



Society of Antiquaries  
of Scotland

# The Antiquarian Rediscovery of the Antonine Wall

Lawrence Keppie

ISBN: 978-1-908332-00-4 (hardback) • 978-1-908332-24-0 (PDF)

The text in this work is published under a [Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International](#) licence (CC BY-NC 4.0). This licence allows you to share, copy, distribute and transmit the work and to adapt the work for non-commercial purposes, providing attribution is made to the authors (but not in any way that suggests that they endorse you or your use of the work). Attribution should include the following information:

Keppie, L 2012 *The Antiquarian Rediscovery of the Antonine Wall*. Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. <https://doi.org/10.9750/9781908332240>

**Important:** The illustrations and figures in this work are not covered by the terms of the Creative Commons licence. Permissions must be obtained from third-party copyright holders to reproduce any of the illustrations.



Every effort has been made to obtain permissions from the copyright holders of third-party material reproduced in this work. The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland would be grateful to hear of any errors or omissions.

Society of Antiquaries of Scotland is a registered Scottish charity number SC 010440. Visit our website at [www.socantscot.org](http://www.socantscot.org) or find us on Twitter [@socantscot](https://twitter.com/socantscot).

## Chapter 7

### The coming of the railways

In earlier centuries travellers had reached Scotland by road or sea, on horseback or by carriage, and later by stagecoach. The decades from the 1820s onwards witnessed another transport revolution, the

coming of the railways, whose construction involved the raising of embankments and the excavation of tunnels and bold cuttings. The railways not only linked Glasgow to Edinburgh via Falkirk, but also Glasgow and the South to Stirling, and Edinburgh

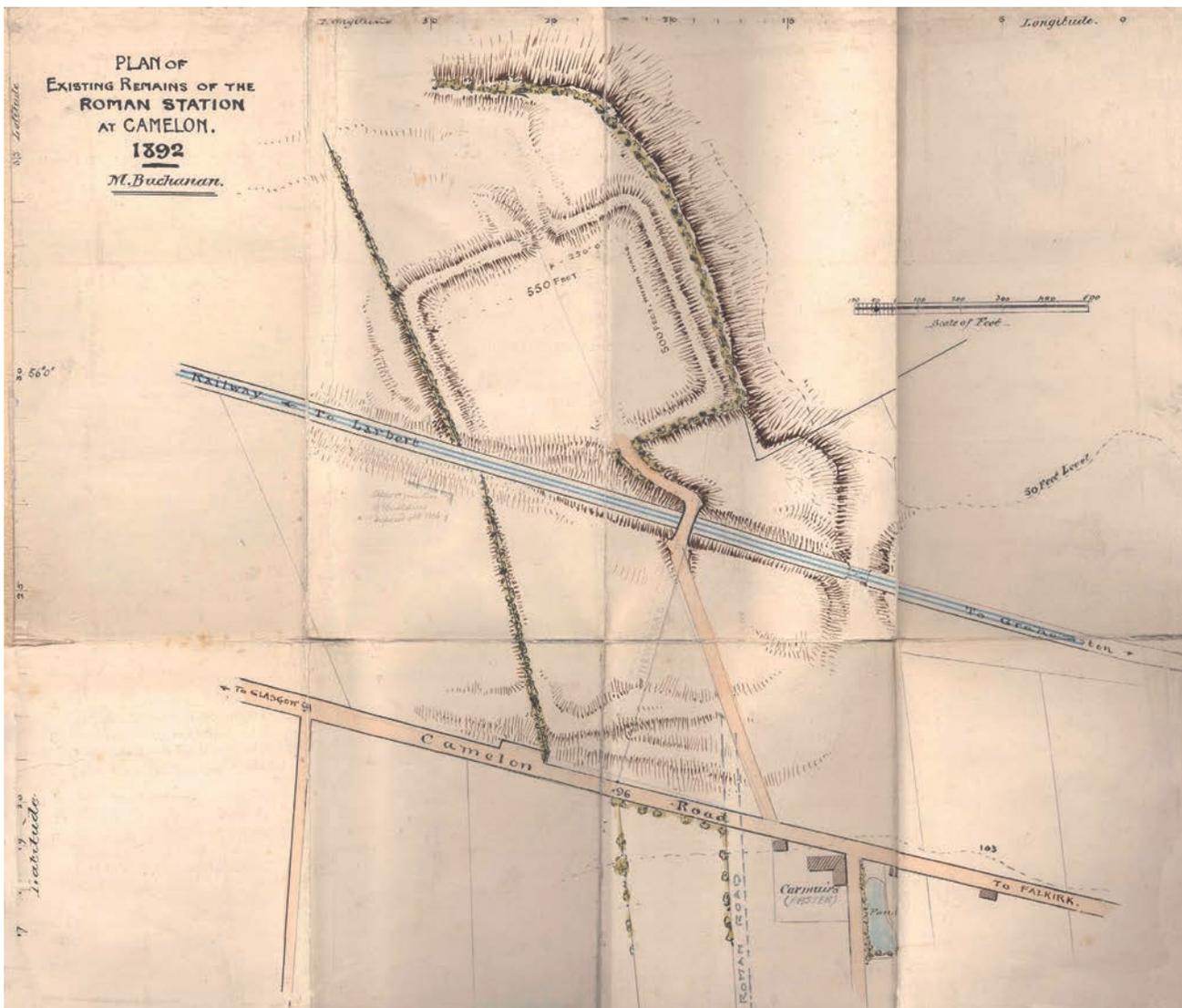


Illustration 79

Earthworks at Camelton drawn by Mungo Buchanan in 1892, prior to excavation of the fort (© Falkirk Archives, A067.011).

## THE ANTIQUARIAN REDISCOVERY OF THE ANTONINE WALL

to Stirling.<sup>1</sup> Construction in 1839–42 of the line between Edinburgh and Glasgow saw the railway pass directly across the fort at Castlecary. Glasgow antiquary John Buchanan (see p. 117) witnessed the devastation caused. About 3.5m of overburden was removed across the site.<sup>2</sup> ‘This soil, if it can be so called, was in many places almost one entire mass of broken stones mingled with fragments of pottery, among which last were many pieces of jars, vases and basins – some of a cream colour, and others of a lively red, elegantly ornamented with flowers and figures.’<sup>3</sup> The description suggests finds of mortaria and samian ware. Buchanan was able to secure some inscribed and sculptured stones, as well as small finds.<sup>4</sup> In 1841 work in progress at Brightons south-east of Falkirk yielded an inscribed altar to the god Hercules Magusanus.<sup>5</sup>

The construction of the Polmont Junction Railway in 1851, which linked Edinburgh to Stirling via Falkirk, involved a cut across the fort site at Camelon, as well as the then-unknown temporary camps lying to its north and west (illus 79).<sup>6</sup> A massive stone-lined

and stone-capped drain was revealed.<sup>7</sup> About 1868 the spot was further investigated by the farmer and local antiquaries,<sup>8</sup> in the company of the obstetrician and chloroform pioneer Sir James Young Simpson (1811–70).<sup>9</sup> Sir James had a long-standing interest in archaeology. In 1860 he was elected Vice-President of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland and in the same year Professor of Antiquities at the Royal Scottish Academy.<sup>10</sup> The work at Camelon in 1868 yielded a rich haul of small finds, all now lost, including wood, animal bones, clay bricks, one with the imprint of a dog’s paw, and pottery, including a stamped amphora-handle.

In his inaugural address to the Society of Antiquaries in November 1860, Simpson lamented the widespread damage to antiquities caused by the ‘rough and ponderous hoof’ of the ‘iron horse’. From a train he had observed at Castlecary ‘the farmer in the immediate neighbourhood of this station busily removing a harmless wall – among the last, if not the very last, remnants of Roman masonry in Scotland’.<sup>11</sup> The modern traveller by rail between Edinburgh and



*Illustration 80*

Castlecary village from the south-west, showing the railway viaduct (1841) and the modern road system, photographed 1996. The Roman fort lies to the right of the viaduct (© L Keppie).

## TWO GLASGOW ANTIQUARIES: JOHN BUCHANAN AND ROBERT STUART

Glasgow can several times observe the Wall from the comfort of his carriage (illus 80).

Further railways were built as the century progressed. By 1900 the Wall had been crossed by more than a dozen lines, including to Kilsyth, Dumbarton, Milngavie and Bo'ness. A station at Kirkintilloch, on a line leading north to Lennoxton, was constructed astride the Wall, on low ground east of the Luggie Water. Branches served industrial premises at Nethercroy, Twechar, Bonnybridge and Rough Castle.

The Revd Hugh Baird, secessionist Minister at Cumbernauld, describes in 1864 'the glassy surface of the Forth and Clyde Canal, crossing the country like a great inland river, while now and then sloops and barges dragged by horses, and passenger and other boats propelled by steam, move slowly along the surface. There, close at hand, is the station of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway [at Castlecary], where the warning bell announces a stopping train, whose living crowds are rapidly carried over the very centre of the old Roman fort'.<sup>12</sup>

### Two Glasgow antiquaries: John Buchanan and Robert Stuart

A native of Glasgow employed for many years as Secretary of the Western Bank of Scotland in the city, John Buchanan's antiquarian interests developed at an early age, and he soon began to assemble a collection of antiquities (illus 81). Buchanan (1802–78) was active along the Wall over five decades. In 1826 he walked its length 'from sea to sea'.<sup>13</sup> 'He knew every foot of our Roman Wall, and on it and the Roman occupation of Britain he wrote papers whose value was acknowledged in this country and on the Continent'.<sup>14</sup> His contemporaries were fulsome in their praise, Daniel Wilson describing him as 'my indefatigable friend and correspondent';<sup>15</sup> John Collingwood Bruce considered Buchanan the 'guardian genius' of the Northern Wall. 'I know not if there be another antiquary amongst the four hundred thousand inhabitants of Glasgow'.<sup>16</sup> Buchanan's published papers reveal his profoundly romantic approach.

