

From Colonsay to Whithorn: the work of a 19th-century antiquary, William Galloway

Anna Ritchie*

ABSTRACT

William B M Galloway (1832–97) is one of the less well-known Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in the second half of the 19th century whose achievements deserve recognition. He was an architect with a distinct archaeological bent, and he was particularly interested in early ecclesiastical buildings and sculpture. He appears to have worked freelance after an initial training in Patrick Wilson’s architectural practice, and he is best known for his work at Whithorn Priory. He collaborated with Sir Henry Dryden over the latter’s surveys of St Magnus Cathedral and Iona Abbey, and more than a hundred letters from Galloway to Dryden are preserved in the Orkney Archive. These illuminate many of his diverse archaeological activities, including Viking-age burials in Colonsay, as well as his approach to architectural conservation and his interest in photography. He was very active in the Society in the 1870s but appears to have fallen out with Joseph Anderson, the Keeper of the Museum, in the early 1880s.

In the intimate world of 19th-century antiquaries, most of the active Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland knew one another as well as other scholars and exchanged information – and some worked together. Sir Henry Dryden (1818–99) was an Englishman with a wide interest in English and Scottish archaeology, and his work in recording the ancient monuments of Orkney and Shetland brought him Honorary Fellowship of the Society and many friends among contemporary Scottish antiquaries. Among them were two architects with whom he worked especially closely: James Thomas Irvine (1826–97) and William B M Galloway (1832–97). The story of his friendship with Irvine has been explored elsewhere (Ritchie 2011), and the purpose of this paper is to examine his collaboration with Galloway and to look more closely at Galloway’s own antiquarian achievements.

Dryden is a far better-known figure than Galloway, whose biographical details are sparse (Sargant 1993; 1999; The National Trust 2001; DSA).

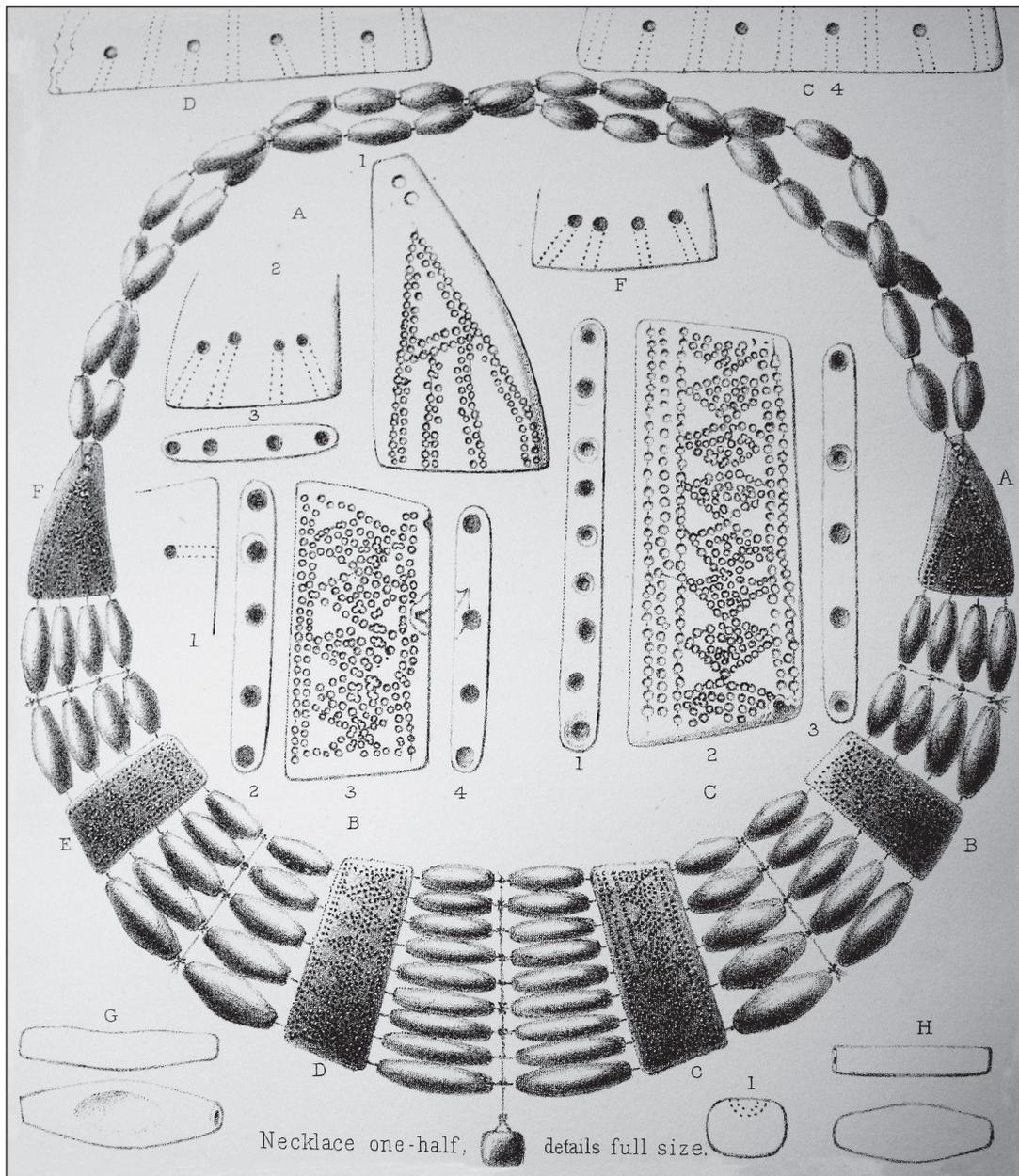
Latterly, Galloway lived at 87 George Street in Whithorn, because he was engaged on the excavation and restoration of Whithorn Priory from 1885 until his death in 1897, and he is said to have been buried in Whithorn. But he was Edinburgh-born and bred and was articled, as a young man, to the architect Patrick Wilson, whose practice was in Queen Street in Edinburgh. Wilson specialised in building churches and designed four churches for Protestant worship in Edinburgh in the 1850s and 1860s, with which Galloway could have been involved, but no information survives about his work in the practice. Galloway’s antiquarian interests were, however, somewhat stifled in Wilson’s office and he found a spiritual home with the Society

* anna@anagrams.plus.com

of Antiquaries of Scotland, then based in the Royal Institution in Princes Street.

Even before he was elected a member, Galloway exhibited drawings at the Society's

meeting on 12 May 1873 of the stone circle at Leys near Inverness and of the Norman font in Lincoln Cathedral. At the same meeting in 1873, he gave a paper on St Blane's Monastery in



ILLUS 1 William Galloway's meticulous drawing of the jet necklace from Lunanhead, Angus (Galloway 1878b, pl 18)

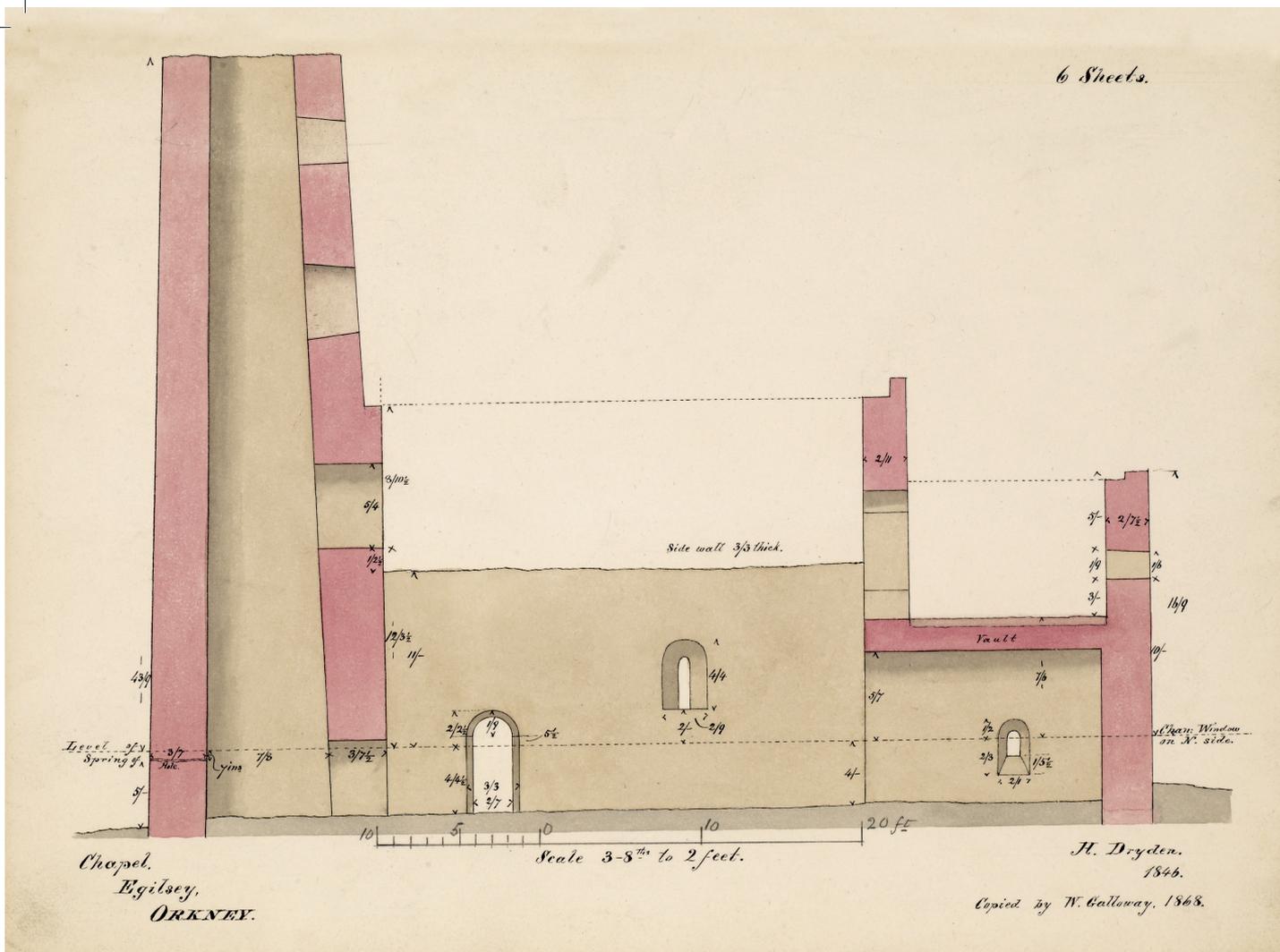
Bute, but unfortunately the size of his excellent drawings led to a long delay in publication, because the paper was earmarked for the larger format of *Archaeologia Scotica* and appeared 17 years later (Galloway 1890a). He was elected a Corresponding Member on 11 June 1877 and no fewer than five communications from him were published in volume 12 of the *Proceedings* for 1876–8, mostly on carved stones but including one on Bronze Age cists that were discovered near Forfar while he was working on Restenneth Priory, for which he provided a beautiful drawing of a jet necklace (illus 1).¹ Angus Graham's comment in his analysis of the Society's publications is unduly lukewarm: 'Failing the employment of photography, the engraving of a jet necklace from Lunanhead seems quite a creditable substitute' (1970: 260). In fact, from his publications, Galloway comes over as both well-informed and a fine draughtsman. The fact that he was free to spend time on antiquarian matters suggests that he had left Patrick Wilson's office by 1865, and, as there is no evidence that he set up his own practice prior to his work at Kilwinning in 1878, it may be surmised that he was financially independent. This impression is reinforced by Grieve, who, explaining how Galloway came to be involved in his Oronsay excavations, remarked 'Mr Galloway had plenty of time at his disposal' (Grieve 1923: 15). He is not known to have designed any new buildings, and his focus of interest seems to have been the survey and restoration of old ecclesiastical buildings. His commission at Kilwinning Abbey was followed by others at Oronsay Priory, Whithorn Priory and Cruggleton Church, and these three occupied almost the last two decades of his life.

