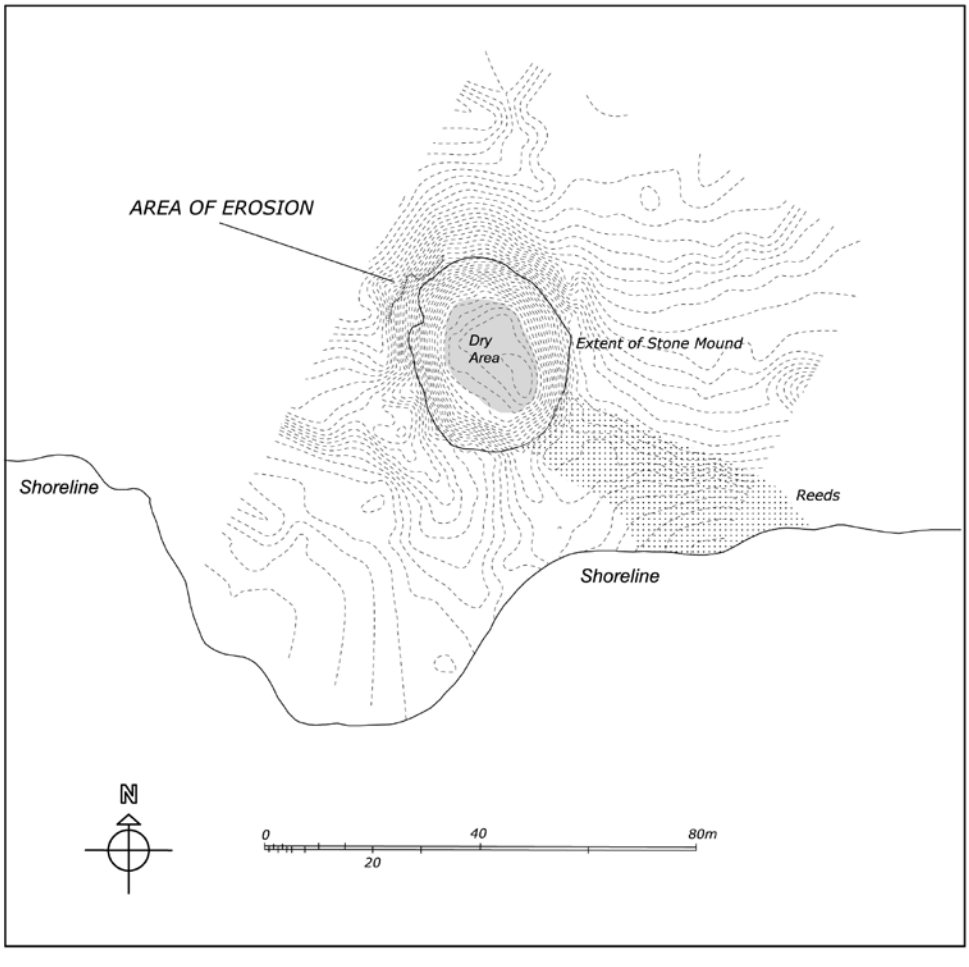
Background

Dorman's Island was one of the richest crannogs encountered during the 2002 survey (Henderson *et al* 2003:94-6). Eroding sections on the north-west side of the crannog mound revealed rich organic deposits of structural timbers, plant matter, dung, twigs, woodchips, charcoal and hazelnut shell. An alder pile sampled in 2002 from the northern margins of the mound provided a date of 2250±50 BP (GU-10917). As well as being one of the richest sites examined, Dorman's Island also displayed the most severe evidence for biological infestation and degradation. In situ timbers were heavily infested by freshwater mollusca and other biota and the deposits themselves were affected by the very active algal regime in the loch.

Methodology

The site was inspected on the 15th September 2003 but suspended algae in the water (algal bloom) and high levels of biological activity resulted in zero visibility conditions making any survey work impossible. The site was revisited in January 2004 in the hope that the cold weather conditions would result in better underwater visibility. Visibility was better (although still relatively poor - ranging from 0.5 to 1 metre) and a detailed contour survey of the site was carried out in January 2004.





Contours at 0.1m increments

Figure 10 Dorman's Island, Whitefield Loch: Contour Survey

Results

Survey revealed that the site is a large, oval flat-topped boulder mound measuring 39.5m NW/SE by 31.5m SW/NE. The mound rises 3.2m off the loch bed, and is covered in trees and bushes. An area approximately 25 by 19m is dry all year round.

It was initially hoped that the exposed sections noted in 2002 along the north-west margins of the site could be cleaned, planned, photographed and sampled. However, the sections have now either been eroded away or have collapsed and are no longer as exposed. The main area of erosion can be seen on the survey, to the NW of the islet (figure 10).

The location of Dorman's Island in the south east corner of the loch means that the site is at the receiving end of prevailing winds running along the loch from the SW and NW. This means the north western sides of the site will be subject to the effects of wave fetch generated across the length of the loch. A wave's fetch is the distance through clear water over which it can run. The longer the fetch, the bigger the amplitude (or height of the wave).

It is clear from the underwater survey that a relatively recent wave scour is occurring along the north-west margins of the crannog mound in about 1m to 1.5 m depth of water. The change in the condition of the eroded deposits, form freshly exposed to collapsed, as observed from 2002 to January 2004 suggests that erosion is rapid and recent. This recent onset of wave-base erosion must relate to a shallowing out of the loch in the recent past. Further evidence of the shallowing of the loch can be seen along the southern shores where sites previously surrounded by water such as the possible crannog Tree Island are now on land.

In the absence of human interference or the direct management of loch levels by use of sluices dams, etc. the likely cause of level fluctuations are variations in water entering the lake as a result of climate change or as a result of changes in the lake's catchment. The afforestation, or rather the maturing of afforested areas within the catchment could, alone, account for the changing levels observed.

Underwater observations and the survey suggest that erosion is maximised on the up current/upwind side of the crannog (NW) and that deposition, or rather, re-deposition is occurring in the leeward side (SE) of the crannog (figure 11). The re-deposition is visible as a shallow spit marked with reeds. This was previously interpreted as a possible causeway (Henderson *et al* 2003:95) but probing this season failed to reveal any coherent structure and the feature may have entirely formed as a result of the re-deposition of material from the wave based erosion described above. Another possible causeway feature was located running from the NE shore of the promontory to the south of Dorman's Island towards the crannog (see figure 10). This 'causeway' was loosely constructed of boulders and measured approximately 18m long, by around 4m wide. However, this feature was discontinuous and tailed off before it reached the crannog. It is not clear whether this possible causeway was an original feature of the crannog, and it is possible that it represents the remains of an unrelated jetty or fishing stance.

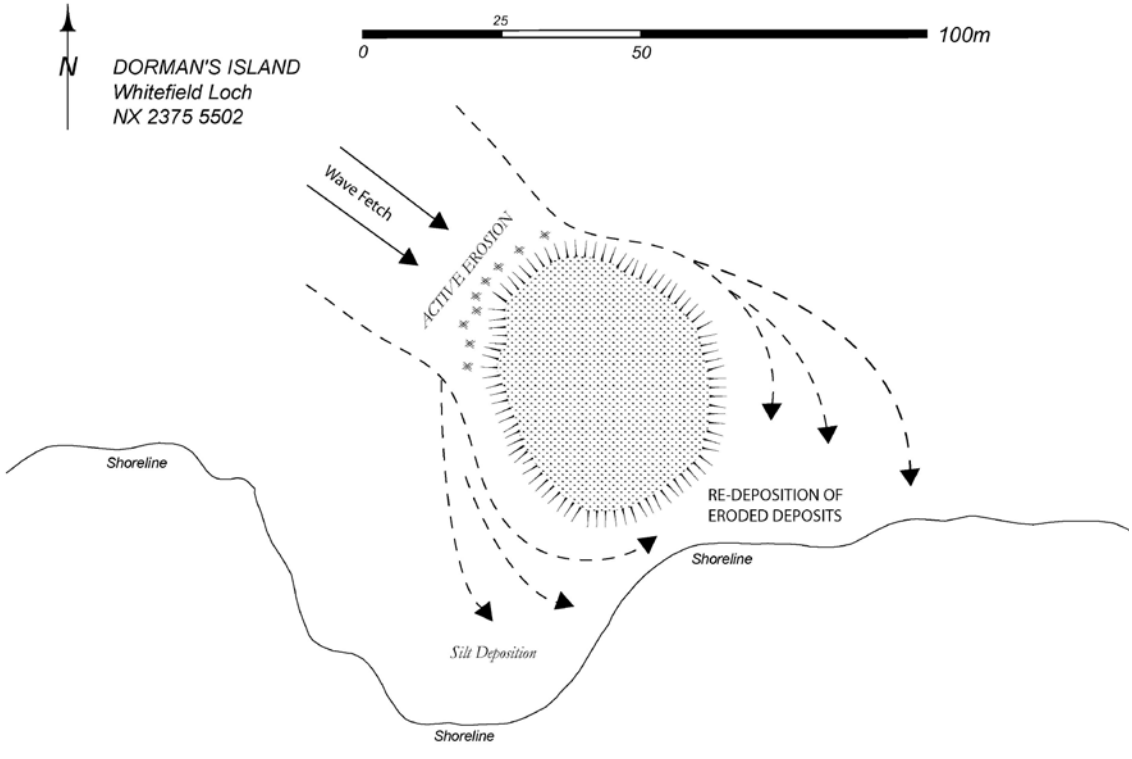


Figure 11 Illustration of the erosion process in action at Dorman's Isle, Whitefield Loch

Survey and Excavation at Loch Arthur (New Abbey Parish)

Background

In the 2002 season it was noted that the majority of the structure of this site (NX 9028 6898) lies underwater and is much larger than the tree-covered island (on which mature oak and beech trees are growing) visible from the shore (Henderson *et al* 2003:89-90). The island appeared to sit on top of a much larger mound which lay entirely underwater. The two features are distinguished by their composition, the upper mound (the island) being built primarily of large boulders and soil, and the lower submerged mound of timber (alder and oak), organic deposits and stones.

Methodology

A detailed contour survey of the site was carried out in 2003 to assess the size of the site, and the relationship between the two artificial mounds. The two eroded sections noted in 2002 were cleaned, planned, photographed and sampled before remedial measures were

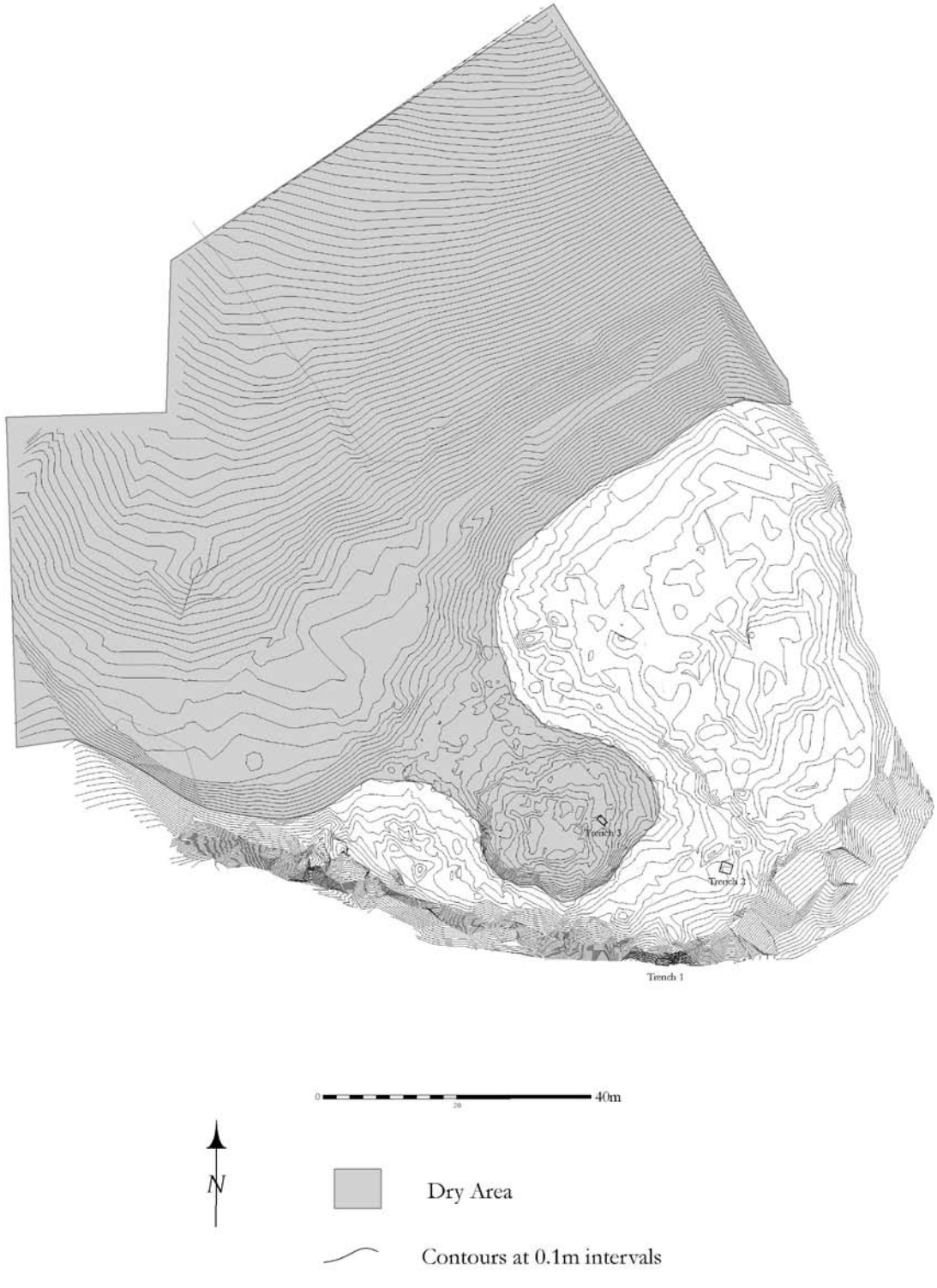


Figure 12 Contour survey of the crannog at Loch Arthur, New Abbey

implemented to help prevent further erosion. Geophysical survey was also carried out on the shore adjacent to the site, though with inconclusive results.

Three small trenches were excavated on the site. Two of these were carried out underwater, over areas that were observed to be eroding and exposing structural timbers to open water, with the aim of recording these areas completely before the organic remains were lost to erosion. The third, Trench 3, was a small 2x1m trial trench placed on the dry area of the site with the aim of establishing the presence or absence of preserved organic remains above the water table.

Results

The survey revealed that the tree-covered island is sitting on a long promontory running NW-SE from the shore which may be, if not entirely, then at least partly artificial. From the modern shoreline of the loch to the drop-off at the deepest part of the promontory is 81m, while the probable artificial extent of the promontory is 46m across (see figure 12) indicating that Loch Arthur crannog is a site of very substantial construction. The base of the artificial levels was not identified due to the heavy coverage of silt below 3.5m in depth, though timbers could not be traced deeper than 3.5m in the deepest eroding section (Trench 1).

Trench 1, located near the base of the site in 3.5m of water, was placed over some 50 exposed alder roundwood timbers which were protruding from the silts of the crannog mound (figure 13). In order to allow proper recording of these timbers, the surrounding algae and organic lake silts were removed using a water dredge. Samples of the deposits encountered were taken for analysis by the environmental archaeology laboratory at Nottingham University. The timbers were numbered and planned, before being sampled.

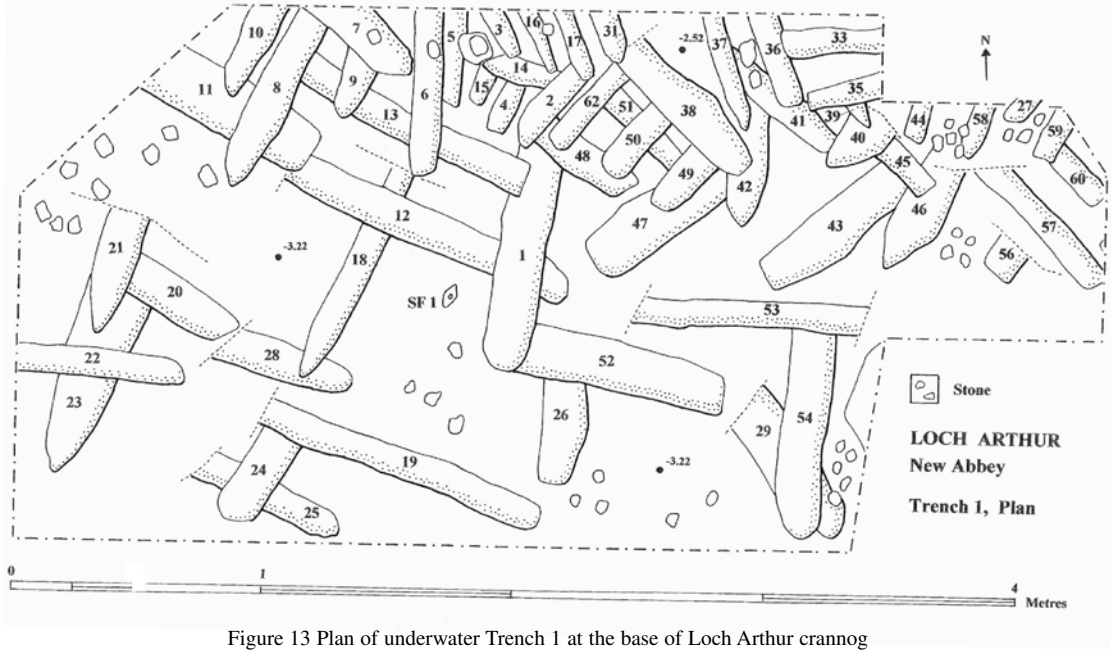


Figure 13 Plan of underwater Trench 1 at the base of Loch Arthur crannog

Trench 2 was placed over an area of rotten horizontal alder timbers that were first noted in 2002 (Henderson *et al* 2003:90), protruding from the flat surface of the crannog mound. Removal of the superficial algae and sediments around these decaying timbers showed that these timbers were laid in parallel horizontal rows, with each layer of timbers laid at an angle of approximately 120 degrees to the layer below. Apparently undisturbed loch bed diatomite was encountered beneath these timbers at a depth of 0.7m.

Trench 3 was placed on the grassy, tree-covered area of the site, above water level. Excavation by Williams in the 1970s (Williams 1971) had established the existence of a probable undercroft for a rectilinear building on the dry area of the site, and Trench 3 in 2003 was placed outside this area. No secure dating evidence was retrieved by Williams' excavation, though the hypothesis of the excavator that the remains uncovered on the surface of the crannog related to medieval usage was supported by a sherd of green-glazed pottery of medieval date from the soil matrix around the rubble of this building. Trench 3 proceeded through the rubble and soil layers and encountered a layer of roundwood alder timbers, of average diameter 7-10cm, possibly representing the remains of a timber floor beneath the medieval layers. The trench was recorded after sampling, before being backfilled.

Discussion

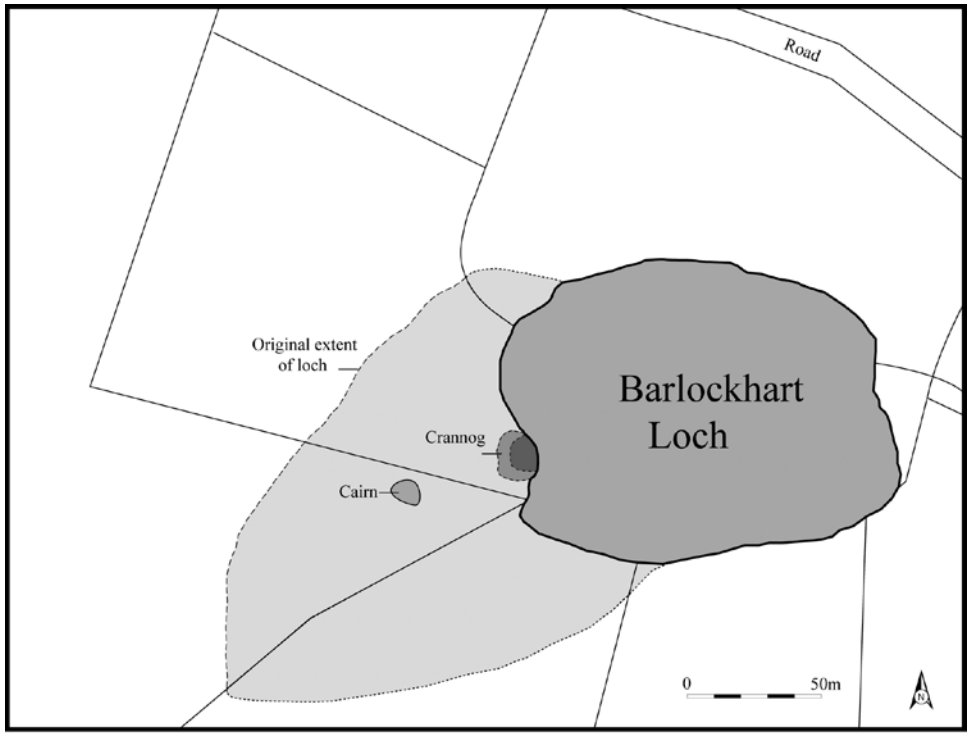
The findings from the work at Loch Arthur demonstrate that the site is certainly of 'packwerk' construction, whereby many layers of structural timbers have been deposited in the loch in order to create an artificial platform for the construction of timber superstructures. In this respect, it is a classic example of a 'South Western' crannog, and if it can be assumed that the lowest levels of this site equate to the earliest phases of construction, it is very probable that the majority of the site was constructed in the Iron Age, given the radiocarbon determinations obtained by Dixon which calibrate in the range 400-200BC. The sequence of construction is not entirely clear cut, however, since natural loch bed was encountered in trench 2, higher up the mound than trench 1, and it seems probable that at least part of the Loch Arthur site is natural in origin.

A full report on the Loch Arthur findings, including detailed descriptions and interpretations of the trenches, as well as the results of the environmental and radiocarbon dating samples will be published in a further paper in the near future.

Reconnaissance coring at Barlockhart crannog, Glenluce

Background

The crannog at Barlockhart had been identified in the late 19th century by Wilson (1875) who recorded circular foundations of stone and a stone causeway. The NMR records that OS fieldworkers could not locate the crannog (NX25NW 7) but suggested that the stone foundations recorded by Wilson might be the cairn still visible in the reclaimed field at the southwestern corner of the loch (figure 14a). In the initial phase of the South-west



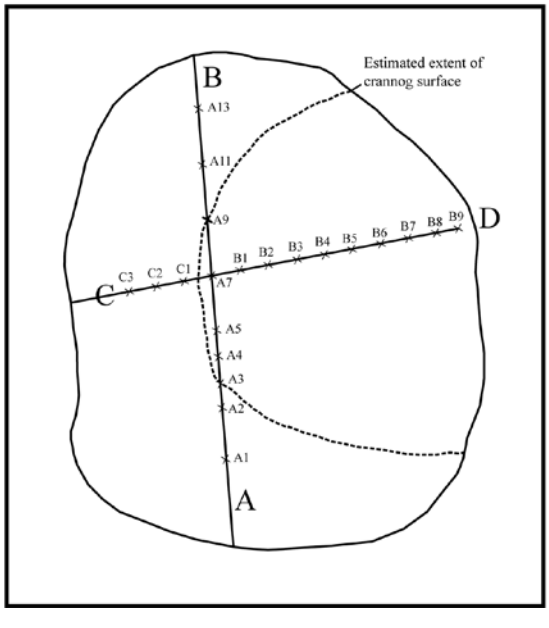


Figure 14 Site plan, showing location of crannog, cairn and original extent of loch, Sketch plan of crannog, showing location of transects across crannog and estimated extent of crannog surface

crannog survey in 1989, fieldworkers relocated the crannog at NX 20500 56325 and dug a test-pit revealing decayed wood, charcoal and burnt bone at a depth of 1 m (Barber & Crone 1993; 537).

The crannog sits on the western edge of Barlockhart Loch (figure 14), approximately one half of its perimeter lapped by water, while the landward side is surrounded by a floating mat of dense vegetation which quakes when walked on. This corner of the loch has long since 'silted' up and now supports a carr vegetation around the loch edge. Despite the fact that the crannog core has a mineral component the site cannot be clearly distinguished from its surroundings by any major changes in vegetation or in topography.

Methodology

As the only 'dryland' candidate in this survey the methodology used at Barlockhart differed from that used on the submerged crannogs. The nature of the surviving deposits on the crannog were investigated by coring with a Dutch gouge at intervals of 1 – 2 m along two transects, the intervals depending on the nature of the deposits encountered (figures 14 & 15a-b). The sediments in each gouge were not recorded in any great detail simply because the size of the gouge and the coring intervals would not allow too sophisticated an interpretation of the deposits. The presence of anthropic materials and the presence of 'introduced' materials, ie mineral matter, were recorded. The extent of the crannog visible above water level was measured roughly using offsets from these transects. Points along each transect were surveyed in and located on the National Grid.

Results

The crannog is approximately 15 m N-S and 18 m W-E. Anthropic materials encountered during the coring included fragments of burnt bone, charcoal, unburnt hazelnut shells and two in situ wooden stakes (see below). Lens of grey silts, with varying amounts of clay, grit and small stones were present and many of the organic deposits were mineral-rich, testifying to the importation of mineral soil onto the crannog. A fragment of oak encountered at 2 m depth in A2 is also likely to have been brought onto the crannog.

Anthropic and introduced materials were encountered closest to the surface of the crannog along Transect C-D from B1 to B9, where they lay as little as 0.3 m below the surface. Stones were also encountered just under the surface and at relatively shallow depths along this transect, preventing the coring of deeper deposits. At the northern end of Transect C-D, ie C1 – C3, only natural peats were encountered and these were so wet that they could not be retrieved. This suggests that the crannog mound is sloping off steeply underwater at this point. Along Transect A-B anthropic and introduced materials were encountered in A3 – A9 at depths of approximately 1.3 m, while the cores at either end of this transect, A11 – A13 and A1 – A2, yielded only natural peat deposits up to depths of 2 m. These results suggest that around the northern perimeter the crannog mound is sloping off underwater and that the surface of the crannog core lies in the southern half of the exposed crannog, towards the loch edge (figure 14b). It is therefore quite likely that a portion of the crannog surface still remains submerged in the loch.

Two in situ wooden stakes recovered during the coring were submitted for radiocarbon dating (figure 15). Stake 1 was a small hazel (*Corylus avellana*) roundwood stake, only 22 mm in diameter which lay at 2 m in A13. At this position it would appear to be lying on the slope of the crannog mound and may therefore have been part of the infrastructure, pinning down, or containing material within the crannog mound. Stake 2 was a larger oak (*Quercus sp.*) stake which lay at approximately 1.25 m in B8. This is within the area that coring indicates is the dome of the crannog mound and therefore where anthropic activity is likely to have been focussed. Sample 2 may therefore relate to construction on top of the crannog. The radiocarbon dates are identical, 1795±45 BP (GU-11563) for Stake 1 and 1980±40 BP (GU-11564) for Stake 2, suggesting a phase of refurbishment and occupation, if not initial construction, in the first century of the 1st millennium AD.

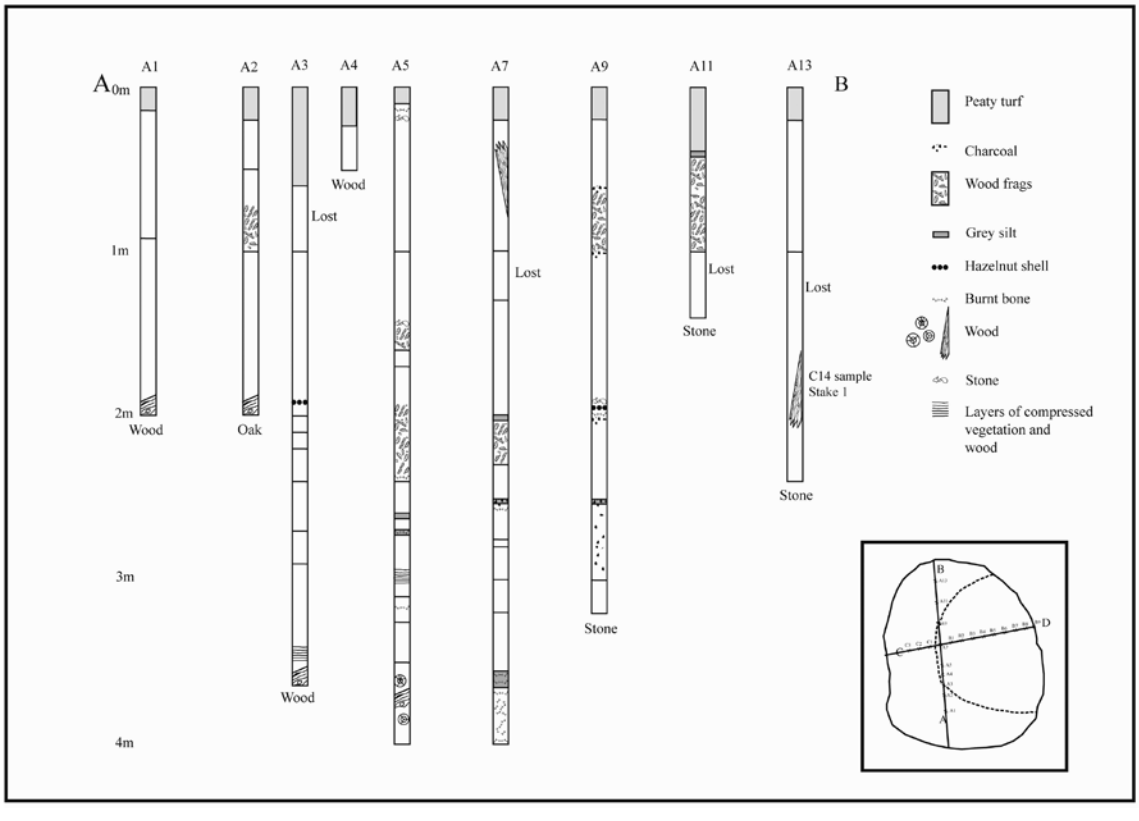


Figure 15 Cores along transect A-B

Conclusions

The 2003/4 season of the South West Crannog Survey sought to provide the baseline data from which the monitoring of the selected crannog sites could proceed. The digital surveys carried out will allow future inspections to assess the processes of erosion which are acting upon sites in freshwater lochs, and thereby guide management strategies to help preserve the resource and record those areas badly affected by decay. Strategies for the monitoring of organic decay on the crannogs of Dumfries and Galloway over a long timescale are now in place, with the aim of identifying and addressing the most significant causes of degradation.

This fieldwork also contributes valuable data to the archaeological investigation of crannogs. Before 2003, no modern surveys of submerged crannog sites in Dumfries and Galloway had been carried out, despite the fact that Munro's pioneering work of the late 19th century had long ago established this area as one of the most important regions in terms of lake settlement archaeology. This modern work has not only demonstrated that the crannog resource in the south west is at least as rich as anywhere in the country, but has also gone some way to contributing to our understanding of the nature of these sites, particularly in terms of the way they were built and the economy of their occupants. The identification of the loch-side structure at Cults Loch, a site type hitherto unknown in Scotland, further emphasises the value of the lake settlement archaeology in this region. It is hoped that when the post-excavation analysis of the 2003/4 work is completed, the work of the South West Crannog Survey will have gone some way to expanding our knowledge of prehistoric lake settlement in southern Scotland.

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HISTORIA BRITTONUM AND ARTHUR'S BATTLE OF *TRIBRUIT*

by Andrew Breeze [1]

The twelve battles of Arthur in chapter 56 of *Historia Brittonum* have long been notorious. The mountain of speculation raised on this ninth-century passage has made many regard it, like Arthur himself, as no subject for historians. Yet the tenth of these battles, fought *in litore fluminis quod vocatur Tribruit* 'on a river-bank called Tribruit' has had attention from major philologists. So much is shown by Dan Hunt of New Mexico, at present writing a thesis on Arthur for the University of Wales, Bangor. His enquiries have prompted this paper, which uses information on Tribruit generously sent by him, even though its conclusions differ from his.

Modern views on Tribruit begin in 1932 with the Chadwicks. They noted that the Latin passage surely derives from a Welsh catalogue-poem; that at least one battle (in the Caledonian Wood) was fought in Scotland; and that others might be found there. They added that the Tribruit of *Historia Brittonum* also figures in the archaic poem *Pa gur yv y porthaur* 'What man is the porter' from the thirteenth-century Black Book of Carmarthen.[2] Tribruit thus has a context besides that of *Historia Brittonum* (unlike most of Arthur's battles). Yet some writers on Arthur neglect this point, no doubt because the Black Book poem is obscure, and until lately has had no full translation.

In the 1940s *Tribruit* received philological attention. Ifor Williams and Kenneth Jackson regarded its first element as meaning 'through, over'. Jackson, originally taking it as an adjective meaning 'pierced through' (rather than a noun 'battle'), hence translated the Black Book's *traethev Trywruid* as 'strand of the pierced (place), beach of the broken (place)' and denied that *Tribruit* was a river-name. He also expressed implacable hostility to the view that Arthur was a chief of northern Britain, and that his most famous battles were fought there. Jackson always declared there is almost no philological evidence for this opinion.[3] As regards meaning, however, 'pierced through' was not accepted by the University of Wales dictionary, which hesitantly offers the sense 'bloodstained' (as also 'battle, conflict').[4]

The 1950s saw further debate on the question. Though not mentioning Tribruit by name, Rachel Bromwich considered the very obscurity of the battle-list's toponyms implied some might be in North Britain, where many ancient place-names have been lost.[5] This hypothesis placed her in opposition to Jackson. By 1959 he had shifted his ground on *Tribruit's* meaning, following Williams in thinking *traethev Trywruid* might mean 'many-coloured strand' (hence still not a river-name). But he added that nothing linked this place with Merlin, as proposed by some (who had misread another Black Book poem), so that 'all

1 University of Navarre, Pamplona

2 H. M. and Nora Chadwick, *The Growth of Literature: The Ancient Literatures of Europe* (Cambridge, 1932), pp. 154-55, 162.

3 Ifor Williams, 'Vocabularium Cornicum II', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, XI (1941-44), 92-100; K. H. Jackson, 'Once Again Arthur's Battles', *Modern Philology*, XLIII (1945-46), 44-57.

4 *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* (Caerdydd, 1950-2002), p. 3640.

5 Rachel Bromwich, 'The Character of the Early British Tradition', in *Studies in Early British History*, ed. Nora Chadwick (Cambridge, 1954), p. 124.

reason to place the battle in Scotland disappears'. (We shall return to this last point.) He also discussed *Pa gur yv y porthaur* 'What man is the porter'. This is a dialogue poem now of 89 lines, its ending lost, where Arthur addresses Glewlwyd Mighty-Grasp, the porter of a castle, who tells him he shall have no admittance unless he describe his companions. Arthur then sets out the feats of his men: Mabon, Cysteint, Gwyn Godyfrion, Manawydan, Anwas, Llwch, Bedwyr (Malory's Sir Bedivere), and above all Cai (Malory's Sir Kay). They have vanquished monsters and other enemies. He describes them as 'helping at Eidyn [Edinburgh] on the borders …. Cai pleaded with them while he hewed them down; though Arthur only played, the blood flowed, in the hall of Afarnach fighting with a hag. He pierced Pen Palach in the dwellings of Dissethach; on the mountain of Eidyn he fought with Dogheads .... They fell by hundreds before Bedwyr of the four-pronged spear on the strands of Tryfrwyd fighting with Garwlwyd.'[6] Whether writing in joyous or elegiac mood (this is disputed), the poet clearly relished bloodshed.

Jackson's translation is here crucial. Though it shows the poem's obscurity (in part clarified by a translation of Rachel Bromwich cited below), its references to fighting near Edinburgh are not in doubt. Apart from Anglesey (with dangerous lions), Edinburgh is the only identifiable place in the poem. Edinburgh is in Scotland: so, therefore, may have been the strands of Trywruid (in modern spelling 'Tryfrwyd'). It is more likely they were there than in Wales, because a North British toponym would more easily become obscure than a Welsh one, especially after the extinction in Cumbria and Strathclyde about 1100 of Cumbric, a sister-tongue of Welsh.

The fullest published account of Arthur's combats, of permanent value as a survey, is by Count Tolstoy. His views on where Tribruit was fought depend on his location of the eleventh battle, *in monte qui dicitur Agned*. This he takes as Brent Knoll (ST 3450), Somerset, an opinion in part derived from a passage (now seen as an interpolation) in William of Malmesbury's *De Antiquitate Glastonie Ecclesie*. On this basis Tolstoy identifies Tribruit or Traethev Trywruid 'speckled strands' as Stert Flats and Berrow Flats, 'some of the most magnificent sands in the West Country', on the Bristol Channel just west of Brent Knoll.[7]

Although Celticists have never lost sight of the Black Book's Tryfrwyd, non-Celticists have been less aware of it. Kirby in 1967 hence wrote that the only two battles of the list that can be located are those of Chester (hardly an Arthurian combat) and the Caledonian Wood (certainly in Scotland). But he added that Camlan, mentioned not in the list but in *Annales Cambriae* for 537 (stating that Arthur died there), was surely a fort on Hadrian's Wall, near Carlisle. He thus thinks Arthur may have fought on the northern frontier.[8] Had Kirby known the Black Book poem's mention of Edinburgh, he might have put this view more strongly.

Also in 1967 (but from a different viewpoint) Jarman discounted identifications by nineteenth-century scholars of Tribruit with the river Forth or the Solway Firth (both

6 K. H. Jackson, 'The Arthur of History' and 'Arthur in Early Welsh Verse' in *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages*, ed. R. S. Loomis (Oxford, 1959), pp. 4, 6, 8, 14.

7 Nikolai Tolstoy, 'Nennius, Chapter Fifty-Six', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, XIX (1960-62), 139-43; cf. John Scott, *The Early History of Glastonbury* (Woodbridge, 1981), pp. 86-89, 197.

8 D. P. Kirby, *The Making of Early England* (1967), p. 20.

philologically impossible), and cited the noun *tryvrwyt* in the seventh-century *Gododdin*.[9] Jackson understood this last as 'breakthrough, conflict', hence translating the poem's description of heroes as 'in contest, in the breakthrough of spears; spears of equal length, the armament of sharpened irons of a champion...'. In his lifelong campaign against the Northern Arthur, Jackson stated there was no logic whatever in using an allusion to Arthur in the *Gododdin* (a North British poem) as evidence for him as a northern leader, since he was the national hero of the Britons from Scotland to Brittany. Jackson made clear as well that Eidyn is the city of Edinburgh, not the region round it.[10]

In 1971 Alcock, unaware of the Black Book poem, described Tribruit as 'impossible to locate' since its name could not be identified with any place known today.[11] Matters improved in 1978 with a proper edition of the Black Book poem, which has allowed a fresh translation into English. There *traethev Trywruid* is rendered 'the banks of Tryfruid'; the 'borders' of Eidyn are understood as perhaps the northern frontier between Britons and Picts; and 'the mountain of Eidyn' as either Castle Rock or Arthur's Seat in Edinburgh. The translators also doubt if the Garwlwyd ('rough-grey') defeated at Tryfrwyd was necessarily the Gwrgi Garwlwyd of the Welsh Triads.[12]

The most recent discussion is as follows. Padel notes early toponyms need contexts to show their location, and the *Historia Brittonum* list offers almost none, so that safe identification is all but impossible; the resulting uncertainty 'has made the list a rich quarry for those wishing to locate Arthur in their own particular areas, wherever those may be.' On the Black Book poem (which he dates to about 1100) he notes that Tryfrwyd there is one of only two battles in the *Historia Brittonum* list that are attributed to Arthur in a later source (the other is Badon).[13] This implies that Tribruit had more fame than other Arthurian combats, and perhaps more authenticity.

Higham, approaching the subject with the broad perspectives of a historian, is pessimistic and categorical. 'Arthur's battle-list is impenetrable and cannot be treated as historical in any modern sense of the word. That said, it has exercised a fascination for historians over centuries, with attempts made to locate these various conflicts in each and every part of Britain. As Jackson remarked as long ago as 1959, "a great deal of nonsense has been written in the attempt to identify them", and events subsequently have only borne this out further.' Except for Chester, the Caledonian Wood, *Linnuis* (Lindsey), and *Breguoin* (High Rochester, Northumberland), the last in a late redaction (where it replaces unknown *Agned*), 'the battles of this list are unlocated and, at present, unlocatable.'[14] Finally, in an account of the *Historia Brittonum* list the present writer proposes a reading of meaningless *Agned* as *Agued* 'death', 'strait', the emended *Mons Agued* 'death hill' perhaps being at Pennango ('death hill') near Hawick, Borders. Like the Chadwicks in 1932, he suggests analysis may locate other Arthurian toponyms, perhaps in southern Scotland.[15]

9 *Ymddiddan Myrddin a Thaliesin*, ed. A. O. H. Jarman, 2nd edn (Caerdydd, 1967), pp. 36-37.
10 K. H. Jackson, *The Gododdin: The Oldest Scottish Poem* (Edinburgh, 1969), pp. 75-78, 112, 146.
11 Leslie Alcock, *Arthur's Britain* (1971), p. 67.
12 B. F. Roberts, 'Rhai o Gerddi Ymddiddan', in *Astudiaethau ar yr Hengerdd*, ed. Rachel Bromwich and R. B. Jones (Caerdydd, 1978), pp. 281-325; *Culhwch and Olwen*, ed. Rachel Bromwich and D. S. Evans (Cardiff, 1992), pp. xxxv-xxxvii.
13 O. J. Padel, *Arthur in Medieval Welsh Literature* (Cardiff, 2000), pp. 3-4, 26-30.
14 N. J. Higham, *King Arthur: Myth-Making and History* (2002), pp. 146, 147.
15 A. C. Breeze, *'Historia Brittonum* and Arthur's Battle of *Mons Agned,' Northern History*, XL (2003), 167-70.

Where does all this leave us? As regards *Tribruit* and *traethev Trywruid* it seems the meanings 'many-coloured (river-strand)' and 'many-coloured strands' are likely, as proposed by Jackson after Ifor Williams. So we need not waste time seeking a river called Tribruit or a beach by the sea. This is important. Standard translations of *in litore fluminis quod vocatur Tribruit* as 'on the shore of the river which is called Tribruit', 'on the bank of the river called Tryfrwyd', 'on the bank of the river called Tribruit' are ambiguous.[16] It was a *bank* that was called Tribruit: not a river. Jackson's 'on the river-strand which is called Tribruit' makes this clear. It is also significant that, although we do not know this river's name, the Black Book poem implies it may have been near Edinburgh.

The above thus allows three conclusions, some of them made long ago, but needing restatement for historians who have not noticed them. First, *in litore fluminis quod vocatur Tribruit* should be understood as 'on the river-strand which is called Tribruit'. It does not refer to a river of this name. Second, Tribruit probably means 'many-coloured'. Third, the mention of Trywruid or Tryfrwyd, in an Arthurian poem (from the Black Book of Carmarthen) which refers to Edinburgh, may suggest Tribruit was also in Scotland.

This completes the main part of this paper. Its conclusions should be of use to historians working on *Historia Brittonum* (especially as regards northern Britain), early warfare, and the Arthurian legend. But can we go further? Does what we can gather about Tribruit allow a new identification? The conditions for locating it are surely somewhat limited. We need somewhere which (a) has a Brittonic name derivable from *Tribruit*; (b) is by a river, which yet has a different name; (c) is at a place where battle might be fought (and so will be near major roads, and perhaps strategic fords, bridges, or fortifications); and (d) may be in North Britain, perhaps near Edinburgh.