In 1841 Buchanan had remonstrated on-site in a largely vain attempt to rescue material amid the devastation caused at Castlecary by the builders of the Edinburgh to Glasgow Railway (see p. 116). In 1852 while a new manse was being constructed at Cawder, he recovered a fragmentary inscribed stone, a variety of pottery, iron nails, whetstones, 'four unfinished altars' and a 'thin and neatly dressed tablet



Illustration 81

John Buchanan in his robes as an Honorary Doctor of Laws of Glasgow University, 1872, photograph published in J MacLehose, *Memoirs and Portraits of One Hundred Glasgow Men*, 1886.

ready for an inscription', finds which securely fixed the location of the hitherto missing fort.<sup>17</sup> Other material in his collection came from Auchendavy, Bar Hill and Kirkintilloch.<sup>18</sup> A selection of coins and small finds from it was exhibited in 1858 at a meeting of the newly formed Glasgow Archaeological Society.<sup>19</sup> When house-building was proposed on the site of the fort at New Kilpatrick in 1873, Buchanan objected strongly to the place-name 'Bearsden' provisionally applied to it; a name such as 'Chesters', reflecting the presence of the Roman fort, would have been better.<sup>20</sup> John Buchanan's collection was in part donated to the Hunterian Museum in 1871;<sup>21</sup> other items remained in the possession of his family, to be sold to the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh, in 1893.<sup>22</sup>

In 1841 John Buchanan showed his collection to a young man named Robert Stuart (1812–48), an experience which prompted the latter to embark on the preparation of a book on the Romans in Scotland,

## THE ANTIQUARIAN REDISCOVERY OF THE ANTONINE WALL

which he adjudged an unjustly neglected field.<sup>23</sup> In 1842 John Buchanan and Robert Stuart together watched the Military Way being ‘rooted out’ at Inveravon farm.<sup>24</sup>

Stuart’s resulting volume, *Caledonia Romana*, comprehensively described sites, roads and small finds throughout Scotland.<sup>25</sup> The Roman invasions were commendably seen against the native background and in the context of Scottish geography. The book was profusely illustrated with drawings by the author, many copied from earlier publications, and supported by maps based on General Roy’s but with additions. We could easily be surprised at a substantial book from the hand of someone previously unknown in Scottish antiquarian circles. However, ‘he addressed himself to it with zeal, and the most untiring industry. He personally visited, and authenticated by drawings on the spot, almost every object of Roman antiquity in Scotland’.<sup>26</sup> Stuart must surely have neglected his bookselling business, which he apparently found uncongenial.

The book was intended to appeal to a wide audience; it was a popular work, in the modern sense. The style was colourful and verbose, in the flowery manner of the Victorian Age. Robert Stuart was not to enjoy its success for long. ‘On the morning of the 23rd December 1848, he was attacked by cholera, then raging with frightful severity in Glasgow, and died after a few hours’ illness’, at the age of 37, only a few days before his father, leaving a wife and young family.<sup>27</sup> A second edition of the book, prepared for the press by Stuart’s brother-in-law, David Thomson, Professor of Natural Philosophy at King’s College, Aberdeen, contained a ‘biographical sketch of the author’, and addenda in the form of lengthy footnotes, supplied by John Buchanan and the multi-talented Daniel Wilson, at that time Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and soon to be Professor of English and History at University College, Toronto.<sup>28</sup>

Sir Daniel Wilson (knighted in 1888 for services to higher education in Canada) was among the most influential archaeological thinkers of the 19th century.<sup>29</sup> His *Archaeology and Prehistoric Annals of Scotland* (1851) placed the brief Roman occupations in a wider archaeological context.<sup>30</sup> He also carefully distinguished prehistoric artefacts, many of them hitherto classed as Roman. Wilson was determined not to be mesmerised by the Roman period, ‘a mere episode which might altogether be omitted without very greatly marring the integrity and completeness of the national annals’.<sup>31</sup> The subject had, he believed,

already been studied to excess. ‘When Scottish archaeologists ... fall to discussing the weary battle of Mons Grampius ... and the like threadbare questions, they are but thrashing straw from which the very chaff has long since been gleaned to the last husk, and can only bring well-deserved ridicule on their pursuits.’<sup>32</sup> Wilson’s was not a comprehensive account of the Wall, but an inspirational snapshot. His awareness of it is rarely mentioned by modern commentators on his life and work. Clearly however he was familiar with recent finds.<sup>33</sup>

In 1866 Professor Emil Hübner of Berlin made a brief visit to Scotland during preparation of the British volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (Corpus of Latin Inscriptions), which authoritatively drew together the epigraphic texts on stone, pottery and other materials from the Roman province.<sup>34</sup> In Edinburgh, Hübner consulted Sibbald’s papers at the Faculty of Advocates, then went by train to Glasgow, noting the Wall on its parallel course. He was warmly received at Glasgow College. In print Hübner acknowledged John Buchanan’s helpfulness to him during the visit and after.<sup>35</sup>

### The establishment of archaeological societies

The middle and later decades of the 19th century witnessed an explosion of interest in antiquities among professional classes and the public in general, manifesting itself in the foundation of archaeological and historical societies across Britain.<sup>36</sup> Regular programmes of lectures were held and might be published in a society’s *Proceedings* or *Transactions*.<sup>37</sup> Group excursions were made to sites and monuments, and later to excavations in progress, by train, horse-drawn carriages and extended walks.

The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland founded in 1780–1 had long been the country’s only such body (see p. 103). In June 1849 a party of its Fellows journeyed by train from Edinburgh to Glasgow, thence in a hired ‘omnibus and four [horses]’ to Duntocher, where they spent the day excavating a cairn ‘on the line of Roman wall at Cochno’, very much in the barrow-digging fashion of the day.<sup>38</sup>

In the 1840s an Antiquarian Society came into existence in Glasgow; but it did not long survive.<sup>39</sup> However, in December 1856 the *Glasgow Herald* reported on a meeting held in the city of ‘gentlemen favourable to the formation of an Archaeological Society’; the Lord Provost chaired the meeting, and was elected the first President of the resulting

## THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETIES

Glasgow Archaeological Society.<sup>40</sup> In September 1867 its members travelled by 'omnibus' to view the impressive remains of the Wall and its Ditch at Ferguston Muir, Bearsden, followed by lunch at an inn.<sup>41</sup> In 1876, on learning that the British Association for the Advancement of Science was to visit Glasgow, the Society prepared information for participants on historical monuments in the area, including on the Wall between New Kilpatrick (Bearsden) and Cawder.<sup>42</sup> At much the same time the writing of county histories and town biographies, very much a feature of antiquarianism in England, became more common in Scotland.

Country walks were a popular feature of an increasingly urbanised society in the mid-19th century. Hugh MacDonald's *Rambles round Glasgow, descriptive, historical and traditional* (1854) provides a picture of a countryside subsequently much altered, before the growth of commuter suburbs. The Wall is noticed several times. Roman stonework was still to be observed in field dykes, and the hollow of the Ditch at Buchley (between Cawder and Balmuildy) was then serving as a horse-pond. At one point MacDonald describes a group of antiquaries examining 'stepping stones' across the River Kelvin at Balmore north-west of Balmuildy, one of which they felt might once have been inscribed. The group were unanimous in the belief that it was a relic of the time of Antoninus Pius. 'One of the party, adjusting his spectacles, proposes to take an accurate measurement of the valuable relic; another, who seems an artist, at once commences sketching it; while a third mutters something about a communication to the Antiquarian Society.'<sup>43</sup> However, they were disabused by a passing damsel, 'for it's jist Redbog's auld cheese-press that I've wrought monie a day mysel, and whilk was cuist aside when they got yon new-fangled machine'.<sup>44</sup> We could suspect that the story is elaborated, but at the very least it reflects current attitudes to antiquarian activity.

In 1883 George Waldie of Linlithgow walked the Wall from east to west, much as the Revd John Skinner had done in 1825 (see p. 106). This was 'a series of walks, for health and recreation and friendly talks, with some associates who formed a sort of informal club'.<sup>45</sup> It was a time when admission to country estates could not be taken for granted, and might have to be negotiated. Waldie was knowledgeable about recent finds, and deprecated developments detrimental to the Wall, for example on Boclair Road, Bearsden where 'The road is lined with the "villas" of Glasgow people, whose minds are not certainly taken up with

the Roman wall or any such concerns, as we could not see on any of their gate-posts anything but fine-sounding names, having no reference to either wall or fort'.<sup>46</sup> The expansion of Bearsden at this time obliterated most traces of the Wall and its Ditch; but some remnants were preserved in gardens.<sup>47</sup>

Societies had their high and low points, and not all endured. At first all members of such societies were men, but as the decades passed, ladies too were welcomed. The Glasgow Archaeological Society came close to succumbing, before being resuscitated with renewed vigour in 1877; 'as the rules admit ladies also, it is hoped that some, perhaps many, of them may be induced to take an interest in the Society and its pursuits'.<sup>48</sup> On 28 November 1878 its members travelled by train to Linlithgow, then 'drove over' to Bridgeness on the Forth where Mr Cadell of Grange showed them the findspot of the distance slab recently dug up on his land (illus 8);<sup>49</sup>



Illustration 82

Mungo Buchanan, c 1902 (© Falkirk Archives, P05456).

## THE ANTIQUARIAN REDISCOVERY OF THE ANTONINE WALL

they then walked westwards along the Wall, with George Waldie as their guide, to Bo'ness where they boarded a train for Glasgow.<sup>50</sup>

Societies took over the mantle of reporting new discoveries and protecting monuments, where they could. In January 1884 Alexander McIntyre gave a paper to the Glasgow Archaeological Society on the Carrick Stone near Cumbernauld (see p. 108; illus 75), regretting that 'cattle ... use it as a rubbing stone. It is being chipped away by thoughtless passers-by [sic]'.<sup>51</sup> The President of the Society was asked to draw the landowner's attention to this, with the result that a fence was erected to protect it.

The nine-day visit of the British Archaeological Association to Glasgow in September 1888 was the occasion for receptions and lectures. Excursions included an outing by train to Bonnybridge where the participants were met by local antiquaries, before walking eastwards along the Wall via Rough Castle to Bantaskin House where they enjoyed wine and cake. Thereafter they travelled in carriages eastwards to Falkirk for a civic lunch, and afterwards were shown 'a curious sculptured stone which had been found near the Roman wall'.<sup>52</sup>

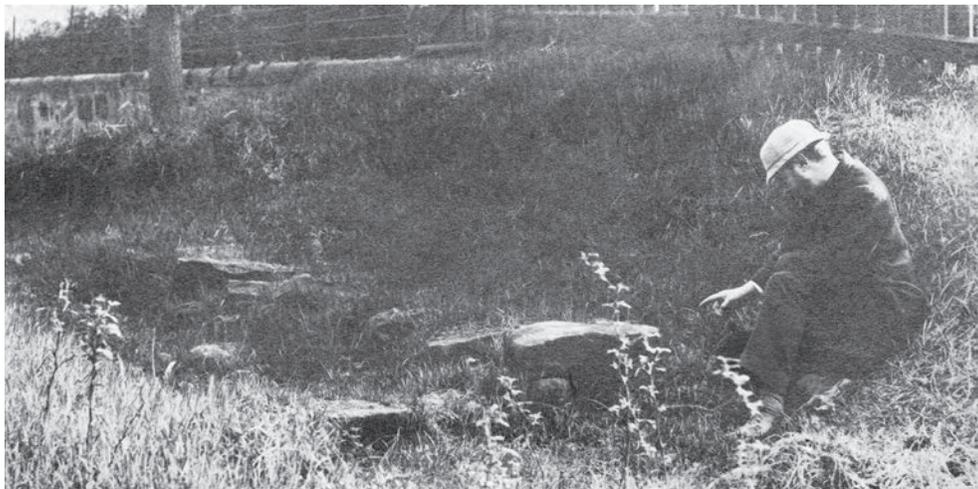
### *The Northumbrians: Hodgson and Bruce*

Interest in the Wall between Forth and Clyde had in past generations been combined with an awareness of the Hadrianic barrier between Tyne and Solway.