WILLIAM GALLOWAY AND SIR HENRY DRYDEN

Sir Henry Dryden and William Galloway first encountered one another in 1868, when

Galloway was chosen by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland to copy Dryden's drawings of monuments in Orkney and Shetland. This was five years before his first appearance in the Society's records and there is no glimpse of him in the archaeological world before 1868 and no hint of how he came to be known to the Society. His obituary makes the point that he had become interested in ecclesiastical architecture early in his career and this was presumably the link, but through whom is not known. The nature of the arrangement was described by Dryden in a letter to James T Irvine, dated 6 August 1865: 'I believe the Scotch Ant Soc will send a man here to copy all my plans & notes. I am to entertain him & find the materials & they to pay him.'²

Galloway was then 35 years old and Dryden 50 years old, but despite the difference in age they became lifelong friends. On that first occasion, Galloway would have travelled by train from Edinburgh, either to Banbury and on by carriage to Canons Ashby, Dryden's family home in Northamptonshire, or by train all the way to Moreton Pinkney, a nearby station specially requested by Sir Henry on the East & West Junction Railway, which had opened in 1865 between Bedford and Stratford-on-Avon (Sargant 1998). His days at Canons Ashby would have been spent working in the Book Room (Dryden preferred not to use the term 'library', which to him was a place where one borrowed books, whereas a book room was where one kept and read one's own books) (The National Trust 2001: 15). The result of this first collaboration was 20 copies of drawings of sites in Orkney and Shetland, which were donated amongst other material by Dryden to the Society in 1869.³ The example used here is typical for its clarity and the care with which Galloway transcribed measurements, labelled sheets and recorded the dates of both Dryden's original drawing and the copy (St Magnus Church, Egilsay) (illus 2). It is clear that Dryden very quickly came to trust in Galloway's drawing skills, for in that same year, 1868,



ILLUS 2 William Galloway's copy of Sir Henry Dryden's drawing of the west-east section through St Magnus Church, Egilsay, Orkney (© RCAHMS DP 141978 (Society of Antiquaries of Scotland). Licensor www.recahms.gov.uk)

he asked Galloway to copy his drawings of St Margaret's Chapel in Edinburgh Castle and his great series of drawings of St Magnus Cathedral in Kirkwall. Towards the end of his life, Dryden looked back on his work on St Magnus Cathedral, which for him was 'the *only perfect cathedral in Scotland*', and recalled that 'I did not pay anything towards it but only housed & boarded Mr Galloway and superintended the drawings'.⁴ In 1871, Galloway copied Dryden's plan of the broch of Clickhimin in Shetland, and he supplied Dryden with his own drawings of the stone circle at Leys, near Inverness, as part of the latter's work with W C Lukis on Scottish megalithic monuments (Sebire

2009: 128–35, 150, 164). His plan of Leys is preserved in Guernsey Museum (GMAG 7829.30). Later Dryden sought Galloway's help in the task of recording Iona Abbey and Nunnery, not simply in copying drawings but in checking measurements on the ground as well. It was possible to sail on the *Aros Castle* steamer, direct from Colonsay to Iona and thus Galloway was able to spare days in Iona for Sir Henry – even while he was working in Oronsay in 1885. Informal visits to Canons Ashby by Galloway are documented in November 1885 and June 1887, and doubtless there were others. On the latter visit, Lady Dryden expressed an interest in tasting Scottish heather honey and

that autumn, back in Whithorn, Galloway was able to send her a gift of local honey.

It would seem that the two men were in frequent correspondence. For the two decades between 1870 and 1888, there are no fewer than 117 letters written by Galloway to Sir Henry, preserved in the Orkney Archive in Kirkwall.⁵ Their presence in Orkney is intriguing. The original five envelopes are labelled: 'St Magnus Cathedral, Kirkwall. Letters to Sir Henry Dryden from W Galloway' and the printed labels hail from the office of Hippolyte J Blanc RSA Architect, Rutland Square, Edinburgh. Blanc had entered a design for the competition for the restoration of St Magnus Cathedral in 1909, and his architectural practice was in Rutland Square from 1900 to his death in 1917, but the reason behind his possession of the letters is far from clear. The letters came to the Orkney Archive via the Macrae & Robertson legal office in Kirkwall. It is possible that the missing link is the Orcadian architect, Alfred Wintle Johnson, another Fellow of the Society, to whom Dryden gave copies of many of his Orkney drawings, including those of St Magnus Cathedral, sometime around 1895. If Blanc borrowed these drawings from Johnson in order to prepare his competition design, the letters from Galloway may also have been inside the portfolio and subsequently became detached. Other drawings and notes by Dryden were mentioned in 1925 as having been 'recently acquired' by Sheriff Thom's Trust (Mooney 1925: 250) and these three small folios are now in the Orkney Museum. George Hunter MacThomas Thoms was Sheriff of Caithness, Orkney and Shetland between 1870 and 1899, and he bequeathed a very large sum of money for the restoration of the Cathedral, leading to the competition of 1909 for which Blanc entered a design and which was won by another Edinburgh architect, George M Watson (Mooney 1970: 8).

On Dryden's behalf, Galloway had created lithographs of the drawings of St Magnus Cathedral in 1870 and 1871, and 24 of them, printed by the General Steam Printing &

Lithographic Establishment in Edinburgh, were published under Galloway's name in the *Transactions of the Architectural Institute of Scotland* (1871). Although the date of the *Transactions* was 1870–1, the publication date cannot have been earlier than 1873 because there are references to work by lithographers and printers in letters dating as late as March that year. The folio has an elaborately decorated title page designed by Galloway, a two-page introduction by Dryden, and each of the plates has a note: 'Del.' & Lith.^d by W. Galloway 1870. From Drawings & Meas.^s by Sir H. Dryden, 1844–55.' Dryden presented a copy to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1877, but there seems to be no trace now of the original drawings.⁶ He himself wrote first a booklet and then a small book about the Cathedral, for which his detailed drawings were too large, and the later of the two includes a description of the Bishop's Palace and several old houses in Kirkwall (Dryden 1871; 1878).⁷ He also wrote articles for *The Orcadian* newspaper in 1855 and 1861 about the bells of St Magnus, as well as a series on the ruined churches of Orkney and Shetland in 1867–71. Dryden's interest and pleasure lay in drawing rather than writing, and he was generous in giving copies of his drawings for others to use. In a letter of 25 June 1875, Galloway made reference to Sir Henry's 'accident' and remarked 'I think you will not be disabled even temporarily from your favourite avocation Drawing. I know any accident which had this effect would be a great punishment to me'. Dryden was apparently an entertaining lecturer, for after he gave a paper on brochs to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, the Society's Secretary, John Stuart, wrote to tell George Petrie, the Kirkwall antiquary, that 'Sir Henry had some nice drawings & plans, on which he gave a racy commentary & altogether excited a great interest in the subject'.⁸ Dryden's lectures in Northampton were renowned for their popular appeal (Sargant 1993; 1999).

Probably because Galloway was busy with the St Magnus Cathedral lithographs in 1871,

Dryden turned to another architect to help with copying drawings. This was A H Kersey, an architect based in Northampton, who copied a number of drawings of prehistoric monuments in Orkney and the Highlands in order that Dryden could present them to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. There are three letters from Dryden to William Traill of North Ronaldsay which survive because George Petrie copied them into a notebook (NMS SAS 542, no 4), all concerning the Broch of Burrian, and one mentions Kersey, though not by name. Dated 16 November [1871], Dryden wrote 'I got an architect here to copy for Edin. and Burrian among them, but he fell ill & I'm in a fix. ... Where is John? If he comes this way, I hope he'll come here & then he could copy my plans'. William Traill's young son, John, had been involved in the excavations of the broch of Burrian and had helped Dryden with planning the monument, and the published plan bears his initials alongside those of Dryden (Traill 1890: 342, pl 45), while the original plan is annotated 'Drawn by H Dryden & J Traill September 1871'.⁹

Apart from the collection of letters in the Orkney Archive, very few letters written by Galloway survive, and the only letters from Dryden to Galloway are a few which are attached to drawings with queries.¹⁰ Prior to moving to Whithorn, Galloway seems to have led a peripatetic life, rarely at home in Edinburgh, and writing letters may have been an essential way of combating loneliness. He complained on more than one occasion of letters failing to catch up with him, and it is likely that, like many bachelors of the time, he rented rather than owned accommodation, even in and around Edinburgh where at least four different addresses are recorded for him. One was Midfield, Inveresk, which was his base for much of the period from 1883 to 1885, other than when he was in Colonsay, Oronsay or Whithorn. Midfield was less than a 10-minute walk from the railway station for Inveresk and thus even more convenient than his Edinburgh residences in Montague Street

and Duddingston, though that in Gardner's Crescent was close to Haymarket Station. There is no reason to suppose from his letters that he ever married, and the only relative known to us is his sister, Miss J M Galloway, who gave some of his papers and sold his collection of archaeological artefacts and rubbings to the Society after his death.

WILLIAM GALLOWAY'S WORKING LIFE

During the 19 years covered by the Orkney Archive collection, Galloway was working in the islands of Bute at St Blane's Chapel, Islay, Colonsay, Oronsay at Oronsay Priory and at Iona, as well as at Restenneth Priory in Angus, Glasgow Cathedral, Kilwinning Abbey in Ayrshire, Cruggleton Church and Whithorn Priory in Wigtownshire and Abbaye de Fontenelle in Normandy. St Magnus Cathedral in Kirkwall remained a subject of intense interest to both men, although Galloway appears not to have visited Orkney himself, and he commented to Dryden on 11 April 1882 'Is this not a very stupid move about the stained glass window at St. Magnus. Much better to do some real work'. This reference must be to the window commissioned from James Ballantyne & Son and completed in 1887, at a time when the fabric of the building was in great need of repair (Gifford 1992: 324; Mooney 1970: 8). He also discussed various new architectural projects, often with quite acerbic comments, notably the competition to design a new Episcopalian cathedral of St Mary's in Edinburgh:

Sir G G Scott has succeeded in carrying off the Cath: prize. The selection has undoubtedly been influenced more by his name & professional standing than by any really transcendent merits in the design. The plan seems very ill-considered & defective in regard to all necessary appliances for comfort & accommodation especially in a Scotch climate. No doubt the Tower & Spire will be prominent enough but the rest of the building is completely sacrificed to this one great feature.