To the writer's knowledge there is just one place which suits these rather specific terms, and might thus be Tribruit. This is Dreva (NT 1435), an isolated homestead overlooking extensive meadowland on the upper Tweed, seven miles west-south-west of Peebles, Borders. Dreva is recorded as *Draway* in 1649 and *Drevay* in 1688.[17] Does its situation and name allow identification, however tentative, with the Tribruit of Arthurian tradition?

There are various points here. *Dreva* is certainly a Brittonic form (like nearby Trahenna, perhaps equivalent to Welsh *tre* 'farm' and *henllan* 'old church'). The name is not that of a river, but of a settlement (and wood) overlooking a river and facing meadowland that covers nearly a square mile, the largest area of flat land for some distance around. The meadow is marked by an ancient monolith, and there are many hillforts in the region (pointing to strategic insecurity in early times, as Watson notes). As well as hillforts there are Roman forts and a camp at Lyne (NT 1940) five miles north-east of Dreva, which guard a vital ford. So the Romans knew the importance of this border region. The role of the Tweed as a barrier to military operations needs no underlining; although Roman roads ran a few miles west of this area, upper Tweedsdale (still followed by the A701 from Moffat to Edinburgh) offered another route north or south, avoiding a potentially hazardous crossing lower down the Tweed.[18] The meadowland opposite Dreva, wide and overlooked by no fewer than

16 Alcock, *Arthur's Britain*, p. 57; Nennius, *British History*, ed. John Morris (1980), p. 35; Higham, *King Arthur*, pp. 144-45.

17 W. J. Watson, *The Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1926), p. 363.

18 Cf. the Ordnance Survey *Map of Britain in the Dark Ages*, 2nd edn (Southampton, 1966).

five hillforts, may well have been named 'the speckled strand, the many-coloured bank' by the Britons, such an expression being paralleled by (for example) Brechfa 'speckled plain' near Carmarthen. Dreva is less than thirty miles from Edinburgh; it might be passed by forces moving north from upper Tweedsdale towards Biggar, or those moving down along the Tweed's left bank in the direction of Peebles. In either case, forces moving north would thereafter enter territory studded with even more hill-forts. Besides being thirty miles from Edinburgh, Dreva is also some fifteen miles from the Caledonian Wood, where the Clyde and Annan rise by Beattock Summit (NS 9915) in the Lowther Hills. Even the most sceptical Celticists agree on this last identification. So Dreva was near a known battlefield attributed to Arthur. Further evidence for Arthurian folklore in this region (noted by Tolstoy) comes in the form of Arthur's Seat (NT 1012), about halfway between Beattock and Dreva.[19] However, the traditional belief that Merlin was buried at Drumelzier, a mile from Dreva, has no value here. It has no historical basis whatever, since it surely derives from the twelfth-century forgeries of Geoffrey of Monmouth. As regards early Arthurian tradition it is hence worthless.

Given its strategic location and the known traditions of the Caledonian Wood and Arthur's Seat, Dreva (or the meadow facing it) would be a fit spot for an Arthurian battle. Yet, whatever the topographical case for Dreva as a battlefield, is there any reason to derive *Dreva* from *Tribruit*? Does this etymology make philological sense? It seems it may. Watson hesitantly suggested a derivation here from the Cumbric equivalent of Welsh *tre* 'farm' plus *-fa* 'place'.[20] But this combination appears unknown in Wales. So it may just be possible to derive his *Draway* and *Drevay* from a Cumbric equivalent of Welsh *Tryfrwyd*. If so, one might explain lenition of *T-* as related to a common voicing of the initial in Celtic toponyms (e.g., Dan yr Ogof 'Under the Cave' near Brecon as opposed to Tanygrisiau 'Under the Steps' near Ffestiniog, or dialectal Dywalwern for Tafolwern in north Powys), and loss of second *r* by process of dissimilation in English (cf. the Yorkshire toponym *Wentworth* from *Wintreworth*), with final *d* also disappearing in English through apocope.

It is, of course, one thing to take Dreva as the Tribruit of Arthurian tradition. It is quite another to suggest Arthur actually fought there. Yet even this is not completely impossible. So penetrating and scathing a critic as Kenneth Jackson admitted that the battle-list's very obscurity counted against its being a mere forgery; and he surmised that a British leader of the late fifth century could have fought the Picts in the Strathclyde area, but that this northern campaign (apart from one or two meaningless names) was almost forgotten by the time *Historia Brittonum* was compiled. Yet Jackson was careful to stress that this is pure hypothesis, and we should above all guard against trying to force philological evidence into supporting it.[21]

Philology apart, there are ways in which identification of Dreva with Tribruit could be ruled out. If the hillforts near Dreva showed no sign of occupation about 500, this would count against it. Similarly, if the meadows opposite Dreva had been a battlefield, we might expect archaeological evidence for this (the corroded spears and tenantless helmets of the

19 Tolstoy, *Bulletin*, XIX, 127; Breeze, *Northern History*, XL, 170.
20 Watson, *Celtic Place-Names*, p. 363.
21 Jackson, *Arthurian Literature*, p. 8.

Roman poet, or lesser remains). If nothing were found at Dreva, this would also weaken the present hypothesis.

If, however, archaeological research did confirm military activity around Dreva about 500, we might associate the place with the Arthurian traditions of North Britain, and perhaps even Arthur himself: if he ever existed! This would reinforce Kirby's case for Arthur's activities on the northern frontier, and perhaps even for his being (as claimed lately by a Scottish MP in the House of Commons) a North British hero. In short, the whole subject will repay study by archaeologists and others. Whatever its outcome, it suggests the results that may be found when philological techniques are applied to historic landscapes, especially in northern Britain.[22]

22 On which cf. A. C. Breeze, '*Armes Prydein*, Hywel Dda, and the Reign of Edmund of Wessex', *Etudes celtiques*, XXXIII (1997), 209-22; 'Cefnllys and the Hereford Map', *Transactions of the Radnorshire Society*, LXIX (1999), 173-5; and 'Philology on Tacitus's Graupian Hill and Trucculan Harbour', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, CXXXII (2002), 305-11.

THE DUMFRIESSHIRE MOUNTS RECONSIDERED

By TimoWegner[1]

In 1906 the so-called Dumfriesshire fragments were presented to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in Edinburgh by a certain Norman B. Kinnear. They were registered under the number FC 179 and are still partly exhibited in the current archaeological exhibition in the new National Museum in Edinburgh.

Staying in Edinburgh in 2001 for practical work at the National Museum I was kindly given permission to investigate the fragments for my M.A. dissertation in Marburg, Germany (started 2002 and successfully finished in 2004 under the tutorship of Prof. Dr. H. W. Böhme) by Dr. M. Spearman and Dr. F. Hunter.

The main points of my research were to reconstruct the original shapes of the bronze fillets and the ornaments that could be found on the small fragments, as well as to analyse how the bronze fillets were manufactured. Based on these results it was attempted to find parallels that could be compared in the way of craftsmanship, shape and ornament. From this it was hoped that the original appearance, function and age of the object(s) that once were decorated with the bronze metal sheets could be worked out. Another important point was to investigate when and where the fragments originally were found, as the report from N B Kinnear only states that the fillets came from Dumfriesshire and were discovered a long time ago. By getting this information it was hoped to find out more about the historical circumstances of the deposition of the metal sheets and why they were in such a fragmented state. This paper represents a short summary of my results.

The Fragments

Kinnear reported that the fragments consisted of thin fillets of bronze and five bosses of bronze. The fragmented bosses to his account were c2.5 inches in diameter (Figure 7.1-5). The long strips of thin bronze fillets with early Christian motif were broken in two and had an original length of 45 cm. (Figure 8.1-6, Figure 9.1-4).[2] The collection additionally includes gilt copper fragments with different floral ornaments as well as circular-pellet and figural motifs which were not mentioned by Kinnear so that the whole assemblage now consists of c80 single fragments of different size.

The state of preservation now is relatively poor. Especially the two long strips have been fragmented since they have come into the possession of the museum, as now they have broken down into several longer and smaller parts. When the drawings of this article are compared with those made for the papers of Liam de Paor in 1961 and Kinnear in 1906 it becomes apparent that especially the fringes of the fragments were further damaged.[3]

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2 Kinnear 1906, 342-3.

3 Compare with the figs. in Kinnear 1906; de Paor 1961, Figure1

Only in 1961 the mounts attracted attention again, when Liam de Paor published an article and gave an interpretation of their original function for the first time. The strip-shaped specimen with vine-scroll ornament especially and to a lesser extent the five buckles were in his opinion the most important proof that the Dumfriesshire assemblage were the remains of an early Medieval helmet of the 'Baldenheim' type or of the late Antique eastern Mediterranean type.[4] Several authors accepted this interpretation and mentioned the mounts in different connections without reassessing the question of their original function.[5] Michael Spearman finally brought up an alternative view and referred to the similarities of the fragments with other early Medieval ecclesiastical art work, e.g. the altar cross of Bischofshofen in Austria.[6]

Contrary to de Paors article in my thesis the fragments were divided by shape and by ornament into five different groups.

Group 1 consists of the fragments of the bosses (Figure 7.1-5), which have still retained the original gilding on some parts of the surface. Otherwise the buckles bear no further decorative elements. As not all fragments came into the possession of the museum it is not easy to determine how many bosses once existed, but the remains represent at least five fire-gilded copper bosses (c2% tin). The convex mounts measured originally c6.2 cm in diameter and were c0.5 mm thick. Each of them contained four holes in the rim, so they could be nailed onto a probably wooden object (Figure 6). Some pieces show traces of hammering which suggest that they were deliberately dismembered. Group 2 includes the fragments that Kinnear mentions as long bronze fillets of 0.1 mm thickness with an early Christian running vine-scroll motif framed on both edges by an stylised egg-and-dart pattern (now c30 fragments) (Figure 8.1-6, Figure 9.1-4). The strips were made nearly completely of copper and were also fire-gilded. Some smaller fragments consist of 4-5 singular layers which were corroded together (Figure 9.2-3). This certainly means that they were folded together before depositing. There must have been originally at least two different strips as four pieces show the end of the running vine-scroll ornament. The overall reconstructed length would certainly have exceeded 45 cm. and could have reached the length of c100 cm. The width of the strips measured c2.9 - 3.0 cm, as can be detected on some better preserved examples. There are no traces of holes for fixing nails as with the bosses. On the other hand the undecorated edges of the pieces show a slight convex bending. This could mean that a semi-cylindrical metal piece were put on top of the strip edges which themselves contained holes for nails and fixed the sheets to a wooden object (Figure 6). This technique is used with several Irish ecclesiastical objects like the cross from Tully Lough and the book-shrine from Lough Kinale.[7]

Four fire-gilded copper fragments of 0.1 mm thickness make up the group 3. They are separated because of their peculiar ornament as they are the only pieces to show a figural ornament (Figure 9.5-8), namely the part of a left shoulder with curled hair, a hand holding

4 de Paor 1961, 186-93.

5 Laing 1975, 33; Stevenson 1993, 18; Cessford 1994, 73-80; Underwood 2001, 104.

6 Webster/ Backhouse 1992, Cat. no. 135.

7 I am thankful for the kind support of Dr. Paul Mullarkey of the National Museum in Dublin giving me the opportunity to examine the Tully Lough cross and the Lough Kinale book-shrine. For further examples compare the construction pattern on the Emly shrine and the Monymusk shrine (Blindheim 1984, 36-40), or on the Abbadia San Salvatore shrine (Youngs 1989, cat. no. 128).

a book and two pieces which show draped garment. Concerning the surface appearance, this group could have been combined with the fragments of group 4 (nine fragments) (Figure 9.9-12, Figure 10.1) on the same original sheet. They show parts of a *perlstab* pattern bordering a running vine-scroll motif different from that on the pieces from group 2. This ornament could have surrounded the figural motif, though there is no surviving fragment that contains both the figural ornament and the *perlstab*–floral motif. Nevertheless similar combinations can be found on some sheet-metal book-covers of the Early Medieval period known from the continent.[8]

Finally group 5 includes the rest of the fragments all of c0.1 mm thickness (Figure 10.2-20) which are partly ornamented with a floral motif similar in details with that of group 2. This appears sometimes with rounded pellet borders. One piece (Figure 10.10) shows a pellet-border that has roughly the same reconstructed diameter as the bosses from group 1. One could assume that this pellet motif encircled one or all bosses on the same wooden object. The smaller rounded pellet-stripes (Figure 10.4-5) could have done the same with other objects, for example glass studs. The settings on the front of the Bischofshofen cross serves as a good example.[9]

Parallels

The Dumfriesshire bosses do not have parallels that exactly correspond. But there are similar examples all deriving from insular ecclesiastical metal-work in Britain and Scandinavia.[10] Most of the pieces were found in Norwegian Viking-age graves. They had been detached from their original objects and reused as personal jewellery.[11] Though some of them roughly fit the Dumfriesshire mounts in form they are all cast and not hammered into shape, furthermore they all bear cast decoration. As an exception may count an Irish cross-shaped mount from a grave in Birka. This bronze sheet-metal cross has five embossed convex bosses with only slight incised decoration on each cross-arm and in the centre.[12] It is likely that the buckles from Dumfriesshire were mounted in the same way on a bigger wooden cross (Figure 6). This arrangement can also be found on both sides of the recently discovered cross from Tully Lough in Ireland, on the Lough Kinale book shrine[13] or on the later St Manchan's shrine.[14] A few stone crosses in Ireland and in northern Britain (Ballymore Eustace, Blessington, Caledon, Tynan, Irton)[15] bear either one central or five undecorated buckles that would roughly match the Scottish pieces. The

8 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 176 (Cat. Paderborn 1999, Cat. no. X.7.), Nancy, treasure of the cathedral (Steenbock 1965, cat. no. 29), Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare (Steenbock 1965, cat. no. 28; Cat. Hildesheim 1993, cat. no. IV-60), Antiochia, Metropolitan Museum of Art New York nos. 50.5.1-2 and 47.100.36 (Weitzmann 1979, cat. nos. 554-5; Mango 1986, cat. nos. 44-6).

9 Webster/ Backhouse 1992, 171, detail photo.

10 Youngs 1989, cat. nos. 140 and 142; Kendrick/ Senior 1936; Wamers 1985, cat. nos. 5, 14, 23, 45, 57, 61, 109, 117, 127, 161.

11 Bakka 1963, 5; Blindheim 1978; Wamers 1985, 20, 40.

12 Arbman 1943, 150-1; Wamers 1985, cat. no. 146.

13 Farell et al. 1989; Kelly 1993.

14 Kendrick/ Senior 1936; Graham-Campbell 1980, cat. no. 507.

15 Harbison 1992, cat. nos. 16, 23, 28, 227; Bailey/ Cramp 1988, 115-7.

cross of Bischofshofen in Austria that most certainly was manufactured in Northumbria[16] also incorporates five buckles though in this case they are glass studs[17]. Perhaps the insular metal buckles were used to imitate the precious stones and glass inserts that were used to decorate most of the known continental Crosses from the early Medieval period and that they had the symbolic function to represent the five wounds of Christ.[18]

Liam de Paor had argued that the bosses from Dumfriesshire were mounted on a late Roman helmet type, but parallels from Eastern Europe (Hungary and Yugoslavia) are too different.[19] On the contrary it is more conclusive to see them as a part of a metal cross arrangement that was fixed on a wooden cross or perhaps on another ecclesiastical object, like the Lough Kinale book-shrine, the St. Manchan's shrine or as a stand, as we can see it on the bottom-side of the Ormside bowl[20] or on two boxes from Northern Spain in Astorga and Oviedo dating into the 9th century.[21] As the Dumfriesshire bosses are not ornamented it is hard to date them precisely, therefore it can only be assumed that they belong into the 8th – 9th centuries like most of the bosses of insular manufacture.

Though the strips with running vine-scroll ornament bear similarities to the more naturalistic ones that appear on some early Medieval helmets of the *Baldenheim*-type,[22] even de Paor had to admit that the closest parallels can be found on Northumbrian stone crosses, e.g. Ruthwell and Bewcastle. Concerning the running vine-scroll motif with egg-and-dart border nothing similar exists among insular metalwork or stone-sculpture. The shafts of the stone crosses from Irton, Hexham, Rothbury, Hulne and Norham dating mostly into the first half of the 9th century[23] can be listed with their simple running vine-scroll motif. The probably 9th century Skyreburn brooch terminal from South-West Scotland has a comparable decoration untypical for this type of insular brooches (Figure 1).[24] The egg-and-dart motif in insular art has been discussed by Egon Wamers[25] and it appears for example as repoussée work on the Moylough belt-shrine[26] or on a small cast bronze mount framing a vine-scroll ornament with inhabiting birds from Monker's Green, Orkney.[27] Long thin metal sheets of nearly the same dimensions as a decorative element can be again found on the crosses from Bischofshofen and Tully Lough. The surviving fragments from Ireland measure c3.4 cm in width are only tinned but otherwise plain. The c2.5 cm broad pieces from the object from Austria show a typical interlace-motif but also a small part of a simple vine-scroll. With both objects the strips were fitted on the narrow sides of the cross. So

16 Fillitz 1963; Bierbrauer 1978; Topic-Mersmann 1984; Wibiral 1987; Bierbrauer 1985; Webster/ Backhouse 1992, cat. no. 133.
17 Bierbrauer 1985, tafel XIII-XV.
18 Bailey 1995, 2.
19 de Paor 1961, 193; Alföldi 1934, pl. IV-V; Thomas 1973, tafel 14-5. A further parallel for the Budapest helmet but unknown to de Paor was found in former Yugoslavia (Manojlovic-Marijanski 1973, 15-21, tafel 14-5).
20 Baldwin Brown 1921, 318-28; Webster/ Backhouse 1992, cat. no. 134.
21 Arbeiter/ Noack-Haley 1999, 185-7.
22 de Paor 1961, Figure 8.
23 Bailey/ Cramp 1988, 115-7; Cramp 1984, 176-8, 217, 193-4, 208-9. The two examples from Hexham date into the second half of the 8th cent. and into the second half of the 8th cent till first half of the 9th cent..
24 Hunter 1999, 21. The shape of the brooch terminal can be paralleled with the 8th cent. brooches from the St. Ninian's Isle hoard and the Rogart hoard (Youngs 1989, cat. nos. 105, 112).
25 Wamers 1987.
26 O'Kelly 1965.
27 Romilly Allen 1903, vol. 1, Figure 72; Bakka 1963, Figure 63; Wamers 1987, Figure 8.

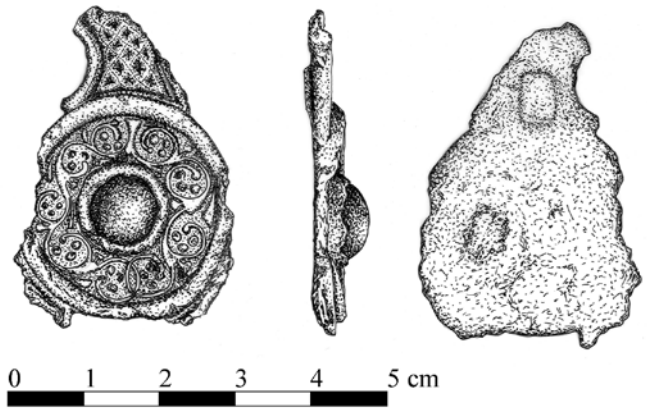

Figure 1 Skyreburn Brooch-terminal

it seems convincing that this was also the case with the Scottish examples and it is likely that they were fixed on the same cross as the five bosses (Figure 6).

To date the strips into the second half of the 8th century or the beginning of the 9th century seems appropriate, as most of the comparable objects belong to the same period. If we assume that the Skyreburn brooch was manufactured in South West Scotland and take into consideration that the Bischofshofen cross was a Northumbrian product as well as the mentioned stone crosses, it seems convincing that the cross mounts from Dumfriesshire also originated in the Northumbrian area, may be even in their western districts.

The greater part of the fragments of group 5 belonged to metal sheet that were in my opinion fixed on the same object as the above mentioned strips and bosses (Figure 6). Their few recognisable floral decoration elements fit roughly with the ornament that can be seen on the front side of the Bischofshofen cross. Here the stem with the three dotted vine grape (Figure 10.2, 4.10-11) appear as well as the swung and scrolled leafs (Figure 10.3-4). Also the simple beaded borders (Figure 10.3, 4.10) are employed on the cross from Austria framing the numerous enamel studs.[28] The framed specimen (Figure 10.4-5) does not feature here but it finds its analogies in other ecclesiastical art like the depiction of Mary with her child in the Book of Kells[29] or on cross presentations in the Gelisius sacrament[30] dated to around AD 750 and the stone cross of Irton. The motif of the stem with three oval shaped leafs is also known from the back of the Winchester reliquary.[31] The folded piece of sheet (Figure 10.2) that shows two overlapping plant stems may have belonged to a floral motif similar to the one that appears on the back of the Nunnykirk cross shaft, which is dated by R Cramp to the beginning of the 9th century.[32]

28 Compare with the plates in the articles of Bierbrauer 1978 and 1985.
29 Meehan 1997, 12.
30 Hubert/ Porcher/ Volbach 1968, nos. 175 and 189.
31 Hinton/ Keene/ Qualman 1981; Backhouse/ Turner/ Webster 1984, cat. no. 12; Webster/ Backhouse 1992, cat. no. 136.
32 Cramp 1984, 214-5.

That a complex vine-scroll ornament was often employed for the decoration of crosses, is illustrated by a small reliquary cross in the Biblioteca Apostolica, Vatican,[33] the Justinus II. cross in Rom[34] and the 'Ardennen' cross in Nuremberg.[35] Further examples of stone worked crosses for example from Hart, Co. Durham, Hexham, Bewcastle and Lowther[36] can be added.

It is a different case with the groups 3 and 4. The surface of these fragments appears to be distinctively different from the other groups as their style of decoration. Unfortunately the metal analyses that were conducted could not help to distinguish the groups 1, 2 and 5 from 3 and 4 by their material composition. Like the buckles and the vine-scroll decorated sheets the fragments with figural motif found a widespread use in the ornamentation of Early Medieval ecclesiastical objects. Especially the depiction of a figure with long curled hair, draped garment and a book in the left hand is a frequent feature in Christian iconography. Predominately the portraits of Christ, the four Evangelists, the apostles or other ecclesiastical notables and saints were depicted in this way. While the book represents the word of God, the draped garment, the tunic and the pallium, derives from antique patterns.[37]

Parallels for the ecclesiastical figure that is represented on the four fragments of group 3 can be found on Mediterranean silver work,[38] on several purse-reliquaries[39] on the continent and of Anglo-Saxon manufacture like the ones from Winchester and from Mortain in Normandy.[40] Whereas figural ornament as repoussée work on sheet metal was unknown in early Medieval Irish art, where decorative elements were generally cast.[41]

Nevertheless the figure can be best compared with portraits of the evangelists that are depicted in Irish manuscripts of the 8th and 9th centuries. The style of the up-curled hair, the drapery covering the neck and the way the arm holds the book (Figure 9.5-6) is sometimes closely matched by the paintings in the manuscripts from Kells, Lichfield, St. Gallen, the Book of Dimma, the Codex Cadmug in Fulda and the Codex Macdurnan in London, as well as in the three pocket gospels that are kept in Dublin and London.[42] Most of the books date to the second half of the 8th century, while the Book of St Chad from Lichfield dates a quarter of a century earlier and the Macdurnan Codex was written in the second half of the 9th century. For the Book of Kells an origin in the years around AD 800 is suggested.

33 von Matt 1969, plate 127.

34 Topic-Mersmann 1984, plate 45-6.

35 Cat. Aachen 1965, cat. no. 558; Lennartsson 1998, cat. no.73.

36 Cramp 1984, 95, 176-8; Bailey/ Cramp 1988, 61-72, 127-8.

37 Meehan 1997, 30; Sachs/ Badstübner/Neumann 1975, 43, 72; Aurenhammer 1959-67, 216.

38 Compare e.g. the silver chalices from the Beth Misona treasure and from the Hama treasure (Mango 1986, figs. 57.1-59.1; 3.3-4, 3.6-7 and 3.9), the silver flasque from Pula, Istria (Buschhausen 1971, tafel 57-8), two cross-mounts from the Antiochia treasure (Mango 1986, Figure 92.5-8) and the silver reliquary-box from Chersones, Ukraine (Buschhausen 1971, tafel 59-60).

39 Compare e.g. the reliquaries from Paris (Hubert/ Porchner/ Volbert 1968, 284), Enger (Elbern 1971; Elbern 1974), Sitten (Cat. Aachen 1965, plate 108; Hubert/ Porchner/ Volbert 1968, 287; Hubert/ Porchner/ Volbert 1969, 220) and Rom (Cat. Paderborn 1999, vol. 2, cat. no. IX.34).

40 Hinton/ Keene/ Qualman 1981; Webster/ Backhouse 1992, cat. no. 137.

41 Compare the figures from the Tully Lough cross (unpublished), Aghaboe and Rinnegan (cat. Cologne 1983, cat. nos. 46-7), Rise Farm and Oseberg, both from Norway (Youngs 1989, cat. nos. 134 and 42).

42 Alexander 1978: the relevant portraits of Christ and the evangelists are for the book of Kells (illus. 241, 243, 251, 255), the book of St. Chad, Lichfield (illus. 82), the codex of St. Gallen (illus. 204-8), the book of Dimma (illus. 224), the codex Cadmug (illus. 228), the Macdurnan codex (illus. 326-8), the book of Mulling (illus. 210-2), the St. John's codex (illus. 209) and a codex kept in British Library, London (illus. 213).

The stone shaft from Auckland St. Andrew in Northern England show figures with similar drapery and dates into the 9th century.[43]

In my opinion it is not too inconclusive that the figural decorated fragments formed a sheet that was mounted on a book cover (Figure 5). Perhaps the goldsmith took the inspiration for his figure from the illuminations in the book (this is e.g. the case with the Codex Aureus from Regensburg).[44] The floral decorated pieces of group 4 could have functioned as a frame for the figure (Figure 5). This is sometimes the case with book covers from this period on the continent as well as from the Byzantine area (e.g. Nancy, Vercelli (Figure 2)

Figure 2 Book-cover of the Codex Eusebianus, Biblioteca Capitolare Vercelli

treasure from Sion and Antiochia[45]). On stone altar plates from Bobbio and Pavia in Italy egg-and-dart motif with a scroll ornament works as a frame as well.[46] Beside these examples other stone sculpture in Northern Italy and the Alpine region shows floral ornament that can be parallelled best with our ornament of group 4. Especially the mussel motifs

43 Cramp 1984, 68-9.
44 Hubert/ Porchner/ Volbach 1969, 357.
45 Steenbock 1965, cat. nos. 28 and 29; Boyd/ Mango 1993, no. 23, a-b; Mango 1986, cat. nos. 44-6.
46 Hubert/ Porchner/ Volbach 1969, 296; Cat. Paderborn 1999, vol. 1, cat. no. II.42-3.

on the Carolingian stone friezes from Ilmmünster, Gstadt and Müstair bear a close resemblance with the flowers on the metal fragments.[47] On the contrary it is, to my knowledge, not generally represented on Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture or even metal-work. But one has to be cautious as so few are left from the original ornament of the Dumfriesshire mounts and of insular art work in general. If both decoration groups really belonged together the cover could have measured something like 25 x 15 cm, this corresponds roughly with most of the insular manuscript measurements. Its date of manufacture could lie in the second half of the 8th century or the beginning of the 9th century The Figure shows Irish influences while the floral border patterns reflect more Carolingian and continental ornament. Nevertheless its origin could still be in the English kingdoms and even in Northumbria as the goldsmith would have drawn his ideas from the book and other stone- or metal-work that was brought over from Ireland and the Continent. The sheet metal mounting could represent a later furnishing for the cover of an possible Irish manuscript substituting an older coating of decorated leather for example, as constant renewal of reliquary-containers is of frequent occurrence during the Medieval period.

The shape and size of the cross is even harder to determine again because of the fragmentary state of the mounts and the smallness of their number. In my opinion it could have had shovel-like arms like the crosses from Bischofshofen and Tully Lough and like most of the Irish stone crosses (Figure 6), though a shape like it is depicted on some of the Lindisfarne grave markers is equally possible.[48] Its size could have been something between the measurements of the other two crosses, i.e. between 158 x 94 cm and c125 x 46 cm.

The Place of Discovery

So far the location of the Dumfriesshire fragments has been speculative, only Lloyd Laing made a suggestion that they might come from the hillfort of Tynron Doon in West-Dumfriesshire.[49]

N B Kinnear, who donated the fragments, worked as an assistant in the Royal Museum of Scotland in the zoological department during the years 1905-7, so exactly during the time when he presented the Dumfriesshire mounts. As the *Who was Who* for the years 1951-60 states he did work later in the zoological Department in the British Museum and shortly before his retirement was appointed director of the British Museum.

The connection to Dumfriesshire is made through his mother, a daughter of Wellwood Herries Maxwell of Munches in Kirkcudbright, who also possessed land in Applegarth parish in Eastern Dumfriesshire. Kinnear's grandmother was a daughter of Sir William Jardine the 7th Baronet of Applegarth. Sir William Jardine himself was an ornithologist, a collector of antiquities and first president of the Dumfriesshire & Galloway Natural History & Antiquarian Society. From this it could be assumed that Kinnear came into the possession of the fragments through the maternal side of his family and finally donated

47 Dannheimer 1980, Abb. 8-12.
48 Cramp 1984, pl. 199-200.
49 Laing 1975, 33.

Figure 3 Location of Corrie Loch, Carterton (Based on the Ordnance Survey map © Crown Copyright)

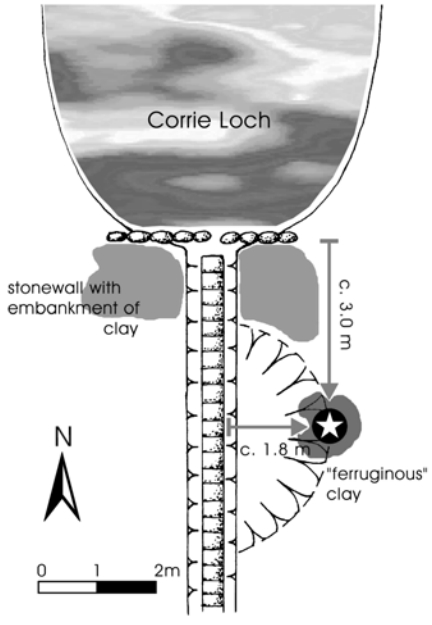

Figure 4 The find place of the fragments at Corrie Loch (after the account of Moffat)

them while working for the museum in Edinburgh. Therefore it did not seem impossible that the fragments were discovered in the area around Applegarth in the time of Sir William Jardine[50].

The final breakthrough nevertheless was made by the kind support of James Williams who brought my attention to a short report in the first issue of the Transactions from 1863.[51] There it is mentioned that a certain Dr. Moffat donated some objects to the Society he had discovered while walking through the muirs from Millrigs to Eskdale. Searching for shelter at a place called Corrie Loch at the northern boundary of the parish of Hutton and Corrie to Eskdalemuir (Figure 3) he found some fragments near an artificial channel of the loch (Figure 4).

'On the east side of the drain, about two yards from the centre, and about ten feet from the head or northern extremity, I found what I now send to the Society. After the drain had been cut, the soft mossy bottom had run off, and, to fill up the space, the sides had been sloped down, and laid bare the relics now sent. On the place where I found them a fire had once been kindled, which was indicated by the ferruginous clay having a bricky and also an unctuous appearance, dissimilar to the clay ground.

50 Who was Who 1951-1960, 621; 1952, 1742; New. Stat. Acc. vol. IV 1845, 182-3.

51 *Transactions*, First Series, Volume 1, p. 6: page 8 mentions their donation to this Society. Dr Moffat of Millrigg's article is given in the same volume at p. 52: 'On the finding and position of the Relics discovered at Corrie Loch.' Communicated 8th January, 1863.

In the 1863 report it is further reported[52] that the find was investigated by Alexander Stratherne, Esq. from Glasgow who suggested them to be the remains of a Roman officer's equipment:

'... that although some of the fragments may be, and I think are, portions of an officer's clypeus, or circular buckler; yet the greater portion, which consists of highly ornamented fillets, now folded and compressed, were parts of the narrow shoulder-straps worn by generals and centurions, and by which the kilt-like extremities of the lorica were suspended.'

These descriptions closely matches with the one made in 1906 by N B Kinnear. Unfortunately no more detailed version of Stratherne's report was published later on. The short article about Moffat's donation was signed with *W.J.* and it seems most likely that this is the signature for William Jardine, who probably kept the objects in his possession until he died in 1871. This assumption is further strengthened by Truckell's report in 1963 which listed all the objects in the collection of the Society. The fragments are not mentioned by him nor are they registered in the National Museum in Edinburgh and the Hunterian Museum in Glasgow.[53]

Therefore it seems well reasoned to say that the fragments from 1906 are identical with the ones from 1863 and they were discovered at the south bank of Corrie Loch in the northern part of Hutton and Corrie parish[54].

Corrie Loch: The word *corrie* in Gaelic signifies a small loch between hills, and this is exactly what this c20 m long loch is. A brief field search with a metal detector in 2001 together with the kind support of James Williams, Tom Laurie and Bob McEwen brought unfortunately no further results and finds, as the ground was covered by a thick layer of moss, especially at the place where Moffat discovered the fragments. For that reason the features (drainage channel, stonewall and claybank, etc.) Moffat was speaking of could not be identified on the ground anymore. Moffat suggested that because of a black layer he found the fragments in they could derive from a cremation. This as well could not be verified.

It could well be that he found the mounts in the remains of a *burnt mound*. This would explain the stones, the clay and the black layer. But though *burnt mounds* can be found widely in this area,[55] this is by no way certain.

Corrie Loch nowadays lies very cut off from the main traffic roads in Dumfriesshire. But it is worth mentioning that the old Roman road (roughly the modern B 723), that has been especially traced at Raeburnfoot, passes just a mile north of Corrie Loch). This route connects the important Roman roads that go south from Glasgow and Edinburgh.[56] Two mottes

52 *Transactions*, First Series, Volume 2: at page 6 it is mentioned that the paper by Mr Alexander Stratherne 'On the Relics of supposed Ancient Armour found near the source of the Corrie Water' was read by the secretary - Meeting of 1st March 1864. Nothing more actually appears in print.

53 Truckell 1963. Information from Dr. F. Hunter (NMS Edinburgh, Dep. of Archaeology) and Prof. L. Keppie (Hunterian Museum and Art Gallery Glasgow, Dep. of Archaeology, History and Ethnography).

54 In a letter Ann, Lady Jardine of Applegirth gave the information that the collection of William Jardine was dissolved shortly before 1905. Parts of his ornithological objects came also into the possession of the National Museum. There exists no information that further fragments are still in the possession of the Jardine family.

55 RCAHMS 1997, 100-1.

56 Margary 1957, 183-90, 192, 205-16.

Figure 5 reconstruction-attempt of the book-cover by using the evidence of the surviving fragments (group 3 and 4)

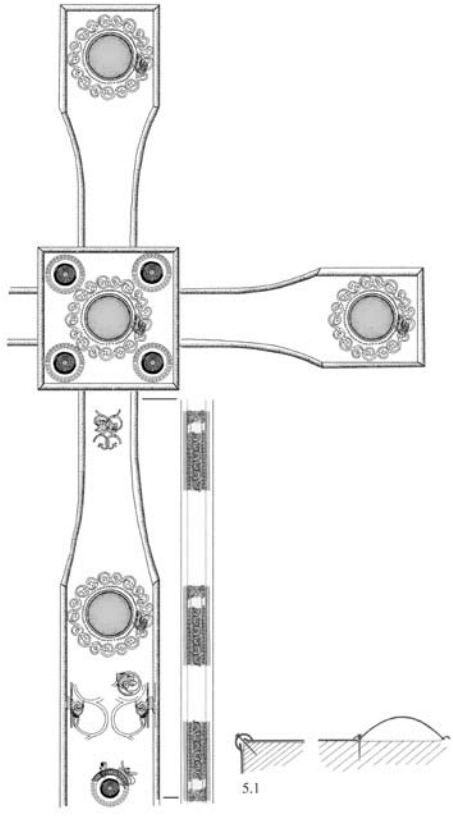

Figure 6 reconstruction-attempt of the cross by using the evidence of the surviving fragments (group 1, 2 and 5). The shape of the cross and the enamel-studs are based on the cross from Bischofshofen. Pl 5.1 possible fixing methods applied on the cross. (no scale)

at Hutton and Gillespie stood right there where the Roman road probably passed upper Dryfesdale.[57] They may indicate that this road from Lockerbie to Eskdale and Melrose was still of some importance after the Roman occupation. Tom Laurie, a local farmer, assured me that the road was used in later times as a cattle track and that a kind of southern bypass was passing Corrie Loch directly. This would have been an obvious spot as the loch could have served as a resting place and as a water hole. That this was also the case during the early Middle Ages cannot be proven of course. A pass crossing Corrie Loch to the north-east also gives access to Castle O'er in Eskdale and, as the 'First' *Statistical Account* for that parish mentions, to a place at the confluence between Black and White Esk where in

57 RCAHMS 1997, nos. 1258, 1318.

earlier times every year a market fair was held. Again it cannot yet be proven that Castle O'er was still occupied and of regional importance in early Medieval times – nor if that fair could be as ancient.[58] Furthermore, field surveys have shown that there exist quite a range of archaeological features in the northern part of Hutton and Corrie, like some smaller hillfort settlements, but none of them have yet been dated more precisely. But taking in mind that Corrie Loch was in the vicinity of an important West-East traffic connection, it should not be too surprising that these fragments were disposed off right there.

The fragments represent the remains of sheet mountings most probably for a book cover and a votive/altar cross (Figures 5-6). They were made some time during the second half of the 8th and maybe at the beginning of the 9th century. The background of their manufacture lies in the monasteries of Northumbria or other Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, not in Ireland as sheet-metal was rarely used there. It cannot be excluded that the pieces were made in the northwestern parts of Northumbria (Galloway, Dumfries or Cumbria), perhaps places like Hoddom, Whithorn, Carlisle, Irton or Melrose are the places of their origin, but this question has to be left open.

The same counts for the reason why they were buried and along with what. Was it a water sacrifice as has been suggested for some weapon finds in British rivers during the Viking age or the tool-box of a blacksmith like the one that was found in Mästermyr, Sweden. Many ecclesiastical finds from the early Medieval period in Ireland come from bogs, lakes and rivers (Tully Lough cross, Lough Kinale book-shrine, Clonard bronze bucket, River Shannon house shaped reliquary or the Moylough belt shrine). Those are generally single-finds. The discovery of Shanmullagh, Co. Armagh in the Blackwater however represents the only hoard that was salvaged from a wet-site context.[59] No research has to my knowledge been undertaken to find out if they were deposited deliberately or just losses of Viking raiders. The Corrie Loch serves as the source or spring for the Corrie Water. As rivers and springs were seen as supernatural dwelling places of gods and spirits they were often used as places of veneration and offerings. Like the folded and damaged weapons very well known from the la-Téne period which were mostly destroyed to make them unusable for the present world,[60] the mounts from Dumfriesshire could have been sacrificed in the loch for the same reason. Hardly any historical records exist for the 8th-11th centuries that prove a continuation of such religious motivated depositions in the British Isles.[61] The numerous finds of weapons and probably of ecclesiastical objects representing Viking booty recovered from rivers along the attacking routes of the Scandinavian invaders could be predominately counted as occasional losses.[62] It is hard to determine if some of them were actually sacrificed for some reason. Comparable river or lake finds are known from Scandinavia in the migration-period but they are very sparse for the following Viking-period.[63] Unlike the deposition of weapons the sacrifice of looted ecclesiastical objects has not yet occurred in the archaeological record.

58 RCAHMS 1997, 78-82; Stat. Accvol. 12 1791-9, 615.
59 Bourke 1993, 24-39; Ó Floinn 1998, 150; Wamers 1998, 42-3.
60 Gladigow 1984, 38-9; Müller 2002, 127-148.
61 Aitchison 1996, 68-72.
62 Davidson 1962, 8; Wilson 1965, 51; Torbrügge 1971, 112-4, Beilage 21, 1-2.
63 Behrend 1970, 89; Müller-Wille 1984; Müller-Wille 1999, 41-80.

But it seems more likely that the ornamented sheets were dismantled from their holy objects during a Viking raid, probably when the great Danish Army ravaged Britain in the 860s and 870s. To cut them made their distribution, transport and exchange easier, as it was the case with the Viking *hacksilver*. As the sheet metal was only made of gilded copper it was may be used by a Viking smith as scrap-metal intended for melting down and repairing other bronze objects. That this scrap-metal was carried along with smiths among their personal equipment is testified by some hoard finds from Scandinavia. At the late Roman period offering-place of Nydam in Denmark a decorated wooden tool-box containing scrap-bronze for the repair of sword-hilts, jewellery and similar objects was excavated in 1993.[64] The oak-chest from Mästermyr, Gotland included a number of tools as well as scrap-material like some partly folded sheets of lead and iron.[65] While this find dates from the late Viking period,[66] the hoard from Smiss in Gotland containing also some bronze scrap items for recycling is at least a century older.[67] The smith from Dumfriesshire would have finally lost or hidden it in a purse or box, probably with other objects, at Corrie Loch never able to recover it again.

64 Lund Hansen 1994, 67; Rieck/ Jørgensen 1997, 225.
65 Arwidsson/ Berg 1983, pl. 22:85, 24:125u, 25:125o.
66 Arwidsson/ Berg 1983, 37ff.; Berg 1955; Müller-Wille 1977, 190.
67 Zachrisson 1962, 202-3, 205-10, Figure 6.