Antiquaries wrote about both. From the middle of the 19th century, when the advent of the railways made travel easier, investigators on the southern wall were keen to see more of the northern, and vice versa.<sup>53</sup>

The Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle was the earliest non-national Society established in England outside London.<sup>54</sup> Its founding co-secretary from 1813 to 1834 was the Revd John Hodgson (1779–1846), vicar successively at several Northumbrian parishes. Hodgson spent many years preparing a multi-volume *History of Northumberland*,<sup>55</sup> in which Hadrian's Wall and its outposts featured strongly; helpfully Hodgson also described the constituent parts of the Antonine Wall, based on the antiquarian sources, and listed inscribed stones found along it.<sup>56</sup> Hodgson does not seem to have visited to see the remains, though we know he made a tour of Scotland in 1834;<sup>57</sup> a correspondent W D Wilson of Glenarbutch near Old Kilpatrick supplied him with information on recent finds.<sup>58</sup> It is to Hodgson that we owe the belated realisation that the stone wall from Tyne to Solway was built in the reign of Hadrian, not under Severus as hitherto supposed (see p. 8).

Hodgson was succeeded as Secretary of the Newcastle Antiquaries by Glasgow graduate the Revd John Collingwood Bruce (1805–92), best remembered for the sequence of Pilgrimages which he organised and led along Hadrian's Wall, from 1849 onwards,<sup>59</sup> and for the accompanying *Handbooks*



*Illustration 83*

John MacLuckie examining a culvert across the stone base of the Wall at Tayavalla west of Falkirk, photographed by Mungo Buchanan, May 1891 (© Falkirk Archives, A067.011).

which have continued to be published to the present day.<sup>60</sup> Bruce toured the Antonine Wall in 1856, and was several times welcomed as a lecturer in Glasgow and Edinburgh.<sup>61</sup> In 1883 he delivered the prestigious Rhind Lectures at Edinburgh, under the title ‘The Romans in Britain’; one lecture was devoted to the Antonine Wall.<sup>62</sup>

### *The Ancient Monuments Protection Act, 1882*

Antiquaries had long expressed regret that there was no statutory protection against defacement or wholesale removal of monuments by their landowners. Some of the latter had, we can deduce, a reasonably positive attitude towards it, but many were indifferent. Where it stood in the path of agricultural improvement or financial gain, its fate was often sealed.

The fort walls at Castlecary serve as an example. Among *Notes and Additions* appended in 1817 to the revised edition of William Nimmo’s *History of Stirlingshire* by the editor, the Revd William Stirling, Minister of Port of Menteith, is this observation. ‘As the late Sir Laurence Dundas (see p. 93) the proprietor was an *ameteur* [*sic*] of classical antiquities, and his successor Lord Dundas had been chosen President of the Society [of] Scottish Antiquaries,<sup>63</sup> [the editor] had concluded that the Roman Castle Cary must be in high preservation. Guess, then, his surprize when ... [he] discovered that the august Roman fortress ... had been levelled so as to be no longer visible. No other blame, he is confident, can attach to the noble proprietor, than the want of attention to a curiosity which, from his residence in England, he must have seldom had occasion to see.’<sup>64</sup> In fact Lord Dundas had authorised the use of dynamite to remove the fort walls in 1809.<sup>65</sup> As Robert Gillespie, the editor of the third edition of Nimmo’s monograph, remarked in 1880: ‘Pity that such national heirlooms had not been placed under proper protection. Even within the last twenty years, a considerable proportion of the *castellum* walls [of the fort at Castlecary] has been wilfully razed, and the historical stones carted away for the purposes of steading-buildings and dykes; but it might be a difficult task to convince the utilitarian farmer that such grasping demolition of these real antiquities is something akin to a criminal misdemeanour.’<sup>66</sup>

Finally in 1882 an *Ancient Monuments Protection Act* was passed by parliament in London. Lieut-General Augustus Henry Lane Fox Pitt-Rivers was appointed Inspector of Ancient Monuments, with a country-wide remit.<sup>67</sup> The task of ‘scheduling’ monuments proceeded at a very slow pace.<sup>68</sup> In April 1894 the Secretary of State for Scotland wrote to the Glasgow Archaeological Society asking which stretches of the Wall were most worthy of protection under the *Act*;<sup>69</sup> but it was not until 1926 that any parts of the Wall were ‘scheduled’.<sup>70</sup>

### *Antiquaries at Falkirk*

Another focus of activity centred on Falkirk and Stirling. Solicitor and poet John W Reddoch of Falkirk corresponded with Sir Walter Scott,<sup>71</sup> and sent information on local finds to the Society of Antiquaries in Edinburgh. Collingwood Bruce mentions the assistance he received, on a visit to



*Illustration 84*

The Military Way on Croy Hill, cut by the track of a newly laid mineral railway, photographed by Mungo Buchanan, June 1891 (© Falkirk Archives, A067.011)

the Forth–Clyde line in 1856, from ‘Mr Dollar of Falkirk, who from his boyhood has taken a great interest in the Wall’.<sup>72</sup>

In 1879–80 Dr W W Ireland, a member of the newly formed Stirling Field Club, walked westwards along the Wall from Carriden to Castlecary, a perambulation which he reported on verbally to its

## THE ANTIQUARIAN REDISCOVERY OF THE ANTONINE WALL



*Illustration 85*

Antiquaries from Glasgow and Falkirk at Rough Castle fort, photographed by Mungo Buchanan, May 1891 (© Falkirk Archives, P02116).

members.<sup>73</sup> This was followed in 1881 by his ‘three days’ journey in search of the Roman wall’, from Old Kilpatrick eastwards to Castlecary, published in its *Transactions*.<sup>74</sup> Dr Ireland saw the stone base unearthed during digging of foundations for a villa in Boclair Road, Bearsden (see p. 119), chequered building stones in the ‘wall of the bank enclosing the canal horse track at Cawder’ and similar stones at the Peel Park, Kirkintilloch.

In 1889 the Glasgow Archaeological Society learned that a proposed railway branch-line from Bonnybridge to a chemical works at Camelon could destroy a well preserved stretch of the Wall and Ditch at Tamfourhill, west of Falkirk, which British Archaeological Association members had examined ‘with much pleasure’ the previous September. Both the Glasgow Archaeological Society and the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland raised objections in writing, invoking the aid of General Pitt-Rivers.<sup>75</sup>

At the end of the 19th century the most prominent antiquary at Falkirk was the draughtsman Mungo Buchanan (1845–1923), a keen photographer (illus 82); some of his output survives. Buchanan’s pocket-book, doubtless a treasured possession, has a fold-out plan of the Wall with pasted-in photographs, and notes in small, neat handwriting.<sup>76</sup> He also annotated his own set of OS maps, on one of which he marked an

installation at the west end of Seabegs Wood, evidently the fortlet found there only in 1977.<sup>77</sup> Another stalwart was John Reddoch MacLuckie (1839–1907), whom we shall meet in connection with the excavations at Camelon and Castlecary (see p. 131).<sup>78</sup>

In 1891 Buchanan photographed a culvert which had been earlier exposed at ‘Tayavalla’, a house on the western outskirts of Falkirk at Tamfourhill (illus 83),<sup>79</sup> and a recent section cut across the Military Way on Croy Hill (illus 84). In addition he made a plan of Camelon before its excavation (illus 79), of the culvert at Tayavalla and of one of the sections cut in 1891 by the Glasgow Archaeological Society in Bonny-side Wood (see p. 125).<sup>80</sup>

In 1893 the construction of a house at Tamfourhill west of Falkirk resulted in the destruction of the 12th-century motte (the ‘Maiden Castle’) which had hitherto sat atop the upcast mound there (see p. 21). The house was given the name Watling Lodge; its stable block nestled in the hollow of the Antonine Ditch (illus 5). Mungo Buchanan was on hand to observe landscaping of the associated garden, which revealed the stone rampart-base of a fortlet guarding the passage of the Roman road (‘Watling Street’) which branched off from the Military Way northwards to Camelon and beyond.<sup>81</sup> Buchanan made notes and drew a ground-plan.<sup>82</sup>

## THE BEGINNINGS OF ORGANISED EXCAVATION: *THE ANTONINE WALL REPORT*

Soon after, it came to the attention of antiquaries that the then Mr Forbes of Callendar had feued more land in the same area for housing. It was feared that a long stretch of the frontier could be lost.<sup>83</sup> The Glasgow Archaeological Society put its 'extreme regret' in writing a letter to Mr Forbes, published in the *Glasgow Herald*.<sup>84</sup> Copies were sent to other Societies,<sup>85</sup> to the Secretary of State for Scotland, and to General Pitt-Rivers, Inspector under the 1882 Act.<sup>86</sup>

### **The beginnings of organised excavation:** *The Antonine Wall Report*

In December 1890 *The Scotsman* newspaper reported that 'For a considerable number of years it has been supposed that everything of real importance connected with the wall of Antoninus stretching between the Forth and the Clyde has been fully expiscated',<sup>87</sup> and the monument given over to 'that romantic Philistine, the Glasgow pic-nicker'.<sup>88</sup>

However, the construction late in 1890 of a railway spur to link a newly opened mine at Nethercroy with the main Glasgow–Edinburgh line, which involved a cut across the Wall on the eastern flank of Croy Hill, prompted a flurry of activity.<sup>89</sup> Alexander Park, factor to the Whitelaw family on the nearby Gartshore Estate, investigated, at the Glasgow Archaeological Society's request. The Military Way was identified (illus 84); subsequent excavation closer to the Ditch revealed the stone base of the Wall. Initially there was some confusion over what had been found, the stone base being interpreted as another roadway. Soon after, estate workers at Park's disposal made further cuts between Bar Hill and Croy Hill.<sup>90</sup> 'Those who wish to see what has already been done should take the train to Dullatur Station. If they then take a five minutes walk westward in the direction of Croyhill, where the Carron new line crosses the Roman *fossa*, he [*sic*] will find the first trench.'<sup>91</sup>



*Illustration 86*

Turf rampart reconstructed by James Russell at Bonnyside near Rough Castle fort, as photographed probably by John Annan, 1891; a member of Russell's family is standing in front of it (Courtesy of Professor James Russell).