It is a pity but what it had been kept within the country though only for the encouragement of a native school (29 November 1872).

He was not alone in his misgivings, for subsequently Scott was asked to add two western towers to the building, though his main central tower and spire remained ‘an effective and original climax’ (Gifford et al 1984: 364). Galloway’s concern for the encouragement of Scottish architects has resonances today.

The archaeology of the Northern Isles was well served, as Galloway was aware, by George Petrie, James T Irvine, James Farrer, F W L Thomas and others, as well as Sir Henry Dryden, and the Western Isles by F W L Thomas and T S Muir, and he sensibly chose to work in the less crowded area of the Inner Hebrides and south-west Scotland. Alongside his architectural work he immersed himself in local archaeology wherever he was based, recording forts in Islay, Colonsay and Wigtownshire and carved stones at Meigle, Logierait and elsewhere. He excavated not only at Whithorn, but also at Kirkmadrine (Muir Watt 2001: 140), in Colonsay and Oronsay, and, as an outlier to his main geographical areas of activity, he excavated a cutting across the ‘entrenchments’ of the multi-vallate hillfort at Midhill-Head in Midlothian (now known as Corsehope Rings). His published report on the latter excavation displays a penchant for puns: ‘I trust it is not trenching too far on the forbidden ground of theory to suggest ...’ (1880: 258–9). The published plan of the fort is a simplified version of the beautiful original drawing in ink and green wash, which demonstrates the triangulation method by which he surveyed the fort.¹¹ Strat Halliday has described Galloway’s work at Corsehope Rings as ‘a model of good observation and recording’ (Halliday 2013). Quite what directed Galloway’s attention to this particular fort is unfortunately not known, and there is also some mystery about his involvement with another prehistoric site, the Clyde-type chambered tomb at Achnagoul, near Inveraray in Argyll (Henshall 1972: ARG 7). A London

architect, J S Phené, had dug a deep trench across the cairn in 1871, at the invitation of the Marquess of Lorne, publishing his work briefly and inadequately in an architectural journal in 1873 (Phené 1873: 184–5). The trench was left open and at some stage Galloway measured and drew the chamber. He wrote it up in June 1896 as a nine-page note with ink and wash drawings, which was formerly in the Inveraray Castle Archive and may therefore have been done at the request of the Marquess of Lorne, the latter realising that Phené’s account was next to useless.¹² The Marquess was certainly acquainted with Galloway, for Galloway mentioned him in a letter to James T Irvine as being the only person other than himself to have copies of his plans of the Kiloran Bay Viking grave. Galloway’s account was titled ‘Notes on a prehistoric stone cist at Auchan-na-Gael, parish of Inveraray’, and he failed to recognise the site as a chambered cairn, perhaps because he was personally familiar only with cists.

Travel from Edinburgh and Glasgow into Argyll and the islands in the later 19th century was relatively easy and straightforward, thanks to the development of steam navigation in the early decades of the century and the opening of the Glasgow–Edinburgh railway in 1842. A network of steamship routes from the Clyde allowed access through Argyll waters long before the Callander and Oban railway opened in 1880. William Galloway’s earliest recorded trip to the west was in 1871, when he went to Tighnabruaich, which was one of the landfalls on the steamer route from the Clyde ports via Dunoon, Rothesay and through the beautiful Kyles of Bute. An earlier traveller in 1825 wrote ‘few scenes exist in the Hebrides of a more romantic character than those which occur in the fairy mazes of the Kyles of Bute, presenting throughout an intricate combination of promontories, rocks and islands’ (Bowman 1986: 89). In a letter of 2 September 1873 Galloway told Sir Henry that Iona was already a tourist trap and that it was far more comfortable to go to Iona direct by large steamer from

Greenock than to go on a smaller ship from Oban. By 1875, when he began working in Colonsay and Oronsay, his journey would have begun by train from Edinburgh to Glasgow, steamer from the Clyde to Ardrishaig, thence by a smaller steamer through the Crinan Canal to Oban and another ship to the islands, whereas after 1880, he had the choice of going to Oban by train. The steamships did not at that time call at Colonsay and the last leg of his journey was probably by sailing boat from Islay. The entire journey will have taken at least three days, but the steamships were renowned for their comfortable accommodation. By the time that the intrepid Mrs Frances Murray and her family spent a summer in Oronsay House in 1886, the steamship from Greenock called in at Scalasaig in Colonsay (Murray 1887).

WORK IN COLONSAY AND ORONSAY

William Galloway spent time in Colonsay and Oronsay in 1875 and 1876 and for more extended periods in 1881–7, but it is not known how his interest became focused on these two islands. He appears often to have stayed with the McNeill family at Colonsay House, and it may have been a link with the McNeills which first brought him to the islands. Certainly by 1882, when he wrote to Sir Henry on 5 June from Oronsay (spelled by him Oransay), he was the acknowledged antiquary there:

in order to check various unwarrantable liberties recently taken, the family have, on their own initiative, conferred on me the sole privilege of archaeological investigation both on Colonsay and Oransay, and printed notices to this effect have been hung up in the Inn and other places ... As a practical result of this arrangement funds have been placed in my hands to make a commencement in clearing out the ruins ... [of Oronsay Priory].

The previous year, the honour of being the islands' antiquary had been extended to William Stevenson, whose paper on Colonsay and

Oronsay antiquities had been read to the Society on 14 February 1881 (Stevenson 1881: 147). He had spent four weeks exploring the islands, too brief a time for 'any but trifling excavations', and he gives practical advice for future excavators, including the use of a tent, explaining: 'by those engaged in the ordnance survey on the western islands a tent is preferred to lodgings during the summer' (1881: 146). Surprisingly, there is no evidence of contact between Stevenson and Galloway, and indeed, Galloway never refers to his predecessor's work, although he presumably knew about it.

During one of his visits to Colonsay House, Galloway was shown a carved slab which had been found among the stones covering a large short cist at Lower Kilchattan, around 1869 (RCAHMS 1984, no 58). It was incised with a pattern of seven lozenges and, in his unpublished notes, he likened the decoration to that on Neolithic pottery. The stone is now lost but a cast is in the NMS collection and may well have been made by Galloway himself. This unusual stone may have inspired him to excavate three short cists at Uragaig on 18 May 1882. Uragaig is not far from Colonsay House, and he was assisted by no fewer than three members of the McNeill family: Malcolm, Duncan and John. Two of the cists contained crouched inhumation burials, each with a food vessel and one with an additional flint knife and textile remains, though the artefacts are now lost (RCAHMS 1984, no 65), and Galloway photographed at least one of the burials (in cist 2) (illus 3).¹³ Cist 2 was almost free of sand fill and the skeleton was undisturbed, and Galloway commented: 'That most elusive thing of all, the pose, was perfect.' The skeleton, on its slab, was presented to the Royal College of Surgeons by the landowner, Sir John Carstairs McNeill, 'at the instruction of Mr. Galloway Esq. who superintended the examination of the cist etc.' (GC 2682). It was left to Joseph Anderson, however, to write up the excavation two decades later, using Galloway's notes and the bone report supplied by the Royal College of Surgeons (1907: 449–50).



ILLUS 3 Crouched burial from cist at Uragaig, Colonsay, photographed by William Galloway (© RCAHMS SC 1312578 (Society of Antiquaries of Scotland). Licensor www.rcahms.gov.uk)

KILORAN BAY VIKING BOAT GRAVE

Sir Malcolm McNeill had discovered and partially excavated a remarkable Viking-Age boat grave at Kiloran Bay in Colonsay in 1882, and Galloway completed the excavation the following year. He drew two very fine pen and watercolour plans of the site, but sadly neither was used when Kiloran was eventually published by Joseph Anderson, based on Galloway's

notes given to him for that purpose by Miss J M Galloway, in 1899, after Galloway's death, and illustrated by a rough sketch plan drawn by the Reverend J M Joass of Golspie, an old friend of Anderson (Anderson 1907: fig 8). The first of Galloway's plans is the formal version of McNeill's field plan of 1882, which was not published until the Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments had completed its survey of

Colonsay and Oronsay a century later (RCAHMS 1984: no 298). It was drawn in preparation for a lecture to the Society of Antiquaries of London on 10 May 1883, while the second drawing was based on his own field plan from later that summer, when the skeleton of a horse, along with more boat rivets, was found outside the east end of the burial enclosure. This plan was used when another paper was read to the London Antiquaries on 25 June 1885, and it remained in the Society's collection (SAL Brown Portfolio L5.72). It was finally published in 1990 (Philpott 1990: 26). The 1885 paper was also illustrated by full-size drawings of the two cross-inscribed slabs found apparently alongside the grave-enclosure. The SAL plan implies that the cross-slabs were found outside the west end of the enclosure and outside the south-east corner, and Galloway resorts to special pleading to associate them more closely with the enclosure: 'They must be coeval with the interment and set up as part of the enclosure, and then included within the burial mound.'¹⁴ In a letter to James T Irvine on 14 March 1885, Galloway was confident that Kiloran would ultimately be published in *Archaeologia*, but sadly that was not the case.¹⁵ James Graham-Campbell and Colleen Batey dismissed Galloway's conviction that the boat had been inverted over the burial (1998: 118–22), and Jan Bill's re-analysis of the evidence supports that conclusion (2005). Bill also suggested that the enclosure might be the remnants of a stone structure built to support the boat and of stone divisions within the boat, along the lines of those found in the Scar boat grave, 'wrongly perceived by an excavator unfamiliar with making archaeological observations and passed on to us only through a reconstruction made by a second-hand witness' (2005: 357). In Galloway's defence, it may be mentioned that he was not 'a second-hand witness' because he was there at the time, in June 1882, primarily working in Oronsay but also residing at Colonsay House, and he would have seen the excavation even if he had no part in it and would have discussed the site with McNeill. Galloway's experience as

a draughtsman ensures that he would not have drawn an inaccurate plan. However, it may have been scepticism on the part of his London audience about the upturned boat that deterred Galloway from publishing the excavation himself. It could also be that McNeill hoped to publish it, for later, he published another Viking grave in Colonsay excavated by his brother, John, in August 1891, though in summary fashion (1892).

It was during the second season of excavation at Kiloran Bay that the skeleton of the horse was found and the horse remained particularly dear to William Galloway's heart. On 28 March 1885, he wrote with pride to his friend, the Reverend George Wilson of Glenluce in Wigtonshire, 'My Viking horse & things are now on view in the Museum in Chambers Street', in cases made specially for them.¹⁶ In June that year, his second paper was read to the London Antiquaries while, at the same time, he was 'busy working up my paper on the Viking horse for the Antiquaries London. Knight Watson wishes me to give a complete summary of all that is known on the subject. He already has the account of the Colonsay find and it will be read at their last meeting on the 25th next'.¹⁷ This third paper concentrating on Viking burials accompanied by horses was never completed, despite efforts on Galloway's part to obtain information from George Petrie about a grave with a horse found at Gill in Westray. Long after Galloway's death, the Viking artefacts from Kiloran Bay were loaned from the Royal Scottish Museum to the National Museum of Antiquities in 1924, and the horse skeleton may now be seen in the Early Peoples gallery in the Museum of Scotland in Chambers Street, not far from the location of its original display. Galloway's original 1883 drawing of the first season at Kiloran Bay was presumably given along with the finds to the Royal Scottish Museum and thus also came to the Society in 1924 (NMS SAS 175).