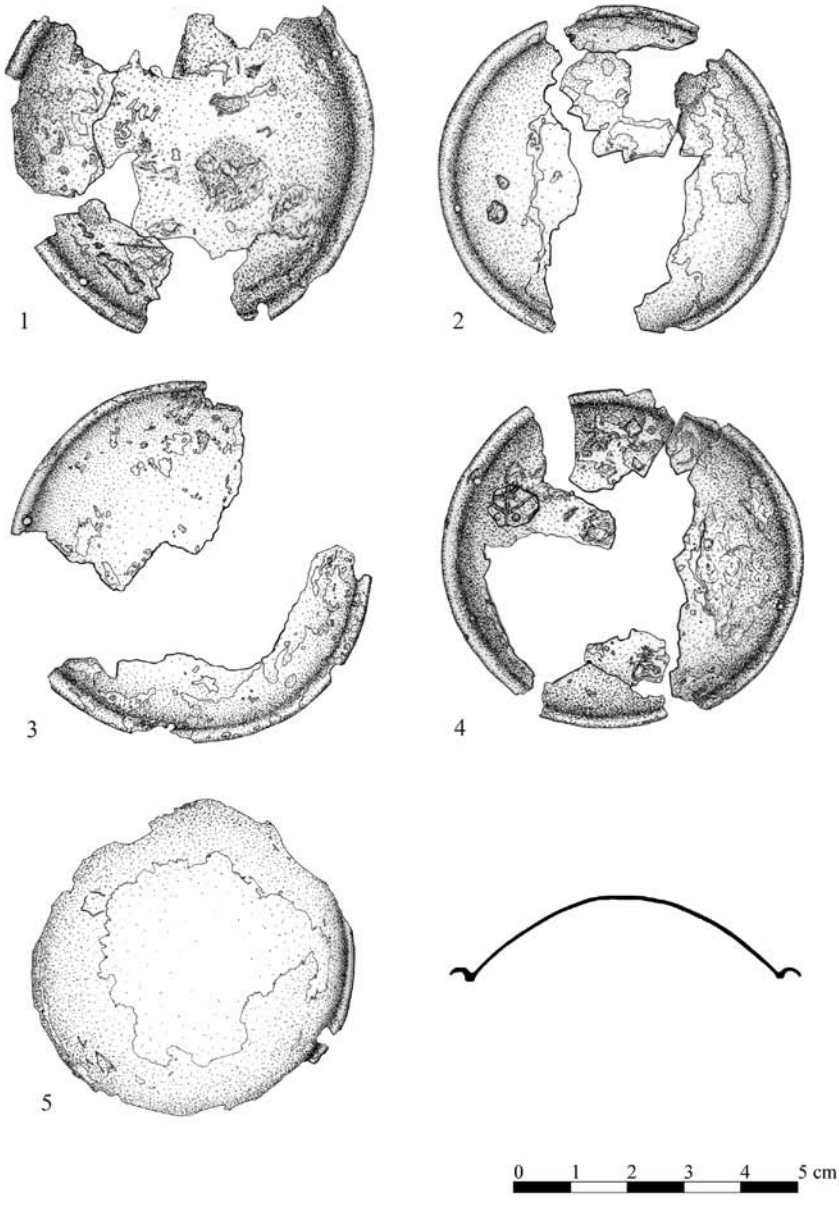

Figure 7 boss fragments from Corrie Loch

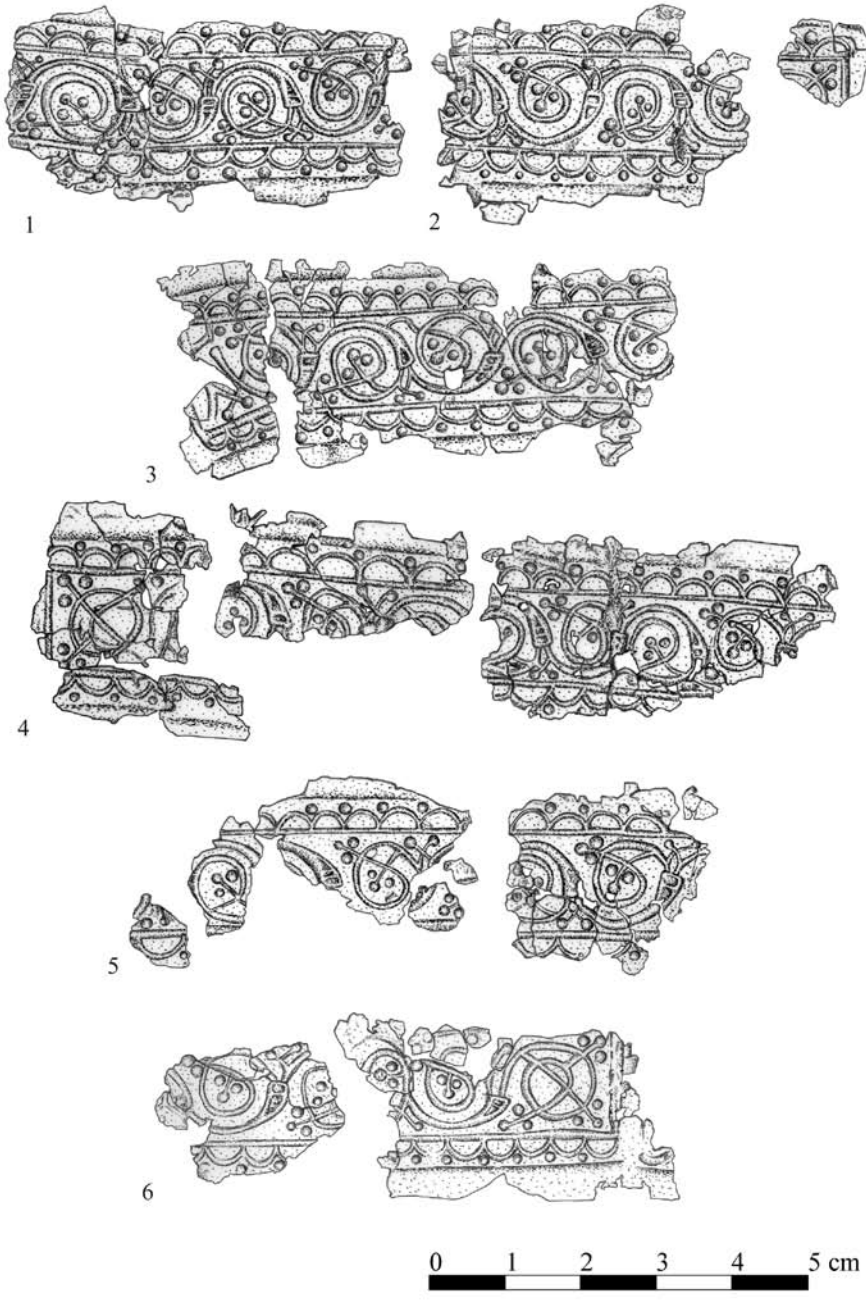

Figure 8 strip-shaped fragments with running vine-scroll ornaments from Corrie Loch

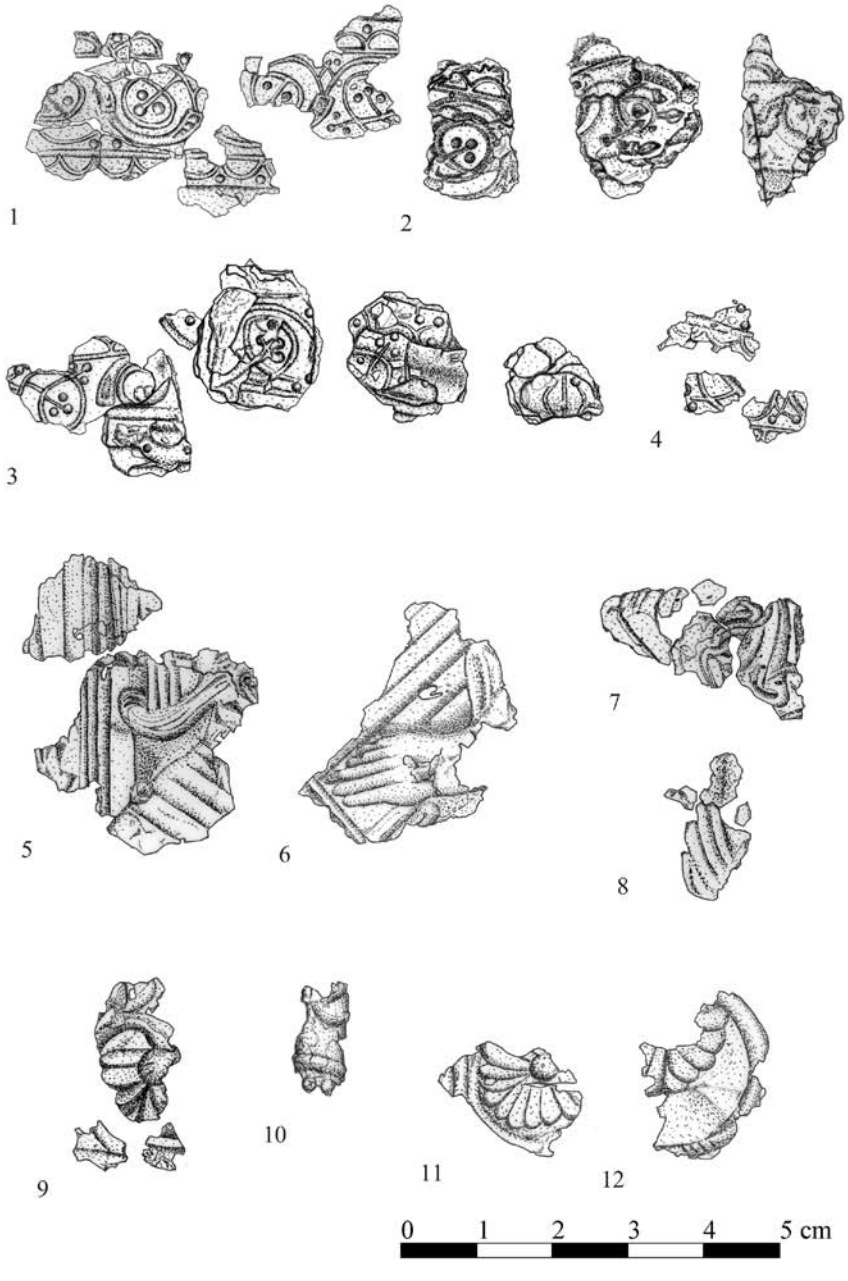

Figure 9 strip-shaped fragments with running vine-scroll ornaments, fragments with figural and with floral motif from Corrie Loch

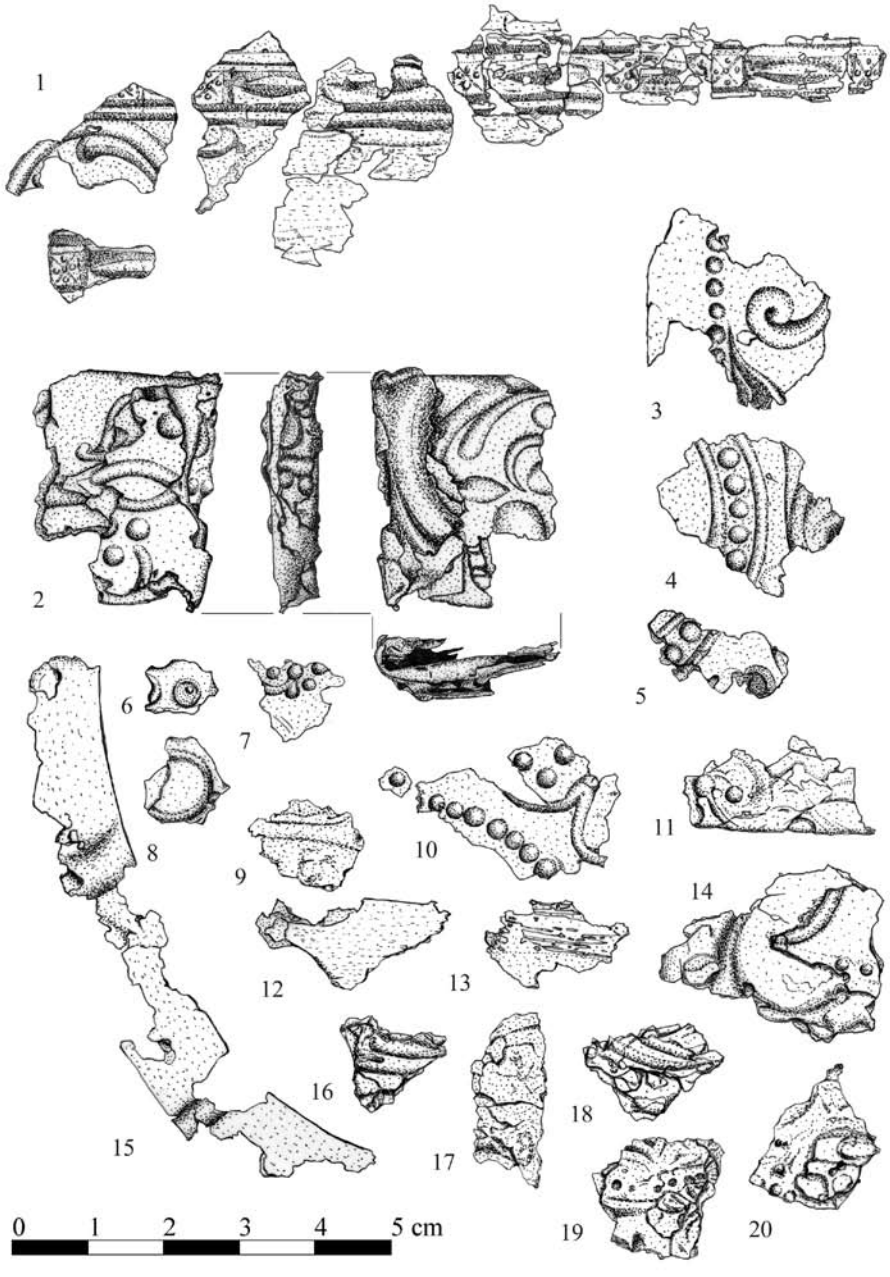

Figure 10 fragments with perlstab-pattern and with floral or pellet-border motifs from Corrie Loch

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THE MECHANICS OF OVERSEAS TRADE: DUMFRIES AND GALLOWAY, 1600 - 1850

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The difficulty of inland communication had long encouraged the proliferation of ports along the Scottish coastline, with little to choose between them before the expansion and reorientation of trade in the decades following the Restoration. In common with many of these ancient trading ports, merchants at Dumfries, Kirkcudbright, Wigtown and Stranraer were keen to engage in, and acquire the prestige associated with foreign trade and enjoyed a modicum of success exporting raw materials such as wool, skins and hides and importing commodities and luxury items. However, the long period of growth that following the Restoration created a new disparity between ports. This was linked to the growing specialisation of regional economies and saw mineral ports such as Alloa, Kirkcaldy, Ayr and Irvine grow rapidly from mid-eighteenth century, and the bulk of the nation's foreign trade increasingly channelled through a handful of major entrepôts including, Port Glasgow and Greenock on the Clyde and Leith and Bo'ness on the Forth.[1]

Against this background, this paper examines the organisation and changing character of Dumfries and Galloway's foreign trade between 1600 and 1850. It explores the mechanisms for its conduct and the increasing difficulties encountered by merchants seeking to engage in sustained, profitable overseas commerce. For the most part it is based on data extracted from a wide range of primary sources including; Collectors Quarterly Accounts; The Port of Dumfries Tonnage and Impost Accounts; the Accounts, Waste Books and Minutes of two locally-based trading companies, the first inaugurated in 1764 and the second in 1811 and the Day Book of George and Samuel Douglas and Co, 1782-1783.

Although little is known of the detail of the region's early seventeenth century commerce Coutts' examination of the mercantile community in Dumfries between 1600 and 1665 presents a fairly typical profile of Scottish burgh trade.[2] This involved selling to indwellers, sporadic overland forays - usually to the north of England[3] - and occasional overseas trade based on North Sea routes. During this period, a handful of enterprising individuals developed connections in Scotland's commercial capital, Edinburgh, and others apprenticed their sons to Edinburgh merchants who acted as 'middle-men' in a network of trade extending from England to the Low Countries. This centred on the export of raw materials, particularly wool and hides, and the import of small quantities of commodities and luxury items including salt, oil, vinegar, cloth, dyestuffs, alum, brimstone, iron and pewter.

Whilst seventeenth century economic horizons were undoubtedly limited, a number of enterprising men were 'prepared to take risks, preferably shared, in the pursuit of profit, using the surplus products of the rural economy.'[4] However, these developments in trade

1 For a detailed analysis of the changing structure and functions of British Ports see, G., Jackson *The History and Archaeology of Ports*, (Tadworth, 1983).

2 W., Coutts, 'Provincial Merchants and Society: A Study of Dumfries,' in M., Lynch, (ed.), *The Early Modern Town in Scotland*, (London, 1987), pp. 147 -163. Much of this analysis is derived from the Registers of Testaments and inventories quoted in the 'testaments testamentary.'

3 Specifically; Cumbria, Lancashire, Yorkshire, Derbyshire and Northamptonshire.

4 Coutts, *Provincial Merchants*, p.160.

were disrupted in 1638 by the Wars of the Covenant and thereafter blighted by civil and religious conflict for much of the remainder of the seventeenth century. Drained of both its wealth and manpower, the region's economy ground to a halt and, with nothing to sell or money for purchases, foreign, coastal and overland trade came to a virtual standstill. This led Thomas Tucker to note of Kirkcudbright, in 1655, that there were 'few and of these very poore merchants, or pedlers rather, tradeing with Ireland.'[5]

Despite these setbacks, the resilience of the mercantile community is evident from Smout's examination of Dumfries and Kirkcudbright's foreign trade in the closing decades of the seventeenth century.[6] At this time, trade was expanding as religious radicalism was countered by a more judicious approach to personal freedoms. Stability, resulting from greater tolerance in the 1680s, saw a resurgence of the entrepreneurialism that had propelled merchants and farmers to the forefront of regional economic developments in the earlier part of the century and as a consequence, enterprising merchants were once more capitalising on, and developing their connections, by the opening decades of the eighteenth century.

At this time, most vessels calling at Dumfries were owned elsewhere and most left in ballast. But locally produced millstones, fish and tallow were occasionally exported to Ireland and the Isle of Man, barrelled beef, mutton, hides and skins sent overland to England, and trade with Bordeaux, St. Martins and Nantes was revitalised by merchant partnerships such as James Muirhead and Thomas Irvine who, together with other partners, imported wine, brandy, fruit, olive oil, clothing and writing paper on the *Three Brothers of Dumfries*.[7]

In 1681, linen and skins were again being exported to Rotterdam. However, the condition of ports such as Wigtown, where 'there [was] no harbour, soe noe vessel of any burden can possibly come in,'[8] meant that Dutch imports were frequently transhipped from larger ports on the Forth estuary. These east coast ports were integral parts of the regular trade routes and endowed with more experienced mercantile communities and a greater supply of shipping - both of which made it easier for cargos to be assembled overseas. Nonetheless, mixed cargoes of soap, linseed, oil, starch, cordage, iron pots, writing paper, beer, drinking glasses, dyestuffs, hemp, liquorice and brass pans were occasionally imported direct at Kirkcudbright, 'one of the best ports on this side of Scotland,'[9] for carriage to Dumfries where, 'the badeness of comeing into the river on which [Dumfries] lies hinders theyr commerce by sea, soe as whatever they have come that way is commonly and usually landed at Kirkcowbright.'[10]

In the closing decades of the seventeenth century demand for construction materials from towns and villages emerging from the devastations of war and civil unrest elevated Norway, the source of deals and tar, to the most regular source of foreign trade. However,

5 T., Tucker, 'The Settlement of The Revenues of Excise and Customs in Scotland' in J. D., Marwick, (ed.), *Miscellany of the Scottish Burgh Records Society*, (Edinburgh, 1908), p. 28.
6 C., Smout, 'The Foreign Trade of Dumfries and Kirkcudbright, 1672 – 1696', *TDGNHAS* Vol. xxxvii, (1958-1959), pp. 36-47.
7 Ibid.
8 Tucker, *Settlement of The Revenues of Excise and Customs in Scotland*, p. 28.
9 Ibid., p. 28.
10 Ibid., p. 29.

it was rare for more than three or four vessels from non-British waters to call at Dumfries or Kirkcudbright and even fewer at Stranraer and Wigtown. Indeed, the absence of noteworthy quantities of staves and hoops, used in the construction of containers, suggests that there was still little to export. The region was not alone in this. As Davis's study of the English shipping industry confirms, much of England's trade to Norway was similarly 'one way,' with three out of every five vessels leaving in ballast.[11]

A new spirit of adventure is evident in the development of Baltic trade in the later seventeenth century and trade with America after 1707. Dumfries merchants sent the first of their own vessels, the *Adventure of Dumfries*, to Danzig in 1682[12] and from then until 1707, a total of fourteen voyages were made to Danzig, Stockholm and Gothenburg by vessels returning with cargos of raw materials that included timber, tar, flax, hemp, steel, glass, iron, wood and copper.[13] These were dangerous voyages to completely new markets but as *appendix 1* shows, despite the growing dominance of east coast ports such as Dundee, Leith and Perth, Dumfries and Wigtown merchants maintained a presence on a par with the majority of Scottish ports.

Throughout Scotland, European connections were strengthened in the first half of the eighteenth century as the variety and volume of manufactures imported from the Netherlands and Germany increased, in return for exported woollens and raw materials. Of particular note is the huge growth in the quantity of imported iron and timber that continued throughout the second half of the eighteenth century, alongside growing demand from the mining and ship-building industries for Baltic pit props and Riga masts.[14] Exploitation of highly productive coal seams and lead mines in the north and east of the region,[15] together with emergent shipbuilding industries helped to place Dumfries and Galloway at the forefront of this trend.

From at least the early eighteenth century, and in common with most ports, Dumfries's foreign trade was controlled by a mercantile elite operating in a variety of fluid partnerships, notably; Edward and Robert Maxwell; Hugh Lawson; James Jardine; Charles Stewart; James Guthrie and William and George Bell.[16] These were men with the combined advantages of capital, market intelligence and ability, and able to take advantage of the commercial clauses of the Act of Union that allowed Scots to trade openly with the colonies. For these merchants, based in a port whose hinterland lacked both significant exports and a substantial population demanding imports, the particular attractions of the tobacco trade are self-evident. As a high-earning re-export, it offered an opportunity to expand international trade unfettered by the poverty of the hinterland and, despite being regarded as a 'high-risk trade' before the middle of the eighteenth century, there was, as *table 1* indicates, a steady growth in the quantity of tobacco imported into Dumfries.

11 R., Davis, *The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, (London, 1962).
12 Smout, *Foreign Trade of Dumfries and Kirkcudbright*, p. 46.
13 Ibid.
14 G., Jackson, 'Scottish Shipping' in P.L., Cotterell & D.H., Aldcroft, *Shipping Trade and Commerce*, (Leicester, 1981), pp. 117-136.
15 I., Donnachie, *The Industrial Archaeology of Galloway*, (Newton Abbot, 1974) pp. 109-151.
16 Unless otherwise referenced all information concerning these merchants and the nature and organisation of their trade has been extracted from the *E504 Series, H.M. Customs Quarterly Accounts, 1742-1830*. (National Archive of Scotland).

Year	Vessel Tons	Timber Tons	Wine Tons	Tobacco Lbs.
1731	495	1470	145	627,000
1732	893	2306	20	1,081,920
1733	684	984	30	454,720
1734	963	1068	21	954,240
1735	805	803	15	2,322,800
1736	1770	1398	340	524,1600
1737	1530	1002	203	354,680
1738	650	990	60	251,520
1739	762	879	20	2,381,120
1740	804	736	30	2,020,480
1741	1004	450	12	1,115,520
1742	633	650	11	1,193,920
1743	860	400	13	1,348,840

Table 1. Schedule of Tonnage from Foreign Parts and Imports of Timber, Wine and Tobacco, Dumfries, 1731 –1743[17]

Customs records for the period 1750 to 1753, peak years for Dumfries foreign trade, reveal nothing exceptional about the goods brought into the port. On average, seventeen vessels entered annually, bringing tobacco from Virginia, iron, timber and flax from Scandinavia and the Baltic, fruit and wine from Southern Europe and the Channel Islands, dyestuffs and luxury goods from Rotterdam and small quantities of Spanish wine transhipped from Ireland.[18] Dumfries merchants re-exported their tobacco to all of these destinations both on their own account and for William Alexander and Sons, Edinburgh agents for the Farmers General of the French Customs.[19]

With the exception of a Dublin-bound vessel carrying oakbark, barley and finished clothing, all outward bound vessels carried either tobacco or supplies for Virginia's colonists including, cloth, copper kettles, furniture, glass, haberdashery, hardware, guns, saddles, silk, spades, shoes and boots. All of these goods appear to have been owned by local merchants but most, if not all, were almost certainly procured outwith the region, which produced little in the way of manufactured goods, 'the industry of this town being employed for the accommodation of its own inhabitants and those of the adjacent country rather than any considerable manufacture or article for distant markets.'[20] Indeed, the Port Tonnage and Impost Accounts indicate that between June 1750 and June 1751, 383-tons of merchant goods were brought into the port but when the period June 1778 to June 1779

17 Dumfries and Galloway Regional Archive, GH1/1, *Abstract of Tonnage and Impost, 1731-1746.*

18 This is based on data extracted from the E504 series, *HM. Customs Quarterly Accounts,* (National Archive of Scotland) and the GH1 series, *Tonnage and Impost Accounts Belonging to the Port of Dumfries*, 1731-1790, (Dumfries and Galloway Regional Archive).

19 Ibid.

20 Sinclair, *Statistical Account of Scotland*, Dumfriesshire, p.119.

is examined, there is a marked decline to only 205-tons.[21] This decline runs alongside the port's disengagement with the tobacco trade and clearly reflects the disruption to transatlantic trade occasioned by the war of 1776-1783, when tobacco trade was diverted to direct trade with Europe and small ports encountered considerable difficulty in sustaining trade with America. It also suggests that during its 'hey-day' in foreign trade, Dumfries acted as a collection port for goods transhipped coastwise and a distribution port for goods brought in from abroad. Furthermore, since few vessels bothered with the treacherous journey to the town dock, preferring to make use of facilities down river at Carsethorn, the indications are that during its 'tobacco period' the port functioned as an entity distinct from the economy of its hinterland.

Although local merchants were quite capable of filling a small vessel alone, and frequently did, they were not averse to sharing freight, risk and expertise. For example, in May 1751, four partnerships, Hugh Lawson and Co., James Guthrie and Co., William Bell and Co,. and George Gordon and Robert Maxwell, dispatched goods on the *St. Andrew* for Virginia. It returned in February 1752 with each partnership's consignments of tobacco and timber. In the same year and to the same ends, James and Thomas Corbett and Co., and Edward and Robert Maxwell and George Gordon, shared space on the *Lilly*. These were men with wide-ranging mercantile interests. They re-exported their tobacco to Europe in vessels that returned with dyestuffs, linseed and flax etc. from Rotterdam; timber and hemp from Riga; deals from Norway and wine and fruit from southern Europe, much of which they subsequently transhipped, in smaller vessels, to other ports in Britain and Ireland.[22]

A similar pattern is in evidence at Kirkcudbright where, between 1751 and 1754, twenty-four vessels entered from overseas.[23] Of these, nine came from Virginia carrying tobacco that was subsequently re-exported to the Norwegian ports of Drunton, Longsound and Bergen, the French ports of Dieppe and Harve-le-Grace, Rotterdam in the Netherlands and Ireland, in vessels that returned with timber and tar from Norway and limestone and linseed from Ireland. Other exports included a single consignments of tobacco ash and two of oakbark to Ireland, British linen, thread and haberdashery to Antigua and woollens to Rotterdam. Vessels carrying plantation stores sailed for Virginia in October 1751 and January and November 1752.[24]

It cannot be said with certainty which of the vessels loading or discharging at any of the region's ports, at this time, belonged or were owned therein. However, it is fair to assume that the two vessels recorded in the Quarterly Accounts as being 'of Kirkcudbright,' *Friendship of Kirkcudbright* and *Adventure of Kirkcudbright*, were locally owned and that entries such as *Duke of Whitehaven, Lillie of Port Glasgow, Martha of Portpatrick, Olive of Irvine, Phoenix of Dundalk, Sarah of Salcoats, Unity of Lancaster,* and *Queensberry of Dumfries* – similarly indicate a vessel's home port. However, the Customs Quarterly Accounts are port specific and it is impossible to determine whether a vessel's whole cargo

21 GH1/1-2 & GH1/10-11. *Port of Dumfries Tonnage and Impost Accounts, 1750-1751 and 1778-1779*, (Dumfries and Galloway Regional Archive).
22 E504/9, (National Archive of Scotland).
23 E504/21, (National Archive of Scotland).
24 Ibid.

was loaded or offloaded or if goods were retained on board for distribution through other ports. It may be that vessels wholly owned elsewhere were freighted by local merchants. Alternatively, these vessels may have sailed around the coast loading and discharging individual cargoes at various ports or, simply moved between ports selling at the mast or, taken a predetermined route organised by merchants who, through their correspondence with 'Correspondents' in other ports, were able to spread news of trade potential.

For example. On the *Queensberry's* return from Virginia in the Summer of 1751, turpentine, tar, timber and tobacco, belonging to William and Thomas Bell, were unloaded at Dumfries before she continued along the coast to discharge 375,000lb. of Virginia leaf tobacco belonging to the partnership of Robert Fergusson and John Milligan at Kirkcudbright.[25] Thereafter, the vessel disappears from the records until its return to Dumfries, with deals and iron from Gothenburg, in the summer of 1752.[26] There is no indication of what happened to the vessel in the interim but it is not unreasonable to surmise that its coastal journey continued after Kirkcudbright. In a similar vein, *Peggy* arrived at Kirkcudbright, from Virginia, in April 1751, off-loaded tobacco for George Bell and timber and plants for John Graham and, with no indication of any outward bound cargo having been loaded at Kirkcudbright, subsequently departed Dumfries for Virginia with plantation goods jointly owned by Bell and Alex McCourtney.[27] Likewise, the *Dalkeith* returned to Dumfries from Rotterdam in January 1751, carrying small parcels of linseed, scrap iron, and flax for a number of local merchants, but subsequently departed Kirkcudbright for Bergen in April 1752 with tobacco owned by others.[28] That tobacco had been brought into Kirkcudbright, from Dumfries, on board the *Peggie*, in November 1749, April 1750 and August 1750.[29]

Each of these circumstances suggest active and widespread mercantile links and indicate that whilst the region's foreign trade may have been of relative insignificance, when viewed as part of a wider, national picture, its ports were valuable links in the chain of collection and dispersal points that was integral to much of the nation's foreign trade. This role was not unique to Dumfries and Galloway. At Dundee, for example, linen exports were sent regularly via Glasgow and London to North America. Aberdeen exported salmon that had been brought coastwise from neighbouring ports, to its overseas markets, and Ayr had a role in servicing Glasgow.

Though capable of generating significant profits tobacco commerce was 'inherently speculative dependent as it was on the whims of the weather, the London money market and the vicissitudes of demand in continental Europe.'[30] It was a high-risk trade calling for commercial skills, strong nerves and healthy finances on the part of those involved. When the *Neptune* foundered in the Solway in May 1749, her damaged cargo of tobacco was burnt on the instruction of the Commissioners. In the same year, merchants shipping tobacco on the *Peggy* suffered similarly when their vessel foundered. Their salvaged and

25 E504/9/21, (National Archive of Scotland).
26 Ibid.
27 E504/9/21, (National Archive of Scotland).
28 Ibid.
29 Ibid.
30 T. M., Devine, *The Tobacco Lords*, (Edinburgh, 1975), p.7.

apparently uninsured cargo was forfeit in lieu of salvage charges and sold at public auction two years later, in order to meet the Customs' charges.[31]

Despite growing mercantile expertise the relationship between supply and demand was tenuous. Occasionally, tobacco was re-exported within days, as with that brought into Dumfries and dispatched for Drunton, by John Milligan, in May 1751, but more often, goods remained in bonded warehouses for considerable periods of time before a market could be found.[32] Robert Ferguson, for example, was forced to wait thirty-five months before the tobacco he brought in on the *Thistle*, in January 1749, was finally sent to Dublin.[33] 'Above all, the tobacco trade was hungry for capital'[34] and such delays inevitably impacted on cash flow. Traders were required to pay duty of one penny on each pound of imported tobacco, in cash - although the remainder of the duty was bondable. This strained the resources of all but the wealthiest of merchants and, region-wide, it was not unusual to find warehoused goods being confiscated and sold to meet customs dues. This is seen in two entries in the Customs Quarterly Accounts for the Port of Wigtown dated 14 February 1753; 'sold out of King's w'house for payment of duties which has remained there six months – 51 Galls Geneva' and, 'sold out of the King's w'house for payment of duties which has remained there above six months 37 pounds barley not French.'[35] Thus, whilst issues concerning the availability of the right vessel at the right time are important, when seen in terms of risk to cargo and cash flow there were clearly pragmatic advantages to sharing freight, importing smaller, manageable quantities and operating in open, fluid partnerships.

The ability of their mercantile communities to exploit opportunities offered by the opening of Baltic Trade, and to engage in colonial trade after 1707 enabled Dumfries and its outport at Kirkcudbright, to emerge as the region's principal trading ports by the mid-eighteenth century. These opportunities were not exploited at Wigtown and Stranraer where overseas trade was more narrowly focussed and reflected proximity to Ireland. Stranraer's principal export was cured white herrings to the Irish ports of Dundalk, Newry, Dublin, Londonderry and Donaghadee - the salt for curing and barrel hoops having been imported from St. Martin. Other small-scale imports of horses from Donaghadee, oats, linseed and lime from Larne, flaxseed from Belfast and oatmeal and fir timbers from Dublin, reflect the undeveloped nature of the economy although, by 1754, a small export trade in linen, handkerchiefs, garters and gravel to Larne, kelp and barley to Belfast and barley to the Isle of Man had begun to develop.[36]

Ireland was also the focus of Wigtown's foreign trade which was generally limited to the occasional shipment of a small number of horses or cattle, although there are indications of improving living standards with the arrival in 1751/1752 of eight vessels (including two from Ireland) bringing timber and tar from Longsound, Christiansound and Drunton, and mixed cargoes from Rotterdam and Bergen.[37] Thereafter, the number

31 E504/21/2, (National Archive of Scotland). 13,288lb of tobacco was sold duty free in August 1751 for 6¾*d*. per pound.
32 E504/9, (National Archive of Scotland).
33 Ibid.
34 Devine, *Tobacco Lords*, p.3.
35 E504/37/12, (National Archive of Scotland).
36 E.504/34, (National Archive of Scotland).
37 E.504/37, (National Archive of Scotland).

of vessels from foreign parts diminished and by 1754, only the *Robert and Elizabeth of Irvine* carrying pitch, tar, walnut logs and plants, and the *Jean and Betty of Wigtown*, with cowhides brought goods to the port.[38]

Wigtown's mercantile community has been criticised for its conservatism,[39] yet there are occasional examples of local entrepreneurship. In August 1752, Alex Durkie dispatched an eclectic cargo of starch, currants, sugar, figs, castile soap, whalebone, brandy, Spanish wine, coffee, chinaware, calico, silk handkerchiefs, nutmeg, cinnamon and sage on his own account, on the *Endevour of Dumfries*, to Rotterdam.[40] By cross-referencing with the Dumfries Quarterly Accounts the process by which this cargo was accumulated becomes clear.[41] In July 1752, Thomas Bell sailed the *Queensberry* from Dumfries carrying twelve chests [1900*lb.*] of liquorice and thirteen barrels [1½ *tons*] of train oil of foreign fishing. These same items had been secured at the King's warehouse in Wigtown three months earlier. They had been brought in on board the *Cornelia* from Rotterdam and Bergen, by Durkie, the ship's master, together with deals, snuff, shammy skins, seal skins, buck skins, hemp, twist for band-strings, liquorice, and seal oyle of foreign fish, for John Little & Co., Gilbert Patterson and John Little. Durkie appears to have followed the not uncommon practice of utilising spare capacity to ship his own goods. On this occasion 'the said master not having reported his ship or charge' the goods were confiscated and sold to Thomas Bell but over time, Durkie was apparently able to accumulate a sufficient quantity of goods to make the cost of re-export financially viable. [42]

Because suitable ships were difficult to come by, early trade, particularly trade in small ports, was complex, involving transactions with merchants in other ports to secure or dispatch goods to, or from, areas outside the immediate experience of local men. It was clearly not beyond the realm of possibility for an individual to organise trade but the difficulty of finding, filling and financing vessels, coupled with imperfect knowledge of trading potential and heavy reliance on personal contacts in both British and foreign ports, meant that trading groups were the preferred *modus operandi*. This was particularly so in the early stages when there was considerably more to gain from sharing risk, knowledge and connections than in competing for scarce resources and opportunities. Increasing activity encouraged the foundation of just such an organisation in Kirkcudbright. The Company Accounts and Waste Book of Alexander Bell, Edward Fox, Charles Stewart and John Wilson who, in May 1765, agreed to trade together 'In Company - each one forth' not only show how wide-ranging and complex trade had become, but also the presence and pivotal role of commercial networks in Holland, Italy, Scandinavia, America and the Isle of Man, as well as England.[43]

The company was formed in May 1764 and traded for seven months. Each partner

38 Ibid.
39 F.H., Groome, *Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland, VI,* (Edinburgh, 1886), p. 408.
40 E504/37, (National Archive of Scotland).
41 H1/1/2, (Dumfries and Galloway Regional Archive).
42 E504/37/2, (National Archive of Scotland).
43 See: Hill C., *The Maritime Economy of Dumfries and Galloway 1707 – 1850,* (Strathclyde, 2004). This work contains detailed analysis of this Company's *Accounts and Waste Book*, for the period May 1764 to November 1764. These are contained in a single, uncatalogued volume housed in the Hornel Library, Kirkcudbright. No further reference will be made to this source in the text but all figures and quotations are derived from it.

contributed £500 to the 'start-up capital' (following the death of Alexander Bell, just two months after the launch of the company, his successor, William Smith, paid £550 to join the partnership; £500 capital plus £50 to secure his entitlement to 'a share of past advantages') and in September 1764, paid a further £50 to augment the capital. They each received an interim dividend of £100 before the partnership was brought to a close on 30 November 1764, when each partner's realised and unrealised capital was valued at £648. 5*s*. 10¼*d*. Having put £550. 0*s*. 0*d*. into the company Stuart, Fox and Wilson each received a return of around thirty-six *per* cent on their investment whilst Smith's return was slightly lower because he had come late to the Partnership and paid an additional £50 into it.

Within days of constituting itself, the partnership purchased its only vessel, *George*, for £400. The *George* appears to have undertaken only one round trip, sailing to Rotterdam in May 1764 and returning in June, before being sold in August for £300; a loss of £100. The sale of the *George* may simply have been a pragmatic move as the cost of owning and controlling the *George* appears to have outweighed the benefits of doing so - within two months of its purchase, £40 had been spent on outfitting and repairs, £9 on insurance, £5. 10*s*. 0*d*. on the master's petty cash and £45 for the master and crew's wages. However, as the shipments itemised below indicate, the partnership continued to trade profitably by freighting space in other vessels.

The Partnership's first venture comprised a cargo of 60-tons of lead purchased for £600[44] on three months credit and 1,200 locally produced stockings purchased for £300 cash.[45] These goods were sent to Rotterdam, 'as an adventure'[46], on 10 May 1764, consigned to the Partnership's agent in Rotterdam, John Herries. It is unlikely that this 'adventure' was without knowledge of the Rotterdam market. Richard Lothian, from whom the lead was purchased, held a mining concession on the Earl of Hopetoun's Lanarkshire estate at Leadhills, in close proximity to that held by Crauford and Partners at Wanlockhead. This latter concern originated in a Scottish-Dutch family that was well accustomed to disposing of native lead in the markets of Rotterdam.[47] Letters received from Herries on 4 June 1764[48] and 20 June 1764[49] confirm the sale and payment of 15,000 *Guilders*[50] for both the lead and stockings. Taking into account Herries' commission of two *per* cent of the sale price and the cost of insurance on the goods, calculated at three *per* cent of their value, the partnership made a profit of £320. 10*s*. 0*d*.on its first consignment and received additional freight income of £49. 10*s*. 0*d*. from the voyage.

The *George* left Rotterdam for its return to Kirkcudbright on 20 June 1764 and arrived on 12 July, carrying goods valued at £374. These comprised, 50lb of Bohea tea costing £64. 3*s*. 4*d*., one hundred hogsheads of linseed costing £275 and one hundred mats of flax, each weighing 1*cwt*. 1*st*. and costing £27. 10*s*. 0*d*. This cargo had been procured by Herries in

44 This is somewhat lower than the average, mid-eighteenth century price of between £13 and *£15* per ton but is indicative of the fact that a high proportion of local output reached Holland as galena or 'potters ore.'

45 *Company Accounts and Waste Book,* 10.5.1764, (Hornel Library).

46 Ibid.

47 T. C., Smout, 'Lead mining in Scotland 1650-1850' in P., Payne, (ed.), *Studies in Business History*, (London, 1967), p.115.

48 *Company Accounts and Waste Book*, 4.6.1764, (Hornel Library).

49 *Company Accounts and Waste Book*, 20.6.1764, (Hornel Library).

50 1 Guilder = 22*d*.

return for a commission of two *per* cent of its purchase value.[51] It is not clear whether this was a speculative or commissioned cargo but whilst forty hogsheads of linseed were sold for £100 ten days after landing and the tea and remaining sixty hogsheads of linseed sold for £50 and £150 respectively in September, the flax was not sold and is listed amongst the partnership's assets at close of business in November 1764.[52] Thus, despite a profit of £25. on the sale of the linseed, and freight income of £50. 10*s*. 0*d*. from 'sundry persons,'[53] there was no domestic market for the flax and the tea was sold at a loss. This was not a profitable voyage which, together with the cost of maintaining an ocean-going vessel, may have contributed to the partnership's decision to sell the *George*.[54]

Whilst the *George* was *en route* to Rotterdam the partnership received thirty pieces of cambrick and thirty pieces of Holland from on board the *Success* and consigned by Thomas Wilkinson of Amsterdam.[55] This shipment arrived on the 20 May 1764 and was quickly sold to the advantage of both Wilkinson and the partnership, which received the usual commission of two *per* cent of the sale price (£6. 2*s*. 0*d*.) for managing the sale.

The *Success* was used again in September 1764 when forty pipes of port wine costing £751. 13*s*. 4*d*. and one hundred barrels of salmon costing £300, all paid for in cash, were exported and consigned to Robert Jackson in London, 'to dispose of on account of the company.'[56] Jackson had sold all by 16 October 1764, for £1,250, making a gross profit of £198. 6*s*. 8*d*. from which shipping charges of £5. 10*s*. 0*d*., insurance premium and commission were deducted.[57] Jackson appears to have been a key business connection, undertaking a range of commercial activities on behalf of the partnership including, collecting bills, and exchanging/discounting bills on the London market.

In yet another transaction, the partnership assembled what appears to have been a requisition for 300-tons of lead, which they purchased for £300 on three months credit,[58] two hundred yards of sterling serges costing £10, eight barrels of salmon costing £16 and sundry unspecified goods costing £90. These were all shipped to Thomas Wilkinson in Amsterdam on 22 June 1764, aboard the *Caledonia*. In return for their efforts, the partnership received the usual commission of £2%.[59]

Transactions in the final three months of the partnership continue to provide a very clear indication of the breadth of interest and mercantile connections underpinning regional trade during the second half of the eighteenth century. In August, they received a £2% commission of £14. 2*s*. 0*d*. for a shipment of linen and hose, on the *Triton*, to John Paisley of Lisbon[60] who sent the partnership sixty pipes of port wine on the *Dolphin* in the same month.[61] This was an expensive cargo to import. Prime costs and charges amounted to

51 *Company Accounts and Waste Book*, 20.6.1764, (Hornel Library).
52 Ibid., 30.11.1764.
53 Ibid., 26.7.1764.
54 Ibid., 20.8.1764.
55 Ibid., 20.5.1764.
56 Ibid., 20.9.1764.
57 Ibid., 16.10.1764.
58 This bill was eventually paid, with three months interest of £2. 10*s* .0*d*., on 15 Nov. 1764, five months after its issue.
59 *Company Accounts and Waste Book*, 25.6.1764, (Hornel Library).
60 Ibid., 12.8.1764.
61 Ibid., 25.8.1764.

£480 and customs charges to £640. Freight cost £75, cartage and porterage £3. 10*s*. 0*d*. and commission of £8. 2*s*. 3*d*. was paid.[62] Yet it was a profitable venture. Twenty pipes were sold within days for £600[63] and the remainder shipped on the *Success* to London, and sold for £751. 0*s*. 4*d*.[64], producing an overall profit of £225. 3*s*. 4*d*.