## THE ANTIQUARIAN REDISCOVERY OF THE ANTONINE WALL

On 19 March 1891, as a consequence of Park's discoveries around Croy, the Council of the Glasgow Archaeological Society established a Committee 'to visit the Wall together and to report as to what would be collectively agreed as facts disclosed by the investigations'.<sup>92</sup> This was definitively to mark the beginning of systematic study of the Wall by organised excavation and recording of its surviving remains. The Committee consisted of William Jolly, Inspector of Schools (as convener), George Neilson, solicitor and Scottish historian, Peter Macgregor Chalmers, architect and designer of many churches, James Barclay Murdoch of Capelrig, prominent in the Glasgow Geological Society, and Alexander Park. Another early participant was farmer James Russell of Longcroft near Castlecary. None had any prior experience in the excavation or recording of ancient remains. The membership of the Committee is testimony to the wide-ranging backgrounds of the Glasgow Society's members and the absence of professional archaeologists. However, this was a situation about to change. Francis Haverfield (1860–1919) was then putting the study

of Roman Britain on a firmer academic footing. In 1892 he left schoolmastering to take up a Fellowship at Christ Church, Oxford; later, from 1907 until his death, he was Camden Professor of Ancient History at Brasenose College.<sup>93</sup>

Between 1891 and 1893 some 20 trenches were cut under the Committee's supervision between Rough Castle in the east and Bar Hill in the west. The actual digging was undertaken by estate workers, particularly those lent by Alexander Whitelaw of Gartshore. James Russell superintended the sections at Seabegs, Bonnyside and Rough Castle.<sup>94</sup> Cuts were also made across the north and west ramparts of Rough Castle fort. Though the ground was mostly restored after the sections had been formally recorded, the locations of several were visible decades later, in some cases presumably as the result of subsidence of backfilled material.<sup>95</sup>

Members of the Committee went several times to inspect and record the features revealed, making effective use of stops on the Glasgow to Edinburgh railway line. It was agreed in advance that 'no fact

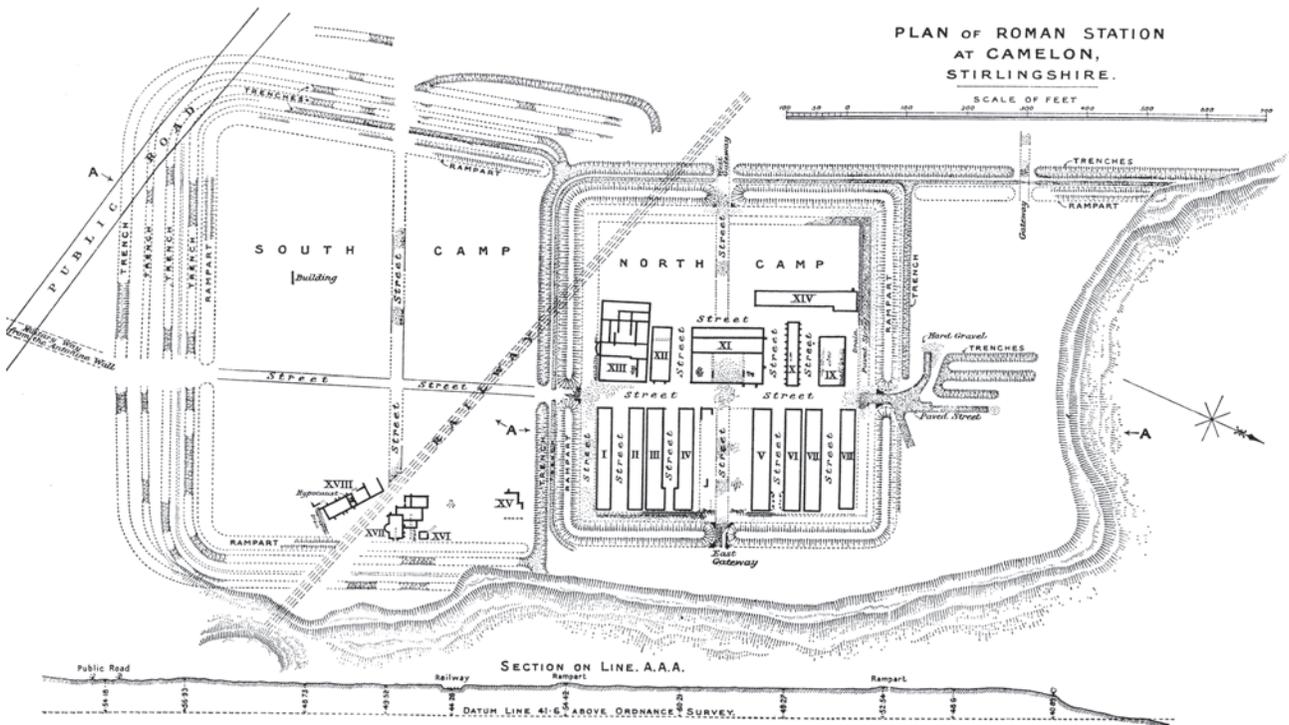


Illustration 87

Ground plan of Camelon fort after excavation in 1901, drawn by Mungo Buchanan, published in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 35, 1900–1 (© Society of Antiquaries of Scotland).



*Illustration 88*  
Torso of the god Hermes, in buff sandstone  
(© National Museums Scotland).

should be set down unless at least two members of the Committee were present and concurred'.<sup>96</sup> In May 1891 members of the Society led by William Jolly travelled by train to Bonnybridge to view the results of the work thus far, their numbers restricted by bad weather; they were joined by some local antiquaries and their ladies.<sup>97</sup> At Rough Castle the group was photographed by Mungo Buchanan sitting atop the rampart mound (illus 85).

Excavation was carried on in the midst of 'wintry weather and railway strikes – alike hostile to antiquarian excursions',<sup>98</sup> and later an influenza

outbreak, as well as vandalism.<sup>99</sup> As George Neilson, one of the participants, observed, 'when messieurs the archaeologists were out at the place [Croy Hill, in 1891] ... it was a sight to see them, storm defiant, face a merciless rain, and with measuring tapes and note books explore and examine and measure and wrestle with and record the dimensions ... There were amongst them septuagenarians, who were foremost in the fray!'<sup>100</sup> Three sections were reopened and another dug specially for the visit on 15 August 1891 of the Royal Archaeological Institute, whose members made a day-excursion from Edinburgh where its Congress was being held.<sup>101</sup> In September 1891 George Neilson made a close study of the Hadrianic 'Vallum' between Tyne and Solway, which offered parallels for the turf rampart between Forth and Clyde; a swiftly published booklet outlined his conclusions.<sup>102</sup>

In the summer of 1891 James Russell of Longcroft (see p. 124) erected a 8m long 'peat stack' in imitation of the Wall, astride its line at Bonnyside west of Rough Castle, which must constitute one of the earliest attempts at archaeological reconstruction (illus 86).<sup>103</sup> The aim was to establish the likely overall height of the rampart. Russell's reconstruction was 3.2m (10 feet 6 inches) high and c 2.8m (9 feet) wide at the top. In August 1891 William Jolly asked Russell to 'have the sections ready and your Wall prepared for critical inspection' by the Royal Archaeological Institute.<sup>104</sup> A member of Russell's family was photographed standing in front of it.<sup>105</sup> Set atop the excavated remains of the well-preserved turf rampart, but itself constructed of earth revetted with turf cheeks, it did not long survive the Scottish weather.<sup>106</sup>

Regular reports on progress were given to the Glasgow Society by George Neilson and others, and appeared in the press.<sup>107</sup> At a meeting on 17 December 1891 William Jolly opened the proceedings with a general report and Peter Macgregor Chalmers spoke on 'The vallum, berm and fosse: their correlation',<sup>108</sup> wherein he argued, importantly, that the height of the Wall and the width of the berm were related, so allowing soldiers atop it an uninterrupted view into the accompanying Ditch.<sup>109</sup> In May 1893, when the Glasgow Society learned of a forthcoming visit to Scotland by General Oscar von Sarwey, Military Director of the German *Limes* Commission, who was seeking to compare Roman military installations in Germany with the frontier lines in northern Britain,<sup>110</sup> a subcommittee was formed to ensure that he was suitably welcomed and entertained.<sup>111</sup> Von Sarwey

## THE ANTIQUARIAN REDISCOVERY OF THE ANTONINE WALL

was accompanied by Francis Haverfield and Professor William Ramsay of Aberdeen, the epigrapher of Asia Minor; reports appeared in the press.<sup>112</sup> One of the sections on Croy Hill was reopened for their visit.<sup>113</sup> The Glasgow Committee was much gratified by this high-powered academic interest.



Illustration 89

Antiquaries including John MacLuckie examining the stone torso (illus 88) at Camelon, 1905 (© Falkirk Archives, P05471).

A detailed record, *The Antonine Wall Report*, was published at the Society's expense in 1899. It opened with a lengthy review by George Neilson of historical references to the Wall and the progress of research along it. The sections were individually described in great detail, accompanied by simple profiles by Macgregor Chalmers. The work showed conclusively that the kerbed stone base of the Wall was a continuous

rather than an intermittent feature, and that it was generally 4.3m (14 feet) wide. Several culverts were exposed. The 'stripey layerings' of the turf stack above the stone base were much remarked on, and confirmed its 'caespiticious nature'.<sup>114</sup> It was William Jolly who first drew attention to 'these strange dark pencillings which streak the face of every section', and George Neilson who correctly interpreted them as layers of turf. 'Often they bend and dip suddenly, and make curves and angles in their journey across.'<sup>115</sup> It was the first time that the turfwork had been examined in such detail; up to 19 layerings were observed. The curves were laid grass downwards. The angle of batter was established. The material from the Ditch had not been, as hitherto supposed, used to form the rampart, but had gone to create the upcast mound. The Military Way too was examined and measured. The two 'expansions' on the west side of Croy Hill were established as secondary to the turf rampart;<sup>116</sup> Von Sarwey viewed them as corresponding to the timber towers on the German *limes*. Francis Haverfield contributed an *Appendix* to the *Report* on a recently found altar from Bar Hill, in which he took the opportunity to assess the epigraphic and numismatic evidence for the Wall, thus placing the results in a wider historical context.<sup>117</sup> He also provided a short note on the Hadrianic turf wall in Cumbria, for the sake of comparison. The numerous photographs in the *Report*, probably by John Annan, were the first to be published of the constituent elements of the Wall. As a consequence of the useful work being undertaken, the Ordnance Survey allocated resources for a fresh survey of the line of the Wall; levels were taken and sections drawn at points where the rampart had been exposed by the Society.<sup>118</sup> The results were incorporated in

the ensuing publication. The OS survey was directed by Captain Oliver Ruck who subsequently wrote a lengthy paper on the workings of the Wall for the Society's *Transactions*.<sup>119</sup>