Intriguingly, in a letter to Dryden dated 29 January 1887, Galloway wrote 'As to the Viking things I was trying if Mr Franks w^d not

have them exhibited in the Brit. Mus. He would do so but they are sadly hampered for want of space even with the removal of the Nat. Hist. Collection.’ James Graham-Campbell was kind enough to search, successfully, for Galloway’s letter to A W Franks in the British Museum. Dated 1 December 1886, the letter offers, with Sir John McNeill’s consent, the entire Kiloran Bay collection as a loan to the British Museum, despite acknowledging that it was already on display in the Museum of Science and Art in Edinburgh, where two large cases had been made specially, ‘the skeleton of the horse being placed in the one, and the Viking and his belongings in the other’.¹⁸ Little wonder that Franks was unwilling to become involved in robbing another museum of part of its displays. These two letters to Dryden and Franks show Galloway’s London-centric attitude as well as a somewhat cavalier approach to the Scottish antiquarian establishment after the early 1880s.

ORONSAY EXCAVATIONS AND THE FISHERIES EXHIBITION OF 1883

Initially with Symington Grieve in 1881, and the second season alone, Galloway excavated mounds in Oronsay, apparently in the vain hope of finding early burials though they turned out to be Mesolithic shell mounds, and these were published by Grieve with little acknowledgement of the fact that Galloway did most of the work (Grieve 1923; Mellars 1987: 117–18). The McNeills’ patronage of Galloway may well not have been to Grieve’s liking, and there is a hint of personal dislike in the phrasing ‘Mr Galloway now seeing that the excavations were likely to be a success asked to join in the work, but not in the expense’ (Grieve 1923: 15). Another possible cause for resentment may have been Galloway’s involvement with the International Fisheries Exhibition of 1883, held in London, where Galloway exhibited finds from Oronsay without any reference to Grieve. The Exhibition was a huge and important affair, during which ‘nearly 50 conference meetings

were held’, leading to almost 70 publications within the year (Whympster 1883: 367). Along with his exhibited finds, Galloway produced a text which survives as a handwritten manuscript entitled ‘Catalogue Raisonné of the Loan Collection from Oronsay and Colonsay, no 989 East Arcade, International Fisheries Exhibition, London, 1883’.¹⁹ As well as material from the Oronsay shell-mounds, he exhibited Viking artefacts from Kiloran Bay as no 989 in Class 5 (Natural History), Division 56 (Specimens and representations illustrative of the relations between extinct and existing fishes), together with a brief text in the Exhibition catalogue (Appendix 2 below; IFEC 1883: 117–18). In the longer text, Galloway argued that the Viking finds were appropriate to a Fisheries Exhibition because, apart from the Romans, the Vikings were

the first seamen who ever frequented the Scottish coasts, the first who used really seaworthy vessels, or who, from their skill in navigation, could trust to other guidance than that of a coast always in view.

He also explained that his exhibit was smaller than intended:

the Exhibitor regrets that owing to some change in the allotments originally made, he has neither been able to exhibit the collection in its entirety, nor under the conditions he anticipated. The regulation width of the tables was given at 3 feet 6 ins instead of 2 feet 3 inches, and the space allotted to his exhibit was one of the wall compartments with an available height of 10 feet. The result is that the collection is very much disarranged and compressed from what it was intended to be.

Whether Galloway delivered his Catalogue Raisonné paper, which is almost 6,000 words long, at one of the conference sessions is not known, but it was certainly not included in the published proceedings (Doug Stimson pers comm). A transcript of the major part of the manuscript has been published by Alan Saville, who comments that it is ‘remarkable in showing that Galloway had a very clear understanding

of the nature of the midden site and of the artefactual and ecofactual remains he had unearthed' (Saville forthcoming). The remaining part of the transcribed manuscript, concerning Kiloran Bay, is included here in Appendix 2.

It is around this time, in the early 1880s, that William Galloway appears to have fallen out with Joseph Anderson, perhaps over the artefacts from the Oronsay shell mounds and/or those from the Kiloran Bay ship-burial. After the flurry of his contributions during the 1870s, Galloway took no more part in Society meetings or publications after 1880, and he did not become a Fellow, although he remained a Corresponding Member, which meant, however, that he was not entitled to receive the *Proceedings*. This is all the more surprising because he appears to have been based in Edinburgh until he moved to Whithorn in 1886. Instead, he seems to have preferred to offer his lectures to the Society of Antiquaries of London at Burlington House.²⁰ It may be simply that he saw his world as bigger than Scotland, but there are several other pointers to suggest that he may have fallen out with the Scottish Antiquaries or even, in particular, with Joseph Anderson. He wrote disparagingly of Anderson's review of Drummond's book on Iona, on 8 December 1881, telling Dryden 'Anderson never thought it worth his while to go to Iona even for a week, so what can you expect'. Instead of giving the Antiquaries Museum the finds from his excavations, either he retained them in his own collection or, in the case of the Viking artefacts from Colonsay, he loaned them to the Museum of Science and Art (later the Royal Scottish Museum) and, in the case of one of the Uragai skeletons, to the Royal College of Surgeons in Edinburgh. Nor did he publish them, and this is why it was not until 1898, after Galloway's death, that Anderson could publish the finds from the Oronsay shell mounds. The Rev J M Joass had visited the Fisheries Exhibition of 1883 and had sketched the Oronsay finds, which proved invaluable when they came to the Museum in 1898, still on the boards created for

the Exhibition with descriptive labels, because by then, the bone harpoons were missing. Anderson was able to compare them to those from the Oban Caves on the basis of Joass' sketch (Anderson 1898: 307). A telegram had been sent to Anderson from London in 1883, probably by Joass, to alert him to Galloway's exhibit.²¹ It was also at the Exhibition that Joass made the rough copy of Galloway's plan of the Kiloran Bay Viking burial which Anderson used in his publication (NMS SAS 296; Anderson 1907: fig 9, 445), and he may have attended Galloway's lecture on the Kiloran Bay Viking burial to the London Antiquaries on 10 May 1883. David Clarke's analysis of Anderson's career suggests that Galloway may not have been alone in finding him a difficult man (2002), though the evidence is clearer in Galloway's case than most.

Galloway's participation in the Fisheries Exhibition of 1883 was not his first foray into international exhibitions. In a letter to Dryden of 4 June 1877, he wrote: 'I have made application for 200 feet by 12 feet of space at the Paris Exhibition for full size drawings of Scoto-Celtic work', but there is no further mention of the exhibition among his letters and one must assume that his application was unsuccessful. This was presumably the Exposition Universelle which was held in Paris in May to November 1878. Given the date, the 'Scoto-Celtic work' which he had in mind was probably his drawings of cross-slabs from Cladh Buile in Argyll.

There may have been a hiatus in William Galloway's visits to Colonsay and Oronsay during 1884, for there is no mention of the islands in the extant letters from that year, and on 9 May 1885, he wrote to Sir Henry Dryden 'Mr. McNeill has just reinstated me in full archaeological possession of the islands.' In another letter dated 5 October 1885, he describes the discovery of another Viking grave:

On Saturday afternoon we were away after a Viking grave near an ancient fort. Part of the human remains were still in position undisturbed

and I have them all. Of objects there was a bronze pin 7" long, two pieces of bronze plate, perhaps belting straps and a curious little conical object of bronze with 3 lugs and small holes for rivets. From slight remains of iron it had apparently been attached to an iron object and may have been a shield stud or something of that sort.

He described the location of the grave as:

in broken Sand just in rear of a bold promontory running out into the Atlantic crowned with a very interesting fortification and called Dumgallon 'The Strangers Fort'. Close to this promontory is a side bay, with a very fine spring of water close to beach called Tobar an Uisge fuar 'The cold water well'. Quite near to this is a little knoll also crowned with a small fort evidently for its defence.

From this description, it is clear that the grave was located in the Cnoc nan Gall area of Machrins, north-east of Dun Gallan and south of the well known as Tobar Fuar (NR c358932), an area which has yielded at least three other Viking-age burials (Ritchie, J N G 1981; Becket 2010). Galloway's ring-pin and conical object came to NMAS in 1924 from the Royal Scottish Museum, along with the finds from the Kiloran Bay boat-burial. Initially this was a loan only, and the items were catalogued as L1924. 1-37, of which the ring-pin from the 1885 burial was no 35 and the 'cone-shaped ornament of bronze' was no 36. When the loan was converted into a permanent transfer, the ring-pin became IL 758 and was labelled 'Ardskenish' and the conical object became IL 797. It is not clear how the pin had become associated with Ardskenish, though NMAS already had in its collection a ring-pin and a buckle attached to a strap mounting found in 1891 at Ardskenish (FC 190 & 191). William Galloway had himself worked in the area on a hut circle at Ardskenish Bay, taking samples of soil, shells and pottery.²²

Galloway also told Dryden, in his letter of 5 October 1885, written from Colonsay House, that 'I am for the time being more engaged on military than archaeological matters as we are

going over some of the events of the war in the Eastern Sudan this spring'. The British had finally evacuated the Sudan and Galloway was helping Malcolm McNeill's brother, Sir John Carstairs McNeill, in writing an account of the Battle of Tofrek, which took place in March 1885. Their book, of which 500 copies were published, had a preface written by Galloway and the main text appears to have been a collaborative effort by McNeill and Galloway, though written by the latter.²³ It was an impassioned refutation of the adverse reports in the Press at the time that, in the action at Tofrek, Sir John McNeill had been surprised by the Arab attack and that the forces under his command had been unprepared for battle (Galloway 1887: vii). That Sir John should entrust the writing of such a personal work to William Galloway is clear testimony of the regard in which he was held by the McNeill family, and the scale of the work implies not only an extended period spent by Galloway at Colonsay House but also considerable research in London on related documents. It is unfortunately impossible to tell whether any of the illustrations in the book were drawn by Galloway.

WORK ON ECCLESIASTICAL MONUMENTS

Both William Galloway and Sir Henry Dryden were intensely interested in the question of what was to become of the collection of artefacts and papers belonging to the Orcadian antiquary, George Petrie, who had died in 1875, and several of Galloway's letters mention in particular the stone carved with an interlace-filled cross from Flotta. This was an altar frontal, a rare item of church furniture, which had been found in 1871 on the tiny island of Flotta and which had been transferred in two pieces to Kirkwall, where it remained in Petrie's garden for the next five and a half years. He appears not to have been interested in carved stones, for after the publication of John Stuart's second volume

on the *Sculptured Stones of Scotland* in 1867, he remarked in a letter, ‘I am sure it will be very interesting to those who care about such things’.²⁴ Petrie had intended to give it to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland but failed to organise its transport, despite the Society’s offer to pay for the cost. After his death, Petrie’s collection was purchased in 1877 by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and the arrival of the stone in Edinburgh was awaited with some excitement: ‘The Stone has come’, wrote Galloway to Dryden on 22 May that year, and in another letter, he discussed the grooves on the back of the stone by which it would originally have been fitted to the side slabs of a box-like altar.²⁵ The Flotta stone remains to this day one of the most important items of Early Christian carving from Orkney, and Dryden’s drawing of it was used as a base for the illustration in Allen and Anderson’s corpus (1903: fig 19) (now superseded by Ian G Scott’s drawing of 2008, in which the central double spiral design may be seen) (Scott & Ritchie forthcoming).