Not every venture went smoothly. A letter received from John Herries of Amsterdam, during September 1764, confirmed shipment on the *Athol* of fifty pieces of taffy and 1,000*lb.* of green tea, which together cost £412. 10*s*. 0*d*., to Messers Black & Ross, on the Isle of Man, to sell on the partnership's behalf.[65] This was an unfortunate venture as the *Athol* was lost but, having paid £8 to insure their goods for £400, their loss was minimised.[66]

The concern's last trading activities began in October 1764 with the import of twenty hogsheads of Virginia tobacco on the *Lilly*, consigned to them by Colonel John Lee of Virginia, to sell on his behalf.[67] The bulk of this consignment was re-exported on the *Nonesuch* to St. Malo[68] and the remainder sent on the *Norwich* to an undisclosed destination.[69] After deduction of £45 freight charges, neat old subsidy of £62. 10s. 0d., cooperage, cartage, porterage and warehousing amounting to £7, commission of £18. 16s. 3d. and unspecified customs charges, Colonel Lee received £121. 16s. 0d. from the sale of his tobacco.[70]

As a partnership, Smith, Fox, Stewart and Wilson did not confine their activities to the business of importing and exporting. Additional income was derived from insuring goods belonging to others – 'received from John Hynd for insuring a parcel on board the *Lilly* for Virginia @ 3%. £15.'[71] and, 'received from Messers Hugh Lawson and Co for insuring £1,000 of cargo of Tobacco on board the *St Andrew* [A.K. master] from Virginia @ 3.5%, £35.'[72] They also made money from collecting debts and discounting bills. In this they followed the practice of many larger, more established concerns including William Douglas and Company of Glasgow, (which had strong ties with Dumfries and Galloway's mercantile communities[73]). The Day Book kept by the London Branch of this firm, for the period September 1782 to June 1785, indicates substantial earnings from insurance premiums, the sale of lottery tickets and from investing, both for themselves and for others, in stocks and annuities.[74]

The activities of the Kirkcudbright partnership are not untypical of those conducted through many small, local ports to mid-eighteenth century. From this point, however, the

62 Ibid.
63 Ibid.,15.9.1764.
64 Ibid., 20.9.1764.
65 Ibid., 20.9.1764.
66 Ibid., 16.10.1764.
67 Ibid., 1.10.1764.
68 Ibid., 6.10.1764.
69 Ibid., 25.11.1764.
70 Ibid., 30.11.1764.
71 Ibid., 17.8.1764.
72 Ibid., 12.10.1764.
73 MF123/1-23, *George and Samuel Douglas & Co Merchants: Day Book, Sept. 1782 – July 1783*, (Dumfries and Galloway Regional Archive). Entries in the Day Book show that Patrick Heron, David Sproat, Sam McCall, the Earl of Galloway and William Shambellie, amongst others, conducted regular business transactions with various branches of the Douglas firm.
74 Ibid.

bulk of the nation's foreign trade was increasingly channelled through a small number of large ports, such as Port Glasgow and Greenock on the Clyde and Leith and Bo'ness on the Forth which, in addition to their extensive commercial networks, benefited from their locations. All stood on major estuaries with ease of access to the sea and to large scale developments in their hinterlands. They had the advantage of deep-water sites, proximity to good factor endowments, navigable communications with industrialising hinterlands and, in the case of the west coast port, shifts in the direction of trade occasioned by the opening of transatlantic routes. Thus, whilst it is clear that those in Dumfries and Galloway who were concerned with overseas trade during the eighteenth century had both diverse interests and a breadth of connections, it is also apparent that as the century progressed, their (declining) overseas trading activities reflected changes in the national economy and the concentration of trade in major ports outwith the region. [75]

For Dumfries, the disadvantages of over-specialisation in a single [re]-export commodity is increasingly evident from the 1760s when its tobacco trade declined. Participation in tobacco commerce had been the main lynchpin of the port's foreign trade and the principal determinant in vessel deployment. With its collapse the rationale for sending vessels on long and dangerous voyages for goods that might just as easily be procured from other British ports ceased to exist. By the end of the 1770s, the port was receiving an annual average of only three vessels from foreign parts and rarely dispatched more than one. And whilst there was a slight upturn from the later 1780s and in the opening decades of the nineteenth century, linked to the importation of North American timber, foreign trade never again approached the levels of the first half of the eighteenth century.

In the west of the region, the entrepreneurial zeal seen at Dumfries and Kirkcudbright is less evident. Foreign imports and exports listed in the Stranraer Quarterly Accounts for 1789, 1815 and 1829 reflect both continued involvement in herring fishing and the evolving nature of the rural economy. Accordingly, of the fifty-nine vessels that entered from overseas in 1789, forty-five came from Ireland and the overwhelming majority of those carried lime shells from Larne or oxen from Drogheda.[76] Two further vessels carrying Irish linen and saddles entered from Belfast. The *Squirrel* of Stranraer, the *Rose* and the *George* of Wigtown brought iron and deals, oars and handspikes from Gothenburg and, the *Jupiter* of Stranraer brought timber from Memel. However, with the exception of a single voyage by the *Rose* to Drunton, with four hundred quarters of barley, exports were wholly confined to supplies to the herring fishery, (beef, meal, butter, molasses, biscuits, barley and potatoes), and occasional small cargos of slates, kelp and ash to Ireland.[77]

Overall, the pattern of trade remained broadly similar in 1815, with a slight decline in imported Irish oxen reflecting the switch to the lighter, horse drawn plough. Apart from the Irish traffic, only two other vessels, both belonging to Maryport, entered, carrying an assortment of wood, and masts from New Brunswick. In terms of exports, seven ship-

75 Together, these ports accounted for forty-six *per* cent of tonnage entering and fifty-seven *per* cent of tonnage clearing Scottish ports between 1776 and 1780. This percentage had changed slightly by 1789-1791 to forty-three *per* cent and forty-seven *per* cent respectively, reflecting growth of other western ports such as Port Patrick, Ayr and Irvine, which were involved in Irish trade. See Jackson, *History and Archaeology of Ports*, p. 31.

76 E504/34/8, (National Archive of Scotland).

77 E504/34/1789/1815/1829, (National Archive of Scotland).

ments of between six and three hundred barrels of herrings were sent to Belfast and Dublin (which also received potatoes, a plough and two carts) and a cargo of wheat, barley and potatoes was sent on the *Providence* to Lisbon. These were relatively short-haul activities and all the vessels appear to have been local.[78]

By 1829, trade with Ireland was no longer regarded as 'foreign' and whilst it certainly continued, it ceased to be recorded in the Quarterly Accounts and cannot be quantified.[79] Thus, imports from 'overseas' were restricted to five shipments of timber, three from Memel and two from St Johns, on vessels from outwith Stranraer including, *Fame* of Kirkcaldy, *Terry* of Maryport and *Experiment* of Maryport. Exports were confined to agricultural surplus, including a shipment of potatoes to Malta and Gibraltar and potatoes, oatmeal and livestock to the Isle of Man. On each occasion the merchandise was shipped in a vessel that had arrived in ballast from the Isle of Man.[80] The nature of these activities suggest that outside of coastal waters, merchants in Stranraer were moving away from using locally owned vessels and that rather than engage in long-haul voyages they were contracting for the delivery of timber and iron.[81]

Overall, the early nineteenth century was a period of considerable expansion in Britain's export trade[82] but the difficulties encountered by merchants operating out of small ports and seeking to remain active in foreign trade are evident in the history of the Kirkcudbright Shipping Company (KSC) which operated from 1811 to 1817.[83] With the exception of two men from Dumfries this enterprise was sponsored entirely by the local community (*Appendix2*) and, at first sight, its principal shareholders appear to have been exceptionally well-connected. For example: the brother of Chairman William Mure was head clerk at *Rathbone Bros.*, an important Liverpool merchant house specialising in Baltic, North American and Irish trade, and an agent for ships sailing to America and Canada.[84] Robert Cochrane's father had built extensive overseas connections at the head of a large smuggling syndicate and his family's intimacy with the Lennox family would have given him preferential access to *Lennox Maitland and Co.*, a mercantile house with branches in North America.[85] Robert Gordon's father was a founding partner in *Stirling Gordon and Co.*, West India Merchants, two of his brothers owned plantations in Tobago and South Carolina and others were partners in their father's firm.[86] William Smith, was similarly well connected both at home and in the colonies whilst James Rankin's brother, Adam, a notable Dumfries magnate, was of seminal importance to the Company. By 1811 Adam was chartering several vessels annually to bring timber from North America to Dumfries and was the first to 'employ' the KSC's *Britannia*. It is clear from the archive that the

78 E504/34/1815, (National Archive of Scotland).

79 Anglo-Irish trade was not treated as part of the coasting trade until after 10 October 1823. (3 Geo. IV,c.72). Trade with Ireland was thus categorized and recorded as 'foreign' until the early nineteenth century.

80 E504/34/1815, (National Archive of Scotland).

81 E504/34/1829, (National Archive of Scotland).

82 This increased by 146% in volume between 1800 and 1830G. See; Jackson, 'The Ports' in D., Aldcroft & M., Freeman, (eds.), *Transport in the Industrial Revolution*, (Manchester, 1983), pp. 177-209.

83 Stewartry Museum: 351. *Records of the Kirkcudbright Shipping Company 1811 - 1817*. A detailed account of the history of this concern is contained in: C., Hill, *A Galloway Venture*, (Kirkcudbright, 1999).

84 L., Nottingham, *Rathbone Brothers From Merchant to Banker 1742-1992.* (Liverpool,1992), p. 35.

85 See: *Preamble of the Kirkcudbright Shipping Company Minute Book* and J.H., Callender, *The Cochrane Family of Kirkcudbright and New York*, (New York, 1832), p. 54.

86 T., Fraser, (ed.), *The Gordons of Craichlaw*, (Dalbeattie, 1924).

company's managers had anticipated regular commissions from Adam Rankin and that this was key to the Company's viability. John Callie, Samuel McKnight, and John, Adam, James and Alexander Rae[87] were all experienced shippers and ship owners and Callie and McKight are known to have had business connections in Dumfries, Leith, Glasgow, Whitehaven, Stafford Preston, Londonderry, Inveraray and Greenock.[88]

The key to any ship's ability to make a profit lies in its efficient deployment and, as Jackson shows in his study of Dundee,[89] the ability to fill idle time by interweaving different trades was crucial to economic and thus profitable working. As Table 2 (below) shows, *Britannia's* managers were unsuccessful in achieving the ideal deployment pattern of two long-haul trips meshed with coasting or visits to Europe and all too often *Britannia* lay idle.

Date(s)	**Deployment**
May-Aug 1811	North America
Sept-Oct 1811	Unproductive.
Oct 1811-Apr 1812	Working a triangular route transporting coal from Whitehaven to Ireland and picking up any freight from there to Liverpool i.e. grain.
Apr- Oct 1812	Lisbon and Miramichi
Oct 1812 - May 1813	Whitehaven/Ireland/Liverpool
May 1813 - Feb 1814	South America - Rio de Janeiro
Feb - May 1814	Unproductive
May -Oct 1814	Newfoundland
Oct 1814 - Apr 1815	Unproductive
Apr 1815 - May 1816	Maranham [North coast of Brazil]
May -Aug 1816	Unproductive
Aug 1816	Chartered to Sweden for timber
18 Sept 1816	Ship sank off Gothenburg.

Table 2: Deployment Pattern of the Ship *Britannia*, 1811-1816[90]

Interspersed with two, largely unprofitable, forays into the coal and coasting trade, the KSC accomplished only five foreign commissions before its collapse in 1816. Poor communications, the availability and size of cargoes, freight rates, weather conditions and overheads were but a few of the variables affecting the profitability of all early nineteenth century shipping ventures and, inevitably, the fortunes of the Kirkcudbrightshire enterprise rested on the ability of its managers to overcome these obstacles and deploy their capital

87 The Rae's were an established sea-faring family and the founding generation of 'Rae and Rae', Liverpool shipowners. John Rae was responsible for the purchase of the 175-ton *Britannia*, at Lancaster, for £2,400.

88 I., Donnachie, *The Industrial Archaeology of Galloway*, (Newton Abbot, 1974).

89 G., Jackson, *The Trade and Shipping of Dundee 1780-1850*, (Dundee, 1991), pp. 62-66.

90 Source: C., Hill, *A Galloway Venture*, (1999), p.16.

in such a way as to maximise potential. However, they also faced a number of extraneous factors including a general trade depression and war with America which raised overheads and imposed the inherent constraints of the convoy system.

Having purchased *Britannia* in March 1811, her owners could reasonably expect to accomplish two voyages to North America in the first year, which would establish the Company's credentials in foreign trade and set it on the road to financial stability. The first charter went exceptionally well. *Britannia* set sail for Nova Scotia within six weeks of purchase, completed her commission in three months and was immediately re-engaged by her charterer, Adam Rankin.

This second charter went badly. Having encountered what the captain described as a 'violent storm' and the owners 'nothing but a puff of wind from the WNW'[91], *Britannia* returned (safely) to Whitehaven but the loss of this important North American charter and, with it, the confidence of local timber importers, had far reaching effects. Between January 1812 and August 1816, twenty foreign-going vessels entered Kirkcudbright of which eighteen were registered at Maryport and Wokingham and all but two carried North American timber consigned to James and/or Adam Rankin.[92] Undoubtedly, *Britannia's* owners had hoped to 'have had her constantly in their employ'[93] and having failed to secure a niche in this lucrative trade *Britannia's* owners were forced to adopt a tramp style operation, turning first to the coal and coasting trades.The aim was to charter *Britannia* to Liverpool and from there, to secure a foreign charter. However, difficulties in securing a back freight frustrated this ambition until after a second shipment of coal from Whitehaven to Ireland[94] — where the captain secured a freight of grain to Liverpool. Ambitions were again thwarted when *Britannia* sustained damage entering Liverpool harbour, keeping her out of commission for a further four months. During this time prodigious efforts to secure a gainful charter achieved little, despite utilising the Chairman's connection with the House of Rathbone. This was not helped by a general slump in trade which, for a time, saw even Glasgow facing 'unprecedented and almost total stagnation of trade and manufactures.'[95]

During this period two freights, to Brazil and Lisbon, were offered, but neither guaranteed a cargo home. To send out a vessel in search of freight was always a risk, but to do so during a trade slump, knowing that ships in the Mediterranean and at Lisbon were experiencing great difficulty securing freight to the United Kingdom, whilst those in the West Indies were offering reduced rates rather than return in ballast,[96] would have been irresponsible. Thus, whilst eventually accepting a freight to Lisbon, the Management Committee did so on the basis that *Britannia* would continue to Miramichi for a cargo of wood on their own account. She sailed from Liverpool in April 1812, left Lisbon for Miramichi in August and returned to Kirkcudbright in October.

91 351/*Minute Book*, 26 Sept. 1811, (Stewartry Museum).
92 E504/21/8/9, (National Archive of Scotland).
93 351/*Letter Book*, 9 Aug.1811, (Stewartry Museum).
94 Anglo-Irish trade was not treated as part of the coasting trade until after October 1823 (3 Geo.IV, c.72) but for the purposes of this paper references to the Company's preference for foreign trade does not include Ireland.
95 G., Jackson, 'New Horizons in Trade' in T. M., Devine & G., Jackson, (eds.), *Glasgow Vol.1: Beginnings to 1830*, (Manchester, 1995), p. 222.
96 351/*Minute Book*, 13 Apr.1812, (Stewartry Museum).

In December 1812 a charter to Kingston, Jamaica, was refused because the freight was prearranged.[97] In fact, the proposed freight of 9*s*. per hundredweight for sugar and 8*s* per gallon for rum was the average for 1812[98] but *Britannia's* managers, evidently wise to the dangers of pre-arranged freights, particularly from the Caribbean, where the size of the harvest was an unknown quantity,[99] should not be criticised for acting prudently.

For a time, the combined affects of war and trade depression appear to have offered little alternative but for *Britannia* to resume tramping between Whitehaven, Ireland and, whenever possible, Liverpool, although

> 'the return derived from the ship on the coasting trade owing to the multiplicity of ships just now engaged in that trade was totally inadequate to pay charges independent of profit.'[100]

The Company's difficulties were further compounded by problems of communication, which lost it at least one potentially profitable freight. Poor communications weakened the owners' control and misunderstandings were inevitable. In *Britannia's* case, letters sent to Ireland, ordering the ship to Liverpool with or without a freight, reached the captain only after he had returned to Whitehaven and reloaded with coal for Ireland. More importantly, in February 1813 a charter with flour from Waterford to Kingston Jamaica was lost when, in compliance with his earlier orders, the captain accepted a freight of grain from Waterford to Liverpool – before receiving the instructions to accept the Kingston charter.

Conscious of their shortcomings, the Management Committee finally placed 'the determination of destination of the *Britannia'*[101] with John Mure at Rathbones, to act as he thought 'most prudent and most advantageous to the concern.'[102] Mure's quickly produced three prospective charters. The first, to South America in March 1813, for cotton at 3*d*. *per* pound, (to be shipped at two different ports) was declined as potentially unprofitable given the length of voyage, cost of outfit and high insurance rates.[103] Another, to St. Clements or St Kitts for sugar at 9*s*. *per* hundredweight, would have been acceptable if an onward freight had been found to Newfoundland where the Captain would be expected to secure a cargo of timber for Kirkcudbright.[104] Ultimately, a charter to Rio de Janeiro was accepted with *Britannia* leaving by the May convoy from Falmouth and arriving in July 1813.[105] In accepting this commission without a guaranteed return cargo, the Management Committee departed from established policy and clearly expected that assistance from Mr. Buchanan, a Kirkcudbrightshire gentleman resident in Rio de Janeiro, would minimise any difficulties. They were overly optimistic. Difficulty securing such a cargo delayed *Britannia's*

97 It was general practice to agree freight when a vessel returned, based on the highest freight per load given for vessels of similar description, sailing to and from the same location at the same time of year. This gave a measure of protection against the unpredictability of foreign prices and merchants.

98 S.P., Ville. *English Shipowning in the Industrial Revolution, Michael Henley and Son*, *London Shipowners 1770 – 1830*, (Manchester, 1987), p.187.

99 Ibid. In June shipmasters had been forced to pay a premium of 1 *guinea* per hogsheads of sugar and 15*s*. per puncheon of rum because of crop shortages.

100 Ibid.

101 351/*Minute Book*, 24 Mar.1813, (Stewartry Museum).

102 Ibid.

103 Ibid., 11 Mar.1813.

104 Ibid.

105 351/*Letter Book*, 13 Apr.1813 and 18 Nov.1813, (Stewartry Museum).

return until February 1814. She had been away for nine months and for the most part lain idle at Rio.[106]

Britannia's condition on her return from South America had deteriorated to such an extent that she was valued well below the upset price of £2,000, which led directly to her conversion to a brig.[107] Though not an unanimous decision an air of optimism is evident in the correspondence that followed, sustained for a time by a successful charter shipping salt from Liverpool to Newfoundland and from there to Pictou for timber consigned to a local merchant. On this occasion Britannia departed in convoy from Cork, in May 1814 and returned five months later.

In electing next to charter the ship to transport their own goods and plantation stores to the West Indies, the Management Committee hoped to circumvent the constant problem of securing gainful employment for their vessel. The initiative came from Will Smith who enlisted his brother, a plantation owner in Barbados, and their mutual friend Arthur Oughterson, a merchant and regular trader in the area, to induce acquaintances to utilise space on the *Britannia* for the outward voyage and to secure promises of return freights.[108] But the venture was abandoned after the ship ran aground in the Dee Estuary[109] leading to a further four months of inactivity before John Mure could secure a charter from Liverpool to Maranham.[110] Little is known of this commission. The ship went out in ballast in April 1815, put into port in May 1815 and returned to Liverpool in May 1816. It was an unduly long voyage with twenty days damages payable to the charterer at the daily rate of 8 *guineas*.[111]

Britannia again lay idle between her return from Maranham and her final employment by Liverpool merchants Jeremiah Lawson and Co. in August 1816. The terms of this charter, which involved sailing to Hamburg to off-load cargo and thence to Sandswall, Sweden for timber, were notably different in that *Britannia* was engaged for a minimum period of six months at the rate of £1 *per* ton registered, per month [£175] plus port charges and a supercargo travelled on board.[112] It would have provided a guaranteed minimum income of £1,026 had *Britannia* not sunk off Gothenburg in September 1816.[113]

At the Company's inauguration in 1811, shareholders were assured a profit of 'many thousands of pounds annually.'[114] But whilst the KSC's managers recognised the need to, 'estimate the necessary outfit, seamen's wages and insurance and compare the amount of these with the expected freight, to discover how far it may be prudent to enter into the agreement'[115] there is no clear indication of their understanding of the concepts of profit and loss; whether they differentiated between working and fixed capital; how they saw the relationship between capital, freight rates and profits or what they understood of the con-

106 Ibid., 27 Mar.1814.
107 Ibid.
108 351/*Letter Book*, 1.12.1814, (Stewartry Museum).
109 Ibid., 18 Dec.1814.
110 Ibid., 4 Apr. 1815.
111 Ibid., 3 May1816.
112 Ibid., 13 June1816.
113 Ibid., 4 Jan.1817.
114 351/*Minute Book*, 11 Mar.1811, (Stewartry Museum).
115 Ibid.

cept of capital depreciation. Without doubt, the project was inadequately financed, lacked working capital and derived little benefit from the standard terms of trade that allowed for settlement of accounts through the issue of bills. This was essentially a functional method of securing short-term credit but because debts consistently exceeded available income — producing a constant need for ready cash — *Britannia's* owners were forced to discount their bills thus reducing their income by the current discount rate. Interest was also lost if payment was made overseas and delays occurred in shipping the bills to Kirkcudbright. A clear pattern emerges in which the income from overseas' commissions was immediately consumed by debts that had accumulated during the vessel's absence. Forever chasing its own tail, the Company sought to operate from an under-financed position exacerbated by its inability to secure full, gainful employment for *Britannia*.

Following *Britannia's* purchase £250 remained in the Company's account which, boosted by late subscriptions, was used to settle outstanding debts of £400 connected with preparations for *Britannia's* first transatlantic voyage.[116] The freight for this charter amounted to £840 of which £370 was paid in cash, in August 1811, with the balance by a bill at four months. At this stage the Company was in credit yet within a year it was unable to meet its liabilities. The Company's financial transactions were handled by John Mure at Rathbones and his report to the Management Committee in February 1812 provides an early indication of the difficulties besetting the company. His account of income against expenditure shows a small debit of £4. 17*s*. 7*d*., no creditors and an outstanding debt of £356 3*s*. 10*d*. for repairs arising largely from pilot error at Liverpool. The ship had not been fully insured and although her managers resolved to 'throw the burden as far as it can be done upon the underwriters,'[117] they also recognised the benefit of an early cash settlement which would attract a ten *per* cent discount. To this end they 'borrowed' from a quorum of the Management Committee whose bill for £220 at three months was immediately discounted for cash. Thus very early in the life of the Company, a pattern of borrowing and credit manipulation emerges with little demonstrable evidence of any sustainable return to a credit balance.

By the time the freight from the Lisbon and Miramichi charter was received in October 1812, the rate for timber had fallen to £5 per load. Nonetheless, it produced an income of £918. 17*s*. 0*d*, that was paid half in cash and half by a bill at four months, with a further bill at sixty days to cover the ship's disbursements in America. Despite this injection of capital a quorum had again to raise a bill for £300, for discount in November 1813, to enable the treasurer to settle a demand for £270. 18*s*. 0*d*. for the insurance premium relating back to the 1812 voyage to Miramichi, and to pay the crew's families their allowances. Clearly, the nature of *Britannia's* deployment was draining rather than increasing resources for even the £1,000 freight from Newfoundland, received in October 1814, made little impact upon, 'demands so pressing that they dared not run the risk being uninsured'.[118]

The impact of war, adverse trading conditions and the nature of *Britannia's* deployment, coupled with occasional 'bad luck', all contributed the KSC's speedy descent into

116 These totalled £433. 11*s*. 3*d*. but were reduced to £400 for a cash settlement.

117 351/*Minute Book*, 8 Jan. 1812, (Stewartry Museum). The Insurers accepted £204. 16*s*. 3*d*., as their responsibility. A third of this fell to Edinburgh brokers Thomas Kinnear and sons and the remaining two-thirds to Liverpool brokers.

118 351/*Letter Book*, 20 Oct.1814, (Stewartry Museum).

debt (a trend that continued unabated throughout its lifespan) but there is also evidence of financial naïveté, with control concentrated at the micro level and largely ignored in relation to capital expenditure. Captains were constantly exhorted to; 'make haste' and 'be thrifty'; to stow a good cargo and keep manning levels to a minimum; and, to replace seamen with cheap labour when loading and unloading at Kirkcudbright – all of which demonstrate awareness of the significance of these variables to profitability. But in contrast, control over capital expenditure was minimal.

Repairs and maintenance were generally carried out in either Whitehaven or Liverpool and unsupervised by Company representatives who invariably expressed surprise or dismay at the final cost.[119] Typically when, in 1814, *Britannia* underwent conversion to a brig the cost far exceeded expectations. These modifications were regarded as a substantial investment in the Company's future for in removing a mast, the ship immediately gained in manoeuvrability and reduced manning requirements whilst concomitantly gaining stowage. Theoretically, *Britannia* would now sail faster and carry more and, with her overheads reduced, sustain greater profitability. All of this would have made sound economic sense had there been sufficient capital to pay for the refit or a full order book to service the debt and enable the Company to trade its way out of deficit. With none of these conditions present it is difficult to comprehend the rationale behind such a decision.

The history of the Kirkcudbright Shipping Company affirms received wisdom that overseas trade was an activity characterised by fluctuating returns and at the mercy of a range of variables, each of which bore heavily on the potential for success. The principal difficulty lay in the challenge of securing profitable freights that would keep *Britannia* at sea and actively engaged in the kinds of trade that would produce sufficient income to cover running costs and generate profit. In part, this failure can be attributed to factors outwith the control of the vessel's managers. However, the fact that the Company experienced difficulty in meeting its liabilities within its first year of trading, suggests that its problems were more complex.

Britannia's managers clearly displayed a degree of naïveté concerning the management and funding of a shipping company. The capital invested in the purchase and outfit of *Britannia* was too high, the cost of intermittent repairs and maintenance lacked effective control and the cumulative effects of enforced periods of idleness were highly detrimental. However, given that this was a period of unprecedented economic change it should be recognised such naïveté was not uncommon amongst those facing new situations. Of greater significance was the failure of the Company's shareholders to assess the real potential of the port's hinterland. Had they done so, they would have recognised that the venture would suffer from being one that the local economy could not sustain. That economy was constrained by the absence of a deep hinterland with any great factor endowment. The amount of land that could be brought under cultivation was confined to a narrow coastal fringe and the region's coal and lead deposits were not in proximity to the sea or sited close to inland waterways that might have enabled industries to develop. Indeed, such was the isolation of the mines that coal was more easily taken overland, for shipment from the Ayrshire ports.[120]

119 351/*Letter Book*, 15 Jan. & 31. Aug 1812; 23 May, 1 & 15 Dec. 1814; 5 Aug.1816, (Stewartry Museum).
120 Dumfries and Galloway's own needs for coal were generally met by imports from Cumbrian ports.

Dumfries and Galloway also lacked the population to support industrial expansion. Once the highly labour intensive tasks associated with the early stages of agrarian improvement were complete, a surplus population was created that migrated to urban centres such as Glasgow and Liverpool or emigrated overseas. Foreign trade was unlikely to flourish in a region that lacked the resources to produce large volumes of manufactures or a population large enough to generate a concentration of demand for imported goods. Thus, whilst topography and poor factor endowment ensured that industry could not flourish, the poor state of the region's ports, coupled with their location between the Cumbrian and Ayrshire mineral ports and the major, general trading ports of Liverpool and Glasgow, combined to further restrict the potential for overseas trade, region-wide.

The list of KSC shareholders [*Appendix 2*] makes clear that the opportunity to participate in a new venture attracted a number of individuals from amongst the local elites, who were sufficiently enterprising to risk their capital in the pursuit of profit and prestige. Furthermore, those who were charged with managing the company have every appearance of being well connected to the mercantile world and of having access to considerable knowledge and insight into the mechanics of early nineteenth century trade. However, the difficulties experienced in securing suitable cargoes without the direct intervention of a professional merchant house in Liverpool, coupled with all the other ills of the Company, suggests that its managers were not only novices but their 'connections' were not good enough to sustain them in a commercial activity that was growing in sophistication and increasingly dominated by professional importers and exporters based in major ports.[121] *Britannia's* managers were mistaken in assuming that it was possible to compete by relying on the good will and the informal assistance of acquaintances conveniently located overseas. Their weak position was further exacerbated when they were forced into a tramp-style operation and thereby denied the opportunity to build up local networks which might have ensured a better share of available cargos, a faster turnaround and the opportunity to develop an efficient deployment pattern.

The importance of 'connections' is all the more apparent when the experience of the KSC is reviewed against the experiences of the 1764 partnership which seems to have encountered little difficulty in filling hulls with goods for export or import (although the Partnership appears to have taken the view that ownership of a vessel was not a necessary prerequisite for profitable trade). This Partnership, as with those who had earlier succeeded in tobacco commerce and those who subsequently succeeded in the timber/emigration trade discussed below, had important business connections and/or agents in the ports to which they traded. These were well established, and operated in mutually self-supporting arrangements.

Throughout the remainder of the period covered by this paper, the pattern of Dumfries and Galloway's overseas trade remained limited and of a similar vein to that at the start of the nineteenth century. One notable exception was the development of a triangular trade between Dumfries, Canada and Liverpool established by the Thompson Company in the 1830s. This family business had one brother based in Dumfries, another in Liverpool and a third in New Brunswick. Having taken their own Solway shipwrights to Canada, Canadian

121 Jackson, *History and Archaeology of Ports*, pp. 29-71.

timber, some of which was destined for Dumfries and Galloway, was dispatched via Liverpool in vessels that they had built. These included *Frances* built at Bridgetown, Nova Scotia in 1843 and *John Wilson* built at Roseway in 1846. On arrival at Liverpool, manufactured goods for Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick were loaded, after which the vessels sailed up the coast to Dumfries where emigrants, and some locally produced manufactures, were taken on board at the outports of Glencaple and Carsethorn for Richibuto, Miramichi and the Baie de Chaleur. The emigrant trade appears to have developed quite rapidly from the second quarter of the nineteenth century, when local newspaper advertisements show emigrant ships sailing regularly to the Maritimes and Quebec in Spring and early Summer, occasionally to Australia by way of South Africa, and to New Zealand - returning with timber and timber products. However, by the end of the nineteenth century this trade had also declined as emigrants choose increasingly to depart from Glasgow or Liverpool whose ports could accommodate larger vessels and provide better facilities. [122]

Addendum

Smuggling

For much of the eighteenth century smuggling and customs evasion were endemic. They were part of a cultural mindset encouraged by the proliferation of remote landing sites that were not easily accessible, and the inadequacy of customs surveillance along dangerous and inhospitable coastlines. For these, if no other reasons, men and women across Dumfries and Galloway were enthusiastic participants in this illegal pursuit. Thus, whilst it may be fair to suggest that the persistence and extent of smuggling in the eighteenth century offers an indication of the increased volume of trade moving through a port[123], it remains a truism that no accurate measure of this unrecorded trade is possible. Accordingly, 'trade' when associated with smuggling is not a constituent of this paper.

122 W. McDowall, *History of Dumfries*, Revised Edn, (Dumfries, 1986), p.48.
123 T. Barrow, *The Port of Stockton-On-Tees*, North England History Institute, (2005).

Appendix 1

Scottish Vessels Leaving Gothenburg, [According to Home Port][124]

	1745	1755	1771	1775
Aberdeen	1	2	4	8
Air		3	1	6
Alloa		3	4	3
Anstruther	4		1	
Ayr		1	1	2
Banff		2		
Bo'ness	1	2	3	
Carronwater		3	6	
Clackmannan		3		
Cockenzie		3		
Crail			2	1
Dumfries	1	3		3
Dunbar	1	1		
Dundee	2	11	12	7
Dysart	1		2	1
Eyemouth		3	1	
Findhorn			1	1
Fraserburgh		2		
Gardenstown		1	1	
Glasgow		3	5	2
Greenock	1		1	6
Inverkeithing	1	7		
Inverness		2		
Irvine	3	1	1	1
Kinghorn		2	1	1
Kincardine			2	2
Kirkcudbright		2		
Leith	1	14	17	14
Leven	2	1	3	1
Limekilns		3		
Montrose	2	8		1
North Berwick		5		
Perth		2	2	11
Peterhead		3	1	5
Pittenween	4			
Portsoy		3	1	2
Prestonpans	1			
Queensferry				3
Salcoats			1	1
St. Andrews		1	1	
Stirling			2	
Torryburn	3	2		
Wigtown	3	2		1

124 Grage E., 'Scottish Merchants in Gothenburg, 1621 - 1850', in T. C. Smout (ed.), *Scotland and Europe, 1621-1850*, (Edinburgh, 1986), p. 126.

Appendix 2

Shareholders in the Kirkcudbright Shipping Company at Inauguration in 1811[125]

William Mure esq *	President of the Management Committee : Factor to the Earl of Selkirk
Robert Cochrane *	Treasurer to the Management Committee : Asst Manager Bank of Scotland Kirkcudbright.
Robert Gordon *	Member of the Management Committee : Procurator Fiscal, Kirkcudbright.
Thomas Anderson	Member of the Management Committee : Merchant.
Samuel McKnight	Member of the Management Committee : Merchant, corn factor.
John Callie	Member of the Management Committee : Inn-keeper, grain and spirit merchant
William Smith esq.	Member of the Management Committee : Gentry
John Monies	Member of the Management Committee.
Ebinezer Drew *	
James Rankine *	Timber merchant
David Morrison	Minter
John Houston	Flesher
John Rae	Joiner, ship-owner
Alexander Rae	Ship-owner
Adam Rae	Seaman, ship-owner
James Rae	Seaman. ship-owner
John Gillene	Farmer
John Sproat	Merchant
William Sproat	Farmer
James Brown	Carpenter
Mrs. Simpson	Possibly wife or mother of Ebebezer Simpson, Clerk to the Justice
Alexander Bland	Farmer
Robert Erskine	Glazier
William McMyn	Publican
John McMurray	Stonemason
William McDowall	Surgeon
John Coultard	Gentry
Margaret McKeowzic	
James Hyslop	
Robert Thompson	
James Cavendish	
John Dalling	
John Dickson	
John Crocket	Dumfries
William Wallace	Dumfries
The Squaremen Incorporation of Kirkcudbright	Owned one half share
The Incorporated Trades of Kirkcudbright	Owned one half share

125 351/*Minute Book, Letter Books and Misc. Papers of the Kircudbright Shipping Co.,* (Stewartry Museum); *Minute Books and Boxmaster's Records of the Trades Associations of Kirkcudbright* (Hornel Library), Pigot and Slater : *Commercial Records of Dumfries and Galloway from the 19th. Century,* (1992).

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PLANNED VILLAGES IN DUMFRIESSHIRE AND GALLOWAY: LOCATION, FORM AND FUNCTION

Lorna J Philip[1]

The eighteenth century was a period of considerable agricultural, social and economic change across Scotland, the era of Enlightenment. Many changes that took place then, agricultural enclosure, the development of new mansion houses with landscaped pleasure gardens and the planting of new woodlands, have shaped the rural landscape we know today. The creation of planned villages was an important feature of this period, creating the nucleated settlement structure that characterises many parts of contemporary rural Scotland.

In comparison with other European countries, including England, Scotland in the middle of the eighteenth century had a poorly developed urban structure. Estimates compiled by Sir John Sinclair from the entries in the Old Statistical Accounts suggest that, in the 1790s, almost two-thirds of the Scottish population were living in very small settlements or in scattered communities. Nucleated settlements of any size were most commonly those established by the Crown or the Church as Royal, Free or Ecclesiastical Burghs in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries or, from the fifteenth century onwards, Burghs of Barony founded by local landowners. They were relatively few in number and were important focal points for trade, commerce and local governance.

With the notable exceptions of the Northern and Western Isles (except Stornoway), planned villages developed across Scotland in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The planned villages movement started around 1730, reached a peak around 1800 and had all but ceased by 1850. It transformed the physical and social fabric of rural communities in Scotland. There is no definitive total, but it is likely that well in excess of 600 villages were developed over this period. The number of planned villages in south-west Scotland has, until recently, been underestimated (Philip, 2003). This paper will focus upon the development of planned villages in the modern-day region of Dumfries and Galloway. It will report the number of planned villages which were developed in the region, where they were located, the form that they took and the economic functions with which they were associated.

Developments associated with the enlightenment

Before examining the regional picture, it is worth making some observations about the wider context within which planned village development took place. The 1700s were a period of massive societal change, encapsulated by the term *The Enlightenment*. For many landowners, the practical implementation of Enlightenment ideals represented 'progress'.

In agriculture, land was enclosed and brought into productive use through drainage and the application of lime. Livestock were subjected to breeding programmes, new crops

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were introduced and a system of crop rotation adopted. This improved the quality of agricultural land and boosted production levels. In addition, the quantity of agricultural land was increased through, for example, the reclamation of lowland mosses and cultivating up valley sides (Parry, 1980).

Industrial activities developed apace from the second half of the eighteenth century. Previously, manufacturing had been largely a small-scale, domestic, 'craft' activity. Production increasingly became an activity that took place outwith the home and on a much larger scale than had been seen before. Many people became employees of the new industrialists and became purchasers of products such as food and clothes, goods that they would previously have produced themselves.

Economic developments also included the creation of new market centres and the gradual transformation of Scottish society from a subsistence economy to a monetary regime. Developments in transport aided economic developments, notably the improvement of roads, construction of canals, and the erection of harbours and piers. Improved communications, by land and by sea, allowed the export of excess agricultural products and goods produced in the new manufacturing industries and facilitated imports of goods from other parts of the country and from abroad.

Alongside the changes in agriculture, trade and industry came significant societal changes. In Scotland, the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were associated with a shift from a predominantly rural to a predominantly urban population. Improved farming techniques reduced labour requirements, requiring many agricultural workers to seek employment elsewhere. Many were attracted to the new industrial centres which offered employment opportunities and a cash income. Better farming methods also led to higher rates of agricultural production, with surplus crops being sold to feed the newly urbanised population. The mid 1750s saw the start of Scotland's demographic transition. In response to factors such as improved nutrition and better sanitation, death rates dropped (a proportionally higher decline – of infant mortality rates in particular – was witnessed in rural communities) but fertility rates remained high. The population grew dramatically. Rural Scotland had a growing population at a time when the number of jobs in agriculture was declining. This led many to migrate in search of economic opportunities, to urban centres elsewhere in Scotland and England and to the New World.

Some landowners reacted to local out-migration by developing new villages that would accommodate the surplus population of agricultural communities. Landowners could create a market for their surplus agricultural products in the inhabitants of a new village. Many also saw opportunities in bringing manufacturing to their estates. Textile manufacturing was popular, creating jobs that would encourage people to stay in the vicinity and offering investment opportunities for the landowner. Others saw an opportunity to capitalise on transport / communications improvements and encouraged the development of ports, harbours and settlements at staging points on the new roads. A paternalistic desire to create opportunities for an estate's population also led some land owners to develop new villages, but this was rarely without an economic advantage being available to the estate as well.

What is a planned village?

A *Planned Village* may be defined as a settlement that was founded or substantially rebuilt in the eighteenth and early-mid nineteenth centuries with the support or approval of the landowner. Landowners were involved in new village creation in two main ways. They could actively promote and implement a formal village plan themselves or could support and facilitate the development of a new settlement on their land in response to external stimuli, often an approach from an industrialist to establish a new manufactuory on their land. Some landowners or village sponsors played a very active role in the development of their planned village, providing building materials, dictating the style of housing (for example, the British Fisheries Society villages of Ullapool and Tobermory – see Maudlin, 2004) and offering financial incentives to tradesmen and manufacturing firms to establish enterprises in their villages (for example, Sir James Murray of Cally encouraged the Birtwhistles to establish a cotton spinning mill in Gatehouse-of-Fleet). To be successful, the new village could not be wholly dependant upon agriculture, although the provision of land for domestic cultivation was the norm when building plots were feud. Although the level of landlord involvement was variable, capital outlay was invariably required and a village could not develop without the landowner's approval.

Planned villages: a Scotland-wide phenomenon

Planned villages are a feature of most parts of mainland Scotland but the depth of knowledge about these villages is patchy. There are regional accounts of planned villages in the North-East (e.g. Smith, 1989; Summers, 1995; Nuttgens, 1996), studies of the textile mills which led to the development of new villages in Perthshire and Angus (e.g. Turner, 1979; 1982), and accounts of villages associated with the actions of the Commissioners of the Forfeited Estates and the British Fisheries Society (e.g. Smith, 1998).

A handful of village studies have been published; of Ormistoun in East Lothian (Matthew and Nuttgens, 1959), New Pitsligo in Aberdeenshire (Milne, 1960) and Granton-upon-Spey and Tomintoul in the Highlands (Woolmer, 1970 and Gaffney, 1960 respectively). Two Dumfries and Galloway village case studies have been published, of Gatehouse-of-Fleet (Butt, 1966) and Brydekirk (Wood, 1971), but otherwise relatively little is known about the planned villages of south-west Scotland.

Towns and villages in Dumfriesshire and Galloway, pre 1750

General Roy's military survey, commenced after the 1745 Jacobite rebellion, mapped south-west Scotland in the 1750s. His detailed maps record the Royal Burghs, farms and enclosure dykes but show no evidence of most of the settlements found in the region today. In the mid-eighteenth century Dumfriesshire and Galloway were no different to most other parts of Scotland in having a poorly developed settlement structure. Even the established towns were small; for example, Webster's Census (Kyd, 1962) estimated 1755 populations of 4,517 for the parish of Dumfries, 1,503 for the parish of Kirkcudbright and 610 for the parish of Stranraer. These historic reference points indicate that the region experienced considerable changes to its settlement structure post 1750.

A number of planned villages in Dumfriesshire and Galloway are listed in publications about planned villages in Scotland, but some villages well known for being 'planned' or 'model' settlements are not mentioned. In these accounts, for example, the Historiographer Royal, Smout, in his 1970 listing, did not name Gasstown or Port Logan and Houston (who published the first academic paper about the planned villages of Scotland in 1948) did not mention Castle Douglas, Dalswinton, Dalbeattie, New Langholm or Port Logan, to name but a few. How many other villages have not been formally identified as planned villages? Has the significance of the planned villages movement in the region been underestimated?

Source materials for identifying planned villages

A variety of source materials have been used in this study to identify planned villages, settlements founded or substantially rebuilt in the eighteenth and early-mid nineteenth century with the support or approval of the landowner, in Dumfriesshire and Galloway. Sources can be classified as follows: demographic records (Old Parochial Records and nineteenth century Census records); contemporary accounts, notably the Old and New Statistical Accounts; civic records such as valuation rolls; topographical gazetteers; local history publications – old and new; and old maps. These sources make it possible to identify the functions, or economic activities, and the locational characteristics of new villages. The succession of detailed maps of the region from the late eighteenth century to the present day allow for the morphological development of the villages to be tracked and for it to be determined whether the planned villages still exist today.

Demographic records

The Old Parochial Records are an invaluable source of demographic information for a period when other written records are scarce. Baptism, marriage and burial records dating from the mid-eighteenth century are widely available, and some records from the mid-seventeenth century are available for some parishes in Dumfriesshire and Galloway. The baptism records in particular can indicate when a new village was settled because the records, which normally record when and where a baptism took place, mention a location for the first time. It is unfortunate that only parish population totals survive as records of the 1801, 1811, 1821 and 1831 Censuses[2]. The enumerator's books from the 1841 and 1851 Censuses are, however, very rich sources of information. They record age and gender of all resident on Census night and provide information about household composition and occupations. Some enumerators provided additional comments, for example, remarks in the 1841 Census return for the parish of Kirkpatrick Fleming, Enumeration District 2, described the establishment of two new villages in the parish in the 1830s *'… that the population had greatly increased during the last 10 years, on account of various individuals, generally from other districts of this parish, having feued land and built houses at the new villages of Fairyhall and Hollee where they have come to reside.'* (©Crown Copyright. Data supplied by General Register Office for Scotland).

2 The notable exception is the Parish of Annan for which a detailed record of residents, compiled for the 1801, 1811 and 1821 Census returns, still exists (Gilchrist, 1975).