The Preface laments slow progress to publication, when everything was 'in type' in 1893, within a few months of the work being completed.<sup>120</sup> Something of the background to the delay emerges from the Minutes



*Illustration 90*

Tomb of John MacLuckie, Camelon Cemetery, 1907. The flat slab sits on six hypocaust pillars taken from the recent excavations at Camelon fort (© L Keppie).

of the Glasgow Archaeological Society and from press reports.<sup>121</sup>

### **Excavations at the forts**

By the time *The Antonine Wall Report* appeared in 1899, to favourable reviews both at home and abroad,<sup>122</sup> others were in the field. Between 1895 and 1910 the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland undertook excavations, funded by public subscription, at a number of major known Roman sites in Scotland with substantial upstanding remains. Work took place at Birrens (Dumfriesshire), Burnswark (Dumfriesshire), Lyne (Peeblesshire), Ardoch (Perthshire), Inchtuthil (Perthshire), Newstead (Roxburghshire) and on or near the Wall at Camelon, Castlecary and Rough Castle.<sup>123</sup>

A committee was formed in Edinburgh at the Society of Antiquaries, its members choosing the sites

to be investigated and raising finance to cover the costs. The physician Dr David Christison, Joint Secretary of the Antiquaries,<sup>124</sup> the engineer J H Cunningham who was its Treasurer, and Joseph Anderson, the long-serving Keeper of the National Museum of Antiquities,<sup>125</sup> played leading roles, together with the architect Thomas Ross, a member of the Society's Council. Day-to-day supervision was generally left to a clerk of works, often in conjunction with locally based antiquaries, such as James Barbour, architect in Dumfries and Mungo Buchanan at Falkirk. Each report had a fairly standard format: an account of previous investigations at the site, a description of the visible remains, a report on the excavations themselves and an account of the finds, the latter penned by Joseph Anderson.<sup>126</sup>

The draughtsman Mungo Buchanan (see p. 122) not only prepared sectional drawings of the work at Camelon, Castlecary and Rough Castle for formal

## THE ANTIQUARIAN REDISCOVERY OF THE ANTONINE WALL



*Illustration 91*

Remnant of the bath-house at Castlecary fort, as revealed during excavation, 1902, published in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 37, 1902-03 (© Society of Antiquaries of Scotland).



*Illustration 92*

A section cut across the Wall, Ditch and upcast mound, looking west, during excavation at Rough Castle fort, 1903, photographed by Mungo Buchanan, published in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 39, 1904-5 (© Society of Antiquaries of Scotland).

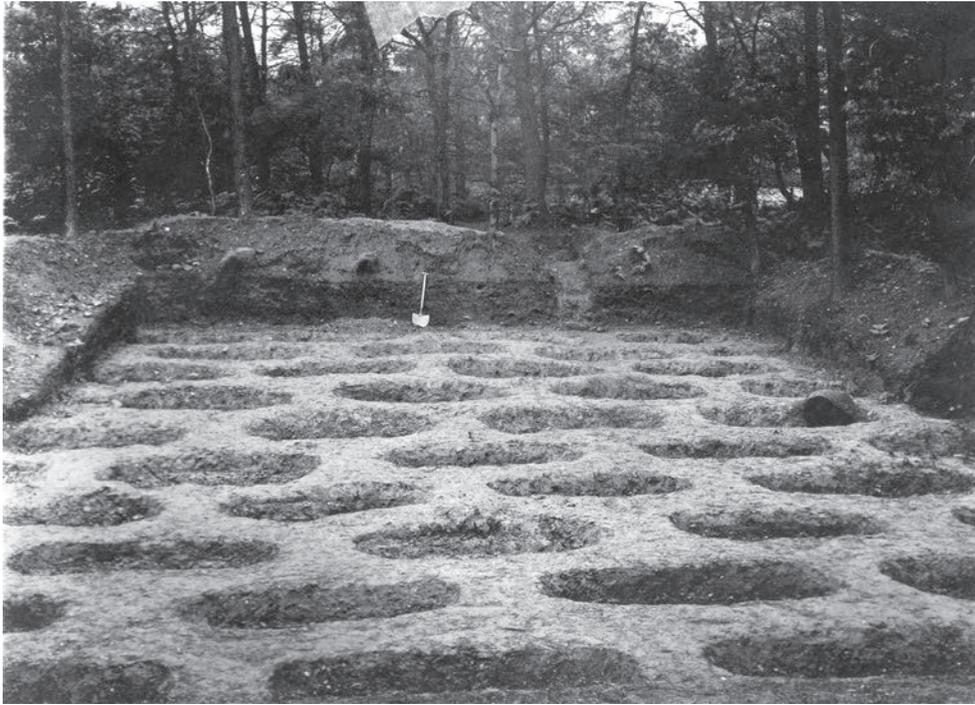


Illustration 93

Defensive pits (*lilia*) at Rough Castle fort, photographed by Mungo Buchanan, 1903, published in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 39, 1904–5 (© Society of Antiquaries of Scotland).

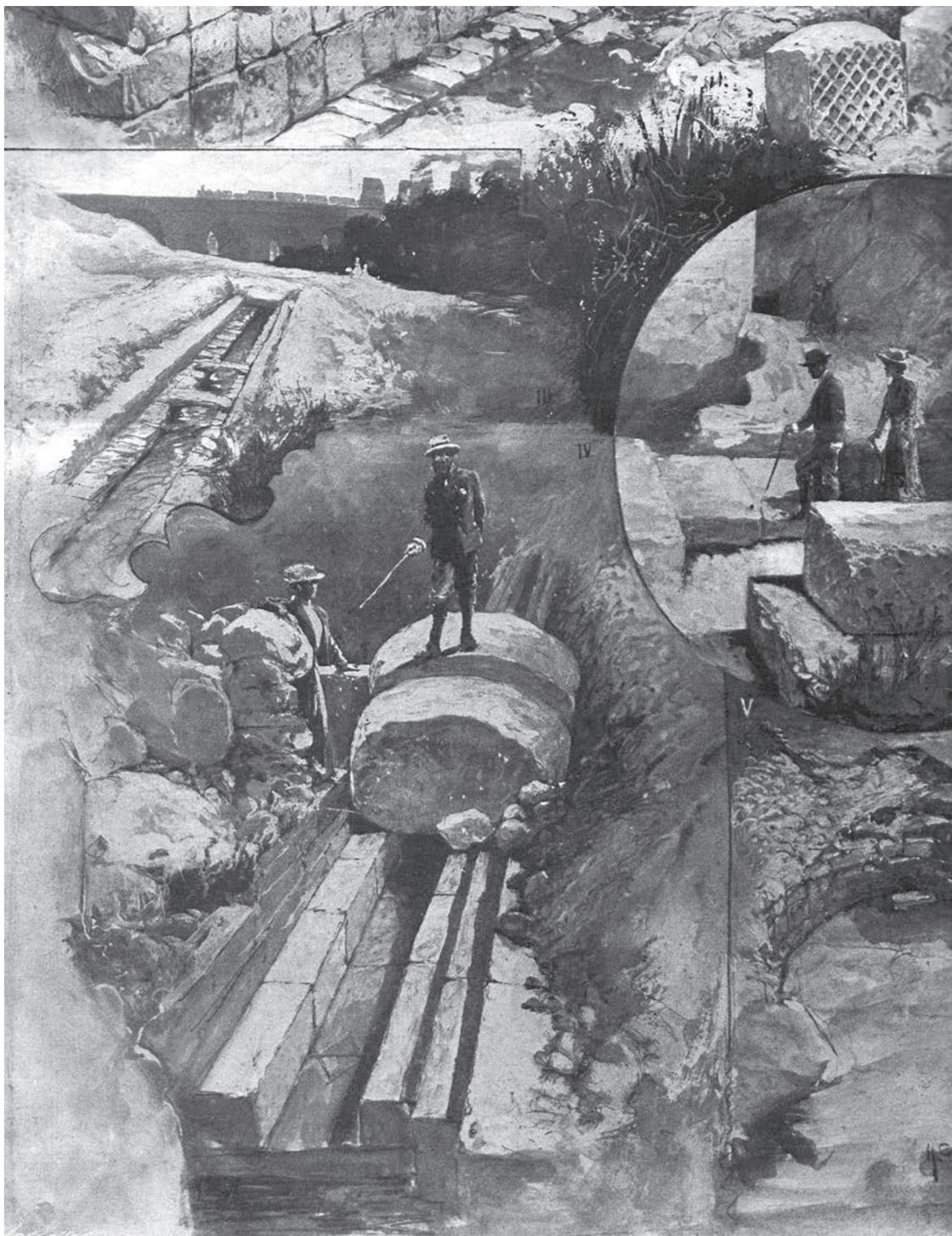
publication, but contributed the descriptions of the features revealed, which were central to each report. An album of his meticulous drawings, many with colour washes, survives.<sup>127</sup> Increasingly the reports were illustrated with photographs, many by Buchanan himself, with a shovel acting as a scale. Some of his fine photographs, for example of the *lilia* at Rough Castle (see p. 131; illus 92–93),<sup>128</sup> are still being reproduced over a century later. The excavations were generally left open to the elements, to the severe detriment of the exposed stonework; some were not backfilled until the 1990s.

At Kirkintilloch interest in the Wall was stimulated by local discoveries, including a hoard of Roman coins uncovered in 1893 at the Lion Foundry east of the town centre.<sup>129</sup> As a result archaeological investigation of the Peel in the centre of the town was undertaken in 1899 by Peter Macgregor Chalmers who had been one of the members of the Antonine Wall Committee (see p. 124). Stone walling was revealed on one side of the Peel, some of the stones having Roman characteristics, and the ditch was cleaned out. Public meetings were held, and regular progress reports appeared in the

local press.<sup>130</sup> Chalmers suggested the laying out of the site for permanent public view, with the stonework consolidated and an iron fence erected; but the cost was deemed too high.