Galloway was somewhat dismissive of the work of Thomas S Muir on churches, telling Dryden, in a letter of 29 March 1873, ‘Muir has catalogued and partially described a good many of the most interesting objects, but his illustrations are of course limited’. He could be forthright in his opinions, and certainly he thought very poorly of James Drummond’s book on sculptured monuments in Iona (Drummond 1881), describing it as ‘not worth while devoting much attention to’. His opinion was shared by Dryden, who drew up a damning list of errors.²⁶ Galloway was set upon giving a lecture on Oronsay Priory in London and told Dryden in the same letter, ‘I have been thinking when the drawings are completed to make a London appearance myself and it would form a very good sequel to an Iona lecture. The question would be where? As to the Institute, any meetings I have been at had a lot of bosh and humbug in them, a farrago of anything and you would not get antiquarian points, knotty points, discussed which should be a grand aim’. This was the Royal

Archaeological Institute, founded in 1844. Thus far, Galloway’s work at the Priory had been a matter of recording the ruins and the sculptured stones, but in June 1882, the McNeills gave him funds to excavate and restore the walls, beginning with the cloister, where he found sufficient fragments of carved stone to restore faithfully the west arcade (Loder 1935: 73). His success at Oronsay may have been the catalyst for his appointment to work at Whithorn Priory for the Marquess of Bute, who was interested enough to make a visit to Oronsay Priory in 1886, and may have done so earlier.²⁷ Even before he started work at Whithorn, he had become interested in the Early Christian carvings in St Ninian’s Cave near Whithorn and, once he had recorded them, he circulated his drawings to Sir Henry Dryden and James T Irvine, amongst others. Irvine suggested that there might be a burial ground in the vicinity, an idea which appealed to Galloway and elicited a teasing ‘You must admit we Scotch have *some* antiquities. We must keep up “a gude conceit o oursels”’.²⁸ Someone who shared his enthusiasm for the carved stones of the Whithorn area was Christian Maclagan, who made an extended visit in 1888 in order to draw them and for whom Galloway had great respect. Both of them had papers read on the subject to the Stirling Natural History and Archaeological Society in 1890, which were intended to be heard at the same meeting but which were, in fact, delivered at consecutive meetings, somewhat spoiling their impact. Galloway wrote that his text was only ‘an explanatory accompaniment to the very admirable series of drawings on which our zealous and untiring archaeological friend Miss Maclagan has spent, and to good purpose, so much time and labour’, while Miss Maclagan explained that her ‘rubbings’ were intended to illustrate William Galloway’s paper whereas ‘now, they come rather in the awkward predicament of a tail severed from its head to its manifest disadvantage’ (Galloway 1890b: 84; Maclagan 1890: 86).²⁹ These were not simply rubbings, for as Galloway’s use of the term ‘drawings’ implies, rather they were enhanced

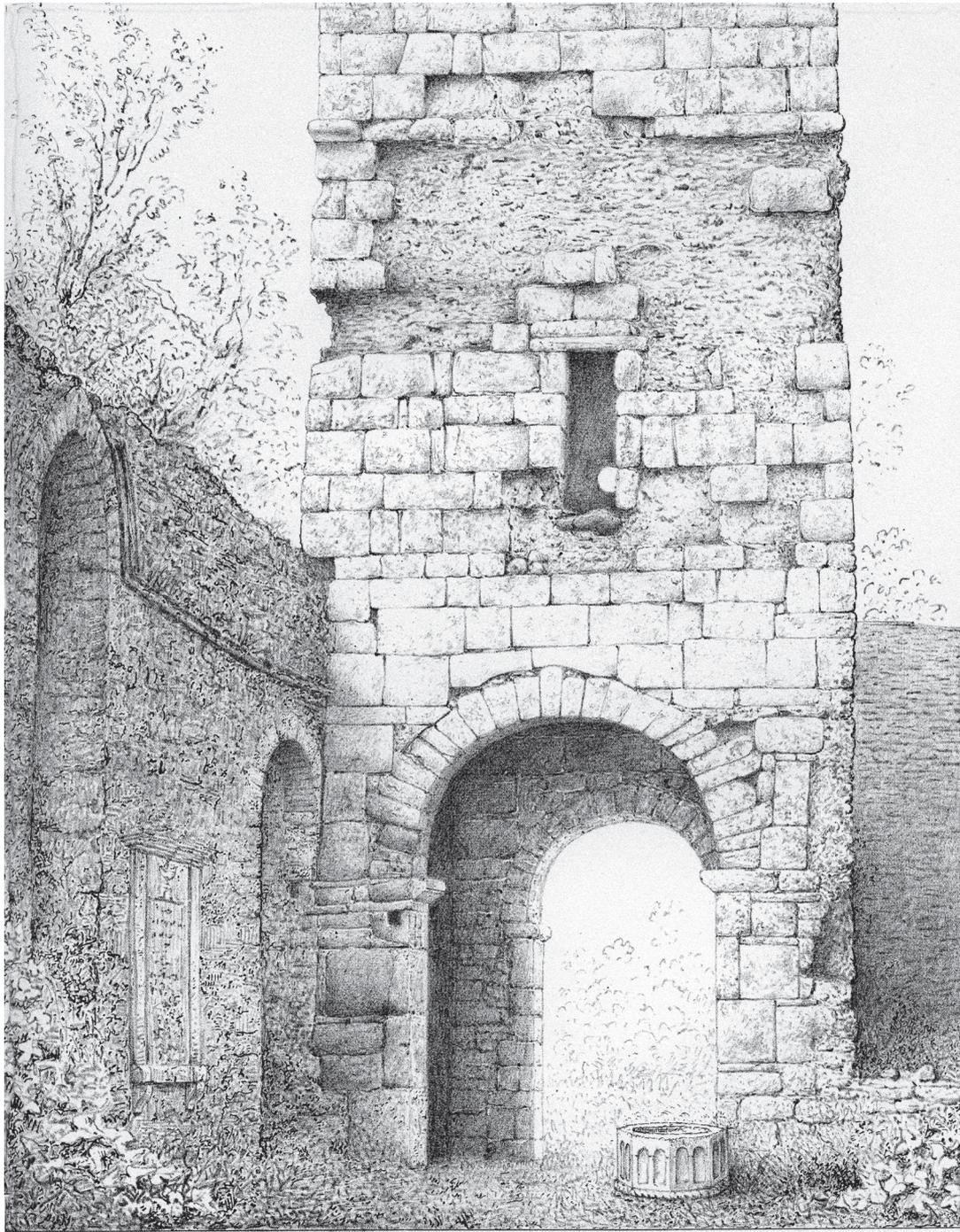
rubbings. The outlines of the designs were pencilled in and later a brown or grey wash was added, to indicate the colour of the stone, and Sheila Elsdon has suggested that the intention was to produce not just a record but a work of art (Elsdon 2004: 88–9). Christian Maclagan was a familiar figure in the Stirling Society, publishing eight papers in the *Transactions* in the 1880s and 1890s, and it seems likely that Galloway had been invited or encouraged to send in a paper at her behest.

William Galloway's major commissioned (but unpaid) work apart from Oronsay Priory (1882–7) was at Whithorn Priory (1885–97) and Cruggleton Church (1889–90) in Galloway for the third Marquess of Bute and at Kilwinning Abbey in Ayrshire for the newly formed Archaeological Society of Ayr and Wigton (1878). The railway had reached Whithorn, the end of the line from Newton Stewart, in 1877, and thus the village was easy to reach. At the small 12th-century church at Cruggleton, a few kilometres away, he was able to put his fervently held ideas about restoration into practice by taking down and re-erecting what still stood, and making obvious what was new build by inserting a line of tiles (Gifford 1996: 204–5). His ideas come through in a discussion of the proposed restoration of Iona Abbey in a letter to Sir Henry Dryden, in which he hopes 'that the repairs will be gone about judiciously and not so as to injure the antique structure or the character. These things are very apt to be overdone'.³⁰ Both excavation and restoration was involved at Kilwinning, Oronsay and Whithorn, whereas the personal studies that he made of St Blane's Chapel in Bute and Restenneth Priory in Angus, in the 1870s, were necessarily restricted to survey, together with a small excavation at Restenneth. Both demonstrate his relish in tackling controversial architectural analysis.

William Galloway had been interested in the complex site at St Blane's, Kingarth, for several years before he was finally able to make an extended visit in the autumn of 1872, taking lodgings at Kilchattan on the east coast of the

island of Bute. He made a careful measured survey of the church, and his plans and elevations were used to illustrate a paper which was read at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland on 12 May the following year, and published in 1890 (Galloway 1890a). 'My first object, however, is not to describe the building, but to direct attention to certain peculiarities hitherto unnoticed', he declared at the start of the paper, and he went on to argue that there had been a small bicameral chapel on the site prior to the building of the 12th-century church, of which only the chancel survived when a new nave was built. His theory was so densely argued, and at such length, that it was reproduced in its entirety as an appendix by MacGibbon & Ross (1896–7: 625–7). In a letter to Sir Henry Dryden on 8 November 1872, illustrated by coloured sketches, he described the chapel as 'a very interesting building as it stands midway and forms a connecting link between the chapels in the Western Isles and those in Orkney and Shetland and the more architectural structures of the mainland'. The published paper was so concentrated upon the chapel that the rest of the putative monastic complex was not mentioned, but in the same letter, he discussed the function of the so-called 'Cauldron', a large circular stone structure. A year later, he expressed to Sir Henry in forceful terms his dismay at the removal of the old monastic boundary wall during the restoration work carried out for the Marquess of Bute:

'I found the chapel-walls cleared to the floor-level from the accumulated soil. The rank undergrowth in the burial ground stubbed down and many interesting slabs laid bare. So far so good. Had this been all the Marquis would have deserved all the thanks of all antiquaries. Unfortunately he has committed what I can only regard as a deplorable mistake. You will remember that I described the burying ground as being for the most part a natural mound enclosed by a dry-stone embanking wall with various peculiarities in the outline and which may probably have been as old as the earliest remains on the spot'. The Marquis



RESTENNETH PRIORY—VIEW OF TOWER FROM INTERIOR OF CHURCH.