Contemporary accounts

References to new, planned settlements are to be found in the parish entries of both the Old Statistical Account (1790s) and the New Statistical Account (1830s-40s). For example, the minister of the Parish of Ruthwell in Dumfriesshire wrote in his 1792-3 entry for the Old Statistical Account that *'the inhabitants have increased within the last twenty years in the proportion of five to three, which may be ascribed to … the lime quarries lately discovered near Comlongen, which have given employment to many labourers for whose accommodation Lord Stormont has built a small village upon the side of the military road, where a garden and a little possession of land is inclosed and annexed to each dwelling house.'* This small village was Clarencefield. The New Statistical Account entry for the parish of Torthorwald in Dumfriesshire, written in 1833, states *'The population, according to the census taken in 1831, amounted to 1320, … This increase is exactly double of what the population was in 1791, when the last Statistical Account was drawn up. The increase is to be accounted for in this manner: Sir Robert Grierson, who is proprietor of a large share of Lochar Moss* [to the east of Dumfries]*, and of the adjoining land, and through whose property the turnpike road from Dumfries and Carlisle passes for a considerable length in two divisions, began about twenty-five or thirty years ago to encourage the building of a village called Collin, adjoining said road, and near the moss, by granting building leases for ninety-nine years, of small portions of land. So rapid has been the growth of the village and its branches, that nearly one-half of the whole population of the parish is now resident upon the same ground which was formerly occupied by only five or six families. The principal inducement to build in this situation is its proximity to a great and well frequented public road, which always has its attractions and advantages and to Lochar Moss, where the villagers get a cheap and abundant supply of fuel.'* The 'branches' of Collin were Racks, Elizafield, Warrenhill, Rossdale and Greenwaugh.

Old maps

Old maps, particularly County maps, help to establish foundation dates for planned villages. John Ainslie's county maps of Wigtownshire (1782) and the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright (1797) and William Crawford's 1804 map of Dumfriesshire are so detailed that the layout of some villages can be ascertained. South-west Scotland was surveyed for the First Edition Ordnance Survey maps in the 1840s and 1850s. Again these maps provide useful dating evidence for the planned villages.

Civil records

Records required by the state from 1855 include county valuation rolls that follow a prescribed format. These provide information about the number of dwellings and tenure status in the planned villages. Tenure status indicates whether housing in a village was feued, built by a manufacturer to house their employees or provided by the local estate for estate workers. The Valuation Rolls also provide information about occupations and other commercial activities which complement information contained in the 1851 Census.

A wide range of local history publications, published over the last hundred years or so, include references to planned villages (for example, Donnachie and MacLeod, 1974; Frew, 1909; the *Through the Lens* series published by Dumfries and Galloway Libraries, Information and Archives since 1996) and information about industrial and economic activities in the new villages (for example, Donnachie, 1971, Pigot's Directories).

Scrutiny of these various sources suggested that eighty-five 'planned villages' were developed in Dumfriesshire and Galloway between *c*1730 and 1855. Three designations were questioned (the evidence that Laurieston was a planned village is not convincing and the estate villages of Beeswing and Kettleholm were developed in the latter quarter of the nineteenth century so cannot be included in this classification). Tongland was never built despite an advertisement for feus appearing in the *Dumfries Weekly Journal* in 1793. Philip (2003) concluded that eighty-one planned villages were developed over a 120 year period in south-west Scotland.

The planned villages in Dumfriesshire and Galloway

Smout's (1970) geographical grouping of Scottish planned villages suggested that the planned villages of south-west Scotland were predominantly located along the northern shore of the Solway Firth. This assertion was only based on a listing of fifteen planned villages in the region. Figure 1 clearly shows that planned villages in Dumfriesshire and Galloway were much more widely distributed than inferred by Smout. They are to be found in all but the most inhospitable upland areas of the region. Half of the new villages, forty-one, developed in Dumfriesshire, the Stewartry saw the development of twenty-five and Wigtownshire had fifteen. Many of the planned villages developed throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to become important local centres. Of the twenty-five Census 2001 'localities' in Dumfries and Galloway, twelve had their origins as planned villages (Castle Douglas, Creetown, Dalbeattie, Eaglesfield, Gatehouse of Fleet, Glenluce, Kirkconnel, Lockerbie, Moffat, Newton Stewart, Portpatrick and Port William) and one was half-planned (the New Langholm part of Langholm).

Only six of the planned villages no longer exist. The old estate village at Terregles has been replaced by a modern settlement, also named Terregles, about half a mile west of the old estate village. Jamestown, the site of an antimony mine above Bentpath, has vanished. Only the foundations and some building rubble remain at Barjarg, the village that housed miners from the Barjarg lime works, one of the most productive nineteenth century lime works in the country. No trace remains of the neighbouring lime workers village of Porterstown. The early nineteenth century miner's village at Canonbiemuir, called *Rowanburn Cottages* in the 1850s, lay to the east of the river Esk and no longer exists. The miners settlement removed a few miles east to Rowanburn in the 1880s and the present village of Canonbie lies on the west bank of the Esk. Finally, Crawick Mill was demolished in 1937 with most of the residents removed to new county council houses in nearby Kelloholm.

Some planned villages are no longer settlements in their own right. Seven are now part of another, larger settlement. Craigielands became known as Beattock as the importance of this railway junction grew and more housing was built there in the late 1800s. The

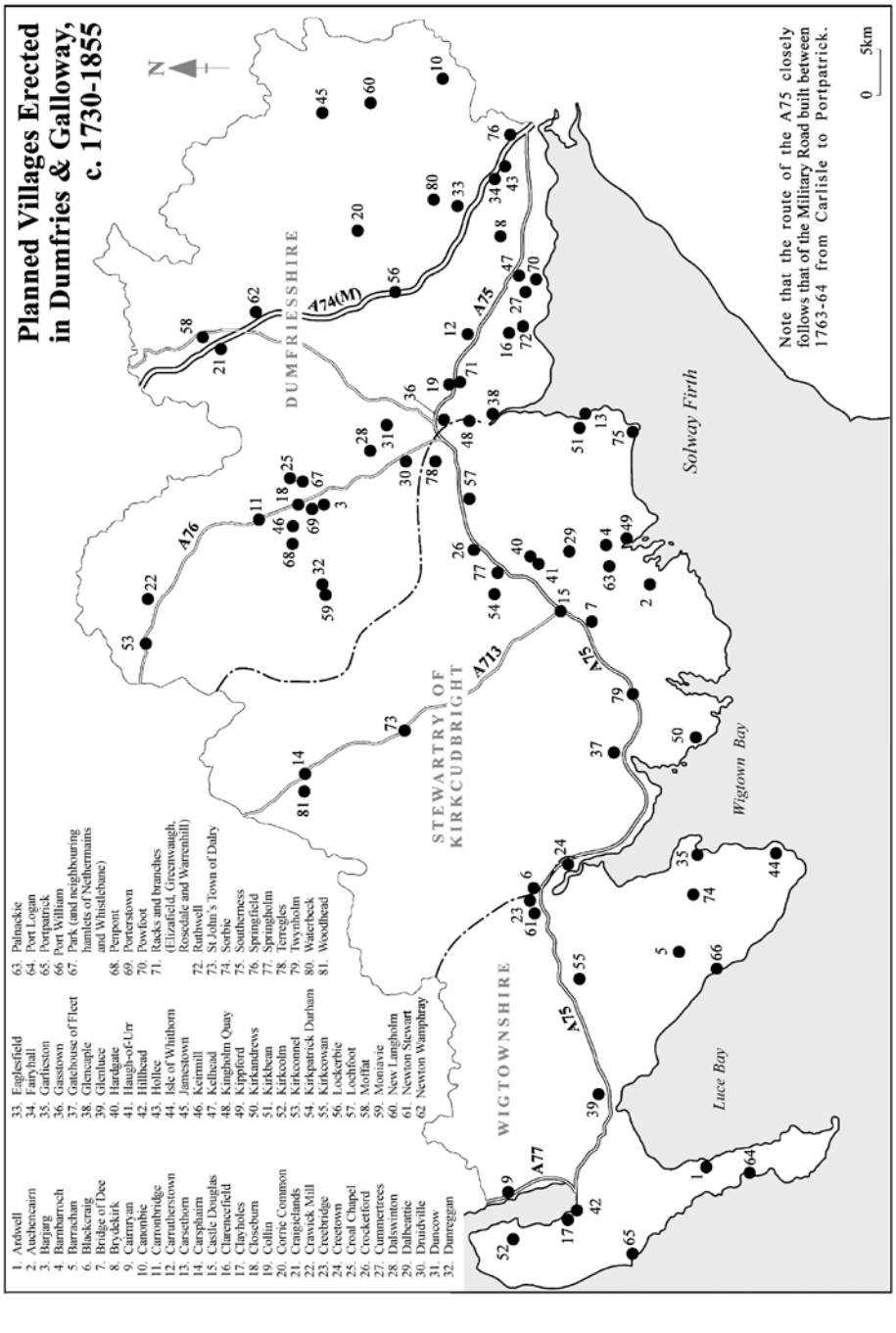


Figure 1 Planned Villages erected in Dumfries and Galloway, c. 1730-1855.

Clayhole and Hillhead/Foulford are part of Stranraer. Dunreggan is now considered to be part of Moniaive. Gasstown is one of Dumfries' suburbs and Fairyhall became part of Hollee less than 20 years after its foundation. Druidville never developed as a distinct settlement: on the site today is Holywood, the largely post-war, county council built village to the north of Dumfries.

When were the new villages developed?

Lockerbie was the first enlightenment era planned village in Dumfries and Galloway. The Johnstones of Lockerbie feued house steadings and tacks in 1730 for 'fourscore time 21 years' (*OSA*). Shortly after, in 1746, the Town Council of the Burgh of Dumfries supported the development of harbours at Glencaple and Kingholm on the upper reaches of the Nith and residential settlements developed quickly alongside the new harbour facilities. As may be seen in Table 1, which lists the foundation date of the planned villages developed in Dumfriesshire, the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright and Wigtownshire, most of the region's planned villages were developed during the period 1770 – 1810, when 57 of the 82 villages (70%) were begun. Very few villages were founded after 1820 and those that were, such as Ardwell in the Southern Rhins, Carrutherstown to the east of Dumfries and Barrachan in the Machars, were small.

Where were the new villages located?

The new villages were located throughout Dumfriesshire and Galloway. Inland and coastal locations were developed, as were locations at navigable points on the main rivers. Other villages developed in close proximity to a 'landowner's' mansion house.

Many inland locations for planned villages are associated with the routes of roads. For example, fourteen were developed on or alongside the Dumfries to Kilmarnock road and sixteen developed on or alongside the Carlisle to Portpatrick military road, built between 1763 and 1764. Examples of the former include Kirkconnel, Crawick Mill, Carronbridge and Closeburn and of the latter, Haugh of Urr, Hardgate and Springfield.

Coastal communications were of considerable importance to the region in the past. Trade was particularly associated with shipping routes between the northern Solway shore and Cumbria and Lancashire, the Isle of Man, Northern Ireland and the west coast of Scotland. Thirteen planned villages developed along the Solway coast while a number were associated with the development or redevelopment of harbour facilities, for example, Port Logan and Port William. Not all new harbours or piers, however, led to the development of a village. For example Stairhaven and Carty Port did not stimulate the development of a new village.

Berthing points on the navigable rivers could also spur the development of a new harbour with a village developing alongside, for example, Palnackie on the river Urr, Creetown on the river Cree, and Kingholm Quay and Glencaple on the river Nith. Other villages developed in close proximity to a major river. For example, the lime-works villages in mid-Nithsdale, Barjarg, Porterstown and Park, were located near the Nith which

	1730-1749	1750-69	1770-1779	1780-1789	1790-1799	1800-1809	1810-1829	1830-1850
Wigtownshire		Clayholes *from c1760* Garlieston *1760* Hillhead *from c1760* Sorbie *c1760*	Port William *1770* Newton Stewart *between 1770 and 1780* Glenluce *from 1776*	Kirkcolm *c1788* Isle of Whithorn *from c1790*	Portpatrick *c1790*	Kirkcowan *c1800* Cairnryan *between 1801-1810?*	Port Logan *1818*	Ardwell *1830s* Barrachan *between 1841 and 1851*
Dumfriesshire	Lockerbie *1730* Glencaple *1746* Kingholm Quay *1746* *Undated = Duncow (before 1791, births recorded in OPR increase from c1750)*	Moffat *from 1760* Moniavie *from c1760* Dunreggan *from c1760* Newton Wamphray *1764*	Kirkconnel *between 1770 and 1780* Clarencefield *between 1770 and 1790* New Langholm *1778*	Dalswinton *c1780* Park, Nethermains and Whistlebain *from 1780* Croal Chapel *from 1780.* Cummertrees *c1780* Powfoot *mid 1780s* Ruthwell *mid 1780s* Barjarg *from1788*	Crawick Mill *c1790* Jamestown *c 1790* Porterstown *c1790* Springfield *1791* Keirmill *late 18th C* Kelhead *late 18th C / early 19th C* Druidville *c1795* Waterbeck *turn of the 19th C*	Brydekirk *1800* Canonbie *early 1800s?* Carronbridge *early 1800s* Closeburn *early 1800s* Craigielands *early 1800s* Kirkbean *early 1800s* Collin *1803-1807* Racks and branches (Elizafield, Greenwaugh, Rossdale and Warrenhill) *1803-1807* Eaglesfield *early 1800s* Gasstown *c1810* Penpont *early 1800s*	Corrie Common *from c1813*	Fairyhall *c1835* Hollie *c1835* Carrutherstown *between 1840 and 1850*
Stewartry		Gatehouse-of-Fleet *from c1760* Blackcraig & Macharmore *1764*	Auchencairn *?* Castle Douglas *c1777*	Carsphairn *c1780* Dalbeattie *1780* St John's Town of Dalry *c1780* Kirkpatrick-Durham *1785* Creetown *c1785* Palnackie *c1790*	Hardgate *from c1790* Haugh-of-Urr *from c1790* Southerness *1790* Creebridge *mid 1790s* Kirkandrews *c1795* Twynholm *c1795*	Crocketford *c1800* Springholm *c1800* Bridge of Dee *early 1800s* Carsethorn *early 1800s* Lochfoot *between 1800 and 1825*	Kippford *c1821* Terregles *c1830*	Woodhead *c1830* Barnbarroch *between 1841 and 1851*

Table 1: Date of foundation of planned villages in Dumfries and Galloway, c1730 – 1855 by county[1]

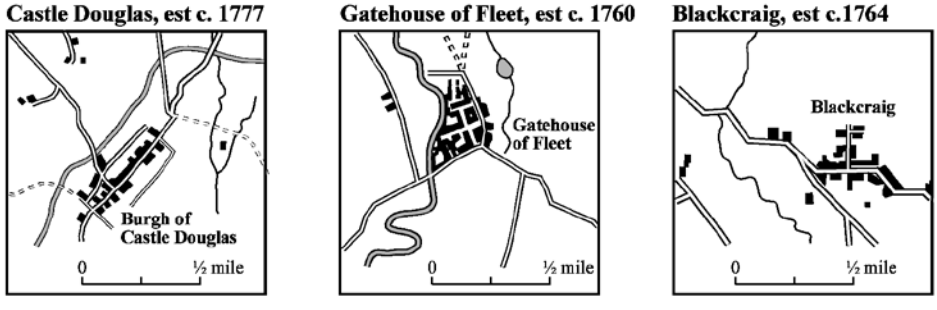
1 Note that some foundation dates are approximate as full details were not given in the source materials referred to. The general trend is unaffected by the lack of precise information about the foundation date of some villages.

offered a convenient means of shipping the lime to market. Nineteen planned villages are on the banks of a river, or located in close proximity to one.

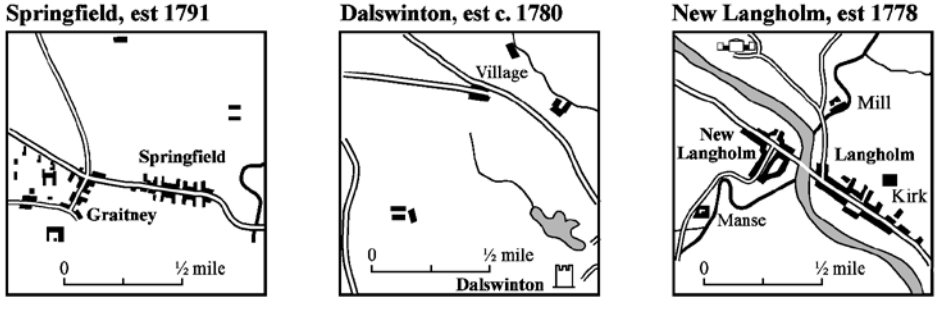
Eighteen planned villages have a direct association with a mansion house. Some were built as villages to house estate workers, such as Ardwell, Terregles and Barnbarroch, while others were developed initially as villages where tradesmen required by the big house could live, such as Gatehouse-of-Fleet and Garlieston.

What form did the planned villages take?

The planned villages did not follow a single morphological blueprint. Figure 2 shows the morphology of six planned villages, derived from John Ainslie's *The Stewartry of Kirkcudbright*, 1797 and William Crawford's *Map of Dumfriesshire*, 1804. The size and layout of the selected villages is clear from these maps.



From John Ainslie's *The Stewartry of Kirkcudbright*



From William Crawford's *Map of Dumfriesshire, 1804*

Figure 2 Street Plans for selected planned villages in Galloway and Dumfriesshire, derived from historic County maps

Many planned villages, however, share physical characteristics, most probably influenced by developments in urban planning embodied in, for example, John Craig's plans for the development of Edinburgh's New Town. A standard size of building plot was commonly adopted, usually a long, rectangular plot of a width wide enough to contain a dwelling with two front rooms and a central passage. Streets were wide and front doors opened directly onto the street; this can still be seen clearly at Ruthwell. Most houses were one storey high, stone built and slated with stone or slate roofs. These dwellings were of a much higher standard than had been the norm previously. Although many planned villages were small by modern standards, in the 18th century, in a region like Dumfriesshire and Galloway where there were very few centres of population, a formal development of 12 dwellings was significant. Some dwellings were occupied by a single family unit, others by two or more. If an average household size of 5 is assumed, 12 families (e.g. Craigielands) would give a population of 60. Dalswinton's accommodation for 15 families could conceivably have been home to 75 individuals.

The tenure status of the new villages had an effect on the form of the village. Owner occupied villages developed where the landowner, following ground plans prepared by a surveyor, made feus available. Upon these plots of land a dwelling house was erected by the feuer. Some feued villages developed according to a very detailed, regular plan. For example, Sir James Murray of Cally's Gatehouse of Fleet was laid out as three streets to the north east of the river Fleet. Those who took a feu on the main street were compelled to construct a two storey house with a slate roof. Houses on the two back streets were only required to be one storey in height. Castle Douglas followed a grid iron pattern (Queen Street, King Street and Cotton Street), New Langholm, build to house mill workers, was constructed to a very regular, triangular street plan, with the first floor attic rooms of some of the dwellings being of a height to accommodate hand looms. Other villages comprised of a single street, for example Kirkpatrick Durham and Kirkcolm. Estate villages normally comprised tied cottages that the landowner built and retained ownership of (for example, Dalswinton, Ardwell and Barnbarroch). The estate villages tended to be smaller than the feued, owner-occupied villages but they still followed a simple, regular plan with uniformly sized building plots and a standard house design.

Some villages only had one phase of development and the village we see today is the same size – or smaller – than it was when first developed. Dalswinton, for example, the estate village built by Sir Patrick Miller in c1780 to accommodate 15 families, developed no further. Likewise Barrachan in the Machars, which was feued around 1845 and occupied by small holders cultivating moss and moorland, has not developed beyond the 15 dwellings enumerated in the 1851 census. Other villages developed rapidly. A notable example is Castle Douglas. The OSA entry notes of Castle Douglas, where the first feus were granted c1777 that *'Within the limits of this burgh, there are, at present, between 600 and 700 inhabitants, where, 26 years ago, there were not 20.'*

	1730-1749	1751-69	1771-1789	1790-1809	1811-1829	1831-1850	No.
Quarrying & Mining		Blackcraig & Craigton	Barjarg *Castle Douglas,* *Clarencefield* *Creetown* *Dalbeattie* Kirkconnel Park and Whistlebain Croal Chapel and Nethermains,	Canonbie Jamestown Kelhead Porterstown *Southerness*	*Closeburn*	Woodhead	19
Manufacturing industries	*Kingholm Quay*	*Gatehouse of Fleet* Sorbie	*Castle Douglas* *Dalbeattie* Kirkpatrick Durham New Langholm *Newton Stewart*	Brydekirk Crawick Mill Keirmill Kirkandrews Kirkcowan *Springfield,* *Springholm* Twynholm Waterbeck	*Kippford*		18
Estate Village		*Garlieston* *Gatehouse-of-Fleet*	*Auchencairn,* *Clarencefield,* Dalswinton Ruthwell	Carronbridge Craigielands Cummertrees Kirkbean *Penpont* *Cairnryan*	*Closeburn*	Ardwell Barnbarroch Terregles	16
Piers. Harbours & Ports	*Glencaple* *Kingholm* *Quay*	*Garlieston* Port William *Clayhole*	*Auchencairn* *Creetown* *Dalbeattie,* Isle of Whithorn Port William	*Cairnryan* Carsethorn Palnackie *Portpatrick*	Port Logan *Kippford*		15
Centres of trade & commerce	Lockerbie	*Gatehouse of Fleet,* Dunreggan Moniaive? Hillhead?	*Castle Douglas* *Dalbeattie* Kirkcolm *Newton Stewart*	Druidville *Springfield* *Penpont*			13
Transportation routes		*Moffat*	Carsphairn Creebridge Glenluce	Bridge-of-Dee Eaglesfield Haugh-of-Urr Hardgate Crocketford *Springholm* *Portpatrick*		Carrutherstown	12
Land improvements	Duncow (?)	Newton Wamphray (?)	St John's Town of Dalry	Gasstown Collin Racks and branches	Corrie Common	Barrachan	6
Residential settlements	*Glencaple*			*Springholm* Lochfoot?		Fairyhall Hollee	5
Tourism	*Glencaple*	*Moffat*		*Portpatrick* *Southerness*			4
Fishing			Powfoot				1
	3 villages	11 villages	22 villages	33 villages	4 villages	8 villages	

Table 2: Functions of the planned villages in Dumfries and Galloway
Multi-function villages in italics.

The functions of the planned villages in Dumfries and Galloway

Smout (1970) suggested that the planned villages that developed on the northern shore of the Solway Firth had a diverse range of functions, including shipping centres, cotton mills and linen and woollen weaving villages. Recent research, however, has indicated that the functions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway planned villages were far more wide ranging (Philip, 2005). Ten generic functional 'types' of planned villages were developed in Dumfriesshire and Galloway (see Table 2).

Quarrying and mining activities.

There were new villages associated with lime works, coal mining, lead mining and one was associated with an antimony mine. For example, villages grew up around the lime works at Park and Croal Chapel in Nithsdale and at Clarencefield and Kellhead. Coal mining led to the development of Kirkconnel, Canonbie and was the original stimulus for the development of Southerness. Lead mining was the economic activity supporting Blackcraig/Craigton and Woodhead. Jamestown supported a thriving mining community who extracted antimony.

Manufacturing activities

Home based hand loom weaving and factory-based production of textiles and other products developed across the region from the middle of the eighteenth century. The most well-known example is probably the cotton spinning that took place in Gatehouse-of-Fleet, although that enterprise came a few decades after the first feus were granted, when the village was already well established. Sorbie was associated with a high quality, home-based damask weaving industry. Crawick Mill housed workers at the Crawick Mill Carpet Works where carpets were woven for sale in the domestic and export market. Creetown had a tannery and a lead shot mill during the Napoleonic Wars.

Estate villages

Some villages comprised tied accommodation built to house estate workers. Other estate villages were feued villages whose location was close to a 'big house' and where the landowner's intention was to have tradesmen to hand. Some of these villages developed rapidly into commercial centres.

Piers, harbours and ports

Many villages were developed on the coast and at navigable points on rivers. There was a thriving coastal trade in the region, exporting local produce and importing goods from elsewhere. Villages associated with a harbour include Port Logan, Port William and Garlieston, whilst villages associated with port developments on the navigable riv-

ers include, for example, Palnackie and Dalbeattie on the Urr and Carsethorn on the tidal stretch of the Nith.

Centres of trade and commerce

Some villages were purposefully developed as centres of trade and commerce. These villages quickly became focal points for their rural hinterlands. There was a tradition dating back to the sixteenth century in Dumfriesshire and Galloway of landowners erecting Burghs of Barony, where markets could be held, which perhaps explains why planned villages were developed for this purpose. Indeed, three late eighteenth century planned villages, Creetown, Gatehouse-of-Fleet and Castle Douglas, were erected by their landowner to the status of Burgh of Barony, continuing the tradition.

Transportation routes

An inland road network developed in the mid to late eighteenth century. The new roads did not supplant the coastal trading routes but facilitated intra-regional transportation and stimulated the development of new settlements at strategic points on the road network. For example, the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge feued land at the Bridge of Dee which led to the development of a sizeable village at this bridging point on the turnpike road, Carsphairn was located on the Glenkens route-way into Ayrshire and Carrutherstown was located at a crossroads on the Dumfries to Annan road.

Land improvements

Although much more common in other regions of Scotland, some Dumfriesshire and Galloway villages were associated with attempts to bring marginal land into agricultural production. This involved draining mosses, such as parts of the Lochar Moss to the east of Dumfries. Gasstown was feued by the Town Council of Dumfries for this purpose, and Grierson of Lag feued land that led to the development of Collin and Racks to encourage the extraction of peat and moss drainage so that the land could be turned to agricultural cultivation.

Residential developments

This type of planned village was developed simply to provide accommodation for the local population. The region was experiencing population growth and these villages could help absorb the larger population, perhaps discouraging outmigration to Scottish and international destinations. These villages are not associated with a particular economic activity, examples include Hollee and Fairyhall and perhaps also Lochfoot.

Tourism

By the beginning of the nineteenth century tourism was developing across Britain. Moffat prospered as a fashionable place for people to visit and take the waters. When Oswald of Caven's plans for coal extraction at Southerness failed, the new village transformed into a bathing station on the shores of the Solway. In the early nineteenth century Glencaple was a popular day trip venue for the residents of Dumfries, adding another economic activity to that village.

Fishing

There were many planned villages developed in northern Scotland for the express purpose of providing accommodation for fishermen and their families. Many were supported by the British Fisheries Society. Only one planned village in Dumfries and Galloway, Powfoot, appears to be directly associated with fishing, but it has no connection with the British Fisheries Society.

Within the region are to be found examples of almost every type of planned village the literature suggests (*cf* Houston, 1948 or Lockhart, 1978). Some villages were associated with a single function, for example, the mining villages, such as Blackcraig (lead), Jamestown (antimony) and Barjarg (lime) were only ever associated with their mining activities. Others, however, were associated with two or more functions as is shown in Table 2. For example, Castle Douglas began to develop around 1765 and was first associated with the extraction of shell marl from Carlingwark Loch. Some thirty years later, in 1792, it was erected to Burgh of Barony status, had two cotton manufacturing companies and various other industrial activities including a brewery, tannery, woollen manufactory and a soapworks (*OSA*). By 1844, when the revised New Statistical Account entry for Kelton parish was written, the town was a thriving agricultural and commercial market centre.

Functional typologies such as those presented by Houston (1948) and Lockhart (1978) have overlooked the fact that many villages quickly developed a range of functions. The typologies also overlook the fact that some villages became renowned for an activity that was not their original function. The functional classification for Dumfriesshire and Galloway, coupled with a listing of what the functions of planned villages were demonstrates the diversity of activities associated with the planned villages of south-west Scotland.

The total number in the right hand column of Table 2 exceeds 81 because some villages are known to have had more than one function within a short time of their foundation. These villages are shown in *italics*. The status of a handful of villages remains uncertain (they have a question mark next to their name) but the table entry represents their most likely function.

Conclusions

Until recently, only a partial description of the characteristics of the planned villages of Dumfriesshire and Galloway was reported. In particular, the number of planned villages was underestimated, and the range of functions associated with the new villages was not acknowledged. This paper has demonstrated how important planned villages were to the region in terms of their absolute number and, because of their wide distribution across the region, how important they have been in creating the settlement structure we know today. Many planned villages are amongst the largest settlements in Dumfriesshire and Galloway, their size and economic importance far exceeding that which their founders could have hoped for them.

Many questions about the planned villages of Dumfriesshire and Galloway remain unanswered, providing opportunities for future research. What was the landowner's rationale for developing a village? What was the extent of landlord involvement in the creation of each planned village? How did the size and functions of each village change through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries? These questions may be answered through further scrutiny of the source materials described above and through the use of other sources, including estate papers, sassines and old newspapers. Answering these questions – and others — will not only generate interesting knowledge about south-west Scotland, it will add to our understanding of the importance of planned villages across Scotland as whole.

Acknowledgements

Map 1 was prepared by Jenny Johnston and Figure 1 was prepared by Alison Sandison.

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PRESBYTERIAN DIVISIONS AND EDIFICE RIVALRY IN GALLOWAY, 1743-1900

by Richard Smith[1]

Undeniably, old (parish and other) churches of any given area, particularly a rural region like Galloway, figure prominently in the historic and aesthetic landscape. Yet as 'active' components in their communities, for decades they have been facing an ongoing and previously unprecedented crisis: one of waning relevance, as the enthusiasm of recent generations has cooled for at least traditional religious observance. An obvious consequence of falling church attendance has been regular place-of-worship closure, seen for example in recent years at the contrasting locations of sleepy Anwoth and traffic-clogged central Stranraer (Old Parish Church). This despite the union and/or linking of charges, with one minister now usually serving two, in places three, and (at the time of writing) in three Galloway instances four, parish churches.[2] And while the excess of churches 'inherited' by the unified denominations in 1900 and 1929[3] were by the mid-century typically serving as hall accommodation, conversion to residential, commercial, or community use, all exemplified throughout Galloway, has only been common-place in more recent times. Such options are naturally preferable to demolition, fortunately a measure rarely employed in the south-west, but with relatively recent instances occurring in Stranraer, Kirkcudbright, and Castle Douglas (see appendix tables). By contrast, a half-century of urban redevelopment, vandalism, and general neglect in Glasgow has seen over 200 Georgian and Victorian churches disappear.

Note on survey extent and time-span

As any contemporary study of denominational church extension in large towns and cities would, almost inevitably, prove more complex than a rural one, the survey omits Dumfries town, somewhere besides excluded by the regional designation. Due to post c.1800 encroachment of urban Dumfries, the Kirkcudbrightshire parish of Troqueer (its church and population centre virtually absorbed into the adjacent burgh) has been omitted. Also excluded are those parishes of rural Dumfriesshire traditionally counted within Galloway; this being purely an expedient measure — but not inappropriate in an area in which later (i.e. post-Covenanting era) dissent was comparatively weak.[4] However, not least for the sake of brevity, 'Galloway' is used repeatedly below in reference to the general scope of the study, something more precisely defined as Wigtownshire and Kirkcudbrightshire (minus Troqueer).

1 Richard Smith, 24 Bank Street, Wigtown DG8 9HP.

2 These are listed in the Church of Scotland Yearbook for 2004/05 as: Auchencairn, Rerrick, Buittle, Kelton; Balmaclellan, Kells, Carsphairn, Dalry; Corsock, Kirkpatrick Durham, Crossmichael, Parton.

3 United Free (1900 – composed of Free Church and United Presbyterians), 97% of whose approximately 1300 congregations 're-entered' the Church of Scotland in 1929 - N R Needham, *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology* (eds. Cameron, Wright, Lachman, Meek, et al), Edinburgh 1993, 838-39.

4 John Gifford's *The Buildings of Scotland: Dumfries and Galloway* (1996) provides a detailed architectural overview of the (especially parish) churches found within this area, and all Galloway.

The year 1743 carries double significance – marking both the construction of the first Secessionist meeting house in Galloway (at Haugh of Urr) and the formation of the Reformed Presbyterian Church [RPC], who established a congregation in a similarly humble building at Newton Stewart. Although previously both bodies (or in the case of the RPC, its constituent elements) had conducted peripatetic activities in the region for some years. The context of the national Church watershed 1900 is referred to above, and below.

Presbyterian 'rivalry' in wider socio-religious context.

The 18th and 19th century 'defections' from the established Church (i.e. Church of Scotland) were events that by the 1840s had effectively fragmented Scotland's Presbyterians into three main camps. In an age when religion pertained less to matters of 'personal faith' as perceived in today's individualistic secular society, interacting issues of political, social and economic change fuelled religious dissent undoubtedly more than purely theological concern or spiritual conviction though, as such, were frequently viewed in light of Scripture. Hence, seemingly secular processes such as the agricultural revolutions, the growth of towns, the rise of new lower-middle class groups (and their desire for greater political representation), were all factors varyingly lending support to the Secessions of 1733 and 1761 (and divisions affecting the first), the Disruption of 1843, and the Secessionist 're-unification' in United Presbyterian form in 1847.[5] The Catholic Church in Galloway, which began to experience some revival in the latter half of the period here concerned due largely to Irish immigration, being a somewhat separate issue (not least in a cultural-ethnic sense) is excluded from consideration below. A slightly more tangent topic, but one again excluded, is that of the handful of Episcopal chapels built in Galloway mostly from c.1850 onwards – being a matter largely concerning economic migrants from Ulster and northern England, and an indigenous 'Anglican' revival affecting only a tiny proportion of Galloway's Presbyterian membership base.

Slightly more relevant are other, modestly represented, Protestant churches in the region: Congregationalists, Baptists, Brethren and sects (such as the bizarre Buchanites) were established in several county towns and even villages. However, the only denomination generally regarded in peripheral terms afforded regular mention below, are the Reformed Presbyterians – a church of diehard Covenanting association. Their forerunners in the dissenting Society People ('United Societies') and Cameronians of seventeenth century south-west Scotland – and the continued strength of such sentiment in Galloway – gave the RPC a high regional profile. Moreover, most of their membership would enter the main arena as Free Church congregations from 1876.

Presbyterianism and society in the South-West – a chronological overview

For a century onwards from the adult reign of James VI & I (1585/1603-1625), Scotland had witnessed an intermittent struggle between radical Presbyterian elements and the

5 For a comprehensive and recent outline of these issues see: Brown, C.G. *Religion and Society in Scotland since 1707* (Edinburgh, 1997)

State. Both James and his son Charles I came to favour an Episcopal settlement in Scotland. Apart from their personal convictions, it was a system more amenable to royal control (through bishops deemed by Presbyterians as Crown sycophants) and thus the containing of 'zealots' such as Andrew Melville (d.1622). However, the Presbyterian regime that effectively usurped royal control in the late 1630s, soon became engulfed in a power struggle between Crown and Parliament in England – something in which the matter of Presbyterian polity played no small part (notably in the war years 1639-51). The determined ambition of leading Presbyterian clerics to establish a system they regarded as the most democratic and closest to doctrinal purity experienced further disappointment under Cromwell's regime, and more still from the parliament of William of Orange following the Glorious Revolution of 1688-89. Each was familiar with the 'oppressive' tendencies of an increasingly hyper-Calvinist ruling Presbyterian clique, their apparent obsession with the continued obligation of the national Covenants of 1638 and 1643, and besides had hostile feeling South of the Border to consider. Most English people had come to resent the Scots' previous involvement in the Civil War, a conflict in which the Edinburgh-based regime had supported Parliament. Seemingly desperate to achieve their aim of a Presbyterian Britain at any cost, the Scots went so far as to effectively switch sides, disastrously re-igniting the conflict in episodes between 1647 and 1651.

The three-decade period between the Cromwellian Protectorate and the Glorious Revolution had witnessed the Restoration era. Charles II, recalling his own humiliating 'adoption' in 1650-51 by Covenanting divines who had recently handed over his father to Cromwell, oversaw a return of an Erastian (i.e. State-subservient) Episcopal settlement north of the Border. Remote Galloway, already an area of Covenanting tradition, continued as a hotbed of opposition to the government after districts closer to Glasgow and Edinburgh were subjugated. Consequently it became a main theatre of the 'killing times', when dragoons hunted down fugitive Covenanters, generating tales that became part of regional and national lore. And while the fortunes of Presbyterianism did revive after 1689, soon there was dismay at parliamentary legislation of 1712 extending toleration to Episcopalians. However greater anger still was aroused by the corresponding restoration of church patronage (in violation of the 1707 Treaty of Union) – a matter the comprehension of which is integral to understanding the disputes affecting religion in Scotland for nearly two centuries.

The Presbyterian ideal for electing a parish ministry (embodied in the *Second Book of Discipline* of 1578) was by popular election. The system of patronage (with its antecedents in the middle ages) conferred this right upon a local patron – usually a titled landowner or the Crown – whose duty it was to maintain church fabric and pay stipend. After 1690 the system became replaced by one that extended the same right and obligations (which came to include manse and school provision) to the wider landholding class of parish heritors (owners of heritable property over a certain value). Yet 'purists' remained unsatisfied, as this compromise still represented only limited popular election. But, in truth, even for some time after the 1712 act restoring patronage, unpopular presentations by patrons were few. The wishes of heritors and elders tended to be respected, normally patrons (themselves often keen to remain aloof from parochial politics – and 'prying' of the kirk session) acquiescing in local wishes. Besides, in an era when ministers typically remained in a sin-

gle charge for life, vacant pulpits were hardly a common occurrence. Frequently nominees were local favourites, e.g. lairds' sons sent up to study in Edinburgh or Glasgow.

However, developing class alienation within traditional rural communities, fuelled by mounting incidences of 'absentee' heritors,[6] new landowners, and farm enclosure (which early resulted in the Galloway Levellers 'Revolt' of 1725-27) — led to a groundswell of popular support against patronage. This was exacerbated by an increasing incidence of unpopular presentations – several of which in Galloway (e.g. Carsphairn and Kirkmabreck) were recently detailed by Innes MacLeod.[7] As patronage became in a sense a political tool and hence valuable commodity, the Crown's rights of nomination (dispensed notably by its late eighteenth century 'political manager' Henry Dundas as favours and rewards) and those held by increasingly elitist patrons, were less likely to take cognisance of local wishes. Moreover, the dominant Moderate party in the Church (and the State) became uneasy at growing demands for popular 'rights' among the lower orders, especially after the French Revolution – at the outset an event generally welcomed in Scotland – quickly descended into mob bloodlust. Such a reactionary attitude is suggested by the *OSA* clerical contributor for Buittle – the incumbent the Rev. George Maxwell of Glenarm – who (in almost patronising fashion) lauds the sagacity of the parishioners, in not being 'so infatuated as to believe … that reformation must be sought in anarchy' and in rightly rejecting 'That spirit of [so-called] unity and indivisibility, that is, of arrogance and depredation which has so fatally attracted the rabble of Paris [and which] may yet prevail in Edinburgh or Glasgow'.[8] Meanwhile, in similar vein, the parish minister of Tongland, the Rev. William Robb, seemingly a personification of Moderate state-subservience and 'cold' religion in the Established Church, claimed in his glowing account of Tongland that the inhabitants were: 'sensible and rational in their religious principle … all warm friends to principles of the Revolution Government, and the succession of the Family of Hanover … They hear that the King and Royal Family go constantly to church on the Sabbath day, and hate Tom Paine for abusing so good a prince'.[9] Mr Robb claimed that if the arch-radical and national traitor[10] 'presumed to set foot within the verge' of Tongland, 'there is not an old woman in the parish, but would debaub [him] with dirt'.[11]

Yet more personal factors may have influenced Robb in the tone of his *OSA* contribution (see below). Following on from his eulogy of loyally docile Tongland, he (aware of a wide readership) bemoaned the poor condition of his manse and particularly low stipend, seeming to infer this was poor reward from the heritors and Crown (the patron in this instance) for the idyllic conditions he maintained.[12]

Admittedly anti-patronage agitation was less marked in Galloway than areas like Renfrewshire and Ayrshire, where perhaps a Covenanting tradition combined with

6 The scale of such absenteeism can be gleaned from the *Old Statistical* and *New Statistical Accounts* (hereafter *NSA* and *OSA*) for Galloway, compiled in the early 1790s and late 1830s respectively.

7 MacLeod, I. (ed.) *Where the Whaups Are Crying: A Dumfries and Galloway Anthology* (Edinburgh, 2001), 111-113.

8 *OSA* vol. XVII, 234-35.

9 *Ibid*. 330-31.

10 The Norfolk-born Paine had supported the Revolutions in America then France. His works included *The Rights of Man* (1791).

11 *Ibid*.

12 *OSA*, 336-37.

greater nascent political awareness (particularly amongst weavers) to fuel resentment. Nevertheless, religious dissent in the south-west already had an outlet in the above-mentioned United Societies which developed into the RPC. These were 'supplied with sermon' from 1706 by the Wigtownshire-born John MacMillan. An insight into the intensity of feeling held by MacMillan's followers, is again supplied by the *OSA*, where the parish minister of Crossmichael supplied the Balmaghie parish entry, MacMillan's former incumbency before his dismissal by the established Church in 1703. The maverick's popularity had resulted in his continued occupation of church (and manse), with the Church courts turning a blind eye. Meanwhile, the 'official' replacement newly inducted to the charge had to make do with preaching to a handful of people in a barn. On attempting to plough the glebe on his behalf, these had their equipment destroyed by a local mob, one of whom 'An infuriated female' 'threatened violence to the minister's person … and would probably have affected her purpose, had he not interposed his hand between his throat and a reaping sickle, with which she was armed. His fingers were cut to the bone.'[13]

The existing presence of the RPC, and the scarcity of sizeable towns, were factors weighing against early success for the Secessionist denominations in the region. Secessionists were, as the Scottish Church historians Drummond and Bulloch observed, principally 'townsmen'. Whigs, who in turn became Liberal supporters (and if eligible after the franchise extensions, voters), their core membership tended to be characterised by 'upwardly mobile' small businessmen who self-financed their own churches. Initially at least, their congregations also attracted a decidedly un-sophisticated and disgruntled element – some of whom in Galloway 'drifted' in from the RPC. The early (and in a few cases, ongoing e.g. Urr) histories of the dozen or so Secessionist congregations dotting the region suggest as much – replete with tales of membership faction, minister resignation, and ongoing dependence on presbytery headquarters (usually based in Glasgow) for 'pecuniary assistance'.[14]

From the outset Secessionists were unequivocal opponents of patronage. But over time the Secession Church originating in 1733 split over issues relating generally to 'traditional' vis-à-vis 'progressive' attitudes. The former tended to be found amongst Anti-Burghers, who began congregations in conservative-minded Galloway in 1749-50 at Wigtown and Stranraer (the latter described in 1791 as serving 443 members 'scattered over the whole Rhyns').[15] A few years previously at the Secessionist 'Breach' of 1747, the first Secessionist congregation in Galloway – the small and particularly problematic Urr – had not surprisingly taken the Anti-Burgher side. Formed in Haugh of Urr in the late 1730's, their 'church' of 1743 was rebuilt nearby at Hardgate in 1760.[16] Its replacement of 1798, altered in 1860, survives as a house.

However, both the leaven of Enlightenment thought and economic prosperity gradually eroded even Anti Burgher obstinacy, with the prosperous and theologically progressive 'New Licht' groups from Burgher and Anti Burgher joining as the United Secession in

13 *OSA*, XIII, 648-49. MacMillan left Balmaghie in 1727, turning to itinerant preaching.

14 See: Small, *R History of the Congregations of the United Presbyterian Church*, Vols.I & II, (Edinburgh 1904). This details all the congregational histories from their Secessionist origins.

15 *OSA*, I, 365.

16 Small, Vol. I, 247-9; MacKelvie, W. *Annals and Statistics of the United Presbyterian Church* (Edinburgh, 1873), 145.

1820. By this time they had come to oppose the very concept of a Church-State connection, denouncing any non-congregational funding as unscriptural. All giving for religious purposes should be voluntary – hence the term Voluntaries by which they became known. As the truculent element previously typifying rural Secessionists were rarely entrepreneurial or progressive in any sense, there was a tendency for them to depart elsewhere.