Camelon had been among the earliest Roman forts in Scotland identified by antiquaries (see p. 24). Until the closing years of the 19th century the site lay in farmland (illus 79).<sup>131</sup> However, in 1898 the area of the South Camp (ie the Flavian fort overlain by the Antonine annexe) was feued for two foundries,<sup>132</sup> and has since remained covered by commercial buildings. A railway cutting exposed Roman remains;<sup>133</sup> in response, the Society of Antiquaries undertook extensive excavation (illus 87).<sup>134</sup> Letters to Francis Haverfield from the young George Macdonald (see p. 133), who was principally at this time interested in the numismatic evidence, provide background details.<sup>135</sup> Learning of coins found at Camelon, with which ‘foundry workers have been forming private collections’, Macdonald went to their homes to see them. The work at Camelon encouraged local forgeries, of a sculptured graveslab,<sup>136</sup> an altar<sup>137</sup> and a ‘Hermes’ (illus 88–89).<sup>138</sup> Macdonald sent details

THE ANTIQUARIAN REDISCOVERY OF THE ANTONINE WALL



*Illustration 94*

Visit by members of the Glasgow Archaeological Society to ongoing excavations at Castlecary fort, September 1902, under the guidance of George Macdonald, as sketched on the day by the artist W A Donnelly (*Illustrated London News*, 4 October 1902; © Illustrated London News Ltd/Mary Evans).

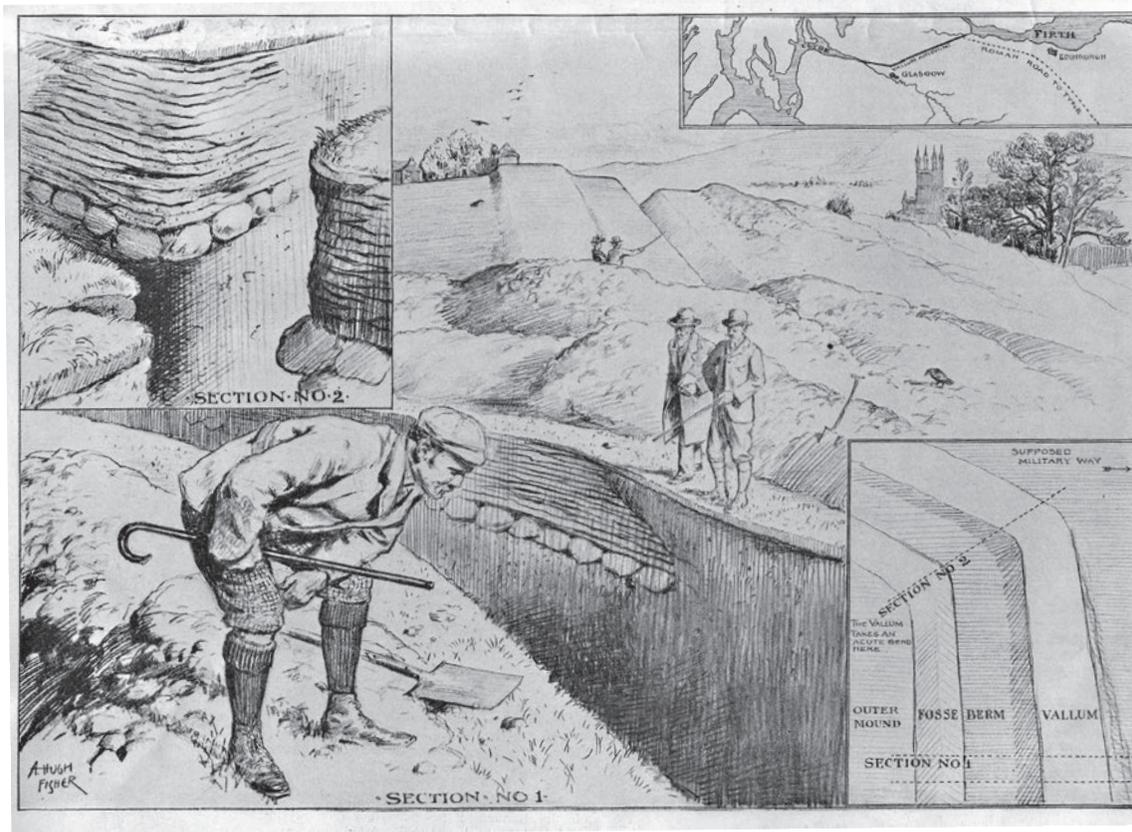


Illustration 95

Visit by members of the Glasgow Archaeological Society to the remains of the Wall newly exposed in New Kilpatrick Cemetery, Bearsden, April 1903, as sketched on the day by the artist W A Donnelly (*Illustrated London News*, 2 May 1903; © Illustrated London News Ltd/Mary Evans).

southwards to Haverfield, including a humorous reference to the ‘Camelon workshop’ which was imagined as responsible for the forgeries. After the excavation was finished, some of the hypocaust pillars and other stonework from Building 18 in the South Camp were carried off by local antiquary John MacLuckie to his garden in Falkirk.<sup>139</sup> When MacLuckie died in 1907, six of the pillars were utilized to support the flat slab covering his grave in Camelon Cemetery (illus 90).<sup>140</sup>

The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland next turned its attention to Castlecary, after learning that ‘public works’ were to be established close to the site. In 1902–3 comprehensive clearance of its interior was undertaken.<sup>141</sup> The stonework of the bath-house discovered in 1769 (see p. 94; illus 63) had by this time been almost entirely robbed out (illus 91). Macdonald again kept Francis Haverfield in Oxford informed of progress. A party from the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle visited Falkirk in July 1902, with John MacLuckie as their guide, including to excavations in

progress at Castlecary.<sup>142</sup> MacLuckie also showed them the stonework in his garden.<sup>143</sup>

Next the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland explored the smaller fort at Rough Castle, long since identified as a site for fruitful investigation (illus 92). Stone buildings in its interior and a bath-house in an annexe to the east were cleared.<sup>144</sup> In front of the fort, north of the Antonine Ditch, a series of oval pits in 10 parallel rows was found (illus 93); they were denominated *lilia* (lilies) from a reference in Caesar’s *Gallic War*.<sup>145</sup>

The artist William Donnelly of Bowling, Dunbartonshire, a member of the Glasgow Archaeological Society, took the opportunity of its organised excursions to make sketches and watercolours of local excavations. Already in 1893 he had provided illustrations to enhance John Bruce’s *History of West or Old Kilpatrick*,<sup>146</sup> and in 1898 he recorded the excavation of a crannog on the Clyde foreshore near Dumbuck, between Old Kilpatrick and Dumbarton, which he himself had discovered.<sup>147</sup> In September

THE ANTIQUARIAN REDISCOVERY OF THE ANTONINE WALL

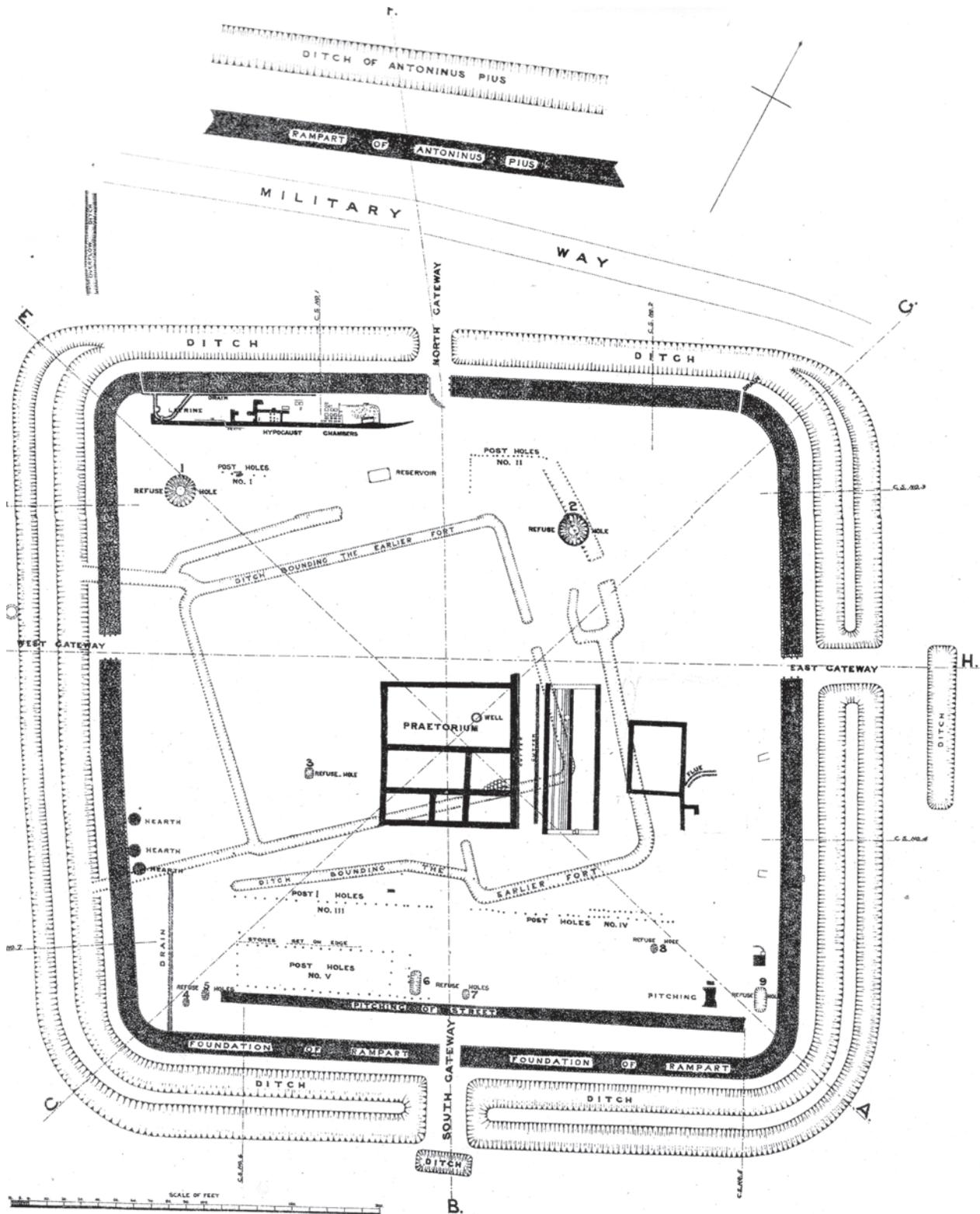


Illustration 96

Ground plan of Bar Hill fort, after excavation in 1902-5 (reproduced from G Macdonald and A Park, *The Roman Forts on the Bar Hill*, 1906, courtesy of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland).