ILLUS 4 The tower of Restenneth Priory, Angus, drawn by William Galloway (Galloway 1890c, pl 31)

had the wall entirely removed in order to build a higher wall to keep out cattle ‘utterly spoiling the place from a picturesque point of view and still more so archaeologically. Half the interest of the place is now gone ...’.³¹

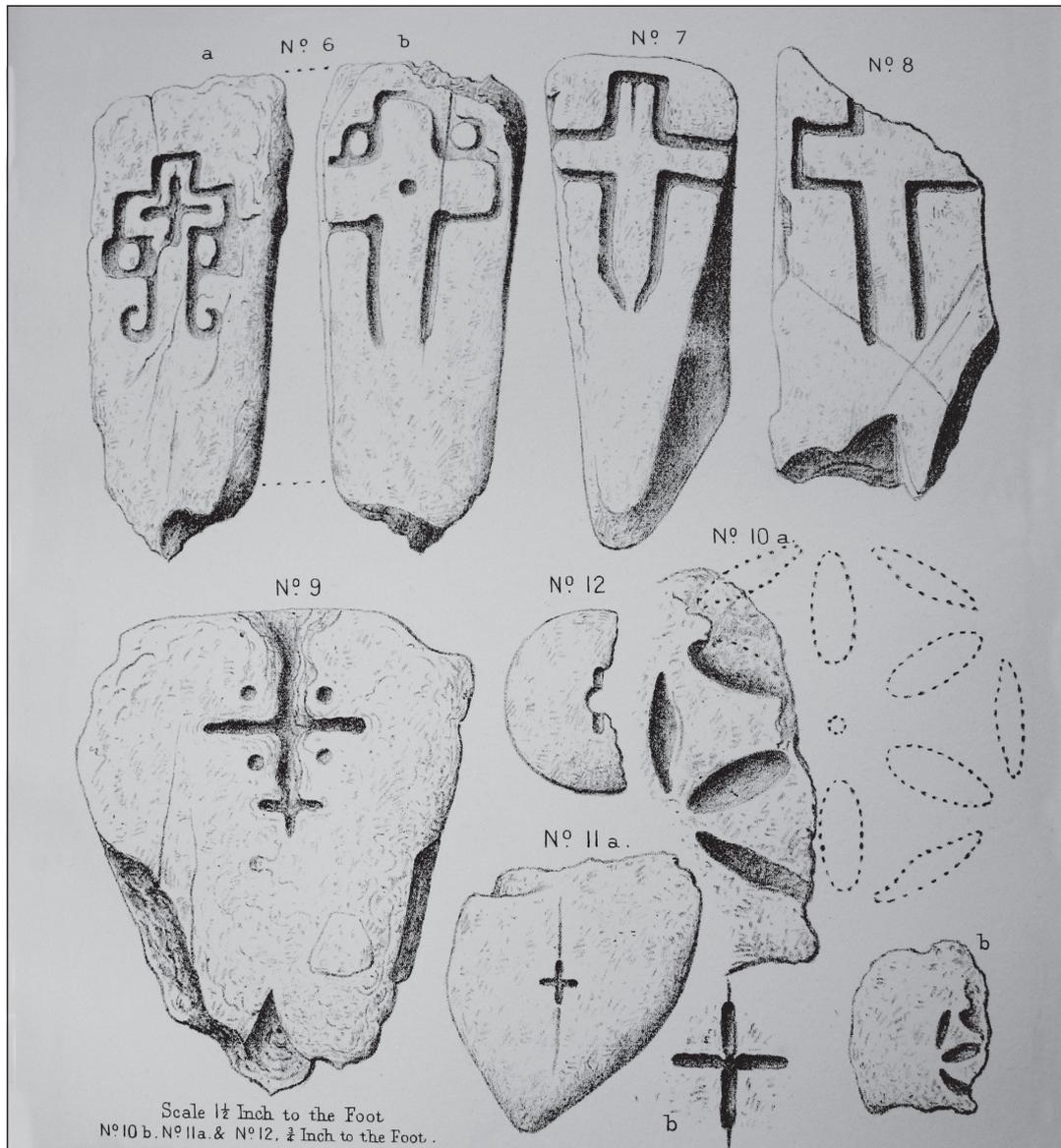
The work at Restenneth came about through the Edinburgh antiquary Dr John Stuart, who had already researched the early records of the Priory. On 1 February 1868, Stuart had received a letter and some ‘striking photographs’ from the Bishop of Brechin, Alexander Forbes, about the ruined church at Restenneth, and he lost no time in presenting the letter and photographs to a meeting of the Antiquaries the following week. He agreed with Forbes’ conclusion that vestiges of an earlier church, possibly of the 8th century, existed in the form of a doorway with a monolithic arch, and he and William Galloway visited the church together, on 18 April 1877, when he invited Galloway ‘to draw up a report on the architectural characteristics of the building’. This was a challenge that appealed to Galloway, who took lodgings in the locality in May and June in order to draw plans and elevations of the church and a plan of the rest of the priory buildings. The question of the early doorway was solved by removing its rubble blocking and excavating on either side of the wall, and he concluded that the doorway was of the same date as the tower. Nor could he agree that the irregular masonry in the lower part of the tower was evidence of work earlier than the upper, but his excavation revealed the north wall of the church to which the tower belonged, and he was able to draw many parallels with Irish and other Scottish churches.³² Stuart had died in 1877, before the work was finished, and his paper on Restenneth, with the addition of Galloway’s report and drawings, was published in 1890 (Stuart 1890; Galloway 1890c) (illus 4).

These two papers on Restenneth Priory and St Blane’s Chapel are illustrated with drawings of exceptionally high quality, and Galloway’s draughtsmanship was appreciated

by MacGibbon and Ross, for whose volumes on ecclesiastical and castellated architecture he supplied drawings and information for 10 churches and castles in south-west Scotland (MacGibbon & Ross 1887–92; 1896–7). He also enjoyed painting in watercolour, although few of his paintings have survived. His interest in ecclesiastical buildings extended to furnishings and inscriptions, and on 12 June 1876, a paper of his was read to the Society of Antiquaries in Edinburgh, on inscriptions in Glasgow Cathedral. This was never published but the handwritten text survives, with transcripts of the inscriptions pasted in.³³ Four years later, his subject for the Society was a medieval brass lectern in St Stephen’s Church in St Albans, Hertfordshire, exquisitely drawn and with a deeply researched text in which he argued that it came originally from Holyrood and ought to be returned there (Galloway 1879a) (illus 5). His interest in early medieval carved stones was firmly established by the time that his paper on the cross-slabs at Cladh Bhile was read on 11 December 1876. This work arose from a tour in Knapdale, in the autumn of the previous year, during which he visited this remote and then little known Early Christian enclosed cemetery near Ellary, south of Lochgilphead: it ‘lies in a trackless and sequestered spot, in the heart of an extensive wood, and could not be found except by some one acquainted with the locality’ (Galloway 1878a: 33). At least by then, there was a private road to Ellary House, built in 1870. His discussion of the site and its place-name demonstrates his familiarity with Irish comparanda, and he drew 12 carved stones, all that he could see, including a quernstone (more lay hidden for RCAHMS listed 29 carved stones and 12 quernstones (1992: 53–61)) (illus 6). His warm acknowledgement of Joseph Anderson’s help in the Cladh Bhile paper indicates a good working relationship between the two men in the 1870s which, as we have already seen, was sadly eroded in the following decade. It was Anderson’s recommendation that led to Galloway’s involvement in the recording of the



ILLUS 5 William Galloway's drawing of the brass lectern at St Alban's, showing a clever use of contrast (Galloway 1879a, pl 3)



ILLUS 6 One of William Galloway's drawings of carved stones at Cladh Bhile, Argyll, which shows his attention to detail and use of two scales (Galloway 1878a, pl 4)

cross-slab in Logierait churchyard, in Perthshire (Galloway 1878e).

William Galloway was very concerned about the often random survival of carved stones and the cavalier way in which many were treated. Meigle, in Perthshire, was known

for its Early Christian carved stones, several of which had been built into the walls of the church in the belief that this would preserve them, but a devastating fire on 12 March 1869 destroyed both church and carved stones. A few new fragments came to light as a result

of the destruction, but Galloway considered them ‘a very poor compensation for what the mischances of time and untoward accident have swept away’, and he related the story of a carved stone accidentally broken and hidden in the course of building the new church (Galloway 1878c: 425, 426). The new fragments were Meigle 6, 7 and 27, and he was also able to record fully the extraordinary recumbent gravestone, Meigle 26, which had been built into an underground burial vault and thus escaped destruction in the fire (illus 7). By now, his aptitude for and meticulous approach to recording carved stones had become well known and it led Alexander Laing to invite Galloway to contribute a descriptive note and drawing for his paper on the fragment of a cross-slab from Carpow (Galloway 1878d). The following year, Galloway drew attention to a small but elaborately decorated cross-slab in the disused churchyard at Tullibole, near Kinross (1879b).

Galloway created framed plaster casts of the three Meigle fragments, perhaps to aid his drawings of them, for they appear not to have been exhibited at the Society’s meeting on 10 December 1877, at which his paper was read. He had explained to Dryden, in an earlier letter dated 16 December 1873 that, when dealing with carved interlace, ‘drawings are necessary for the pattern, but for the working out of the thing its ups and downs there is nothing like a cast’. These Meigle casts, together with the Kilchattan cast already mentioned, were part of the collection purchased after his death (*PSAS* 33 (1898–9): 8). These are the only Galloway casts known, apart from the Kilchattan cist slab, and he seems to have preferred to make rubbings where possible. It is also clear that he continued his efforts as an amateur lithographer after the work on Dryden’s drawings of St Magnus Cathedral, for the plates illustrating his papers on carved stones from Meigle and Logierait, and on the St Alban’s lectern in 1877 and 1878, were both drawn and lithographed by him.

THE FINAL YEARS AT WHITHORN

By August 1885, William Galloway was involved in the restoration work at Whithorn Priory, undertaken on behalf of the 3rd Marquess of Bute, although he appears not to have taken up permanent residence in Whithorn until after the spring of 1889. Even thereafter, he had spells in London and, in December 1890, in Stirling, as well as in Ardwell, in 1889, while he was working at Kirkmadrine. It is at Whithorn that the unpaid status of his work becomes clear: he had been induced in 1885 to write a letter in which he agreed to superintend excavations ‘if expenses were met’, and clearly those expenses were not always met very promptly (Muir Watt 2001: 142–3). Muir Watt has published extracts and synopses of some of the correspondence held in the Mount Stuart Archive, between Galloway and Lord Bute and others, drawing attention to the difficulties which Galloway encountered with local people and to what little information the letters throw on the discovery of the inscribed *Latinus* stone and other carved stones. The earliest letter from Galloway in the Mount Stuart collection is dated July 1888, which misled Muir Watt into assuming that excavations had begun in Whithorn prior to his arrival (2001: 134), but the Orkney Archive correspondence between Galloway and Sir Henry Dryden includes many letters written from and about Whithorn from 1 July 1885 onwards, and it is clear that Galloway was there from the start of excavations in the summer of 1885.