The enhanced denomination attempted to establish itself where earlier Secessionist attempts had fizzled out, including Gatehouse where a new church (now used by Episcopalians) was built in 1840. The construction cost of £390 – a third of which was raised by local effort – was around a tenth of that normally spent on even an average church in Glasgow or Edinburgh. Union with the like-minded Voluntaries of the Relief Church – as the United Presbyterian Church – occurred in 1847. Founded in 1761, but with no settled congregation in Galloway until 1790 (Newton Stewart), again chiefly over the patronage issue, the Relief developed a reputation for comparatively liberal attitudes and (for what would now be termed) an ecumenical approach to religion (including an open communion policy). It was noted around 1790 that even an inexperienced Relief minister could not be obtained for less than £100 per year (if considerably less than most Established Church incumbents could expect in teind-valued stipend), and a bond guaranteeing this – whereas the Anti Burgher Synod were willing to provide the equivalent for around £50, and no bond. This, in addition to their conservatism and evident determination, might partly explain the early Anti Burgher 'foundation' laid in the region. Overall, the Relief presence in Galloway was relatively half-hearted. Even where a cause was established and actual church built (or begun) plummeting fortunes could result in prompt closure and (as noted below) sale of building on, e.g. in Castle Douglas and Wigtown. Burgher congregations took off in the region from around 1790 – their preponderance in Wigtownshire[17] owing much to a regular supply of preachers travelling to the numerous Associate Synod congregations in Ulster.

Carsphairn UP

The national high profile of the 'UPs', and the continued rise of a commercial class especially in Stranraer, and also in Newton Stewart, Castle Douglas, Kirkcudbright and Dalbeattie, saw them establish a respectable presence in Galloway during the second half of the nineteenth century. Eventual, 1861, UP representation in Dalbeattie was comparatively late – Secessionists having failed to establish themselves in the town previously.[18] The UP Presbytery and Synod were loathe to allow the 'folding' of smaller congregations as had been commonplace in earlier Secessionist days (e.g. at Kirkcowan and Kirkmaiden) – a chronic 'running-sore' in Mainsriddle eventually abandoned in 1893, being an exception to the rule.[19] Conversely, the same year saw a somewhat sanguinely placed church opened in remote Carsphairn – where a congregation

17 Stranraer, Glenluce, Whithorn and Kirkmaiden.
18 Small, I, 276-77.
19 *Ibid*. 263-65.

had been recently formed almost entirely from parishioners dissatisfied with the parish minister. But frustratingly (for the UP Synod) most had drifted back to the Kirk by the date of opening.[20] Overall, the self-supporting 'Voluntary' ethic of the UPs usually continued (as in earlier Secessionist days) to prove too heavy for meagre local resources, hence financial aid for all but a few of their Galloway congregations remained standard.

A not dissimilar story applies to the Free Church, yet who styling themselves as the true ('cleansed') Established Church in principle, deemed it of particular import to provide wherever possible an 'alternative' parish church. In the early stages at least, this ambitious programme was financed from a huge central 'Sustenation Fund'. Never very strong in the provincial areas of southern Scotland – in contrast to the cities and the Highlands – a judicious cost-saving measure commonly employed by the Free Church throughout Galloway was to site in a 'church-less' village (often one of recent growth) within a parish. Examples in the Rhinns were Sandhead (Stoneykirk) and Drummore (Kirkmaiden); in the Stewartry: Shawhead (Kirkpatrick Irongray), Laurieston (Balmaghie), and a preaching station for the mining community around Lamloch (Carsphairn). Like others still, e.g. Beeswing (New Abbey and Lochend), these were usually intended to give 'cover' over the equivalent of two or three parish areas. Some churches in this general category stood at sites of apparent isolation, but conveniently centralised for a wider area, such as Tarff (Tongland and Twynholm – which was also near church-less Ringford village) and Glenkens (Balmaclellan, Dalry, Kells).[21] A glance at UP presbytery lists in Galloway might seem to indicate a similar prudent placing of churches. However, in 1847 the UPs effectively inherited the buildings of three former denominations, up until the early 1800s virtual competitors with one another. Hence the concept of needs-dictated centralised planning – undertaken by a Free Church without churches in 1843 - was precluded, with the UP presbytery map having developed in a cumulative and piecemeal way.

Numerous factors combined to influence the formation of the Free Church of around half the Church of Scotland's membership in 1843; some historians contending these included a latent nationalism. The driving force behind the Disruption were the former Evangelicals within the Kirk, a body growing in strength since the later eighteenth century, and who reviled what they regarded as the Erastianism and doctrinal laxity of Enlightenment-embracing Moderates. They gained wide ranging support from the poor and new middle classes in urban areas, and from doctrinally conservative Gaels – all groups resentful of the established order in politics and religion – and hence tended to struggle in Galloway outside Stranraer. A number of the 'chapels-of-ease' built to supplement parish churches in the years before the Disruption,[22] e.g. Sheuchan (Stranraer, 1841) and Corsock (1839), had been largely self-financed by Evangelical sympathisers (including some heritors), and in 1843 many amongst their congregations joined the Free Church.

20 The congregation was then joined with Dalry, *ibid*. 277 (but apparently became a separate charge in 1897).

21 Details contained in Ewing, W. *Annals of The Free Church of Scotland* Vol. II (Edinburgh, 1914) 42-52.

22 Most were soon given *quoad sacra* parish status by the General Assembly in 1834. The annulment of this 'Chapels Act' by the Court of Session in 1843 precipitated the Disruption. In the mid-later century *quoad sacra* status was gradually re-acquired, or awarded anew to places like Castle Douglas and Dalbeattie.

The 'alternative' establishment found little favour amongst the aristocracy – the major (and arguably only) exception to this in Galloway being Sir Andrew Agnew of Lochnaw;[23] while in the Stewartry there was gentrified support from the Ewarts of Allershaw, the Cowans of Dildawn, and a few others.[24] Without such assistance, finding a site in the face of heritor opposition frequently proved difficult; with Ewing outlining what sounds like subterfuge resorted to at Sorbie and Cairnryan.[25] Even the Secessionists – between whom and 'men of rank' generally there was little love lost – seem to have had distinguished sympathisers in Galloway in the eminent Murrays of Broughton, with the 'feudal superior' of Gatehouse (and owner of nearby Cally House) granting the United Secession a prime feu and subscription for their church of 1840.[26] However, the family themselves had religious leanings classed as Dissent[27] – though (as one might expect) Episcopalian; and moreover were keen to attract mill workers and tradesmen to their 'project' town.

Unlike, however, the situation in the cities and throughout the Gaelic-speaking Highlands, in 1843 there were few if any defections *en masse* with properties retained – only Sheuchan came close to a full walkout. Services in halls, tents, and even barns, were common for the first year until plain and functional edifices began to appear as part of a nationwide building programme. In at least one instance, a combined church-manse saved the additional expense associated with providing and remodelling the requisite domestic provision – at New Luce (now demolished).[28] Manses provided by the three major denominations in the region merits a study in itself – with nearly all surviving today (the majority as private homes).

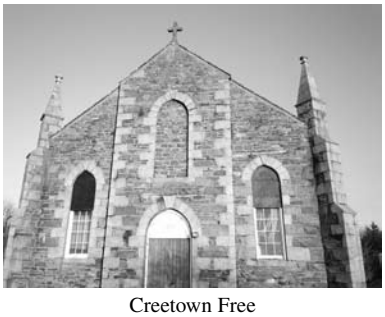
Galloway played its part in underscoring not only the national percentage claimed by the Free Church in terms of members leaving the Establishment, but also adhering Evangelical ministers. And while some parish clergy, sympathetic to the cause, were commonly perceived to have put head before heart in 'staying put' – a sensible course in Galloway where job prospects (and thus family security) under the Frees were hardly attractive – ministers of genuine Moderate sentiment seem to have been the norm in the region from the late eighteenth century onwards. Such may have been criticised as Erastian 'time-servers', preachers of virtue-extolling sermons neglecting a saving faith, but might just as fairly be described as bookish and conscientious individuals. Indulging interests – as their contributions to the Old and New Statistical Accounts attest – in a range of local matters from 'Roman' antiquities and 'druidical temples', to reptilian studies, to civic improvements, their attitude towards tended to be paternalistic, but deferential towards the titled elite (such as the Earls of Galloway or Stair) if also on occasions grumbling (like Mr Robb).

In the Presbytery of Wigtown only one parish incumbent left to join the Free Church, four in Kirkcudbright, and five in the Presbytery of Stranraer – representing around 10%,

23 In the Rhinns Sir Andrew provided *gratis* a church site and a manse for fledgling Free congregations at Ervie (Kirkcolm) and Leswalt respectively – Ewing, 49-50.
24 *Ibid*. 53-54.
25 Ewing, 51, 49.
26 MacKelvie, 290.
27 McKerlie, P. H. *History of the Lands and their Owners in Galloway* Vol. III (Edinburgh, 1877), 472.
28 *Ibid*. 52.

20%, and 40% respectively.[29] Plebeian protest may have been stronger in the latter area, fuelled by much social upheaval resulting from the growth of the port town. But in an era when particular clergy had an almost personality-cult influence over congregations – the 'pulpit artistes' referred to by Burns – such personal loyalty doubtless influenced many parishioners to follow their minister's lead in 1843, despite perhaps little understanding the issues involved.

In spite of the relative success of the Free Church in soon dotting Galloway with churches and a paid ministry, by the 1860s their failure to replace the Established Church was evident, with their percentage of Galloway's church-membership base declining thereafter.[30] This owed partly to the re-invigoration of the Church of Scotland, with a new generation of ministers developing a greater social awareness of a changing society's needs. Another factor was probably the novelty of the protest associated with Free Church adherence wearing-off – with moreover the abolition of patronage in 1874 somewhat eroding their rationale. Additionally, as the Frees were dependent on the Voluntary system championed by the United Presbyterians (despite idealism to the contrary), the same pressure for financial giving came to be associated with their congregations. Nonetheless, a charismatic or simply dedicated minister could temporarily buck the trend in decline even for the Frees, seen in the example of the Rev. Andrew Anderson at Port William in the early 1870s (where a Free church, was sited the previous decade).[31] But fortuitously, in this case the parish kirk remained almost two miles away in the rural hinterland of the planned village (at Mochrum), with moreover Mr Anderson's popularity being largely confined almost predictably to the lower class. Also, Sheuchan Free, located at Stranraer's less affluent end, saw its membership steadily rise into the 1880s (if mainly by 'transferral' from waning rural congregations).



Creetown Free

In a similar scenario to that described above for Secession-derived churches in the region, Free Church congregations in Galloway were rarely self-supporting. Central funding was usually relied upon heavily for church rebuilding/replacement work (which they determinedly continued with until the 1890s); typically income did not even offset ministerial stipend. Only in one instance did the Free Church close down a congregation in the region – in relatively sizeable Creetown in 1876. However, the circumstances (see table below) were at least ostensibly different from those later closing Mainsriddle UP as described above, but provided a convenient excuse for terminating a struggling local cause.

There was little difference in the theological belief of the main three Presbyterian denominations (though disagreement over its 'application') – with only the RPC and

29 See relevant Presbytery chapters in *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae* (1915-28 edition).

30 Ewing's statistics, and those stated in the *Scottish Church and University Almanac* for the 1880s and 1890s, show a clear later 19th century membership decline for the Free Church in Galloway – even allowing for corresponding rural depopulation figures (these listed on a parish basis in Francis H Groome's 6-volume Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland, 1893).

31 Watt, J. H. I. *(et al) Mochrum – A Parish History 1794-1994* (Wigtown, 1994) – chapter on Free Church.

a minute Original Secession ('Auld Licht') presence (in Stranraer) seemingly stuck in a seventeenth-century Covenanting mindset. Even these two traditionalists bodies had begun shedding their historical curio image by the second half of the nineteenth century, the majority membership in both joining a moderately-conservative Free Church in 1876 and 1852 respectively.[32] However, minority refuseniks in the RPC and Original Secession hung on, having representation apiece in Stranraer – where they received succour from likeminded 'hardliners' across the water – until relatively recent times.[33] The Stranraer RPC congregation had in fact proved sufficiently progressive to join the 'majority' RPC in 1863[34] – but (uniquely) rejoined the minority body in 1876 when the majority group decided to enter the Free Church (seemingly a bridge too far for the Stranraer membership). Of the Galloway RPC congregations who joined the Free Church in 1876 (notably Newton Stewart and Castle Douglas), such would have doubtless refrained from doing so had a recently mooted union (eventually consummated in 1900 – but which the stereotypical conservative Highland FC membership largely refused to enter) between the Frees and the doctrinally more flexible United Presbyterians taken place.[35]

Church architecture in 18th and 19th century Galloway.

At the outset of the period concerned, the largely unchanged medieval parish system in Galloway was served by the standard kirk. Such buildings typically comprised a piecemeal rebuilding, or *in situ* replacement, of an earlier church or 'romish chapel'. Kirkmaiden of c.1638, in the Rhinns, is thought to represent Galloway's first post-Reformation church proper,[36] rubble-built in the T-plan (though since extended) favoured in the 17th century. In this design the role of the chancel was negated, with the 'wings' serving not as side chapels as in medieval churches, but ancillary seating. Over the course of the following century or so several dozen of the region's churches were replaced or rebuilt, from c.1750 onwards usually by the functional 'box' design (a bulky body - square or rectangular – sometimes capped with a hipped roof). The growing Calvinist austerity of the Presbyterian divines, disdainful of the former cruciform design of churches and its liturgical associations, found the plain square churches (or a compromise in the T-plan) both cost effective and theologically 'sound', i.e. able to accommodate large numbers of worshippers both downstairs and up (in three sided galleries) all centred around the pulpit from where the sermon – the central point of Presbyterian worship – was delivered.

Not many of the eighteenth century plain box parish churches survive. Altered examples include Glasserton (1732), Kirkgunzeon (1792), Balmaghie (1794, T-plan) and Kelton (1805). Quite apart from the factors of growing population and general wear-and-tear – which necessitated ongoing alterations/additions to existing churches – in an age when

32 The Free Church did not acquire representation in Newton Stewart until the 1876 acquisition of the former RPC building. Previously refused a site in the town, their nearest congregation had been at Creebridge. Ewing, 51.

33 At the date of writing the RPC church in Stranraer retains an active – if dwindling - congregation. The former Original Secession church survives in Sun Street, utilised as a Masonic Hall.

34 In which year 44 of the denomination's 55 congregations effectively renounced their political dissent stance, and allowed members to vote.

35 See: Fleming, J. R. *The Church in Scotland 1843-1874* (Edinburgh, 1927), 175-87.

36 Gifford, 37.

landowners were displaying an unprecedented interest in the architecture of their own homes, pride and notions of patriarchal responsibility (with Secessionist encroachments spurring both) combined to effect a cumulative nation-wide 'replacement programme'. In terms of building-style, the late eighteenth century advent of Romanticism saw Gothic revive as an architectural form – rehabilitated after two centuries of being tainted with notions of (in respect of secular and Church antecedents) a barbaric past. Nonetheless, few of Galloway's Gothic Revival churches were serious attempts to replicate the medieval – a buttressed and gabled front, pinnacled tower, and pointed windows sufficing in most cases.

These churches, almost cynically termed 'Heritors Gothic', began to appear throughout Galloway from around 1820 onward. Examples include Kirkcowan, Kirkmabreck, Kells, and Anwoth (to name but a few). The popular 'spiky' corner pinnacles were more affordable, and easier to build, than actual stone spires, with some (usually smaller) churches given only a flat battlemented tower, e.g. Kirkinner and Parton. In one or two cases, the in-vogue pinnacled tower was tacked-on to an older church. This can be seen at Glasserton, where the 'Gothick' addition could only further romanticise a setting described in the *OSA* entry (compiled 1795) like a setting from Mrs Radcliffe:[37] 'romantically embosomed in wood, which sheds around it a venerable gloom, as if it were a druidical temple, or the sacred grove of some Syrian idol'.[38]

The architects associated with Galloway's phase of Heritors Gothic tended to be regional figures, but designs by men of renown were adopted in parishes where the patron wished the distinction of a 'fashionable' church, notably William Burn for the Earl of Galloway[39] at Minnigaff and Penninghame (both 1830s – the latter given a soaring stone spire). Shortly afterwards Burn produced a similar design at Portpatrick for the patron (and 'principal heritor') Colonel Hunter Blair.[40] Like Burn's pairing just mentioned, this also remains in use as a parish church.

Dalry UP

Quite often, the new edifice was built on the spot of its predecessor, symbolic in continuing a Christian tradition associated with a site perhaps occupied since the Early Historic period (something not always clear without archaeology), and commonly the medieval. This had particular resonance in a region regarded as the 'cradle of Christianity' in Scotland following the arrival of St Ninian. A popular alternative to demolition of the old parish church was to build the replacement in close proximity, with the former, stripped of its roof and fittings, gradually taking on the role

37 Ann ('Mrs') Radcliffe, popular 'Gothick' novelist whose works such as *The Romance of the Forest* (1791) later influenced Byron and Shelley.

38 *OSA*, XVII, 593.

39 Burn also worked on the Earl's principal seat of Galloway House – Gifford, 41.

40 Whose land in the parish had recently made him eligible for 80% of church costs, *NSA*, IV, 157. Similar eligibility applied to others, like Sir William Maxwell in Mochrum parish.

Anwoth

of romantic ruin and principal graveyard 'monument'. Sometimes an aisle of the old kirk previously serving as a mausoleum was retained, e.g. St John's Town of Dalry, and the remainder removed. Elsewhere, part or wholly intact 'shells' came to house tombstones, e.g. at Minnigaff and Anwoth.

Other factors might dictate the rebuilding of a parish church some distance away. As well as the configuration of many old sites being unsuitable and – of importance given the aesthetic value of the new church towers – lacking visual prominence, movements of workers to planned towns and villages further negated the position of many old parish centres. Hence while in Kirkcowan and Creetown (both early 1830s) the church was rebuilt at the opposite ('front') end of the village, as early as 1777 at Penninghame (and similarly later at Gatehouse and Garlieston/Millisle) the relocation had been one of miles to a developing population centre – in this instance Newton Stewart, whose growth was described in 1790 as 'amazing'.[41] In turn it was replaced in 1838-40, but only fifty yards away by Burn's above-mentioned Neo-Gothic edifice (perhaps Galloway's finest of the era).

Stranraer Relief

During the Heritors Gothic era (c.1820-40), the dissenting churches (mostly Secessionist and RPC) tended to remain content with the traditional 'box' form, similar to the type built and nicknamed 'holy barns' by Dissenters in England. In one respect this owed to their being generally cheaper to build. However, even in the cities wealthy Secessionist churches avoided the Gothic style until around 1840 – preferring Neo-Classical designs (partly as an architectural expression of their dissent) based on Italian Renaissance or Greek. Stranraer has three surviving examples of early 19th century box churches (all with the vernacular hipped roof) of dissenting build: Bellevilla Burgher ('roofed in' by 1799); Bridge Street Relief; and the RPC edifice in Dalrymple Street.[42] Each has a frontage incorporating Classical motif (that at Bellevilla probably represents a remodelling) - such a 'veneer' giving sophistication to a church that could otherwise appear as a 'dreary barn-like building', the description of the church erected by the Relief Church in Newton Stewart only years previously (in 1792).[43]

From the mid-century onwards, Galloway's Secession-derived congregations (now enjoying enhanced UP status) came also to embrace the Gothic forms. Like numerous others, the unenthusiastically described Newton Stewart Relief was eventually supplanted

41 *OSA*, III, 341.
42 All retain diminutive, almost 'hidden', but fascinating graveyards – as does the recently closed old parish church.
43 Small, II, 11.

in grandiose style – in this instance by an Early Gothic design (a building now converted to Newton Stewart museum). Deteriorating fabric was rarely the prime consideration when this decision was almost invariably made – as old churches could usually be patched up. In a situation where the national rivalry between the 'big three' Presbyterian denominations was played out at local level, the continuance of a 'dreary barn' in the immediate presence of a 'handsome and commodious' neighbour, would constitute both a public-image disaster and possibly even see the less-committed transfer their pew-rent (a particularly vital source of income for Dissenters) to the latter.

The structures built by the Free Church in the years immediately following the Disruption, tended to be hastily constructed gable-fronted rectangles, perhaps with some basic Gothic detailing. The majority were later replaced, or in more recent times demolished. A good converted example can be seen at Borgue[44] – with others surviving unlisted, and sometimes even difficult to detect. The denomination employed a more adventurous design nearby, at their stand-alone Tarff church, one of the above-mentioned group placed to give multiple-parish cover. Today it stands overlooking the A75, another converted, and imparting a 'church in-the-middle-of-no-where' impression to passing motorists. Their first towered church was the contemporary (1844) Free Girthon and Anwoth (providing double parish coverage), placed in Girthon's new centre at Gatehouse-of-Fleet (where it easily outshone the parish church of c.1818, and almost replicated that at nearby Anwoth).

In the mid-later nineteenth century more sophisticated church designs were employed, if mostly in the larger population centres where there was much denominational jostling for position. Gothic Revival styles appear to have enjoyed a near-monopoly in the region; Romanesque exceptions at Dalbeattie Free (1880) and (more authentic, but remote) Southwick parish church of 1890 reflecting a vogue for the style in city locations.[45] The above-mentioned Neo-Classical forms (particularly the 'Greek temple') popular with later Secessionists in urban locations had no real representation in Galloway. A now-demolished 1847 rebuild of an earlier Secessionist church in Wigtown was the region's nearest comparison.[46] Eye-catching towers (not an element of Neo-Classical) continued to predominate. A use of the device by the Free Church at Corsock (1851), as at the above-mentioned Gatehouse, was symbolic in dwarfing the bellcote of the nearby parish church (1839) — again doubtless the intention. In Castle Douglas, the soaring broach spire of the new Free Church of 1863-65 dominated King Street, though typically of street-fronting churches (especially Dissenting ones) its 'hidden' body was plain and cheaply-built.

Local/civic pride might result in an ambitious mid-later 19th century replacement for a parish church overseen during the Heritors Gothic phase, and since bettered by Dissenting efforts. An early example in this category is Wigtown of 1851, where, a church largely rebuilt around 1790 was replaced alongside by a granite structure in an Early Gothic style (the present parish church). Here, unusually, a pavilion roof was preferred to either spire

44 Gifford, 43.

45 Whithorn UP could be described as vaguely Romanesque – but more an attempt at Arts-and-Crafts. The late 19th century hall adjoined by the RPC to their church in Stranraer was similarly influenced.

46 This had only a superficial facing of pilasters. The United Secession were, in the 1820s, expending £10,000 apiece in Glasgow for 'genuine' temple-like churches (with actual pillars supporting huge pediments), e.g. Wellington and Greyfriars.

or pinnacles. Unfortunately, the county town's Secessionist (described above) and Free churches — the latter utilised and enhanced an unfinished Relief building begun in 1839 — fell victim to later demolition. New parish churches beside Castle Kennedy (begun 1858) and Garlieston (begun 1873) — serving Inch and Sorbie respectively – owed much to the above-mentioned population movement, yet (and in a far from separate issue) were placed in complementing fashion near the seats of their patrons/principal heritors: Galloway's two main landowners in the form of the Earl of Stair and the Earl of Galloway (again respectively).

The replacement process continued apace into the 1870s and beyond. New Free churches, large though 'architecturally disappointing', continued to be raised in Galloway until the late 1880s: that referred to in Dalbeattie, of 1880-81; and the far-flung Port Patrick of 1886-87, where funds never stretched to the intended spire.[47] The more aesthetic Stranraer-Sheuchan of 1883-84, is another now regrettably demolished.

Elsewhere, the Church of Scotland had reinforced its questionable claim as national provider with several imposing new buildings and updates: long overdue at Castle Douglas in 1869,[48] enlarged in 1880 and given an impressive tower a decade later (the whole ensemble now functioning as the Lochside Theatre). Prior to this Kirk the faithful had continued trekking up the hill to Kelton, though it seems the 1865 opening of the King Street Free church had been a temptation many could not latterly resist (resulting in an Establishment response of a basic 'mission hall' in the town the following year, but one making for a decidedly unattractive comparison). Dalbeattie received a new parish church in 1878-80.[49] While in Gatehouse, the profile of the 'Auld Kirk' was enhanced by a tower of 1895-96, finally bettering its above-mentioned Free neighbour of 1844.

'Tasteful' replacements of earlier Secessionist/Relief edifices by the United Presbyterians, included Castle Douglas (1870), that mentioned in Newton Stewart (1878) and Kirkcudbright (1880, now demolished), with the 1898 rebuilding of Ivy Place UP in Stranraer representing Galloway's final Dissenting church of any note before the watershed of 1900.[50] Only recently (1883-84) a confident UP membership had replaced their other church in the town, West UP (now St Ninian's Church of Scotland). Costing some £3000, in a situation with few provincial parallels the remaining debt on the property had been erased within weeks of opening.[51] Revealingly, before the re-construction of Ivy Place the combined membership of the denomination's two churches in the town was around 550 – a figure West Church could have almost accommodated in one sitting (of which most town churches had two per Sabbath),[52] a confident 'Voluntary' gospel vision (with perhaps an element of congregational pride) evidently transcending the hallmark UP financial prudence.

47 Gifford, 43, 491. A similar scenario was not unknown even in wealthy city congregations, seen prominently today beside Glasgow University at the former Anderson-Gilmorehill Free (now Gilmorehill Student Film Theatre), whose unfinished tower faces up University Avenue.

48 The town was created a *quoad sacra* parish in 1873. For Free and UP churches in Castle Douglas, see appendix table.

49 Gifford, 45, 167.

50 Small, II, 4-6. A Perpendicular-detailed church in St John's Town of Dalry begun 1899 (recently converted) represents the final UP undertaking in the region.

51 Small, II, 9.

52 Statistics listed in Small.

Perhaps the closest Galloway comes to illustrating Arts-and-Crafts in church design is the quasi-Romanesque Whithorn UP (1892) – now a garage. With regard to the related late 19th century Ecclesiological trend in Protestant church architecture (which favoured the re-introduction of traditional liturgical designs, e.g. incorporating aisles and chancels), one has to cross the Nith before encountering a bona fide example: Crichton Memorial church on the southern edge of Dumfries. However, in rural Galloway the Established Church commissioned the highly regarded MacGregor Chalmers to build a plain version of the type at Ardwell[53] – the parish carved out of Stoneykirk in 1900.[54]

Appendices

As the presbytery districts of the three denominations – in Galloway as elsewhere – did not correspond geographically, regional representation for each is listed below on a county basis. As noted above: some of the earlier and plainer churches of Dissenting-build to have survived are not easily identifiable – several even having escaped the attention of Gifford and the RCAHMS, e.g. Port William Relief and Kirkcowan UP. Unless otherwise stated, 18th-19th c. parish churches have replaced predecessors on-site, and retain accompanying graveyards. 'In-use' refers to the continuance of church services, but this frequently means fortnightly and in a few cases monthly. With closure being an ongoing process, the designation — especially at physically isolated churches where the congregation can be a mere handful – is (unlike conversion or demolition) hardly fixed. In one or two cases, e.g. Stranraer St Ninian's, a closure decision has been made, but no date as yet set. The general sources used are the reference works as detailed in the footnotes above (including the 1893 Ordnance Gazetteer) in addition to the on-line CANMORE database provided by the RCAHMS. Last but not least, invaluable information – mostly relating to demolished former dissenting churches – has been kindly provided by local people, too numerous to mention.

Wigtownshire

Parish church provision (Established Church) to 1900:

Bargrennan	1839 chapel-of-ease (parish created *quoad sacra* from Penninghame and Minnigaff); in-use.
Glasserton	Plain kirk of 1732, jamb and 'Gothick' tower of 1830s; minor late 19th C. additions; closure announced 2005 (possible future as Arts venue).
Inch	Ruined old kirk of c.1770 and graveyard now in estate; replacement in-use parish church of c.1860 at Castle Kennedy village.
Kirkcolm	In-use plain T-plan kirk of 1824.
Kirkinner	In-use plain Heritors Gothic of 1828.
Kirkmaiden	17th c. T-plan kirk with early-modern additions; in-use.

53 Gifford, 109.
54 The church was completed in 1902, in which year the parish *quoad sacra* was formed largely from Stoneykirk.

Leswalt	Ruin of old kirk. Plain replacement of 1827-28, in-use.
Lochryan	Simple church of 1841 for *quoad sacra* parish (created from Inch). Demolished 1990. Small church hall in Cairnryan village dated 1899.
Luce, New	Small plain kirk of 1821, slightly altered; in-use.
Luce, Old	T-plan kirk of 1814; in-use.
Mochrum	Rectangular kirk of 1790s, jambs added giving T-form; in-use.
Penninghame	Old kirk (now foundations) and graveyard near Clachan of Penninghame. Parish place-of-worship removed 4m north to Newton Stewart in 1777, itself demolished and replaced alongside by magnificent present parish church of c.1840.
Portpatrick	Ruined cruciform kirk of 1620s. Replacement of c.1840 in Main Street; in-use.
Sorbie	Ruined old kirk and graveyard in Sorbie village, altered 1828. Parish centre moved two miles west (nearer Garlieston) in 1870s; in-use.
Stoneykirk	Towered but plain church of 1820s (disused).
Stranraer	Parish formed c.1600 from Inch and Leswalt. New (late 18th c.) church in disrepair and demolished 1830s. Recently closed Old Parish Church of 1839-41. Sheuchan *quoad sacra* church (now Stranraer High Kirk) of 1841.
Whithorn	Plain rectangular church of 1820s beside priory ruins; tower added mid-19th century; in-use.
Wigtown	Ruin of old kirk much rebuilt c.1790, now in graveyard alongside replacement (in-use) parish church of 1851.

Secessionist churches

Parish location:

Glenluce	Plain Burgher church of 1818 in village. Rebuilt 1890 as Glenluce UP. Demolished.
Kirkcowan	Plain UP church of 1862 on edge of village. Later named Dawson Memorial in honour of revered minister – now 'Dawson Court' housing. Previous United Secession (and earlier, intermittent Relief) sermons in improvised home. The recent date panel refers to the conversion (1990).
Kirkmaiden	1800s Burgher attempts to supply sermon in village abandoned – no church.
Mochrum	Plain Relief church of c.1830 in Port William village – now much renovated and serving as parish church/village hall.
Penninghame	Fluctuating Relief cause in Newton Stewart (with basic church) from after 1790. UP replacement church of 1878 (now museum).
Stranraer	Anti Burgher Ivy Place church (1840 rebuild of c.1750 structure) replaced by United Presbyterians in late 1890s. Later became St Andrew (Church of Scotland). Now merged with recently closed old parish church congregation as 'Town Kirk of Stranraer' – in use. Relief church in Bridge Street of c.1820 vacated 1880's (later became Parish Church hall – but closed in 2004) by

	which time congregation had merged with nearby c.1800 Bellevilla church (originally Burgher, near corner of Bellevilla and Thistle Streets; now used by Baptists, altered and with later hall attached). Merged congregation moved into new church —West UP of 1883-84, later St Ninian's Church of Scotland (in-use, but scheduled for union with High parish church – to occupy only the latter premises).
Whithorn	Burgher church of 1790s replaced in 1892 by structure now garage.
Wigtown	Plain Anti Burgher church of c.1750 remodelled in simple Classical style 1840s – demolished. Relief edifice of 1838 uncompleted and purchased by Free Church in 1843 (see below).

Free churches

Parish location:

Inch	Plain church of 1843/44 – outside Castle Kennedy village. Demolished, with adjacent manse recently used as hotel/inn.
Kirkcolm	Site in Ervie village donated by Sir Andrew Agnew of Lochnaw – church built 1844/45. Demolished, but accompanying manse in use.
Kirkmaiden	Plain church in Drummore, recently used as hall. United Free replaced this in 1903 with the present St Medan's church.
Leswalt	Church of 1844 on hill outside village — demolished.
Lochryan	Plain church of 1845 in Cairnryan — demolished?
Luce, New	Sermon in barn, 1862. Combined preaching station-manse of 1865 – demolished.
Luce, Old	Church in North Street, Glenluce, of late 1845 (dated 1846). Later used as masonic hall, then workshop. Presently empty (note blocked windows and bellcote stump)
Mochrum	Small church of 1863 in Port William. Converted to housing 1990.
Penninghame	RPC church in Newton Stewart (Princes Street, now furniture store) assumed Free Church status at union of 1876.
Portpatrick	Church of late 1843, replaced in late 1880s by structure now used as hall.
Sorbie	Church built in village 1844, renovated 1873. At present fronted by caravans and empty.
Stoneykirk	Church built in Sandhead village, 1844. Disused.
Stranraer	Church built in 1844 (for 'outed' Sheuchan chapel-of-ease congregation) recently Lewis Street Gospel Hall. Sheuchan church of early 1880s in King St, later used by Salvation Army — demolished.
Whithorn	Church on shore in church-less Isle of Whithorn from 1844 (now in parish use). Church in Whithorn of same year (disused).
Wigtown	Uncompleted Relief edifice bought and completed 1843/44. Tower added. Now demolished.

Kirkcudbrightshire

Parish church provision (Established Church) to 1900:

Anwoth	Shell of 17th/18th c. kirk nearby Heritors Gothic replacement of 1820s (disused).
Auchencairn	*Quoad sacra* parish with church of 1855; in use.
Balmaclellan	Plain kirk of c.1750 altered in 19th century; in use.
Balmaghie	Plain T-plan kirk of c.1794. Altered for centenary (1894); in-use.
Borgue	Basic heritors Gothic kirk of 1814. Later alterations; in-use.
Buittle	Partly medieval shell of old kirk beside Heritors Gothic replacement of c.1818; in-use.
Carsphairn	Simple rectangular church of 1815. Slightly altered 1840, and more recently; in-use.
Castle Douglas	Parish formed from Kelton in 1870s. Church began 1869, additions (including tower) of later 19th c. Now Lochside Theatre.
Colvend & Southwick	Two parishes merging in 1612, but (unusually) later separated (1894). Present Southwick church built c.1890, 1.5m from surviving ruined predecessor. Colvend church of c.1910, site of old kirk in graveyard alongside; both in use.
Corsock	Chapel-of-ease built 1839 for *quoad sacra* parish. House conversion.
Crossmichael	Rectangular box church of c.1750 with hipped roof incorporates round tower from earlier kirk. Later additions; in-use.
Dalbeattie	*Quoad sacra* parish, created from Urr in 1864. Large church of late 1870s, in use.
Dalry	Elegant Heritors Gothic church of c.1830, in use. Aisle of predecessor surviving alongside, converted to mausoleum.
Girthon	Shell of old kirk at Girthon. New parish church built at Gatehouse-of-Fleet 1817-18, reconstructed with tower 1890s; in use.
Kells	Church rebuilt as 'box' in 1740s replaced on site by Heritors Gothic of 1822; in-use.
Kelton	Replacement church of 1740s, soon enlarged but present church built 1805-06 (largely for Castle Douglas population). Later alterations; in-use. An incongruously large graveyard beside Kelton hamlet serving Castle Douglas.
Kirkbean	T-plan replacement church of 1770s. 19th c. additions; in-use.
Kirkcudbright	Impressive replacement church built centrally by William Burn in late 1830s, in-use. Old kirk site and graveyard on town outskirts.
Kirkgunzeon	Replacement plain rectangular church of 1790, additions of later 19th c; in-use.
Kirkmabreck	Overgrown remains of old kirk and graveyard, abandoned as parish centre in 1630s. Church rebuilt 1.5 m west in Creetown. Replaced in turn by present (in-use) church of 1831-32.
Kirkpatrick Durham	T-plan Church of 1849 replacing old kirk of previous century; in-use.

Kirkpatrick Irongray	Plain church of 1803. Isolated site serving agricultural parish; in use.
Lochrutton	Very plain replacement church of 1819, remote from Lochfoot village. Recently closed.
Minnigaff	Deluxe replacement Heritors Gothic church of mid-1830s. In-use. Intact shell of old kirk in graveyard.
New Abbey	Old kirk of c.1730 built-onto abbey, demolished 1877. Replacement church nearby in use.
Parton	Plain replacement church of early 1830s, in use. Fragment of old kirk in graveyard (housing grave of James Clark Maxwell).
Rerrick	Ruined portion of 1743 kirk (on site of predecessor) in graveyard at Rerrick. Parish centre later moved to Dundrennan, where church of 1860s remains in use.
Terregles	Plain in-use church of 1814 incorporates restored chancel of 16th c. kirk.
Tongland	Shell of church of 1813. Ruin of 1720s kirk in graveyard alongside (site of 13th c. abbey).
Twynholm	Small church of 1818 with bellcote. Covenanting memorial in surrounding graveyard.
Urr	Replacement parish church of 1815, replaced by present structure in centenary year (1915).

Secessionist churches

Parish location:

Carsphairn	UP church of 1892-93 built for congregation of disgruntled parishioners. Quickly merged with Dalry UP. Survives as cottage conversion (panel dated 1892) at N. end of village.
Castle Douglas	Relief church begun 1801, sold (unfinished) to RPC 1821. Now much rebuilt and serving as parish church. Intermittent Relief services occasionally thereafter in Crossmichael. UP church of 1870 (now housing) – replaced previous meetings in adapted home.
Colvend	Small congregation in church-less Mainsriddle village (on border of Colvend and Kirkbean parishes) receiving Relief sermon supply from 1791. Joined United Secession in 1821. Dissolved by UP Synod in 1893. Now dwelling house.
Dalbeattie	No church in town until 1861 (previously adherents had travelled to Urr/ Hardgate) – now housing.
Dalry	Early 1820s United Secession station in Balmaclellan — moved to Dalry 1825, basic (£300) church (later demolished). Replacement (UP) church begun 1899, now housing.
Girthon	Intermittent Burgher mission in Gatehouse from 1818. United Secession church built 1840 with help from Murrays of Broughton. Presently used by Episcopalians.

Kirkcudbright	Burgher congregation of 1818 (no church). United Secession edifice of 1822 – survives converted. New church of 1880 at west end of St Cuthbert Street (demolished – now supermarket area).
Urr	Anti Burgher meeting-house of 1743 replaced by plain church at nearby Hardgate in 1760. Replacement of 1798, altered in 1860, survives as a house.

Free churches

Parish location:	
Auchencairn	Church of 1844 renovated and enlarged 1870s. Converted.
Balmaclellan	Glenkens Free, church of 1845 at hamlet of Bogue, near Dalry. Demolished c.1920; surviving manse.
Balmaghie	Church in church-less Laurieston of 1845. House conversion
Borgue	Plain church of immediate post-Disruption build in village. Converted.
Carsphairn	Church opened in 1844 at Lamloch, 3 miles NW of Carsphairn village, to serve surrounding mines. Closed by c.1870. Ruin.
Castle Douglas	Plain church of 1844 in Cotton Street demolished. Replacement in King Street of 1863-65 likewise gone. RPC (originally Relief) church in Queen Street, designated Free 1876, now parish church.
Corsock	Church of 1851, comparatively stylish. Now parish church.
Dalbeattie	Church of 1880-81, almost Romanesque in style. Lately used by Baptists.
Girthon	Towered church of 1844 in centre of town. Commercial premises.
Kirkbean	'Kirkbean and Southwick' simple church of 1845. Now hall.
Kirkcudbright	Church of 1845 twice replaced, latterly by John Honeyman Gothic edifice of 1870s. Now housing.
Kirkmabreck	Mission station, then church of 1857-58. Unusually given up – though in 1876 in which year additional (former RPC) church acquired in Newton Stewart. Sold to Catholics. Recently used as premises for Creetown Silver Band.
Kirkpatrick Durham	Simple church of 1843 much rebuilt in 1870. Community hall.
Kirkpatrick Irongray	Church built at Shawhead for parish minister 'outed' at Disruption. As elsewhere served FC members from additional areas (Terregles, northern portion of Lochrutton). Used as parish church hall.
Kirkgunzeon	'New Abbey and Lochend' church of 1857 at Lochend, fractionally within Kirkgunzeon parish (bordering New Abbey and Lochrutton parishes). Rebuilt in Beeswing 1867 – later became parish church. Disused.
Minnigaff	'Penninghame and Minnigaff' small church of 1844 at Creebridge (opposite Newton Stewart). Converted to guest-house 1930s.
New Abbey	Despite the close proximity of Beeswing FC, church built in village 1878. Used as parish church hall.
Tongland	Church of 1843-44 near Ringford. Residential conversion overlooking A75.

A FIELD-STUDY MEETING IN GALLOWAY, AUGUST 1939:
The Institute of Sociology, Le Play House.

by Allan R Williams[1] and Pauline G Williams[2]

Between 1st and 15th August 1939 the Institute of Sociology, Le Play House, 35 Gordon Square, London held a field study meeting in Galloway. Centred on Newton Stewart the group set out to investigate the natural history, history and social science of the area. Numerous excursions were made throughout the district: A number of local individuals assisted in these arrangements, including Adam Birrell, Andrew McCormick and Alexander Morton – the latter provided an apparently previously unknown contemporary account of Newton Stewart and its environs.[3]

Background to the Institute of Sociology

Patrick Geddes (1854-1932), biologist, educationist, town planner and sociologist took, in 1892, the lease of Short's Observatory, Royal Mile, Edinburgh and re-named it Outlook Tower. It became the centre of a new outlook on life, an institute for the discussion of education, industry and social work. In 1899, Professor Charles Zueblin, Chicago University, United States of America, called it, 'The World's First Sociological Laboratory'.

Victor Verasis Branford (1864-1930), journalist, accountant, financier and sociologist was a friend and sociological colleague of Geddes: they had met whilst working at The University of Edinburgh. In 1903 Branford was in London and Geddes visited him there to continue discussions about various areas of social investigation. By November of 1903 this had led to the creation of the Sociological Society. The Rt. Hon. James Bryce was the first President, Victor Branford, Hon. Secretary and among thirty councillors was H G Wells - Professor Patrick Geddes, President of Edinburgh School of Sociology, was a member *ex-officio*.

This national Sociological Society was formed as a coalition between three movements; the civics, racial (eugenists) and social work schools. The opening meeting was held on 18th April 1904 and the speaker was Francis Galton, who spoke about the new subject of 'Eu-genics'. Monthly meetings followed and these, along with its quarterly *Sociological Review*, brought the Society to the attention of the academic and literary circles in London and throughout Britain. This Society founded by Branford and Geddes continued under various name changes until its dissolution in 1955.

Important parts of the work of the Institute of Sociology were the Field Study Meetings undertaken in Britain and abroad from 1921. The purpose of these meetings was to combine sociological theory with practical investigation. The records made of these meetings formed part of the Survey Collection of the Institute of Sociology at Le Play House, 35 Gordon Square, London.

1 Head of The Aerial Reconnaissance Archives, Keele University, Staffordshire ST5 5BG.
2 St Albans, 43 New Abbey Road, Dumfries DG2 7LZ.
3 The Society is indebted to the Frederick Soddy Trust for the substantial grant awarded to fund the publication of this paper.

This article is the report of one such meeting held in Galloway in August 1939: it was the last British field study meeting before Britain's involvement in the conflict of the Second World War. Probably because of this, the report was neither completed nor published. Correspondence, notes, photographs and postcards were found in folders, parcelled in the original brown paper wrappings, amongst the Society's library material deposited in the 1950s at the then University College of North Staffordshire - now Keele University. The authors gratefully acknowledge their thanks to Special Collections and Archives, Keele University Library, Keele University, Staffordshire ST5 5BG, for allowing access to these records in their care.