1902 after members of the Glasgow Society made an afternoon excursion by rail to the on-going excavations at Castlecary,<sup>148</sup> travelling by train to the nearby Castlecary station, Donnelly sent sketches of the event southwards to the *Illustrated London News*. A full-page feature credited him as ‘our special artist’, reworking his artwork to suit its own house-style (illus 94).<sup>149</sup> Walls, some diamond-broached stonework and a stone-capped drain running through the north wall of the fort were shown.<sup>150</sup> The stonework was magnified in size, like the limbs of a fallen pharaonic statue in Luxor or Karnak. Society members, both ladies and gentlemen, are being shown the excavations by a smartly dressed man in fedora, with a white handkerchief in the breast pocket of his jacket. He can be identified as George Macdonald, who was their guide for the day.<sup>151</sup> As Macdonald confided soon after in a letter to Haverfield, ‘I am amused to learn that Donnelly sketches have reached you. I feel that I looked like an Anarchist and that No. 1 [top] should have been subtitled “Before the Explosion” and No. 2 [the circular inset] “After”. On no account acknowledge this.’<sup>152</sup> On 25 April 1903 when members of the Glasgow Society visited New Kilpatrick Cemetery, Bearsden, to see the stone base newly revealed when the cemetery was being laid out, Donnelly again drew the scene; sketches sent to the *Illustrated London News* provide valuable testimony to the exceptional survival of the turf stack above the stone base (illus 95).<sup>153</sup>

The success of the large-scale excavations at forts by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland encouraged Alexander Park, factor on the Gartshore estate, who had been a member of Glasgow’s Antonine Wall Committee, to persuade the owner, Alexander Whitelaw, to divert estate workers, already experienced in the cutting of sections across the Wall in 1890–3 (see p. 123), to a comprehensive clearance of the hilltop fort at Bar Hill (illus 96). Digging was carried out intermittently between 1902 and 1905, as agricultural tasks permitted.<sup>154</sup> The initiative was amply rewarded. On the first day of the dig the 13.2m (43 foot) deep well in the headquarters building was located (illus 14–15); it had been filled up with debris when the fort was abandoned (see p. 17). The stumps of wooden uprights of the timber-built barracks survived in their post-pits. A large number of leather shoes came from the ditches and the numerous refuse holes.<sup>155</sup>

Francis Haverfield made two visits to Bar Hill while work was in progress, in the company of prominent Edinburgh antiquaries. Alexander Park

arranged to have trains specially stopped at a local station and organised transport to bring them to the site. Members of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland came by train from Edinburgh on 10 October 1903; at Gartshore House they were treated to ‘some sandwiches with whisky and beer’. Members of the Glasgow Society viewed the finds in January 1904; as the Society’s Vice-President, Professor James Couper, remarked in his vote of thanks to the absent landowner, ‘all felt that this was one of the great days in the history of their Society. It had seldom fallen to antiquarians to see with their own eyes such evidences of a bye-gone age’,<sup>156</sup> something which we would now take for granted.

The excavation at Bar Hill was to bring a new personality firmly on to the stage of Roman Scotland. This was George Macdonald (1862–1940).<sup>157</sup> At the time when the dig began, he was lecturer in Greek at Glasgow University; by its end he had resigned from that post on appointment in 1904 as Under-Secretary

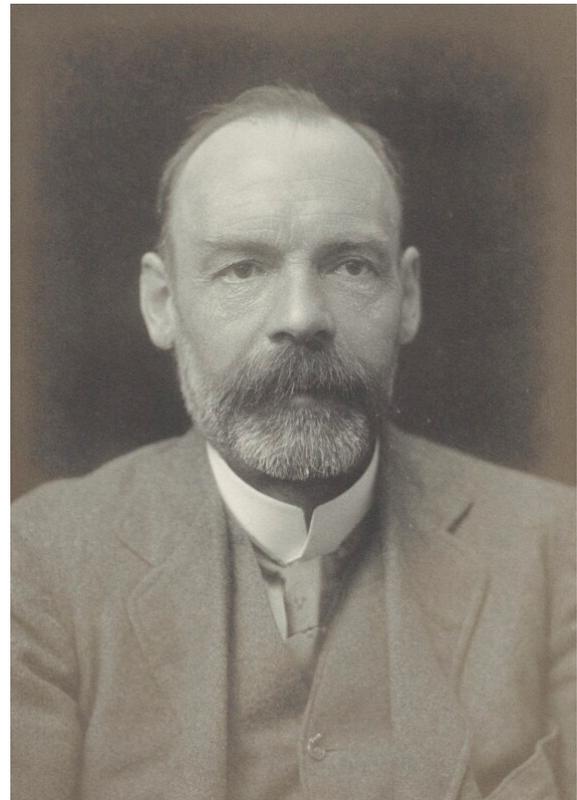


Illustration 97

Sir George Macdonald, photographed by Walter Stoneman in 1917  
(© National Portrait Gallery, London).

## THE ANTIQUARIAN REDISCOVERY OF THE ANTONINE WALL

at the Scottish Education Department, with duties in Edinburgh and London (illus 97). George Macdonald's interest in archaeology was surely whetted by his schoolmaster father's involvement with Roman antiquities over many years.<sup>158</sup> That he was not at any time employed professionally as an archaeologist but as a top-level civil servant tends now to be forgotten. Only after retirement in 1928 was he able to devote himself full-time to the subject. Though Macdonald is regularly credited with directing the excavation at Bar Hill, in fact he had been but an infrequent visitor to it. However, towards the end of the dig he was invited by Alexander Park to take the lead role in writing up the results of the work, with which his name has subsequently been closely associated.<sup>159</sup>

In July 1908 members of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle made a two-day visit to Glasgow, where they were hosted by the Glasgow Archaeological Society.<sup>160</sup> They made a joint excursion by train and carriages to Camelon and to Rough Castle where the recent excavations were explained to them by Mungo Buchanan using his own photographs, plans and drawings; a visit to Croy Hill had to be aborted because of rain. At Bar Hill fort they were taken round by Alexander Park; finds held at Gartshore House were explained by George Macdonald. One of the sections cut in 1891 by the Glasgow Society on Bar Hill, east of the fort, was reopened specially.<sup>161</sup> On the following day a visit was made to the Hunterian Museum where Macdonald spoke about the collection of Roman inscribed stones.<sup>162</sup> In 1909 a reciprocal visit was made by the Glasgow Society to Newcastle. The sequence of visits was successfully repeated in 2008–9.

In 1910 George Macdonald was invited by the Glasgow Archaeological Society to deliver the annual Dalrymple Lectures, recently endowed by its President, J D G Dalrymple,<sup>163</sup> on the subject of 'the Roman Wall in Scotland'. The invitation allowed Macdonald to present a synthesis of knowledge, which he achieved in exemplary fashion.<sup>164</sup> He walked its route and took advice from agricultural workers he met. The second edition of his book, published in 1934, has eclipsed the first, which, if it is read at all, is only seen as a preliminary exposition. But the 1911 edition, with its many photographs by John Annan, is worthy of study in its own right, as a statement of knowledge in the aftermath of the work of the Antonine Wall Committee and the subsequent explorations of individual forts by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. As such, it is also a fitting end-date for this study.

### Notes

- 1 RCAHMS 1963: 441 no 558; Martin & Maclean 1992: 42; Ransom 2007.
- 2 Stuart 1844: 341; cf Wilson 1851: 401. For the appearance of the site before this damage to it, see Anon 1813. Spreads of Roman pottery and box-flue tiles were recently found south of the railway embankment during trial excavation by G B Bailey, Falkirk Museum.
- 3 Stuart 1844: 341.
- 4 *RIB* 2148, 2149; *CSIR* 78, 79; Stuart 1852: 348 fn.
- 5 *RIB* 2140.
- 6 The place-name Three Bridges west of Camelon reflects the rail network created at this time. The railways impacted on Roman sites elsewhere too: Newstead near Melrose was revealed as a Roman fort when the North British Railway gouged through the site in 1846 (Smith 1857).
- 7 *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 1 (1851–4): 59.
- 8 Gillespie 1879: 69; Nimmo 1880: 9.
- 9 Gordon 1897: 152, 223. Piggott & Robertson 1977: no 79; Clarke 1981: 127; McCrae 2010: 187.
- 10 He wrote papers on Roman military medicine and on oculist stamps found in Scotland (Simpson 1872: vol 2, 197–299).
- 11 Simpson 1862: 46; Buchanan 1858.
- 12 Baird 1864: 13.
- 13 Stuart 1852: 346 fn.
- 14 Macle hose 1886: 49.
- 15 Wilson 1851: p. xxiv.
- 16 Bruce 1857: 185, 185.
- 17 Stuart 1852: 322 fn; Buchanan 1854; 1883b; Clarke 1933: 1. The 'unfinished altars' were probably hypocaust pillars.
- 18 Stuart 1852: 324 fn; Buchanan 1883b: 72; Macdonald 1934: 289.
- 19 *Glasgow Herald* 3 March 1858.
- 20 NLS MS 2675, fol 38.
- 21 GUL MR 50/49; Keppie 1998: 36. Shortly afterwards he was awarded an honorary doctorate of laws by the University of Glasgow.
- 22 In 1906 his daughters presented to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland pottery from Cawder, Castlecary and New Kilpatrick; see *Proc Soc Antiq Scot* 40 (1905–6): 47.
- 23 Stuart 1852: p. x.
- 24 Stuart 1852: 361 fn.
- 25 Stuart 1844.
- 26 David Thomson, in preface to Stuart 1852: p. x.
- 27 Stuart 1852: p. xii.
- 28 A copy of the first edition of *Caledonia Romana* (dated 1845), held by Glasgow University Library (Mu4–b.13), is equipped with interleaved pages on which are manuscript notes by David Thomson, John Buchanan and Daniel Wilson, many of which were incorporated verbatim as footnotes in the second edition. John Buchanan's