After his success in restoring part of the cloister at Oronsay Priory, the potential for inspired restoration at Whithorn was sadly limited, and the pleasure for Galloway lay in revealing buried structures by excavation. Only the roofless nave of the medieval church, begun in the 12th century, still stood in front of the parish church that was built in 1822, and his excavations were concentrated in the area of the crypts, at the east end of the church, and in the area of the crossing under the pathway leading to the modern church (Galloway’s site



ILLUS 7 A superb example of William Galloway's drawings of carved stones at Meikle, Perthshire: no 26 (Galloway 1878c, pl 25)

plan of July 1886 was published as illus 12.2 in Hill 1997, and other drawings are in the Mount Stuart Archive). These works led sometimes to interference with relatively recent graves and thereby, inevitably, to strong local opposition

to the excavations – as well as clashes with the sexton. By May 1889, Galloway was obliged to agree to work under the supervision of a small committee and to avoid interfering with any graves (Muir Watt 2001: 144), and

several letters express his frustration at the situation. Over the winter of 1889/90, he was in correspondence with General Pitt-Rivers, Inspector of Ancient Monuments, over the creation of a lapidarium to preserve Whithorn's early carved stones, and one letter in particular encapsulates his despair (HS Internal File, SC 21824/3E, letter of 31 December 1889):

From the whole tenor of my experience at Whithorn, I am thoroughly convinced that no hope can be entertained of local pecuniary aid either for a shed or someone to attend it. The whole tendency for generations in Whithorn has been toward the spoliation and complete destruction of all ancient buildings, except in so far as they served some utilitarian purpose, which alone has protected the Old Parish Church, i.e. Nave of the Cathedral Church. The present restorations have only been achieved in the teeth of the most inveterate local opposition, and that for reasons and in ways it would be tedious to relate.

And in another letter written on 21 January 1890:

The great desideratum is some authority which shall care about these matters, for hitherto there has been none, but rather complete apathy. No one knows the destruction of valuable and interesting material, which has gone on even within the present century and down to the present day, largely at the hands of sextons, who claimed as their perquisites, everything that turned up or was found in the ground, or above it; and this on a site, which with any due care ought and would undoubtedly have been a mine of antiquarian wealth.

It is sad to think of William Galloway's last years being spent in the midst of an unwelcoming community. He had, at least, found a kindred spirit in the Reverend George Wilson of Glenluce, along the coast to the west, whom he had encountered even before he came to live in Whithorn, and there was the occasional visit from Christian Maclagan, but his day-to-day sense of isolation must have been pervasive. The last letter from Galloway,

in the Mount Stuart Archive, is dated 24 March 1897, less than five months before he died, and it is clear that his struggle against local opposition had not abated (Muir Watt 2001: 148–9). Fortunately, he was able to work outside Whithorn sometimes. For Lord Bute, he worked on the restoration of the medieval church at Cruggleton in 1888 and 1889, and, in the latter year, he was also asked 'to complete previous excavations at the old chapel' at Kirkmadrine, perhaps prior to the construction of the new mausoleum-chapel there. In June that year he was involved in the restoration of the domed superstructure over the holy wells at Kilgallioch, the Wells of the Rees (Cormack & Muir Watt 2000), and he recommended to Lord Bute that excavations should be undertaken at the nearby standing stones of Laggangarn, though this appears not to have been taken up. His long-standing interest in the carved stones of St Ninian's Cave, Glasserton, had resulted in a fine series of drawings, some of which were used by Maxwell in a paper on the cave (1885). William Galloway had become a member of the Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society in its session 1887–8, and, a few years later, he was elected an Honorary Member, but he himself published only a single paper in the *Transactions* (Galloway 1896). This was the outcome of one of his personal forays into the landscape of south-west Scotland, and it is worth quoting from the opening paragraph to give a sense of the spirit in which such excursions were mounted. One morning, on 19 October 1895, Galloway set out to see the old church at Dalry in Kirkcudbrightshire: 'There had been a sharp frost over-night, and the whole country was covered with a thick coat of rime, only too faithfully simulating the first snows of winter. As the sun gained power, this silvery veil disappeared, and the day turned out very good indeed, the mellowing tints of autumn lending a pleasing variety to the ever-changing scene.' He had had high hopes of the remains of antiquity, which were dashed when very little original work was to be seen, but he

was not deterred from delving into the historical records for the site.

INTERESTS BEYOND SCOTTISH ARCHAEOLOGY

William Galloway's interests were not confined to Scotland. There are several mentions of monuments in France, including the Chapel of St Saturnin at St Wandrille-Rançon, Seine-Inférieure, of which he exhibited drawings at the Society's meeting on 11 December 1876 (the same meeting at which his paper on Cladh Buile was read). In June, July and August 1880, he was in France again, touring in Normandy, and surveying in particular at the Abbaye de Fontanelle, where the remains of a 13th-century chapel were at risk of destruction.³⁴ These excursions appear to have been solely for personal interest.

Another aspect of William Galloway's work is his enthusiastic adoption of the medium of photography. The foremost practitioners of the new art of photography were based in Edinburgh, in the middle years of the 19th century, and the earliest meetings of the Photographic Society of Scotland were held in 1856, in the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in George Street (Stevenson 1995). This gave way to the Edinburgh Photographic Society in 1861, and, whether or not William Galloway was a member, he appears always to have been receptive to new ideas and became interested in using photography as a means of recording, one of the first to do so in Scottish archaeological circles (Ritchie, J N G 1998: 15). In a letter to Dryden, on 8 December 1881, he wrote 'I have been practising Photography some time back & find it very useful', and in a letter the following year, written from Oronsay, he remarked on the usefulness of photography as an aid to drawing: 'I have now a complete apparatus so that I can get large scale negatives either of details or of masonry. I took some very successful negatives in France and find the

process extremely useful.' Sir Henry's daughter, Alice, also took up photography and was given a camera by her father for her 21st birthday, Galloway urging him to get her a large camera and sending 'some photographic notes for Miss Dryden'.³⁵ Galloway was not alone in his use of photographs as an aid to drawing, for, as Angus Graham noted (1970: 262), David Christison's drawing of 1882, of a tower, displays 'the kind of distortion typically produced by canting a camera upwards', suggesting that it was based on a photograph.

The photograph taken by Galloway, in 1882, of the skeleton from Uragaig cist 2 (illus 3) appears to be the earliest photograph to survive of an archaeological excavation in Scotland. Earlier photographs are known of buildings, objects and people, notably those taken by Frederick W L Thomas in St Kilda, in 1860 (Padget 2010: 19–37), but excavation photographs were rare, and even more rarely published, before the last decade of the 19th century. The first in the *Proceedings* were two photographs of a possible Roman road in Ayrshire, under excavation by James MacDonald, which were published in 1893 (MacDonald 1893: figs 1 & 2). Since this was the skeleton on its stone slab which was presented to the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons in Edinburgh, it may be that Galloway's primary purpose in taking the photograph was in order to facilitate the accurate reassembly of the skeleton after it was transported by cart, sea and railway from Colonsay to Edinburgh. At least four of Galloway's prints of his Uragaig photograph survive, but there seems to be no trace of the collection of 84 glass negatives purchased by the Society, along with his rubbings, for £12 in 1899.

A more surprising enthusiasm was Pitman's shorthand, in which Galloway wrote his surviving notes on Oronsay and Colonsay – and doubtless much else which has not survived. Sometimes the notes are entirely in shorthand, sometimes phrases in the Latin alphabet are interspersed, and occasionally a paper begins in formal prose and tails off into shorthand. Among the papers

of the Reverend George Wilson of Glenluce, a keen antiquary, are notes by Galloway on Glenluce placenames, partly in shorthand.³⁶ He may have been introduced to shorthand by Sir Henry Dryden, for the latter's drawings of the Glenelg brochs, made in the 1860s and 1870s, are annotated in shorthand.³⁷

Intriguingly, his obituary mentions that Galloway was also 'a poet of some note', but his poems have proved elusive, though one mentioned, unfortunately without its source, by Julia Muir Watt, was titled 'The Twa Auld Whinstanes' (2001: 134). Some inkling of his facility with words may be seen not only in the paper on Dalry quoted above, but also in the handwritten text of a paper read to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, on the cists at Uragaig, where the second paragraph describes the setting. 'The scene is one of the finest in Colonsay. Immediately in front lies the broad expanse of Kiloran Bay, the Atlantic rollers with unbroken sweep, dashing on a beach of warm-tinted yellow sand.'³⁸ He was not alone among Scottish antiquaries in his interest in writing poetry, for the Orcadian antiquary, George Petrie, was also a poet and had poems published in the *Orcadian* newspaper in the 1850s and 1860s.³⁹

CONCLUSION

After William Galloway's death on 11 September 1897, his sister, Miss J M Galloway, sold his collection of artefacts to the Society for the sum of £20 and his negatives and rubbings for £12.⁴⁰ She also handed over various notes and sketches, but it is clear that this can represent only a fraction of the papers, drawings and paintings which he must have left, presumably at Whithorn, and which appear to have been destroyed or dispersed. He resided longer in Whithorn than anywhere else in his working life, and, prior to moving there, he may well not have retained many personal papers. We may regret that he held on to the Oronsay finds, since some

of the most interesting are now lost, but he may genuinely have intended to publish them, had the work at Whithorn not become all-consuming of his time and effort. It is unfortunate that no personal letters have survived from the last eight years of his life, only letters concerning his work for the Marquess of Bute, for this leaves us with little impression of what else he might have been doing during that period.

Sadly no sketch or photograph of William Galloway has come to light, but his letters allow us to appreciate him as an energetic and much travelled man, at least within his native Scotland, whose opinions of the work of his peers could be ascerbic. Had he not fallen out with Joseph Anderson, his scholarly contributions to the Society's *Proceedings* would undoubtedly have continued for another two decades, probably enhancing the record of his archaeological work in the islands of Colonsay and Oronsay. He remained a Corresponding Member of the Society until the end of his life, despite the fact that this meant that he did not receive copies of the *Proceedings*, and there is no hint in the surviving letters that he had thwarted desires to become a Fellow. He was a fine draughtsman and a careful excavator, and his long friendship with Sir Henry Dryden is a measure of the respect in which he was held by a man whose own standards were exacting. That respect was also held by David MacGibbon and Thomas Ross, who used many of Galloway's drawings in their two great volumes on Scottish architecture.⁴¹ His views on architectural conservation were exemplary. He was a welcome and frequent visitor to Colonsay House, the home of the McNeill family, and with their blessing and practical help, he was able to work on archaeological sites of all periods in Colonsay and Oronsay. His relationship with the Marquess of Bute was on a purely formal footing, despite the fact that the years at Whithorn were spent for no personal gain and little thanks. Work in the field was always supported by work in the library, and his published papers demonstrate his familiarity not just with comparable sites but with contemporary archaeological ideas.