Galloway Field Study Meeting: 1st to 15th August 1939

From correspondence it is evident that Galloway was not the first choice of location but finding hotel accommodation in Drumnadrochit, Invernesshire proved too difficult so Galloway was considered as an alternative. Doubts about the suitability of the area for a field study meeting were raised by Mrs. Cyrene Herbert[4] who had enjoyed a pleasant holiday in the area — she wondered if it would attract a large enough group for a field survey. However, Dorothea Farquharson, Honorary organiser of field studies consulted Canon J F K Branford, brother of Victor, who had, until November 1938, been priest at the charge of All Saints, Challoch, Newton Stewart and, with his encouragement, the meeting was arranged and based at Newton Stewart. Notice of the Galloway field study meeting subsequently appeared in the Institute's *1939 Whitsuntide and Summer Field Meetings* booklet. The total cost of the meeting was to be £12.12 shillings, payable by 22nd July 1939 – with a £1 deposit being expected on registration.

Preparation

The leaders of the meeting were Alexander Farquharson (1882-1954), educationist, sociologist, and Secretary of the Institute of Sociology at LePlay House, and his wife Dorothea Price (1882-1976), educationist and Hon. Field studies organiser for the Institute.

Extensive efforts were made, principally by correspondence, to compile a reading list of the books covering, natural history, history and literature of the area and of Scotland in general. Arrangements were also made to ensure that local books held at Stranraer Library, as the James Muir collection, under the charge of the Wigtownshire Education Committee, be available to members whilst at Newton Stewart. Approaches were made to local experts able to give talks or lead excursions: these included, Mr Andrew McCormick[5], Mr Adam Birrell[6] and Mr Alexander S Morton[7].

4 Leader of the Institute's 1938 field study meeting at Kirriemuir and Glen Clova.

5 Mr. Andrew McCormick, Town Clerk of Newton Stewart and author of *Tinkler Gypsies, Words from the Wild Woods* and *Galloway: The spell of its Hills*. Elected a member of this Society 3rd November 1905.

6 Dr Andrew Messer in a letter to Dorothea Farquharson described Adam Birrell as '... a mine of information about the lore and legend of that country and willing to talk about it in a most entertaining fashion'. Birrell, of Park Crescent, Creetown, was a commercial fisherman: He had a wide interest in natural history and antiquarian matters; a member of this society from 25th June 1925 until the 1950s; Vice-President for the sessions 1933-34 to 1940-41 - he contributed articles to the *Transactions* and led field excursions in the Newton Stewart area.

7 A local solicitor who had published widely on historical and antiquarian subjects - particularly these *Transactions* and the *Gallovidian*.

Correspondence between McCormick and Mrs. Farquharson, show an interested and willing attitude to co-operate with the study group and offer valuable assistance in acquiring published material and information. Mention is made of three libraries in Newton Stewart - the Mechanics Institute Library, the Carnegie County Library Scheme and Miss Jolly's Lending Library. He also suggested contacting the sister of the late Kirkcudbright artist E A Hornel, as he had owned the most complete library of Galloway books… 'I understand that [a] library, a wonderful collection of antique furniture, very fine garden and rock garden, and collection of antique stones, sundials, querns etc., are all located at Broughton House, Kirkcudbright … as well as a wonderful collection of Mr Hornel's paintings'. Dorothea Farquharson contacted Hornel's sister,[8] who had been bequeathed the collection and occupancy of the house during her lifetime. She replied.-

'Broughton House, Kirkcudbright, Telephone No. 37 Kirkcudbright. 28th July 1939.

Dear Madam, I do not feel that I can invite your Society to visit Broughton House — my Brother made a wonderful collection of Galloway books but the scope of such a collection could not be grasped in an afternoon call — the garden (one acre), the house & its contents are just the home of a quiet sincere worker who lived his art while creating his pictures not the slightest bit a "Show Place" — a restful home in the High Street of Kirkcudbright — I hope your members will enjoy their visit to Galloway…'

Hotel accommodation was booked for most members at the Galloway Arms Hotel, Newton Stewart, at a full board cost of £8. 0. 0. This, and all the travel arrangements, were made by Dorothea Farquharson. Twenty people registered for the meeting, most travelling to the area by train and from England (see Appendix 1). The cost of the return train fare from London to Newton Stewart, by the London, Midland and Scottish Railway Company, was £3. 0. 8.

According to the Farquharsons, the meeting was to cover the Natural History, History and Social Science of the area. Dorothea expanded on this point in a letter[9], 'we spend as much time as possible in the field — i.e. studying things as we find them, historical monuments, flora, geology, housing estates, institutions of various kinds etc. That is why we call them Field Studies. Our knowledge is gained by first hand experience. ... members usually like to make some record of what they have seen and heard and all these contributions are put together and bound in typescript volumes to be lent out to members who wish to refer to them'.

The retained archive of the meeting is held in a large series of folders containing copies of correspondence, local guides, illustrative postcards, photographs, annotated maps, sketches, 'survey sheets'[10] and all the researched material obtained by the participating

8 We are indebted to David Devereux for pointing out that the sister referred to was Elizabeth or 'Tizzie' (he had four other sisters but Tizzie was his housekeeper).

9 Dorothea Farquharson to Miss M Hope Dodds, dated 15th June 1939.

10 'Survey sheets' are what would nowadays be referred to as 'Poster Presentations': They consist of large format sheets for display at the workshop to explain what had been found during the course of the Field-Meeting. Many consist of annotated cyanotype 'blue-print' copies of O.S. maps. There are 15 such sheets for the Galloway/Newton Stewart Meeting and include information on Bronze Age cairns; mottes in Galloway; castles; roads; monastic foundations; rainfall; place-names; parish boundaries; agricultural land-use maps and river terrace sections. A number are signed 'MH' and can be attributed to Maisie Hacker. Some of their work on mottes is attributed to the paper by Sir Edward MacTaggart Stewart of Ardwell which

members of the groups in the form of typed-up and hand written notes. Much of the drafted reports have been collated from printed and existing sources. However, during the course of the field study meeting, a diary was maintained and partially worked up at the end of the meeting. This has been transcribed and is reproduced below. Wherever possible any original evidence, recorded by the study groups and held elsewhere within the folders, has been inserted at the appropriate point. Whenever this has not been possible, as in, for example, the natural history folders, that information has been extracted separately and appears in Appendix 2.

Diary of the Galloway Field Study Meeting

Tuesday August 1st 1939. Arrival of the group from London about 7.00 p.m. Mr & Mrs Goodman[11]... had been at Newton Stewart since Saturday July 29. Also three Rover Scouts in camp at 'Wallace's Camp', Minnigaff. Other members came by a later train or by car. Meeting after dinner & division into groups.

Wednesday August 2nd

Naturalist group met 9.30 a.m. Excursion to N. E. of town, first inspection of river terraces and vegetation — back for lunch.

History group walked round Newton Stewart, not including Minnigaff, getting first impressions of the town[12].

In the afternoon the whole party started for Wigtown at 2.45 p.m[13]. Visited Wigtown, Whithorn, Isle of Whithorn, Port William, House of Mochrum[14], Stone Circle of Tor House. The Rover Scouts went on their own to Wigtown Annual Agricultural Show, the most important show of its kind in the district. Were given tea at the Manse and went on to Isle of Whithorn and St Ninian's Cave, which is reached by a very lovely wild track onto the beach. They did a previous expedition to Dirk Hatterick's cave on the rocks between Carsluith Castle and Ravenshall Point.

Thursday August 3rd

Naturalist group worked individually in morning and at 2.30 p.m. went to Moss of Cree by the lower road. Wigtown (tea), Crook of Baldoon and Innerwell fishery and then back

appeared among the various reports of an excursion by this society to Wigtownshire on 4th September 1937 – see these *Transactions* Series III, Vol. XXI, pp. 226-250.

11 Mrs. Peggy Goodman, by the end of 1939, was working in London for the Food Education Society, lecturing on food in wartime.

12 Included among the postcards obtained were those illustrating marble sculptures - one, *The Three Graces* after Canova, and the other by A Rossetti of Rome (1858). These came originally from Cally Mansion-house and had been presented to the local cinema – which opened to the public in October 1933.

13 James McKeand, Motor hirer, Grapes Hotel, garage, Newton- Stewart, provided the transport for all the trips. He also had the George Garage, Queen Street, Newton-Stewart and ran motor coach tours throughout the Wigtownshire area. The total cost of hiring cars, drivers and a motor coach for the field study meeting amounted to £20.19 10.

14 The general *History group* report on 'Castles' only contains information culled from the standard printed sources – they do however comment on the beautiful garden at Old Place of Mochrum.

to Newton Stewart.

A written report, within the Hydrography folder comments.- 'The farms and cottages that border the Moss of Cree find great difficulties with water supply. The water in the ground is "peat" water - presumably acid - and cannot be used; attempts have been made to "filter" it so as [to] make it suitable for farm and domestic use: but apparently these have not led to an entirely satisfactory method being developed. All these farms and cottages therefore have adopted two methods of water supply:-

1. Installation of very large water tanks for storing rainwater collected from roofs.

2. Arrangements with the Creameries (to which they send milk daily) for the return of the milk churns filled with good water'.

History Group went with the guide Adam Birrell to the stone quarry just beyond Creetown, which supplied stone for Liverpool Docks & on to Cairn Holy circle and to find cup markings nearby: visited Carsluith Castle on the way and the echo[15] nearby.

Social Science Group In morning visited Burgh Treasurer's office, Royal Bank, Clydesdale Bank and Catholic Priest, Church & School.

Friday August 4th

Whole group went [by Cree Valley road] to Ballantrae. Visited Mr McQuhirter's garden; went on to Glenapp Castle gardens & grounds and had lunch on terrace[16]. Went on to Stranraer, where some had coffee. To Lochinch and through magnificent grounds to Castle Kennedy[17]. Then on to Glenluce Abbey - shown around by official guide [and] then back to Newton Stewart 6.15 p.m. Accompanied throughout by Adam Birrell.

Saturday August 5th

The *History Group* went to Castle Stewart. Other people worked individually. A discussion took place at 8.45 p.m. till 10.40 p.m. in the Hotel, at which the following visitors were present, Mr McCormick, Dr Hepburn[18] and Mr Kirkland.

Sunday August 6th

Most of the local churches visited. Mrs Goodman called on Mr Murdock, [sic] Larg Farm [Minnigaff Parish] to see his violins.-

'He makes violins. His brother was a musician, & wanted a violin. He tried to make

15 We are grateful to James McLay of the Newton Stewart Museum for confirming that there was indeed an 'Echo'. It was reported to have been heard at the ruin of a cottage in a field between the A75 and the bay – at Grid. Ref. NX492542 – the person had to face north. Mr McLay notes that he 'did not know of anyone who has found it recently, and changes made for the Carsluith by-pass are blamed. I have tried it but the noise of traffic was a problem'.

16 Glenapp was open to the public this day - possibly for the *Ballantrae District Association* - admission was 1/-, cars 1/6d and teas for 1/3d.

17 A number of photographs of the terraces and lily pond at Castle Kennedy are within the files.

18 Dr. Hepburn, Director of Education for Ayrshire and Mr Kirkland discussed education issues with Mr. Farquharson, and Dr. Messer, Chairman of the Northumberland Education Committee and a member of the group.

them, & Mr Murdock picked it up. He scrapped his first 20. Now he does not need to scrap, but he never kept one that had not a good tone. He showed me the moulding frame. He buys old wood, out of pianos etc. also old beams, & sometimes keeps wood two years on the kitchen mantleshelf. He works on the Kitchen window sill, which is covered with oilcloth, & has all his tools underneath in boxes. He says he gets into trouble from his family for the mess. He had about 20 violins: all copies of famous patterns: different woods and varnishes.'[19]

Monday August 7th

Individual work.

The following three reports were prepared by the *Social Science Group*.-

1. Cheese Farm -- Mains of Machermore.

Particulars of Farm.

Size — 330 acres. (Average farm of neighbourhood 180-200 acres — too small for cheese farm)

Leases. 19 years usual. Now many about 10 years. Since last war, farmers have been buying farms.

No. of cows — 80; No. of bulls — 4 (two to be sold).

Manufacture.

Night & morning milk used. Put into trough with starter (some milk & rennet). Coloured red for Scotch market. In trough 3 hours. Heated by steam. Tested with hot iron till 'hairs' can be pulled out.

Transferred by hand to draining trough. Put into press, which is lined with cheese cloth. Transferred to different presses on succeeding days. Boiling water poured over press to form rind. Cheese taken out of press & bandaged with cotton bandage made at Kilmarnock. Cheeses are kept in drying room for 6-8 weeks & are turned daily by a mechanical device. Each cheese weighs 75lbs. 2 a day are made.

Market.

Grocer in Newton Stewart supplied. Remaining cheeses sent to Glasgow.

19 Mr Murdock informed Mrs Goodman that the carpet mill at Minnigaff was formerly a corn mill, he also suggested a visit to McGuffie's Mill, Corsewall, Stranraer and Blanes Mill. The father-in-law of Mr. Campbell, the Galloway Arms Hotel suggested visiting Laurieston Mill, Kempleton Mill, Blates Mill near S R Crockett's birthplace and Ironmacannie Mill. – see later report on mills – a more recent and comprehensive listing of Galloway mills is provided by the Ian Donnachie's *Industrial Archaeology of Galloway*, David & Charles, 1971, pp. 199-215.

Food.

Oats, swedes, mangolds, turnips — grown on farm in 6-7 year rotation (oats, turnips, oats followed by 3 or 4 years pasture). Bullocks sold in Ayr when 2 years old. Fattened elsewhere.

Milking.

6 milking machines, worked by electrical power. Hand milking by 2 men & 2 women. 7 men employed constantly.

Milk.

Aver. price 9d a gall. 7d in August. Retail 2 shillings a gall. Before the Milk Marketing Board was set up farmers received 4d or 5d a gall.; 70-80 gall. of milk daily sold to Newton Stewart; 150 gall. of milk daily used for cheeses.

Whey

With pig mash (largely maize) used to feed pigs. Pigs sold through Marketing Board to Stafford Co-operative Society.

2. Newton Stewart Nursery Corvisel Nurseries, Ltd.

Area. 7 acres, adjoining town.

Personnel. 2 men, 3 boys, 1 girl.

Products

i) In glasshouses — tomatoes in summer; chrysanthemums in autumn & winter; seedlings raised in winter.

ii) In the open a) Vegetables — cabbage, potatoes, peas, broccoli, lettuces. b) Fruit — strawberries (v. good quality) blackcurrants, raspberries, loganberries and c) Flowers — plants & cut flowers.

iii) Poultry Kept on adjoining land. Manure used for market garden.

Market.

a) A shop in Newton Stewart; b) Surplus sold to shops in Dumfries etc. and c) occasionally surplus sent to Glasgow. Price obtained merely covers cost of production.

3. Cree Mill [Textiles]

A small mill employing 20-30 people, using local wool & imported botany & other wool & also fibres of reindeer & angora goat.

Goods made.- Tweeds, rugs, blankets, scarves. Some dyed a reddish brown with local lichen.

Market.- Chiefly London shops such as Liberty's, Harrod's and the Army & Navy Stores were supplied direct.[20]

A lecture was given by Mr Adam Birrell, after dinner ... on Galloway … illustrated by lantern slides. Lantern kindly lent by Penninghame Church: Baillie Forsyth arranged this.

Tuesday August 8th

The whole party left by special bus at 9.30 a.m. Stopped at Creetown to pick up Adam Birrell and went on to Gatehouse of Fleet. Anwoth ruined church and Cardoness Castle were visited on the way. From Gatehouse of Fleet to Kirkcudbright, where a halt was made for coffee & some of the party visited the museum[21]. The old Corn Mill, now a pottery works,[22] and the castle & church [were visited]. Mrs Goodman stayed behind and went to Kempleton Mill on the river Tarff and rejoined the party in Castle Douglas. The rest went to Dundrennan Abbey and had a picnic lunch there. Went on to Kenmure Castle and into New Galloway for tea at the Cross Keys Hotel. Over the moors, with lovely scenery, we took a side road west to Cumloden in order to see Red Deer in a deer park. Back in Newton Stewart 7.20 pm

The following reports are of Mrs Goodman's visit to two mills: From her notes it is obvious she was keen to ascertain information about other mills in the area.-

'I fortunately met Mr MacKenner,[23] Stationer, 1 Castle St., Kirkcudbright, who promised to post further information, but sent me to Mr Hastings, Cornmill House, a Town Councillor. I located his son in the church working on the organ, & he knew all about milling – though he looked only 24 or 25.

[A sketch drawing was provided of the stone grinders.] They are made of French Caen stone – like those used in England for wheat. — A. J. Hastings had devised the stones himself.

20 At the British Industries Fair in London, in February 1934, Her Majesty the Queen [Queen Elizabeth, the Queen Mother] purchased a coat made from tweed manufactured at this mill.

21 Some members of the group expressed delight to see, in Kirkcudbright Museum, [now 'The Stewartry Museum'] a collection of minerals made and catalogued by John Ruskin and given by him to the town of Kirkcudbright.

22 We are further indebted to David Devereux for commenting that this pottery was later operated by Thomas ('Tommy') Lochhead from 1947, but the Corn Mill was actually converted to a pottery in 1938 by James Crawford, a ceramics teacher at Glasgow School of Art. He called it the 'Galloway Pottery'.

23 Although the original typescript refers to 'Mr MacKenner' it is likely that this should be a reference to Mr William MacKenzie – who is known to have operated as a stationer from No. 1 Castle Street.

I went up to look at the Mill, in Millburn Street, the huge waterwheel was still turning, but the mill had been sold & was now a pottery. There were heaps of clay outside & all seems derelict & dismantled inside, but two men were working at something up on a platform beside the waterwheel.

I took a taxi out to Kempleton Mill, on the Tarff river, just beyond Twynholm Bridge:[24] I found a nice old farm house, with a wrought iron [?]painted thistle, on the gable: beyond was the Mill, lying east & west on the west bank of the stream. Kingcups still blooming there – & white ducks waddling in the mud, & a dovecot on the mill wall.

The first floor was filled with sacks of grain & a narrow step-ladder led up aloft, the hand rail polished like glass, & a rope to pull oneself up by. The hoist was managed by a huge block, like that of a ship & a long shaft attached to it & the hoist chain was evidently of great antiquity & forged locally. [In earlier notes Mrs Goodman comments, 'That Kempleton Mill had wooden cogs on the crown and spur wheels, only beech and not cherry wood was used. & pitch pine for the keys'.] The miller - Mr William Murray, said he employed no mill hands & so was not troubled by Gov. inspectors, so the chain is safe for as long as the mill works. They only ground oatmeal in winter & worked the farm in summer. His father who owned it before him – lived with them. His wife came out in a white apron – to greet me – but knew nothing of the details of the mill & withdrew.

She could evidently make sowans, for Mr Murray said they still had it occasionally for old time's sake. It used to be a great luxury such as you got when you went visiting of an evening. This is how he said it should be made, steep the sids (inner husks of oat grains) 24 hrs. – skim off the scum & boil it till thick. Sowans is mentioned in the *Scots Kitchen*, McNeill p. 202. His stone grinders were French [??] or Colvend[25]. He enquired if I would come again, as I had to leave hurriedly to get the bus near the bridge. The Taxi driver was very interested in the business, & keen to suggest other mills. Mrs Dalziel, whom I sat next to in the bus, told me how she made sowans, but didn't seem to think it was in use now'.

Wednesday August 9th

The *Historians* went to search for the lake dwellings at Dowalton.

In the afternoon the *Naturalist group* went to the sand dunes on Luce Bay. In the evening a paper written by Mr Morton on the History of Newton Stewart was read. Mr Morton was apparently unwell and unable to attend the meeting but had prepared a typed copy of his talk. Morton had previously published in 1893 his *Guide to Newton Stewart & District*[26]– the text he supplied on 9th August was substantially different and, as it offers numerous 1939 contemporary comments, has been reproduced in full in Appendix 3, *q.v.*

24 Usually known at 'Cumstoun Bridge' or 'Low Bridge of Tarff' on the O.S. maps.

25 Although late this would infer stones from the ?Glenstocken quarries.

26 *Guide to Newton Stewart & District, including Wigtown, Creetown, Kirkcowan, &c. the driving excursions specially noted.* Edinburgh, G Stewart, 1893. 77pp, + illus. and numerous advertisements.

Thursday August 10th

History group visited Minnigaff, Queen Mary's bridge, Cumloden Deer Park and on to Garlies Castle. Discovered the Pictish dwelling in wood in Deer Park on way back.

Social Science Group visited the saw-mill at Minnigaff and got details of operation and products and reported as follows.-

Saw-Mill at Minnigaff

On tributary of R. Cree because originally water-power was used . Power now:-

1. Mainly steam-power generated by burning sawdust & waste wood.
2. Electricity obtained from Galloway Power Company[27].
3. Some water-power.

Raw Materials

1. Timber cut within a radius of 30 miles. Mainly oak, ash, elm, beech & some larch.

2. Imported timber.- a) White pine etc from Norway & Sweden. Landed at Garlieston 15 miles away. (Supplies a mill belonging to same firm, at Garlieston also). b) Soft wood from America via Liverpool. Thence by road.

Uses

Ash used for bodies of lorries, spade handles. Selected ash for handles of hockey sticks.

Oak used for spokes of wheels, keels of ships.

Elm used for hub & [blank] of cart-wheels, piers.

Beech used for ship's wedges, gates, rollers for cotton industry.

Larch used for fencing, gates etc.

Plane used for golf clubs.

Various woods used for pit props, rakes, ladders, wheel-barrows, match-boarding.

Other Trade carried out by Firm

The firm acts as builders' agent & supplies all requirements for house-building e.g. bricks from Ayrshire, cement, fibre-boards, asbestos, plywood etc.

27 The *Social Science group* produced an extensive report on the Galloway Water-Power Company, which commenced in 1929 – much of the detail for this was taken from 'Harnessing Galloway's Water Power', [unattributed], *Gallovidian*, 1938 pp. 48-56.

Market Chiefly local. Pit props sent to Central Lowlands.

Personnel No. of men employed - 55. All live within a few miles of the mill.

Tree-fellers — In summer, these are employed on repairs at the mill & in cutting rough wood.

Naturalists worked individually on this day.

At 8.30 p.m. Miss Balfern read to the whole group a paper on Dorothy Wordsworth's Journal of her tour in Scotland with her brother. Some discussion followed.

Friday August 11th

History Group explored the Old Edinburgh road.

Social Science Group visited Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society's Creamery and Margarine, Butter & Cheese factory at Bladnoch. Left Newton Stewart 9.55 by Wigtown bus. Returned 2.00 p.m. Interviews with Mr McGr[ ], who explained Scottish Milk Marketing Board's work and the chief points about the factory. Then handed over to Mr [blank], Research Chemist, who showed all departments and explained process of manufacture. Their detailed report was in the following terms.-

Bladnoch Creamery 1 mile from Wigtown.

History Formerly small private creamery; now owned by Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society.

Position. On R. Bladnoch ½m. from sea & 1 mile S.W. of Wigtown.

Buildings. The original buildings are adjacent to the railway sidings. Raw materials are delivered here:-

a) Oil, taken by pipe to storage tank.

b) Stearine from the Argentine.

c) Lard from U.S.A.

d) Wood for boxes, from Manchester.

e) Salt & soda.

Power.

1. Steam
2. Electricity obtained from the grid. Formerly the creamery generated its own electrical power.

Machinery. Obtained from Glasgow, Holland (for cheese making), Denmark (churn) & U.S.A.

Products	Raw Materials
a) Margarine	(i) Vegetable oils — cotton seed, ground nut, palm oil coconut
	(ii) Hydrogenated whale oil used to harden the product . More used in cheaper margarine.
	(iii) Vitamins A & D added.
b) Cooking fats	(i) Copex, a vegetable product
	(ii) Cooking fats for bakers etc. Stearine from Argentine; lard from U.S.A.
c) Butter d) Cheese;	(i) Milk collected from neighbourhood. Some forwarded in bulk for M.M.B. the rest is used for butter & cheese.

Finance.

Price paid to farmers is determined by Scottish Milk Marketing Board. Similarly the price received for butter & cheese determined by the Board.

Profits from the creamery are divided among Co-operative Societies in proportion to the amount bought.

Personnel.

Total No. employed.- 120 (90 men, 30 women). Workers come mainly from Wigtown & neighbourhood. Many cycle.

Hours. 8 a.m. - 5p.m. ½ hr. for lunch for factory workers; 1 hr. for others. ¼ hr. break, mid-morning & mid-afternoon. Work steady throughout the year. In winter, more margarine is made.

Naturalists worked individually

Saturday, August 12th

Whole party, accompanied by Mr McCormick, went in 3 cars to Loch Trool: 18 persons — Miss Balfern absent. Visiting Balfern. Started 10.00. Parked cars near Bruce Monument above Loch Trool: Walked up valley of Buchan burn to within site of Culsharg (little mountainside farm). Back to Bruce Monument, and on to Buchan farm and to see waterfalls of

Buchan burn. Returned to Newton-Stewart 5.00 p.m. Mr McCormick had explained the scenery and history throughout — and told Scots stories.

No further information is recorded in the diary but the meeting continued to the 15th August 1939. The total cost of the Field Meeting was £242. 3sh. 9d.

Newspaper reports of the visit appeared in *The Galloway Gazette* for Saturdays August 5th and 12th 1939 and informed readers of the Institute of Sociology field meeting visit to Galloway to study the chief natural features of the area, archaeological and historical monuments as also to look at the social and economic conditions of the area. The educational aspects of the study, notes, materials and report were then to be made available for reference at The Society's library in London.

As stated earlier the material recorded by the group visiting Galloway was never, unlike earlier accounts, completely typed, checked and then printed for reference in the Society's library. However, we are fortunate that it has survived: By the end of August 1939 the Farquharsons had relocated their home and the Institute of Sociology Le Play House library to Le Play House, Albert Road, Malvern — a fortuitous decision as the building at Gordon Square, London was damaged by bombing during 1940.

Figure 1 A group of participants 'in the field'.

Appendix 1. Membership of Galloway 1939 Summer Meeting.

Miss M E Baldwin, Andorra, 112, Fir Tree Road, Banstead, Surrey.
Miss Kathleen M Balfern, Seven Steps, Saltwood, Hythe, Kent
Miss M W Barrie, 33 Clydesdale Street, Hamilton – travelled by car.
Miss Barrie, 33 Clydesdale Street, Hamilton — travelled by car.
Dr Helena Mary Chew, 115 Erskine Hill, Golders Green, London.
Miss J Ellis Clark, Conebarrow, Boundary Road, Farnborough.
Miss M Hope Dodds, Home House, Low Fell, Gateshead (contributed to the *Victoria County History of Durham*).
Mr Alexander Farquharson and Mrs Dorothea Farquharson, Leaders of meeting.
Mr Goodman & Mrs Margaret V Goodman, Hardwicke, Gloucester. Travelled by car, bringing with them three Rover Scouts aged 17 and 18.
Miss Freda Howitt Gwilliam, Edgecombe, Spur Hill Avenue, Parkston, Dorset. Travelled by car and only attended for one week.
Miss Maisie Hacker, 8 Chatham Close, London (non-member).
Miss Dorothy Jenner, 8 Chatham Close, London (non-member).
Miss Ann Langley, 203 Rivermead Court, Hurlingham, London.
Miss Sylvia Lines, 83 Glebe Gardens, New Malden, Surrey. Cousin of Dr Chew.
Miss Margaret Mackay, Menet House, Hockerill College, Bishop's Stortford. History lecturer.
Dr Andrew Messer, Leamington, Northumberland (Director of Education for Northumberland). Noted as a 'Geddesian in field studies', according to Alexander Farquharson.
Miss Emily Frances Saunders, Ortler, Prestbury, Cheltenham. Keen on botany – a nursing sister and sister of Professor Carr-Saunders.
Miss Ida M Widlake, 2 Steele's Road, Hampstead, London. Will have to stay in London if evacuation is necessary.

Appendix 2.

Natural History notes

Geological notes were taken but not 'worked up' in any significant way. Clearly, as usual, pre-visit reading and information gathering had taken place – such as the reproduction of an 'Idealised Section along a line pointing N.W. from Isle of Whithorn' showing the intense folding of the Upper Silurian Llandovery and Ordovician Llandeilo strata. Specimen collections, of 'rocks and drift or soil', were carried out and their location typically plotted on a copy of the 1:250,000 series O.S. maps.

Attention was also directed to quaternary geology and there are annotated photographic images and sketch-maps of the river meanders 1½ miles below Newton Stewart – with river terraces, raised beaches, flood plains, etc., all identified.

The visit to Old Place of Mochrum prompted a discussion on the nature and origin of 'many white patches of a white vitreous crust' noted on 'some of the walls facing E. and N.' and 'at the main entrance to the house and elsewhere.' Typically, members of the

household staff were engaged in an enquiry and they conclude that the markings are the result of water percolating through the lime mortar of the walls and the solubilised calcium redepositing as a form of stalagmitic growth.

As with the geological topics botany received a high level of pre-visit research – with copious literature extracts being made and checklists produced detailing plant species in.-cultivated areas; field margins, waste spaces, and uncultivated land between the shoreline and 300 feet; sea cliffs; woodlands; wet and marshy places; in water; dry areas; stream margins, loch margins and wet marshy areas; strand vegetation; peat moss; dry woodland and walls, buildings and ruins.

In connection with botany there are two post field-trip items by Miss Emily F Saunders. The first is a letter of 14th August to a J T Brown saying that 'I have been comparing the list of plants found during our two weeks stay … with "A List of Wigtownshire Plants" by Andrew C McCandlish, Ph.D[28] – which you kindly sent us. The following list gives those not mention[ed] in it. But which are now considered separate plants: - [list follows[29] – but unfortunately the plants do not possess specific locations]. It might prove of interest to others if these names could be added - in the next reprint'.

The second, a postcard dated 16th August to Alexander Farquharson, says that she has 'just discovered what the pretty little plant growing on the walls of Dundrennan Abbey is. It is an alpine hardy perennial … [of the] Order *Scrophulariacae* [and] Name *Erinus alpinus*': this is the Fairy Foxglove, which is also known from other locations within the Stewartry[30].

Appendix 3

Newton Stewart: A 1939 account of the Town and District.

Lecture notes provided by Alexander S Morton.

Newton Stewart is quite a modern town and its origin is due to the fact that there was a ford on the water of Cree exactly opposite this building.[31] To this day the opening to the river past the Town Clock is known as Fordmouth, and the Ford House or houses was the name given to the few buildings that first appeared here. One of them was almost certain to have been an Inn, and it is reasonable to suppose that in course of time this inn and hotel where we are, known as the Galloway Arms, took its place. Another building would be for a boat-man's house, for a boat was used when the water was high, and accidents sometimes happened. The last of the Baillies of Dunragit was drowned here during the latter part of the 17th century. He was on his way to Edinburgh with documents in support of his claim to Dunragit Estate when the boat was upset and though he got safely to land his papers were

28 *A List of Wigtownshire Plants*, Andrew M'Candlish, PhD. The introduction is dated 1st May 1931 and the Ewart Library's presentation copy retains its enclosure slip from 'Claunch, Sorbie, Wigtownshire'. The volume has interleaved left-hand pages lined for recording new finds.

29 *Caramine flexuosa, Silene maritima, Claytonia alsinoides, C. sibirica, Impatiens glandulifera, Lotus uliginosis, Matricaria suaveolens, Senecio viscosus, Sonchus asper* and *Myosotis caespitosa* – she notes that the *Claytonia* 'is a naturalised N. American species which is becoming increasingly widespread'.

30 'Flowering Plants and Ferns of Kirkcudbright', Olga Stewart, *Transactions*, Vol. 65, p.39

31 That is The Galloway Arms Hotel.

Figure 2 Photograph from the archive showing the Old Town Hall on the left, the passageway to the ford and Ford House. All buildings except the Old Town Hall were demolished in the 1960s.

lost and with them any chance of recovering the family lands. This misfortune weighed so heavily upon him that he died at the roadside inn where he had taken shelter.

William Stewart, the third son of James, Second Earl of Galloway, was the owner of Castle Stewart Estate formerly called Calcreughie, and obtained from Charles II a charter dated 1st July, 1677, erecting these houses into a Burgh of Barony which he called Newton Stewart. The charter included the right to hold a weekly market and two annual fairs. The earliest feu contract for building in the burgh was dated 1701. In 1784 William Douglas, a native of the parish, who had made his fortune as a merchant, purchased Castle Stewart Estate and changed the name of the village to Newton Douglas. Cotton and other mills were erected at the cost of £20,000, but before many years these failed and the estate, including the burgh, was purchased in 1826 by the then Earl of Galloway, and the original name, Newton Stewart, was restored. The mills were abolished and now not a trace of them remains, but some of the old folks still call the place, not King Street as it is named now, but the Cotton Mill.

The first bridge over the Cree was built in 1745 a little further up the river than the present bridge: Its position can be quite easily seen by the situation of the houses on each side of the water. It was a wooden bridge and was swept away by a spate or flood in 1806. The present substantial bridge was erected in 1813 at a cost of over £8,000. During the interval a flat-bottomed boat, which cost £250, was used for cross traffic. Here I may mention a valuable privilege conferred by ancient Charter on the Royal Burgh of Wigtown, namely the right to charge dues on all sheep, cattle and wool taken across the Cree at any part where it forms the boundary of the County of Wigtown. This claim was contested many years ago but our highest courts sustained the burgh's right to charge these dues, which for a long period brought Wigtown something like £100 a year. I, myself, have

paid these dues which amounted to a few pence per head. The toll-house is prominent on the Creebridge side of the river. Some forty years ago the County Councils interested redeemed the right so far as they were concerned by payment of a large lump sum, but the L.M. & S. Railway Company still pays Wigtown Burgh an annual sum as dues in connection with their bridge which crosses the Cree below Newton Stewart.

The erection of the road bridge led to houses being built on the other side of the river where there is now the village called Creebridge. A little further up the river is the old village of Minnigaff, and for all practical purposes these are part of Newton Stewart although not under its Municipal Government. Minnigaff is a very old place, just how old we don't know. James IV passed through it on his visits to the shrine of St. Ninian at Whithorn, and on 16th March, 1508, there is an item in the account of his expenses 'that nicht the King soupit at Menegouf, for the belcher there 9/-.' There is no doubt that Minnigaff was for long a place of considerable importance. Symson in his *Large Description of Galloway* (1684) says 'It hath a very considerable market every Saturday, frequented by the moormen of Carrick, Monigaff and other moor places, who buy there great quantities of meal and malt brought thither out of the parishes of Whithorn, Glasserton, Sorbie, Mochrum, Kirkcowan, &c.' Soon after this, as mentioned above, Newton Stewart came into existence, and as it increased in prosperity, Minnigaff gradually declined and ceased to have a market. Newton Stewart and Minnigaff both suffered during the Religious Struggles of the seventeenth century, and trade came to a standstill. Parliament in 1896, changed the day for the weekly markets and fairs at Newton Stewart from Friday to Wednesday, but subsequently Friday was found more convenient and still continues.

Newton Stewart was greatly helped by the discovery of lead at Blackcraig about the middle of the eighteenth century during the making of the great Military Road between Dumfries and Portpatrick. For about a hundred years the mines were in operation and sometimes as many as four hundred men were employed, who got the bulk of their provisions and other requirements at Newton Stewart. Unfortunately some sixty or seventy years ago the lead gave out and the works were dismantled and sold as scrap.

Many industries have been lost which formerly flourished here, even if not on a very large scale. Not so very long ago there were three tan-yards employing several men, — now not one.

The weaving of cotton engaged quite a number of people. The webs came from Glasgow to agents, and the weavers had looms in their own houses or hired them in some neighbour's house. The remuneration, however, was never very great.

Bacon-curing was carried on for several years to the great benefit of the district. Sometimes as much as £10,000 a year was spent by the curers. Now the only curing is by the butchers for their own trade, or by private owners for their own consumption.

Bootmaking employed many men, even for local requirements. The souters were at one time a very strong body and had an annual outing. To-day there is no one whose regular employment is the making of boots. The same applies to clog makers.

Galloway was always famed for its wool. Perhaps you have heard the old rhyme -

Kyle for a man,
Carrick for a coo,
Cunningham for butter and cheese,
And Galloway for 'oo'.

Kyle, Carrick and Cunningham are divisions of Ayrshire, and you may have read in Burns the song about himself.–

There was a lad was born in Kyle
But whatna place or whatna style,
I think it's hardly worth the while
To be sae nice wi' Robin.

I can remember when regular wool markets were held, and buyers came from very considerable distances, but no such market is now held here. I daresay many of you have heard of the conversation between a prospective buyer and seller which was carried on entirely in vowels thus —

'Oo'?
Ay, 'oo'.
A' 'oo'?
Ay, a' 'oo'.
A' ae 'oo'?
Ay, a' ae 'oo'.

meaning, 'Wool?' 'Yes, wool'. 'All wool?' 'Yes, all wool'. 'All one fleece?' 'Yes, all one fleece'. Though the wool market has gone and the manufacture of wool is not as it was, fortunately we have the Cree Mills, whose Galloway tweeds, wraps and scarves are widely known, we still have at Queen Mary's Bridge the Cumloden Mills, whose hand-woven tweeds and homespuns have been known for many generations.

We had a factory turning out sporting guns and rifles, ammunition and cartridge loading machines, which went all over the world.

We had also cabinetmakers who turned out magnificent furniture from the beautiful black bog oak of the Cree. Some of their work is still to he seen in the mansion houses around, where it is greatly prized, but no-one has taken their place. Articles of furniture are still made here, but not on such a large scale as formerly. Now no small firm can hope to compete against the big companies engaged in such work.

The burgh had its clock-makers at one time, and some of these clocks are still to be seen with the old name Newton Douglas.

Coachbuilding was carried on by different firms who were prepared to build machines according to individual requirements; the motor, of course, stopped all that.

Fishing rods were manufactured here, not only for local use but also to send away. So too, were salmon flies, but these industries no longer exist here.

Harness making and saddlery, blacksmithy, tinsmithy, even tailoring have all greatly diminished.

A meal or grist-mill was an important adjunct to a town. As it was expensive to build and equip, it was usually provided by the proprietor of a large estate who had all his tenants thirled to the mill, that is to say, he bound them to grind their corn &c. at this particular mill and to pay the usual charges. Where the Cree Woollen Mills now stand there was the Heugh Grist-Mill up till about forty years ago. The house on the opposite side of the road is still called the Mill Cottage. On the other side of the water you can still see Minnigaff Meal Mill, which was one of the largest mills in the district, but is no longer in use. This indicates another change that has come about. Farm servants had as part of their perquisites so many bolls of oatmeal for oatcakes, porridge &c. but no longer is 'the halesome parritch chief o' Scotia's food,' and as farm feeding stuffs are largely imported, very few of these old country mills have survived. They were driven entirely by water, and sometimes in a dry autumn when streams were very low they had to stand idle. One of the newest industries in Newton Stewart is the large grain mill, recently erected by Messrs. Andrew Muir & Co. Ltd. which you have no doubt seen.

When smuggling was rife some of the inhabitants were engaged in it, but when the *New Statistical Account* of the Parish was written about a hundred years ago, smuggling had ceased though there was still a good deal of poaching, which is now reduced to a minimum.

At that time there was one mail-coach a day going east and west and the mail gig daily back and forward to Girvan. The latter continued till near the end of last century, and there were local carriers to Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dumfries, Girvan and other places, and now after an interval we have motor lorries doing these same rounds. In my early days vessels came to Carty, about two miles from here, bringing mostly coals which were carted to Newton Stewart. Now no vessels enter the Cree.

At one time peats formed the common fuel of the district and they are still used in the country but not to any great extent, and scarcely at all in the town. Coals are brought by road and rail from Ayrshire and England.

What were formerly four separate congregations of different denominations are now united into two of the same denomination. The people have been trained to give systematically and contribute generously.

Newton Stewart was always prominent in its provisions for education, and before education became free and compulsory it had many facilities for teaching the children of the poor. When the *Statistical Account* was drawn up there were nine or ten schools in the parish, one parochial and three endowed. One is struck, however, by the meagre salaries then paid to schoolteachers. The parochial schoolmaster had the legal salary of £34.4.4d and the legal accommodation house and garden, and the others had even less. One wonders how they existed and yet they turned out many able men who made their mark in the world. To-day we have magnificent schools and the best of teachers who receive liberal remuneration.

Gravitation water was introduced some sixty years ago, but the proposal at first met with strong opposition. There were wells and pumps throughout the town and water had to be carried great distances. Now we have one of the best water supplies in the south of Scotland with water in every house. A Burgh Drainage Scheme followed as a matter of course and though rates increased, everybody appreciates these improvements.

The manufacture of memorial stones and monuments is carried out on a large scale with the latest machinery, and important contracts for war memorials have been executed. The raw material is obtained from the granite quarries at Creetown six or seven miles away.

At Minnigaff there is a large sawmill which deals with most of the timber from the surrounding districts.

Within the last thirty or forty years the conditions of country life in this district have undergone a complete revolution. Formerly farm servants were cut off from the town. They had small wages and long hours, or no hours at all, and only once or twice a year did they spend a day in town, usually at the Hiring Fair or at some other special occasion. Now with higher wages, shorter and fixed hours, the introduction of 'buses and motor-cycles, they can spend almost every evening in the town and they frequently attend the cinema or other entertainments. Many of them have the wireless. The smallest village has its hall, and the W.R.I. has brightened life and made it richer, not only for the women folk but for the men too.

There are Musical Societies and Dramatic Societies with festivals every year. There are Literary Societies and a Public Library with Reading Room, and through the County Library almost any book in existence can he obtained free on loan. There are clubs for badminton, billiards, whist, bridge, draughts and chess. City people often wonder what country people here get to do during the winter months, but our problem is not what to find to do but how to find time for all we want to do.

This year the Horticultural Society has been resuscitated after having been allowed to lapse since the War, and the Annual Show of Flowers, Fruit and Vegetables &c. is to he held on Saturday week.

The land was more intensively cultivated long ago than now. There were several large orchards close to the town and the stepping stones which you see across the Cree some hundred yards below the bridge were originally placed there for the convenience of town people crossing to a once famous orchard on the other side. The introduction of foreign fruit killed the orchards. We have, however, the Corvisel Nurseries Ltd. where tomatoes are grown on a large scale, in addition to flowers, fruit and vegetables. There is also a poultry farm. In the past many of the inhabitants kept poultry, pigs and cows. Now there is not a cow inside the burgh, very few poultry, and only two or three pigs. Horses and ponies were numerous, with the result that neighbouring farmers found a ready market for their oats, hay, straw, &c. The coming of the motor changed all that, and there are no horses kept for pleasure now. At one time many of the inhabitants kept bees in their gardens for honey, and though they are still fairly common in the country they are now almost unknown in the town.

To-day the people are better clothed, better fed, and better housed than ever they were, and they are able to spend more on luxuries, sports, and entertainments. They are better behaved too. There is a monthly Burgh Court for dealing with offenders, but there is no serious crime, and sometimes the monthly Court does not require to be held. Drunkenness is very rarely met with. When the *Statistical Account* was drawn up there were thirty-four premises in the Burgh licensed to sell ale and spirits, and four in the Parish. Now there are only a dozen licensed places including the hotels.

What the future of Newton Stewart is to be nobody can tell. It is almost entirely dependent on agriculture and while it has not increased in population it shows immense improvement in these amenities, which make life very comfortable.

From what you have seen of it and its surroundings during the last ten days or so I think you will agree that for its size it is a most desirable residential town, and I believe it will continue so for many years to come.

A MICROFILM MISCELLANY[1]

by A E Truckell

Torthorwald Kirk Session: April 1696 to July 1882

A very full spool of microfilm contains almost two centuries of Torthorwald parish records, an agricultural parish but bordering and in close contact with the busy town of Dumfries.

Page one begins 'The Acts ordinances and Constitutions of the Kirk Session of Tirthorall Since Mr Robert Lawson was Admitted & ordained Minister of that parish being the 28 of Aprile 1696 years.' It continues 'Master Robert Lawson was Ordained Minr. of Tirthorrald by the presbytery of Drumfries met there upon the twenie eight day of Aprile One thousand six hundred ninetie and six years. But there was no Eldership erected in that parish before his ordination, nor could be erected for a certain space thereafter by reason of the sad divisions which abounded among them. And therefore Mr Lawson committed the charge of the weekly Collections for the poor (which was for ordinar about twelve or fourteen pence the week) to James & Michael Coulters [brothers] in Roucand to be collected & distribute by them as they should see Convenient, until such time as there should be Elders ordained.'

Eight years after the Glorious Revolution of 1689, what we are seeing is virtually a new start. The Presbytery statement goes on 'Its worthy to be remarked that upon the sixteenth of July thereafter, being a fast day, after that Mr Lawson had been speaking of the sins of the late times: The Generality of the parish rose up of their own accord and made publick Confession of their Unlawfull Oaths, which had been imposed within the time of prelacy.'

I might here refer to a list of the ministers of the parish entered in 1733, where among the Curates in 'the time of prelacy' was Mr Lawson (no relation to the Revd Robert?) commonly called crooked or Humpy Lawson or Hum' – he was a hunchback and clearly not respected by the parishioners.

The Presbytery statement continues: 'The Reverend Mr William Somervell Minister of Troqueer, having by appointment of the presbrie preached at Tirthorrald (before Mr Lawsons ordination) & read the names of the following persons before the Congregation viz. James Coulter, William Walker, Peter Brown & Michael Coulter in Roucand, John Halliday in Tirthorrald, James Little in the Kirkland there, George Wilkine in Collin, in order to their being ordained Elders in the sd. Parish qch. could not be done at that time for the reasons forsd. But now that affair being fully ripe, and yr being none to object against any of the fornamed persons. And Mr Lawson being likewise well also acquaint with their conversation, knowledge & fitness for that office, He did Ordain them Elders after the uswall manner, on the seventh of September, one thousand six hundred ninetie & six years. And the Congregation being dismist They all Conveened with yr Minister in Session as followeth' – and there follows the first Kirk Session Minute – and typical Kirk Session business – cases of fornication, many of them several years – one of them twelve years – in the past – this obsession with pre-marital sex, and illegitimate childbirth continues right through to July 1882.

The Session's interests are much wider than this, of course: bequests – 'mortifications' – for the school or for the poor, figure very largely and involve the Session in much legal work: the school is very important and looms large from the beginning – as do the schoolmasters: education is very important to Minister and Session.

Exceptional weather – a very severe winter leaving ice in the soil in June, - good or bad harvests sometimes needing additional help to the poor – emigration to America – the American Revolution

1 These notes represent summaries of Mr Truckell's transcriptions from microfilms of local records held in the Dumfries Archive Centre and elsewhere. Eds.

– drunkenness – thatching the School with heather or straw – gold lettering for the board listing benefactions – occasional repairs to the Church – or more often to the School – all in all a very clear picture of what life was like in such a parish emerges.

For example, a case in which a young couple are being closely watched to see if they are too affectionate gives a suggestion of a timetable for the use of the Roucan corn-drying kiln: the seasonal peat-digging (only the blacksmith uses coal) is often mentioned. The *Fama Clamosa* – the widespread rumour in the parish – usually about sexual behaviour – is also mentioned. Communion services are given in great detail, with the Bible passages preached from by the various ministers taking part, the number of communicants – some from other parishes – and the day of fasting, humiliation and prayer preceeding the communion service, and often public worship in the church on the Saturday before Communion, all witness the importance of the occasion.

Agriculture is basic: school starts after harvest because children are helping their parents: there is a water mill to grind the corn: meal is sometimes given to the poor as well as money, and its price mentioned.

There is a measure of physical care for the poor also – a relative or friend paid to nurse the sick, and make the funeral arrangements. The importance of the Elders in the running of the Parish, representing the Session at Presbytery and Synod, and, later, on the Parochial Board, and communicating with the people of the parish, it is very clear.

Both Torthorwald and Roucan were burghs of barony, and Roucan was the larger and more active of the two; Collin, at first a very small place grows rapidly in importance.

In the mid-18th century the body of a newborn baby was found beside a pond in a field next the village: suspicion fixed on a servant girl who claimed she had never had a child; many witnesses were called to give evidence before the Session and several midwives examined the girl's breasts to see if she had lactated – the results were inconclusive: and the case petered out: the case was handled entirely by the Session - at no time was the law brought in (infanticide was a capital crime) – but it shows the importance of the Session in the public eye.

Racks village also grew: and towards the mid-19th century railway, rail workers and an engine-driver appear.

Extracts for Exceptional Weather:

Torthorwald Feb. 3rd 1740.

The Session considering the pressing circumstances of the poor, especially on account of the present Storm, which began upon the twenty third of December Last, and hath continued hitherto without any intermission till this month, by which the Milns & water are frozen up: empowered the Minr., Andrew Creighton & John Coulter Elders to distribute at discretion unto the poor, out of what Collections are in yr hands.

Long marginal note to the above Storm: This storm was So violent that the frost was found in the Mosses about the latter end of May or beginning of June when the peats were a casting.

At Torthorwald Manse Feb. the 28th 1748.

It deserves to be remembered that the Storm which began upon the 23rd day of Dbr last continued without intermission Till the 15th day of this month at night and after so Variable specialy thawing by day and freezing by night, that till this day there could be no plowing in any place of this parish. And in Some places where they made tryal, they could not get into the ground for the frost, but were obliged to loose yr ploughs again.

The Barronie of Cluden Papers, 1712-31

A spool of microfilm at the Archive Centre labelled 'Dumfries Burgh Treasurer's Accounts 1633-1708' in fact contains the Treasurer's Accounts 1708-1710; the Cassilis Estate Accounts of James Hathorn, 1614, already published by this Society[2]; fragmentary Stewart Court material for the Urr mouth area and Torrorie Farm (1670) and the Lochfoot area and Hillis Castle (1684)[3]. Also in the same spool are long lists of the teinds and stock of the Earl of Nithsdale's lands in Westerkirk (Watstirker), Wauchope and Canonbie. Next comes a long series of Drumlanrig estate farm accounts mainly for 1695 covering a wide area of Dumfriesshire — the parishes of Durisdeer (Drumlanrig), Kirkbride, Morton, Closeburn, Dalgarno, Penpont, Tynron, Glencairn, (Gleneslin) and Torthorwald (I first read this material when I found the papers in a drawer in Dumfries Observatory tower, where G W Shirley had put them, in autumn 1947)[4]. This material, like the Eskdale teind lists, is a rich source of farm names in their 17th century form, and of course, of personal names for each parish. The next and last item on the spool is the rents of 'The lands & Barronie of Cluden that once belonged to Provot Graham' (of Dumfries), running from 1712 to 1731.

This is a very long item, covering, unlike the Drumlanrig material, only a few square miles near Dumfries: Cluden, Routenbrig, Dalwhairn, Ingleston and Lag (not the Dunscore one); waulkmilns and the fishing of Cluden as well as the farms, of which there are many showing much fragmentation (half of an eighth part of Ingleston, for example). The personal names are distinctive and recur throughout the long period: Wightman and Walker dominant, with Edgar, Mulligan, McNeish and quite a few women tenants — mostly widows. The Cluden material gives far more information on the nature of the tenancies, which are complex: relief from part of the 'publict' or 'supply' (by the late 1720s 'land tax'), a share in the waulk mill, fastern's even's hens for the collector, ferm meal (fixed yearly by the Sheriff), a day's shearing at harvest, 2 days carrying malt to the Collector, multure sheillen (grain with the husk removed by winnowing) and peat leading.

Dumfries Burgh Treasurers' Accounts, 1708-1710

This short section of the Treasurers' Accounts gives the day by day minutiae of what our town was actually doing — a vivid window into another time. It was a busy time: work on the Midsteeple: major work at the Caul: getting the new Mill across the river ready and appointing the first Miller: major work at the Millhole Mill: the maintainance of the Prison —the security of which was always a problem: making a gate at the Dockfoot: a bell for the Church and another for the Midsteeple: a new clock and its fittings. All this involved ale for the workmen: a good deal of ale, wine and brandy for the baillies, in the houses of such people as Mrs Fingrass or Mrs Glencorse. The Lairds of the area were important to the town and had to be entertained also: one of these was the Laird of Lagg — better known to us as Bluidy Lagg. Candles for the night guards or for the Dragoons were a regular feature in the winter, and powder for their guns. The Sheriff was paid his 'Sheriff's Gloves' at the Rood Fair: and there is an entry 'Candle to the Steaple at the Lwminatione upon the Queen's birth night' and payment to 'the boys that watched to the candles'. There was a dark side too: cord to tie the women prisoners who were whipped: shackles and manacles to the prisoners: a major prison breakout and many payments to the townsmen who searched (unsuccessfully) for the escapees. Tubs for the prisoners to 'ease nature' in feature quite largely and straw for the prisoners in the Steeple. Another side was shown by 'Paid to Will Care by Baillie Martin's order for six men's morning drinks when they were taking away the Rubbish from the streets'.And there is a mystery

2 Cassili Estate Rental for 1614/15, transcribed by A E Truckell, *Record Text Publications*, Vol. 1, pp.33-41, Dumfries 1980.
3 See 'The Stewartrie of Kirkcudbright Court Minutes 1670 and 1684' edited by A E Truckell, *Transactions*, III, LXXV, pp181-4.
4 See 'Tynron and Penpont Tenants, 1695', A E Truckell, *Transactions*, III, XXXVI, 95-7.

too. The Provost regularly authorised payment for ailment to the prisoners: but also for ailment (and once ale) to Elizabeth Lockhart: this kept on for several months and then a payment to the smith who took the manacles off her. Who was she? We hear no more of her: had she died? Was she, in the language of the day, a furious madd persone'?

I think this gives a taste!

THE 'CLASSIFIED SUMMARY' OF THE MINUTES OF THE ROAD TRUSTEES OF THE STEWARTRY OF KIRKCUDBRIGHT.

By Alex. D. Anderson.

The purpose of this addendum is to make it known that copies of the above summary have been deposited for reference in the Ewart Library and the Archive Centre, Dumfries and the Stewartry Museum, Kirkcudbright, with the co-operation of Ms. Ruth Airlie, Mrs. Alice Brotherston, Miss Marion Stewart and Dr. David Devereux. It may be used to locate references to roads, bridges and other items in these Minutes which are recorded in 14 volumes in the Ewart Library. The summary was compiled by the writer between 1962 and 1965 when employed as an assistant civil engineer in the Roads and Engineering Department of the County Council of the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, with the permission of the County Surveyor and Engineer, the late R. B. S. Gilmour. The information obtained from this summary, together with other documentary evidence and field work, formed the basis of two papers published in the *Transactions*.[5] [6] These provided, among other things, a brief account of the work of the Road Trustees who were instituted by the Stewartry Turnpike Act of 1796 and continued by subsequent acts until the formation of the County Council in 1890.

The original summaries were made in pencil on scrap sheets of foolscap paper and summarised the entries in the Minutes in relation to individual roads or parts of them. Since they were made, the writer has from time to time been asked for detailed information about various roads, bridges and toll houses, and it became obvious that the summaries were of great value for these purposes. Unfortunately, they are difficult to read by anyone else, and their ultimate preservation was in doubt. Accordingly, in 1994 the writer's daughter, Mrs. Christine Collins offered to type the summaries to dictation. Good progress was made with this, including most of the material relating to the 'Mail Coach Road', now A75. Later the work was continued by the writer, and so far summaries relating to the originals of all 'classified' roads have been completed.[7]

The summaries have been classified in accordance with the Ministry of Transport road numbering system introduced in 1922, and more particularly in accordance with the former County Council's 'List of Highways' dated January 1956. This was compiled, and the original summary made, before (1) the construction of bypasses at Dumfries, Castle Douglas, Twynholm, Gatehouse, Creetown, Newton Stewart, Dalbeattie and Palnackie with some other minor alterations and (2) the renumbering of certain roads. The latter are (a) part of A745 east of Dalbeattie, which is now mostly 'B793', (b) A711 from Dalbeattie to A75 at Chapelton, which now is part of B794 and (c) A769 near Balmaclellan, which is now B7075.

5 'The Development of the Road System in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, 1590-1890.' – *Transactions*, 3rd series, vol. XLIV (1967), p. 205.

6 'The Development of the Road System in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, 1590-1890. Part II.' – *Transactions*, 3rd series, vol. XLV (1968), p. 211.

7 This includes 'Class 3' roads which do not usually appear as such in publications, but include many of the more important minor roads.

It was the practice of the Trustees to hold General Meetings on, or close to, 30th April and 10th October annually. These meetings were preceded by 'Preparatory Meetings' which made recommendations to the subsequent General Meeting, but had no substantive powers. References to the Preparatory Meetings have generally been 'edited out' as the minutes are in most cases virtually identical to those of the General Meetings. However, this has not been practicable in every case, especially where there is much detail. With regard to the summaries generally, some editing and rearrangement has been done in order to improve clarity. A few further notes have been added to clarify various points, or to indicate a doubtful reading. These notes are typed in Italics. Time has not permitted either proof-reading of the summaries or checking of doubtful points against the original minutes. However, in the first column of each summary entry is given the date of the minute and in the second column, the volume and page number. This provides some check on possible mistakes. It is hoped in future to transcribe further material as opportunity arises.

It should be noted that, although the Road Trustees and the Parishes and 'Districts' were generally responsible for all the public roads and bridges, Cree Bridge and Ken Bridge were constructed during this period by the Commissioners of Supply, who had been responsible for roads and bridges before 1796.

A few extracts are appended to give an indication of what is available. In each case, the first column gives the date of the minute, and the second gives the volume number and page. There follows a brief summary of the minute.

A75 THREAVE BRIDGE.
NOTE For previous references see Dumfries to Granyford.

1/10/1822	8/5-7	Committee report recommending Government loan of £3000, with £300 a year from toll funds for repayment. Design by Mathieson.
8/10/1822	8/38-40	Above approved and committee appointed.
	8/50	Thanks to Earl of Galloway for arranging Government loan.
12/11/1822	8/55	Loan granted. Site at Lamb Isle favoured. Estimates (lowest £2772 - McCracken). Contract deferred until funds obtained Mr. Jardine, Civil Engineer to advise on exact site and contract. William Gould to be "Superintendent" (Clerk of Works)

(and so on, with entries on design, construction and completion of the bridge and approaches and settlement of claims.)

A755 KIRKCUDBRIGHT TO GATEHOUSE

1/5/1797	1/14	Mr. Gillone to "pit out" line.
11/10/1797	1/36	Committee to inspect and report.
		Etc.
8/10/1810	5/269-71	Accounts for dykes, etc.:- Boreland and High Borgue .....£107-7s-0d } Dykes Conchieton .....£117-6s-0d } and Compstonend and Kirkchrist .....£110-0s-0d } Ditches. Remainder to be made creditors. *(The remains of the Auchenhay sunk fence were still there in the 1960's, but have since been removed.)*

and so on, to:-

11/10/1881	14/241-2	Committee appointed on safeguarding Kirkcudbright Bridge against ice.

C14(B) SHAWHEAD to CROCKETFORD
(Includes references to C29 Shawhead to Glenkiln, and U117 Glenkiln to County Boundary.)

30/4/1800	1/305	Petition for road from Long Larg to "A75" - committee appointed.
8/10/ 1805	4/25	Petition refused. *(As these last two items are recorded on different sheets, it is unclear whether this was the same petition.)*
30/4/1806	4/88	Petition for new road to Little Larg, Beoch and Glenhead, and to close old roads - committee appointed.
30/9/1806	4/128-30	Various new roads recommended, with descriptions. Also closure of old roads.
14/10/1806	4/154-5	Above approved by General Meeting.
10/10/1809	5/123	Report of committee on line Shawhead to Peartree approved. (Committee was appointed in April, report dated 20/7/1809.)
30/4/1814	6/197-8	Committee appointed on line Crocketford to Long Larg.
14/10/1817	6/489-91	£10 for bridge on march of Meikle Larg and Larglanglee, subject to funds being available.
30/4/1832	10/256-7	Committee appointed on line Crocketford to Cornlee by Larglanglee etc. Reference to road from Brooklands being joined. Bridge on Meikle Larg - see U117.
8/10/1833	10/433-4	Line at Meikle Larg approved. (*Note obscure.*)

Christopher Dean, *Dorothy L. Sayers in Galloway*, The Stewartry Museum, Kirkcudbright, 2005. ISBN 10 0-9551638-0-3 / ISBN 13 978-0-9551638-0-7. Price £3.00.

The *Five Red Herrings* (1931) — another possible title had been *The Murder on the Minnoch* — is one of those books which should have a place in every collection of Gallovidiana. We can now add Deans' booklet to this list of essentials. This is an utterly charming and delightful contribution to local studies with six photographs, including the "Ner – A – Car" motorcycle and Hornel at work at Brighouse Bay, and nine excellent reproductions of paintings and prints by C. Oppenheimer, Chris. J. Ferguson, A.R. Sturrock, Hamish Paterson, Jessie M. King, E.A.Taylor, and Sayers' husband, O.A. Fleming.

Dean examines Sayers' letters written during and after their holidays in Galloway and develops in some detail Barbara Reynolds' observations on the extent to which Sayers relied in the *Five Red Herrings* and her hilariously funny short story, *The Piscatorial Farce of the Stolen Stomach*, on Fleming's knowledge of painting, fishing, motor cars, Scotch scenery and the geography of Galloway.

Amongst her biographers David Coomes in his *Dorothy L. Sayers. A Careless Rage for Life* (1992) provides another view of Captain or 'Major' Oswald Arthur (or Atherton) Fleming and his genealogical fantasies. He is also very interesting on Sayers' role as a member of the Detection Club and as a scholar of mediaeval Italian literature. Janet Hitchman in her *Such a Strange Lady* (1975) is very good on her 'ace' detective, Lord Peter Death Bredon Wimsey, and her 'second string' investigator, Montague Egg, a travelling salesman for a wine merchant, and on the BBC 1930 Radio Omnibus Detection Series, *Behind the Screen*.

Barbara Reynolds in *Dorothy L. Sayers. Her Life and Soul* (1993) is the best authority for her years at Somerville College and her post 1937 contributions in essays, plays and radio broadcasts to studies in Christian religion and philosophy. Reynolds understood that Sayers was earnest, hard-working, deeply religious, a brilliant scholar, erudite in the extreme, loving, impatient, erratic, and rude, but also quite essentially someone with a rollicking and irrepressible sense of humour. The last point is important when assessing her Galloway tales.

The Piscatorial Farce of the Stolen Stomach was published in her collection of short stories, *Lord Peter Views the Body* (1928). A paperback edition with an introduction by Elizabeth George was published in the New English Library series in 2003. Here Wimsey solves the problem of Great-Uncle Joseph Alexander Ferguson's lost legacy (twelve diamonds which he had concealed in his alimentary organs, properly secured, and placed in a glass vessel given to his great-nephew, Thomas Macpherson, appropriately enough a medical student and living at Stone Cottage near Gatehouse-of-Fleet. Ferguson had died in Glasgow, 'where the accent's so strong that even Scotsmen faint when they hear it.' By the end of the tale eleven diamonds have been recovered from Uncle Joseph's cavities, by then after various adventures almost lost in the Fleet below Gatehouse — 'the gulls had had a wee peck at it here and there' — and one of the seagulls got the twelfth one.

The *Five Red Herrings* was described by Reynolds as glowing 'with the happiness of a relaxed holiday in congenial and beautiful surroundings.' It was introduced in the *Foreword* as a book about Galloway and Kirkcudbright where 'all the places are real places … and all the landscapes are correct.' The railway timetable plot may seem 'dull' and contrived, but the book is packed with pieces of great good humour from the *Foreword*, where she reassures her readers that 'none of the people are in the least like real people, and that no Galloway artist would ever think of getting intoxicated or running away from his wife …' to Lord Peter greeting the heroic Bunter, gutting trout and washing potatoes under an outside tap in a 'blue close' off the High Street, with immortal words — 'There's a beautiful corpse up at Creetown.'

The incidental details are great fun. Note Wimsey's explanation of why local trains are always late. 'It's one of the rules. It's done so that the guard and the engine-driver can step out and admire the station-master's garden at every stop. You know these gardening competitions they have in railway magazines. Well, that's how they're run. The guard gets off at Kirkgunzeon or Brig o' Dee with a yard measure in his hand and measures the prize marrow …' And Sergeant Dalziel's assessment of a lady in a black costume and a close-fitting hat … 'She was Mrs Smith-Lemesurier, an 'in-comer' of some three years standing in Newton Stewart, and giving herself out to be a widow of an African civil servant. She lived, simply and inexpensively, in a small converted cottage, with a French maid. Her manner was plaintive and artless, her age rather more than it appeared, and young men who knew no better were apt to see in her a refreshing revelation of an unfashionable womanliness.'

In the *Five Red Herrings* the solution of the mystery depended on a complicated analysis of railway timetables and examination of the lettering and numerals on the tickets clipped by collectors, each man with his own pair of clippers. In both this novel and in a Montague Egg story, *One Too Many*, published in *Hangman's Holiday* (1932), everything depended on timetables and distances and the operating procedures of railway staff. In *One Too Many* an exhaustive investigation was ordered into all the tickets issued over several of the preceding weeks in London, Birmingham, Coventry and Rugby!!

It does seem that Sayers was determined to enjoy herself by presenting her readers with detective fiction in which she would not imitate but rather improve dramatically on the sort of intricate plots depending on complicated itineraries and timetables which were the trademark of another successful author, Freeman Wills Crofts (1879-1957). It was an amusing, but not necessarily unfortunate coincidence, as she explained in a letter to her publishers, Gollancz, that both her forthcoming *Five Red Herrings* and Croft's new book, *Sir John Magill's Last Journey* (1930) turned on distances and timetables and were set in the same part of Great Britain. Crofts, who had been a railway engineer in Ireland before becoming a full-time writer of detective fiction in 1919, took his readers on the night train from Euston to Stranraer, across on the ferry to Larne, and on by train to Belfast. His mystery involved trains, cars and motor launches, and the evidence of sleeping-car attendants and platform porters and booking-clerks, and he explored in some detail a number of Galloway locations, including Castle Douglas station and Kirkandrews Bay. Sayers, of course, travelled round Galloway meeting station-masters and booking-clerks, and no doubt continued on through Ayrshire to Glasgow putting out questions about railway tickets to ensure that her 'correctness' was perfected down to the last excruciating and fascinating or completely boring detail.

The name of Scruggs, the dog with the odd name in *Farrens* Story in the *Herrings*, 'not the right sort of dog to take shooting' or include in the signboard for the Dog and Gun (note the convincing detail on using tubes of paint), was taken from an Old English Sheepdog in Oxford. Dorothy remembered Scruggs from when she was three or four years old.

Innes Macleod.

Kirkcudbright Pont-Aven: Artists in Search of Inspiration by David Devereux, John Hudson and Catherine Paget. Published October 2005 by The Stewartry Museum, Kirkcudbright (Dumfries and Galloway Museums Service) and Kirkcudbright Abroad. ISBN 0 9533907 9 9. Laminated soft back, 55 pp, colour and half-tone illustrations throughout. Price £4.95 from the Stewartry Museum, Kirkcudbright.

For those who enjoyed the 'Kirkcudbright-Pont Aven' exhibition at the Tolbooth in 2004 this beautifully designed and illustrated little book will be a happy reminder and a valuable source for the history of the artists' movements represented there. For those who missed the exhibition it will be an eye-opener.

What was it that made groups of artists all over Europe, but quite independently of each other, choose in the late nineteenth/early twentieth centuries to leave the cities and settle in small coastal towns and villages? In France they went to Pont-Aven and Honfleur, in England to St Ives, - and in Scotland to Kirkcudbright. There were similar movements in Germany, Scandinavia, (even in faraway Russia - not mentioned here - there was a famous artists' colony at Abramtsevo). The common urge was to get away from the pressures of the official Academies of Art with their imposed conformity and from the demands of frenetic urban fashions. In these small towns and villages the artists had the tranquillity to discover new modes of painting and to experiment. Above all they had the leisure to observe, to record meticulously daily life in all its ordinary details, to rejoice in the changing colours and light of the natural world. For some too it meant adopting a simpler life-style, immersing themselves in peasant life and re-engaging with their roots and traditions. This was why such famous names as Gaugin went to Brittany, van Gogh and Cezanne to Provence.

The book is made up of three essays: John Hudson's 'Artists in Search of Inspiration: The Artists' Town in Europe' (pp. 5-19) surveys the European scene and explores the deeper reasons why so many artists felt the need to get back to a simpler way of life. 'Underpinning the lives of these artists gathered closely together, working, dining, singing and playing together, was the belief that they were creating a better world by drawing upon the relatively unspoilt customs and lifestyles of people and land as yet uncorrupted by the excesses and ugliness of industrialism.' Simplicity of form became for these artists a mark of sincerity and Truth, and for many painters working in these colonies, 'the hunger for Truth, Beauty and Goodness through the subjects he or she painted became a religious quest.' The movement was so significant that, John Hudson claims, 'modern art … was born of this idealism and radical paring away of the inessential'.

David Devereux writes on the 'Kirkcudbright Artists' Colony' (pp.21-34) and Catherine Puget and John Hudson on the 'Pont-Aven Artists' Colony' (pp. 37-47). Both essays are mines of information on the artists who gathered to work at these places, and who through their images have enabled successive generations to see the Brittany landscape and our familiar Galloway one with new eyes. Thanks to these studies we can now appreciate the local Scottish artists in a wider context, and with deeper understanding of what they were trying to do. John Hudson concludes the volume with an account of the remarkable Kirkcudbright Pont-Aven Project, which began in 1999, of which this book marks the conclusion. Finally there is a Select Bibliography.

This is a book that will be turned to again and again for information, enlightenment, and sheer pleasure.

Ann Shukman.

'**We Will Remember Them** – Kirkcudbright's Sons 1914-18' by Ian Devlin (2005). Published jointly by The Stewartry Museum, Kirkcudbright (Dumfries and Galloway Council – Cultural Services) and Kirkcudbright History Society. ISBN 10 0-9551638-1-1, ISBN 13 978-0-9551638-1-4; 132 pages - paperback - £4.95. Available from The Stewarty Museum – postal orders welcome – please phone 01557-331643 to order and for postal costs.

There are over 36,000 Great War memorials in Britain. The majority were erected in the early 1920's. As there was no official body co-ordinating these memorials, hundreds of local committees were formed to decide on the form and design of the local memorial.

Practically every town and village in Britain has at least one such memorial showing the extraordinary sense of loss after the First World War. They are so common a sight that many people now would not give them a second glance. If however you stop and examine these memorials the depth of information is a list of names, often ranks and occasionally regiment or ship.

One of the most spectacular in Galloway is the memorial in Kirkcudbright. It stands in front of MacLellan's Castle and represents the manhood of Britain armed in defence of the weak and innocent. As Ian Devlin relates, the sub-committee included the artists E A Hornel, Jessie M King, E A Taylor, W S MacGeorge and Charles Oppenheimer.

There are four panels with ninety-six names on them. Ian Devlin has asked the question, 'Who are they?' This, Ian has attempted to answer with a short biography of each of these 'Kirkcudbright Sons'. His research has taken him through archives, old newspapers and even interviews with living relatives. The result is an impressive list, as they appear on each panel, of each of these young men. Each biography has the personal details followed by the individual's military career and, in some cases, an overview of the battle or incident where they met their end.

Battles such as the Somme, Ypres and Gallipoli turn up as would be expected but they also have fought and died in Palestine, Tanzania and Salonika. Seamen are also mentioned having served on warships such as HMS Black Prince at Jutland or fleet auxiliaries as HMT Curacao, which was tragically involved in the Halifax explosion killing 1,951 men, women and children.

All ninety-six have their biographies, some with photographs, interspersed with poems of the period except, sadly, one - a Private J Campbell of whom details have not been forthcoming.

Ian Devlin has put 'remembrance' back into this memorial. Sir Norman Arthur, in his foreword, has written, 'I hope there will be people in our other towns to follow Ian Devlin's inspired example.'

I cannot but agree. Alastair Gair.

The Brus Family in England and Scotland 1100-1295 by Ruth M. Blakely: Boydell & Brewer, P O Box 9, Woodbridge, Suffolk IP12 3DF. 2 b/w illus., 288pp, 23.4 x 15.6 cms. ISBN 184383152X. £45.00. N.B. **Special offer to members of the Society of £33.75** + £2.00 postage.

Ruth Blakely's magisterial study of the rise of the Brus family, from its Norman roots, through its acquisition of land in both Scotland and England throughout the 12th and 13th centuries, defines the power base from which its most famous descendant, Robert the Bruce, began his push to the Scottish throne seven centuries ago this year.

Henry I of England's grant of Cleveland to Robert de Brus shortly before 1103, together with the subsequent grant to him of Annandale by the Scottish King David I, constituted Brus a 'cross-border baron' and Ruth Blakely investigates the interplay of events in the two kingdoms upon the growth of the family's power and influence. Although the Yorkshire and Annandale estates of this first Robert de Brus split apart at his death in 1142, the book covers the subsequent fortunes of both arms of the family, tracking their interrelationships and setting the whole against the background of Anglo-Norman involvement.

As well as tracing the careers of successive heads of the Skelton and Annandale lordships, the book analyses their resources, looking at their followers, their kin and the social network within which they operated. Their land management and income are studied in detail, their tenants, companions and the members of their households. Their status in society is investigated and also the patronage their influence afforded them.

This book is a dense, informative and thought provoking read. It is also very well supported by appendix material, bibliography, genealogical tables, admirably clear maps and an excellent index. The appendix comprises superb tables detailing the acquisition of the various parcels of land in both the Yorkshire Brus barony and within the Annandale Bruses' Honors of Chester and Huntingdon and

also a handlist of the known acts of the Brus lords of Skelton and Annandale from 1100 to 1295. For these tables alone, future scholars will have cause to thank Ruth Blakely. And surely all those interested in King Robert I of Scotland will regard this book as the definitive study of the family which produced him

Marion M Stewart.

Dr John Bruce Irving, Ph.D., M.Sc., B.Sc., C. Eng., M.I.E.E., F. Inst. Mgt, N.N., F.S.A. (Scot).

Dr. Bruce Irving served as Treasurer of DGNHAS from 1998 until 2001 and thereafter was a member of Council until his untimely death on June 8th 2005.

Dr. Irving was educated at Lenzie Academy and the Universities of Glasgow and Stirling. At university he designed and constructed the first instrument for the measurement of the viscosity of liquids under very high pressure, which had very important applications in the oil industry. This required enormous skill and courage as the pressures involved were extremely high. His career took him to a research post at the National Engineering Laboratory in East Kilbride (1969-1978), to the post of Project Co-ordinator (later Information Sytems Manager) with Chloride Technical Limited in Manchester (1978-1985) and finally to the post of Director of Information Technology, Dumfries and Galloway Regional Council (1986-1996).

His interests outside his work were many and various. In 1985 he and his first wife Margaret were able to buy Bonshaw Tower which had been in Irving hands for many centuries and had once been owned by a grandfather many times removed. He loved being Laird of Bonshaw and devoted much time and energy to its preservation.

In his younger days he played rugby and his other active interests included mountaineering and gardening. His interest in genealogy led to him becoming Chairman and Life Member of Dumfries and Galloway Family History Society, while at a national level he became Chairman of the Scottish Association of Family History Societies. He was also a founder member of the British Sundial Society and a former President of the Ayrshire Philatelic Society and of the Dumfries Philatelic Society. Among his many other skills was great expertise in the care of long case and other clocks, and he used to regulate all the many clocks in Bonshaw Tower to very good effect.

A most successful Local History Week was held in May 2002 in Dumfries and Galloway under the wing of the DIG History Organisation of which Bruce Irving was the very energetic Chairman. The writer has very happy memories of a day in the company of Bruce Irving when we attended a follow up meeting at London University organised by the Historical Association. It emerged that Dumfries and Galloway had probably held the second largest group of events for Local History Week in the whole of the United Kingdom, thanks largely to Dr Irving's drive and enthusiasm.

Bruce Irving was also a member of the Friends of Annandale and Eskdale Museums. After serving as Vice-Chairman he was elected Chairman at the AGM of 2005 on the very day when he was told that his life was nearing its end. Just over a fortnight later he died at the age of 62. He left his wife Edith, two sons, two daughters and seven grandchildren. His first wife Margaret also survived him.

Dr. Bruce Irving will be remembered as a friendly affable and humorous person with many gifts of character and ability.

John H. D. Gair

James Harper MBE, FRCP, FRC Psych.

The death of Dr James Harper on All Souls' Day, 2nd November 2005 has robbed Scotland of one of the most successful and distinguished psychiatrists of his generation less than two months after the celebratory events associated with his 90th birthday.

Born, 17th September 1915, in the beautiful, unspoilt parish of Tynron, Dumfriesshire, James Harper was one of two boys and a girl born to a farming father and a schoolteacher mother. At the age of nine years James moved with his family to the Channel Islands. Academic success attended him throughout his schooling at Elizabeth College in Guernsey and his later university studies.

He graduated in medicine from Edinburgh University in 1939, where he won the prize in his year for Anatomy. There followed appointments as House Physician at Ayr County Hospital and Assistant Physician at the Royal Edinburgh Hospital.

War-time service in the RAF as a Medical Officer with bomber squadrons in U.K., Libya, Tunisia and Italy lasted from August 1941 to August 1946, in the course of which he received the military honour MBE in 1945. At the time of demobilisation his rank was that of Squadron Leader. A later association with the RAF came with his appointment as Civil Consultant in Psychiatry in 1967-1975.

A return to civilian life found him taking up registrarships in London, firstly in Neurology at the National Hospital and then in Psychiatry at Maudsley. He was awarded a Diploma in Psychological Medicine (DPM) from London University in 1947.

The opportunity to return to his native Dumfriesshire arose in 1947 when he joined the staff of Crichton Royal Hospital, the scene of considerable pioneering work and research in the psychiatric field. He rose through the ranks from Assistant Physician, to Consultant Physician, to Deputy Physician Superintendent and finally to Physician Superintendent 1957-1966. He is remembered with affection as a firm, fair, genial and understanding colleague, administrator and above all a chief, who allowed his staff freedom to develop their own initiatives.

On arrival at Crichton Royal James Harper met an attractive young Psychiatric Social Worker, Marie Hodgson, also on the staff. They were married in June 1948. At the time of leaving for their honeymoon they were employees of the Crichton Board of Direction; they returned as employees of the National Health Service formed on 5th July.

Dr Harper's work at Crichton was associated with moves, fairly innovative at the time, to open wards hitherto locked; the establishment of specialist geriatric units in which a staff team would be involved in case studies; allowing patients maximum freedom to express their individuality; encouraging maximum support and communication with the wider community.

In 1966 Dr Harper was appointed Medical Director at St. Andrew's Hospital, Northampton, which he served for nine years. Retirement was cut short by the invitation to become a Lord Chancellor's Medical Visitor, which entailed visiting discharged patients throughout the country. He held this position for three years until December 1978.

During his long and distinguished career, James Harper served on a number of committees: member of the Scottish Health Services Council 1965-68; member of the Scottish Medical Advisory Committee 1965-1968; member of the Home Office Advisory Board on Restricted Patients 1973-1984; Chairman of the Dumfries and Galloway Division of the British Medical Association 1965-1966.

His pastimes with the family included hill-walking and sailing. Reading, history of medicine, gardens, natural history and antiquarian interests all added to his enjoyment of life. This society was an ideal vehicle for such interests: joining as a member from the time of his return to Scotland in 1947; his paper on 'The Early History of Crichton Royal' appeared in volume 33 of the *Transactions* and he served as Honorary President 1956-1959. Ever willing to assist with society matters he was latterly very proud to have been our most senior past-presidential Fellow.

Morag Williams.

7th October 2005
Sam Callander:
James Clerk Maxwell
Scotland's renowned Physicist and greatest Countryman, whose home was in Parton Parish, was born in Edinburgh. James Clerk Maxwell is well known to the scientific world but, shamefully, is not more venerated in his native Scotland. His astonishing scientific creativity covered many fields of physics, from astronomy, colour vision, statistical mechanics and electromagnetsism. He was a man of the countryside, visiting his tenant families on horseback, and could talk about peeries, bools and booies. He was a religious man, tried many kinds but reckoned the auld yin was the best, and was an elder of the newly constructed kirk at Corsock, returning there at every communion. In 1871 Clerk Maxwell was appointed first Professor of Theoretical Physics at Cambridge and supervised the construction and arrangement of the Cavendish Laboratory. Previously, in 1856, he became Professor of Natural Philosophy at Aberdeen University and in 1860 was appointed to King's College, London. In 1879 he died at Cambridge and was buried beside his parents within the ruins of the old kirk at Parton. In the Immortals of Science series Charles Paul May writes 'In fact it is doubtful that anyone will ever make a discovery which can put Maxwell's work in electromagnetism on the pile of discarded theories'. By his birth James Clerk Maxwell belongs to Edinburgh and Scotland; by his personality to Cambridge; by his works he belongs to the whole world.

21st October 2005
Yvonne Boles, Project Officer RSPB:
Black Grouse in Dumfries and Galloway
An overview of the ecology of black grouse was initially described from identification, breeding behaviour, where they live and what the birds eat at different times of the year. The status of the species was explained and the factors discussed as to why they are declining at such an alarming rate. The last section of the talk detailed the background to the black grouse recovery project in Dumfries and Galloway and what it has been doing for black grouse since 1998 (when it began) in terms of monitoring, habitat management and raising awareness.

4th November 2005
Diarmid Finnegan, Queen's University, Belfast:
Border Hints and Scientific Contagion: The Rise and Spread of Victorian Natural History Societies in Victorian Scotland
The talk unearths fragments of the rich tradition of publication participation in natural science by re-visiting the enthusiastic and idiosyncratic world of popular natural history in Victorian Scotland. Natural History Societies in nineteenth-century provincial Scotland were lively affairs with members contributing with enthusiasm and commitment to local civic cultures by engaging in a bewildering variety of scientific pursuits. Outdoor fieldwork and indoor display were conducted in ways which advanced scientific understanding and bolstered local civic pride. Fungus feasts and forays, scientific conversaziones and fund-raising bazaars were but some of the imaginative events organised by Victorian naturalists to further the cause of natural science and enrich public life. Fieldwork not only rewarded the outdoor naturalist with scientific results but was celebrated for its renovating effects and social character. Perhaps, in spite of the failures of the Victorian natural history society to open its doors to all, we can learn from the creative and democratic impulse that informed and energised the pursuit of natural history in earlier times.

18 November 2005
Anna Campbell, Carsphairn Heritage Group:
Glenkens Schools
The illustrated talk on the Glenkens Schools covered all the recorded schools that were opened in this remote area of the Northern Stewartry starting back in around 1660. The Glenkens covers the

four parishes of Carsphairn, Dalry, Balmaclellan and Kells (New Galloway). In the 350 years since then there have been up to 20 schools, three are still open. The villages had long established schools but such was the Victorian thirst and desire for education that tiny schools were also established in the hills to which children walked, often for several miles and often in appalling conditions. The School Log Books written by the teachers have mostly survived and these records provide a fascinating insight into the educational priorities of the time as well as the problems and challenges of the provision of education in a very rural area.

2 December 2005
Cormack Lecture
Alan Saville, National Museums of Scotland:
Flint and Stone in Prehistoric Scotland
This presentation looked at the way in which people in early prehistoric Scotland had exploited the local lithic resources of flint and stone to manufacture various types of artefacts. The speaker examined the remarkable variety of raw materials available in Scotland and the ways in which these had been acquired and distributed. The functions of different implements were explained, and the changing diagnostic types of lithic artefact from the Late Upper Palaeolithic period to the Bronze Age were described. Finally the role of the enigmatic carved stone balls of North East Scotland was considered.

20 January 2006
Janet Hannay:
The History of the Gardens of Dumfries and Galloway
Dumfries and Galloway has some of the finest gardens in the country which reflect the climate, topography and history of the area. There is a range of gardens that are right on the sea going up to 500 feet, small gardens as well as policies of large estates. The Gulf Stream has a profound effect on these gardens so that a variety of plants can be grown, many of which have been brought in during the last three hundred years by travellers and plant hunters as well as native plants which thrive under these milder conditions. The first gardens would have been attached to monastic buildings such as Sweetheart Abbey or the Tower Houses such as Myrton Castle on Monreith Estate. Gardens would have provided a vital source of herbs and vegetables from early times but it was not until the 18th century that there was in interest in ornamental plantings. With the rise of large estates and enclosures of land in the 19th century gardens were developing. Wealthy families had estates which included the house, garden, forestry and farms as well as a park land setting with their own distinctive buildings. During the 20th century gardens went into a decline with two world wars but gradually there has been a resurgence in fine gardens including many small cottage gardens and public gardens.

3 February 2006
Professor Ted Cowan, Director of Crichton Campus, University of Glasgow:
The Slaying of the Red Comyn, Dumfries 10th February 1306

17 February 2006
Brian Morrell, Wildfowl and Wetlands Trust, Caerlaverock:
A Wild Goose Chase, Caerlaverock to the Arctic
The recovery of the Svalbard Barnacle Goose population from around 300 in the late 1940s to 27,000 this winter has been a huge success for conservation but with a changing global climate what will the future hold for these amazing birds? Local zoologist Brian Morrell has worked WWT at Caerlaverock since 1992 and has been lucky enough to follow these special birds to the Arctic. The whole population breed on Spitsbergen and they all winter only on the Solway. Their biology and migration routes were described in detail and with the aid of slide photography, especially the

autumn staging on Bear Island where Brian was a member of the expeditions to that arctic island in 200 and 2003 as part of the Barnacle Goose research study, one of the longest running migratory bird studies worldwide. The data gathered over the years on the arctic breeding species will be vital as we try to understand the changes taking place caused by increasing global temperatures.
In addition Brian has been a member of expeditions to Iceland to study Whooper Swans at their breeding grounds and described the work carried out there to catch and ring the swans. All the other Caerlaverock fauna was mentioned from Barn Owls to Natterjack Toads, and the increasing commitment of WWT in providing state of the art viewing and visitor facilities at Caerlaverock and environmental education for all.

3 March 2006
Members' Night

17 March 2006
Ronan Roolis, AOC Archaeology :
Carghidown: The Excavation of a Galloway Promontory Fort – Ronan Toolis
Over two seasons in 2003 and 2004 AOC Archaeology Group, aided by a number of volunteers, conducted an archaeological excavation of Carghidown in response to coastal erosion. The excavation revealed a multi-phased ring-groove roundhouse, the base of another roundhouse and an open yard area within the interior of a promontory fort enclosed by a linear stone capped earth rampart and ditch. Charcoal recovered from the ring-grove roundhouse dates the occupation of this settlement to between 260 BC and 60 AD. A limited assemblage of finds was recovered, which included a range of coarse stone tools, a saddle quern and three lead beads. The pattern of abandonment revealed by the excavations suggests that deliberate and abrupt demolition marked the end of the occupation of the site rather than gradual disintegration and abandonment.

25 March 2006
Graham Cavers, AOC Archaeology:
Crannogs in South-West Scotland
Recent work on the lake dwellings of Dumfries and Galloway through the South-West Crannog Survey – a condition monitoring project funded by Historic Scotland has provided a series of site surveys and radiocarbon dates which shed new light on the form, function and chronology of crannogs in the South West. The origins of crannog construction in this part of the country can now be placed as early as the mid first millennium BC, broadly concurrent with the commencement of monumental roundhouse architecture in Scotland. The changing role and significance of South Western crannogs through the Iron Age, including the Roman interlude when some sites may begin to show signs of elevated status, into the historic period when crannogs like Buiston can be seen as residences of middle to high ranking 'potentates' was also considered.

Publications funded by the Ann Hill Research Bequest

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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 *.

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Printed by Solway Offset Services Ltd., 11 Catherinefield Ind. Est., Heathhall, Dumfries.