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NOTES

- 1 Galloway confided to Sir Henry Dryden about the necklace that 'it is only by a set of wretched accidents that it is not absolutely complete': Orkney Archive D34/S/3, dated 22 May 1877.
- 2 NMS SAS MS 534–6, Shetland Historical Collections, vol III: 475.
- 3 The drawings were recorded as a major donation of five portfolios at the Society's meeting on 10 May 1869 (*Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 8 (1868–9): 143). They were catalogued as SAS 23–6 and are now in RCAHMS.
- 4 OA D1/337, a letter to R L Tait, dated 13 August (a reference to MacGibbon & Ross 1897 indicates that it must have been written sometime in the last three years of Dryden's life).
- 5 The letters are not numbered individually but are divided into groups by date, thus letters written 1870–5 are catalogued as D34/S/1, letters 1876–7 are D34/S/2, letters 1877–80 are D34/S/3, letters 1881–4 are D34/S/4, and letters 1885–8 are D34/S/5. Letters referenced here by date alone belong to this collection in the Orkney Archive.
- 6 NMS DA 884 DRY; *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 12 (1876–8): 211.
- 7 According to Baikie, there were errors in Dryden's text on the Cathedral which had come about 'by listening to gossip', particularly in connection with the removal of Bishop William's bones (written in 1894 but not published for more than a century: Baikie 2001: 9).
- 8 RCAHMS MS 28/319/6/15, dated 12 June 1866.
- 9 RCAHMS ORD 14/9.
- 10 Correspondence between Galloway and General Pitt-Rivers in 1890–1 is preserved in an early file on Whithorn in Historic Scotland's archive: SC 21824/SE. Letters from Galloway to the Marquis of Bute about the work at Whithorn are in Mount Stuart Archive, Bute: Muir Watt 2001.
- 11 RCAHMS DC54491; Halliday 2013; fig 5.1.
- 12 RCAHMS MS 6089. The Achnagoul drawings and text are now in RCAHMS as DC 55192–55195 and MS 6057.
- 13 NMS SAS 175 (c); the print used for illus 3 is RCAHMS J 3085. The skeleton on its slab is still on display in the Surgeons Hall Museum in Edinburgh: G.C. 2682. It was formally presented to the Museum by the landowner, Major-General Sir John Carstairs McNeill, and a bone report is appended to the original accessions record in the Day Book (a copy of which is attached to SAS 175 (c) in NMS Research Library).
- 14 OA D34/S/5, 20 June 1885.
- 15 RCAHMS MS 6089.
- 16 This is one of two letters from Galloway which are preserved loose in a ledger of notes and sketches of Wigtownshire antiquities by George Wilson: NMS SAS 578. The other letter is dated 25 March 1885 and both were written from Midfield, Inveresk, Edinburgh.
- 17 OA D34/S/5, 18 June 1885.
- 18 British Museum, Department of Prehistory and Europe, correspondence archive. The letter

- was written from Whithorn and refers to his 'explorations regarding the Priory'.
- 19 NMS SAS 175: 7.
- 20 Galloway read a paper on the crosses of Iona at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries of London on 10 May 1883.
- 21 A note on Society headed paper survives of the telegram sent one Saturday evening: NMS UC17/509.
- 22 NMS SAS 577, note titled 'Circular Enclosure Ardskenish Bay'; this may have been one of the hut circles at NW39SW 6.
- 23 A facsimile version of the book was published in 2004 by the Naval & Military Press in association with Firepower (The Royal Artillery Museum), unfortunately with their names superimposed on the title page and thus obliterating all but the title. The original read: by William Galloway, Corresponding Member of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. With various Official Maps, Plans, Despatches and Documents. London: W H Allen & Co, 13 Waterloo Place, 1887. The original book was printed by the Edinburgh firm of R & R Clark.
- 24 NMS UC 19/21, 26 August 1867, first part of letter missing but probably addressed to Joseph Anderson.
- 25 NMS UC17/39, 4 July 1871; OA D34/S/2, 18 December 1876; OA D21/S/3, 4 June 1877.
- 26 OA D34/S/4, 24 December 1881; NMS UC25/67; RCAHMS MS 28/40/3.
- 27 OA D34/S/5, 25 September 1886.
- 28 RCAHMS MS 6089, 14 March 1885; also OA D34/S/5, 9 May 1885.
- 29 The last four pages of the handwritten and annotated lecture survive in NMS SAS 175.
- 30 OA D34/S/1, 19 December 1874.
- 31 OA D34/S/1, 16 December 1873.
- 32 Richard Fawcett agrees with Galloway about the contemporaneity of the tower and south doorway (2002: 93).
- 33 NMS SAS 577, copy in RCAHMS, MS 28/577.
- 34 OA D34/S/3, 20 July 1880, 14 August 1880.
- 35 OA D34/S/4, 8 December 1881, 5 June 1882, 12 August 1882.
- 36 RCAHMS MS 28/457/66. He also sent Wilson a print of his photograph of the Uragaig crouched burial: J 3098.
- 37 RCAHMS SAS 223, IND 198/8.
- 38 NMS SAS 175 (c). What appear to be unfinished lines of poetry are written on the reverse of notes on Oronsay Priory, for example: the wild campion

'quivering with feathery [l]igh]tness in every breath of wind'.

- 39 NMS SAS 551a, Petrie notebook no 15.
- 40 Minutes of meetings of the Purchase Committee, 18 June and 23 July 1898 (artefacts; PSAS 33 (1898–9), 6–9) and 7 January 1899 (negatives and rubbings; PSAS 33 (1898–9), 408–11).
- 41 This opinion was apparently shared by W Douglas Simpson, for the entry for Galloway in the *Dictionary of Scottish Architects* refers to a paper by Simpson entitled 'William Galloway, scholar-architect'. It has unfortunately not proved possible to trace this article, which was perhaps never published and which does not survive amongst Simpson's papers in the University of Aberdeen Library. Simpson's interest in William Galloway may well have been prompted by his own work at Restenneth Priory and on St Ninian at Whithorn.

APPENDIX 1

OBITUARY FOR WILLIAM GALLOWAY

Mr. William Galloway, who has been employed for the last twelve or thirteen years in excavating the foundations of the old cathedral at Whithorn, died on the 11th inst. after a short illness. Mr. Galloway, who was about sixty-five years of age, was born in Edinburgh, was educated at the High School and afterwards apprenticed to Mr. Patrick Wilson, architect, Edinburgh. He early took to painting, and also turned his mind to ecclesiastical architecture. But old monuments of all kinds had a strong attraction for him, and his skill in deciphering characters on ancient stones was very great and exact. Mr. Galloway was a poet of some note, and he was an author of several volumes.

The Scotsman, reprinted in *The Builder* 73,
25 September 1897: 243.

APPENDIX 2

Extract from *International Fisheries Exhibition London 1883 Catalogue*: pp 117–18

Division LVI [East and West Quadrants]

Specimens and representations illustrative of the relations between extinct and existing fishes.

989. GALLOWAY, WILLIAM, Inveresk by Edinburgh. Collection of various interesting objects from a pre-historic shell-mound, in the island of Oransay, Western Hebrides. This shell-mound is situated on the old coast line, and dates undoubtedly from a period anterior to its elevation. No trace of metals have been found, but the occurrence of numerous flint chips, &c., carry it back evidently to the neolithic age. Of objects, showing unmistakable traces of human use and agency, there are ten fish-spear or harpoon heads of bone and one butt; also numerous rubbed bones, chisels, borers or awls, and picks of the same material. Also lap and hammer-stones, rubbed stones, limpet hammers, &c. In addition to the usual edible shellfish, the shells of which occur in large quantities, there are also remains of the Rorqual, Seal, Red Deer, Otter, and other mammals; of the Mullet, Wrasse, picked Dogfish, Skate, &c. Among the aquatic birds are included bones of the now extinct Great Auk, the Wild Swan, Razorbill, Guillemot, &c., forming one of the most important discoveries of this kind made in Scotland. (2) Various relics from a Viking grave in Kiloran Bay, Colonsay. This grave was accidentally discovered by Malcolm McNeill, Esq., of Colonsay, June, 1882, and, from the number of clinker-nails or rivets found, has evidently been a ship-burial. In addition to human remains, there were found iron weapons, very much oxidised, including a sword, spear, and battle-axe; also remains of a shield, iron pot, &c. Portions also of a bronze belt, bronze pin, and a very perfect set of scales and weights, &c.

Extract from the *Catalogue Raisonnée*, NMS SAS 175: pp 1, 21–3 (page numbers in square brackets)

Catalogue Raisonnée,
of the
Loan Collection
From
Oransay and Colonsay
No. 989 East Arcade.

International Fisheries Exhibition.

London 1883.

William Galloway. Corr. Mem S. A. Scot.

Exhibitor.

[1]

Preparatory Note.

This Loan Collection naturally divides itself into two parts.

First.

A series of Objects forming the result of various prehistoric shell-mound explorations carried on by the exhibitor in the island of Oransay. Western Hebrides.

Second.

A variety of objects from a Viking Grave discovered in June 1882, at the head of Kiloran Bay, Colonsay, by Malcolm McNeill Esq. of Colonsay.

[11]

Objects found in a Viking Grave,
Kiloran Bay, Colonsay.

I trust that no apology will be considered necessary in placing these objects within the scope of a Fisheries Exhibition. With exception of an occasional Roman Galley in the earlier centuries of the Christian era, these Vikings whether Danes or Norsemen were really the first seamen who ever frequented the Scottish coasts; the first who used really seaworthy vessels, or who, from their skill in navigation could trust to other guidance than that of a coast always in view.

Previous to the 8th century, communication existed between Scotland and Ireland, and the evidence of the Shell-mounds just described proves incontestably that at a very early period boating of some kind must have been practised round the Scottish shores. But all these efforts were infantile compared with those of the Scandinavian rovers, who, although they came at first as pirates only to pillage and destroy, really laid the foundations of navigation and shipbuilding in Western Europe.

The grave in question of which a plan and section are shown was discovered quite

accidentally in June 1882 by Malcolm McNeill, Esq. of Colonsay, and from it the following objects are exhibited.

1. A series of Clinker Nails or Rivets such as in Scandinavia are marked as the invariable accompaniments of a Ship-burial, and the application of which may be at once seen by reference to the model of the Viking Ship exhibited in the Norwegian Section, or that shown by Lady Brassey from Gokstadt.

[22]

Unfortunately all traces of the boat itself have entirely disappeared but fragments of the wood still adhere to many of the rivets. They were found strewn indiscriminately and at all depths through the body of sand filling the grave.

2. Another Mount full of miscellaneous iron objects, comprising two Knives corroded together, attachments, fastenings, buckles, & remains of rivets &c.

Personal Arms.

3. An iron Sword 3 feet 8 ins. in total length, of the usual Norse pattern, subsequent to deposition in the grave, but while still uncorroded, it must have been subjected to a heavy superincumbent weight, while being at the same time held fast at the two extremities. The result is the curvature shown, the upturned point, and hilt set at an angle.

4. Iron Spear Head of tapering lanceolate form.

5. Head of Iron Battle Axe.

6. Umbo or centre Boss of Shield, which has been covered with a strong textile fabric similar to Canvas.

Bronze Objects.

Of these by far the most important are the pair of scales, the beams and weights &c. They were found, the scales, one within the other, lying between the knees and cranium of the skeleton, and are in a wonderfully perfect state of preservation.

In some respects they are quite unique, the weights especially being very curious. The body of the weights is composed of lead, with either enamel inlay, or engraved bronze plates on the top, and they vary from 200 up to 2000 grains weight. The style of decoration is thoroughly

Scandinavian in character, and extremely delicate in execution.

[23]

The second case contains portions of bronze belting, and terminal plates, which have been riveted on to leather straps; also, a bronze pin, very perfect buckle, and four buttons, some of them with pieces of leather still adherent.

In order to illustrate the find more completely, a few of the larger bones and a portion of the Cranium of the Viking have been included. The interment has evidently been that of a man of very powerful physique, but no great stature, and with a long narrow dolicho-cephalic skull.

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