- own copy of the second edition (1852), annotated with 'many marginal notes', was presented to the Glasgow Archaeological Society by his grandson in 1917; unfortunately it cannot now be traced.
- 29 Simpson 1963; Ash 1981; Ash 1983; Trigger 1992; Ash 1999.
  - 30 A second, much revised edition followed (Wilson 1863).
  - 31 Wilson 1851: 364.
  - 32 Wilson 1851: 379.
  - 33 Wilson 1851: 369, 377, 402.
  - 34 Hübner 1867; 1873.
  - 35 Hübner 1873, 186.
  - 36 Guy 1883; Young 1883.
  - 37 From the 1880s onwards reports of societies' meetings appeared in a popular magazine *The Antiquary*.
  - 38 Cochno lies some distance north of the Wall. Nothing was found, unsurprisingly since this was a natural mound (NMS, Society of Antiquaries of Scotland Minute Book 1849, pp. 183, 283; OS *Dunbartonshire Name Book* 15: 91).
  - 39 *Glasgow Herald* 26 April 1844; 30 December 1844.
  - 40 *Glasgow Herald* 8 December 1856. See Black 1908; Mearns 2008.
  - 41 UGAS, the Glasgow Archaeological Society collection, DC 066/2/1/1, p. 18.
  - 42 UGAS, the Glasgow Archaeological Society collection, DC 066/2/1/1, 105; Galloway 1912.
  - 43 Probably the Antiquarian Society established at Glasgow in the 1840s (above p. 118).
  - 44 MacDonald 1854: 325.
  - 45 Waldie 1883: 2.
  - 46 Waldie 1883: 57; see also Keppie 2009b.
  - 47 Macdonald 1911: 115.
  - 48 UGAS, the Glasgow Archaeological Society collection, DC 066/2/1/1 (press cutting, 1878).
  - 49 RIB 2139 = CSIR 68. See Cadell 1870.
  - 50 *Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society* 2 (1883): 96.
  - 51 UGAS, the Glasgow Archaeological Society collection, DC 066/2/1/1.
  - 52 Duncan and Black 1889: 81; reports in *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 45 (1889). See also p. 131.
  - 53 Buchanan 1868; Neilson 1891.
  - 54 Anon 1913.
  - 55 Raine 1857; Hodgson 1918; Birley 1958; Fraser 1996.
  - 56 Hodgson 1840: 260.
  - 57 Hodgson 1840: 270; Northumberland Archives (SANT/BEQ/18/5/03–13).
  - 58 Hodgson 1840: 439.
  - 59 Abbatt 1849.
  - 60 Breeze 2006b is its 14th edition.
  - 61 Bruce 1857; Bruce 1889; Duncan & Black 1889: 52.
  - 62 Bruce 1905: 359, 365.
  - 63 Lord Dundas was its President 1813–19.
  - 64 Nimmo 1817: 635. The same observation was made by the Revd John Skinner in 1825 (Keppie 2003: 214).
  - 65 Stuart 1852: 338 fn; cf Macdonald 1911: 207; 1934: 241, 275.
  - 66 Nimmo 1880: 6. For a description of Castlecary shortly after the removal of the fort's walls, see Anon 1813.
  - 67 Chippindale 1983; Bowden 1991.
  - 68 MacIvor & Fawcett 1983; Breeze 1993.
  - 69 UGAS, the Glasgow Archaeological Society collection, DC 066/2/1/2 (under 19 April 1894).
  - 70 Information from Professor D J Breeze.
  - 71 Love 1908: 55.
  - 72 Bruce 1857: 183.
  - 73 Dr Ireland was Superintendent of the Larbert Imbecile Institution (later the Royal Scottish National Hospital) near Falkirk.
  - 74 Ireland 1881.
  - 75 *The Antiquary* 19 (1889): 123.
  - 76 Falkirk Archives A067.011.
  - 77 Keppie & Walker 1981.
  - 78 John MacLuckie was a great-nephew of John W Reddoch (above p. 121). For MacLuckie see also illus 83, 89–90.
  - 79 Falkirk Archives A067.011. See Glasgow Archaeological Society 1899: 128; Cochrane 1906: 15 fig 5. The Gaelic name means 'The house on the wall'.
  - 80 Falkirk Archives A067.011.
  - 81 Christison, Buchanan & Anderson 1901: 337; for the site see also Breeze 1974.
  - 82 Falkirk Archives A067.011. See Macdonald 1911: 248 with fig 12; 1934: 345 with fig 51. For Mungo Buchanan's written account of events see Bailey 1995b: 664 with illus 39.
  - 83 Scathing comments about William Forbes' negative attitude to the Wall can be found in *The British Architect* 19 January 1894: 37. A plan by Mungo Buchanan shows the location of the villa and the boundary of the land being feued (NMS MS 501, xxiii).
  - 84 UGAS, the Glasgow Archaeological Society collection, DC 066/2/1/2 (Minutes under 21 December 1893 and 18 January 1894); *Glasgow Herald* 12 January 1894.
  - 85 NMS, Society of Antiquaries of Scotland Minute Book 16 December 1893.
  - 86 Pitt-Rivers, in his response to the Society, deplored the landowner's indifference to a monument 'of interest to the whole civilised world', an attitude unparalleled in his experience (*Glasgow Herald* 12 January 1894).
  - 87 'Fished out'.
  - 88 *The Scotsman* 13 December 1890.
  - 89 Glasgow Archaeological Society 1899: 42; Glasgow Archaeological Society *Annual Report* 1890–1: p. 5 (UGAS, the Glasgow Archaeological Society collection, DC 066/2/1/2); *The Antiquary* 23 (June 1891), 147. The embankment of the railway survives, crossing the Ditch on the east side of Croy Hill, and is currently in use as a rough farm-track.

## THE ANTIQUARIAN REDISCOVERY OF THE ANTONINE WALL

- 90 *Athenaeum* 3318 (30 May 1891): 707. Cf Anton 1893: 308; Cochrane 1906: 5.
- 91 *The Scotsman* 13 December 1890.
- 92 *Minutes* 19 March 1891 (UGAS, the Glasgow Archaeological Society collection, DC 066/2/1/2).
- 93 Freeman 2007; Hingley 2007.
- 94 Glasgow Archaeological Society 1899: 100, 109.
- 95 Some sections were reopened and recorded afresh between 1957 and 1970.
- 96 Glasgow Archaeological Society 1899: p. iii; cf *Minutes*, 19 March 1891 (UGAS, the Glasgow Archaeological Society collection, DC 066/2/1/2).
- 97 *Glasgow Herald* 27 May 1891.
- 98 *The Antiquary* 23 (June 1891): 54.
- 99 Glasgow Archaeological Society 1899: 119.
- 100 Neilson 1896b: 178.
- 101 *Athenaeum* no 3334 (19 September 1891): 392; cf *Archaeological Journal* 48 (1891), 458; *Glasgow Herald* 12 August 1891; *Scotsman* 17 August 1891; Glasgow Archaeological Society 1899: 81, 88.
- 102 Neilson 1891. He also attended two Hadrian's Wall Pilgrimages.
- 103 *Glasgow Herald* 10 July 1891. For 'Mr Russell's Structural Experiment' see also Glasgow Archaeological Society 1899: 109. For its location see Robertson 1956: 103.
- 104 Letter in the possession of James Russell's great-nephew, Professor James Russell, Vancouver.
- 105 The photograph, probably by John Annan of the Glasgow firm of T & R Annan and Sons, is held by Russell's great-nephew. Another surviving photograph shows it in its woodland setting (Falkirk Archives, P02074).
- 106 Glasgow Archaeological Society 1899: 110.
- 107 *Glasgow Herald* 31 March 1891; *The Antiquary* 23 (June 1891): 250; *Athenaeum* no 3334 (19 September 1891). George Lowson, Rector of Stirling High School, witnessed work in progress (Lowson 1891).
- 108 UGAS, the Glasgow Archaeological Society collection, DC 066/2/1/2.
- 109 Glasgow Archaeological Society 1899: 132; see *The British Architect* 25 December 1891: 520 for additional details.
- 110 Freeman 2007: 251.
- 111 UGAS, the Glasgow Archaeological Society collection, DC 066/2/2/2 (*Minutes of Council*, 16 May 1893); Glasgow Archaeological Society 1899: 75.
- 112 *Athenaeum* no 3429 (15 July 1893): 105; *Athenaeum* no 3431 (29 July 1893): 167; *Glasgow Herald* 10 July 1893; Macdonald 1911: 390; 1934: 469.
- 113 Glasgow Archaeological Society 1899: 75. This section was re-examined in 1967, when the excavation was subjected to 'persistent vandalism' (Robertson 1969: 39). The height of the rampart mound was considerably less than that recorded in 1899. I was glad recently to have George Allan's reminiscences of the dig.
- 114 Glasgow Archaeological Society 1899: 44.
- 115 *The Antiquary* 23 (June 1891): 252.
- 116 Glasgow Archaeological Society 1899: 77; Macdonald 1911: 260; 1934: 350; Steer 1957.
- 117 Haverfield 1899.
- 118 UGAS, the Glasgow Archaeological Society collection, DC 066/2/2/2 (*Minutes of Council* 16 May 1893); Macdonald 1911, 116; Davidson 1986, 12.
- 119 Ruck 1903.
- 120 Glasgow Archaeological Society 1899: p. iii.
- 121 See *Minutes of Council* between September 1892 and February 1895 (UGAS, the Glasgow Archaeological Society collection, DC 066/2/2/2); *Glasgow Herald* 18 January 1895; *Scotsman* 3 January 1898.
- 122 Copies are now much sought after. The long-term value of the book was soon recognised (Macdonald 1911: 92; 1934: 80; cf Robertson 1956: 101; 1969: 36).
- 123 Maxwell 1989b: 13.
- 124 Karl Schuchhardt, then museum curator at Hanover, later wrote of his impressions of Dr Christison's household and about a visit to excavations at Rough Castle (Schuchhardt 1944: 251; cf Macdonald 1934: 64 fn1).
- 125 See Clarke 2002.
- 126 See the various papers in Bell 1981.
- 127 RCAHMS MS DC 17382-17409.
- 128 Buchanan, Christison & Anderson 1905: 457 fig 9.
- 129 Macdonald 1911, 181; 1934, 296; Robertson 2000: no 282.
- 130 In the *Kirkintilloch Herald*; see also *Northern Notes and Queries* 14 (1900): 112. No formal report was ever published.
- 131 For its environs in the mid-19th century, see Stuart 1844: 177.
- 132 John MacLuckie of Falkirk brought the matter to the Society's attention (Christison, Buchanan & Anderson 1901: 337; Cochrane 1906: 9).
- 133 NMRS 313 A2(L).
- 134 Christison, Buchanan & Anderson 1901; Maxfield 1981. The North Camp (the Antonine fort) is now occupied by a golf course.
- 135 Haverfield Archive, Sackler Library, Oxford.
- 136 *CSIR falsa* (e). It was taken to a secure store by 'six policemen in plain clothes' (*Falkirk Herald*, 14 December 1901).
- 137 RIB 2346\*.
- 138 The Greek god of trade, equivalent to the Roman Mercury. The excavation report (Buchanan, Christison & Anderson 1901) makes no mention of such a find. I owe to Dr Fraser Hunter the attractive suggestion that this was the torso in local buff sandstone (*CSIR* 161) which was presented to NMS soon after. It may therefore be identifiable with the 'curious sculptured stone' exhibited by John MacLuckie to the British Archaeological Association in 1888; Macdonald does not actually claim that it had been found recently. Dr Martin Henig kindly

- verified identification of the torso, which is of about half life-size, as Hermes.
- 139 Falkirk Archives, P02128, P02129. For the pillars themselves see Christison, Buchanan & Anderson 1901: 372 with pl III; RCAHMS 1963: 108 with fig 47.
- 140 Another four of the pillars stand at the entrance to nearby Arnotdale House.
- 141 Christison, Buchanan & Anderson 1903.
- 142 *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle* 10 (1901–2): 213–32, with a photograph of the visitors at the site.
- 143 *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle* 10 (1901–2): 228 with photo.
- 144 Buchanan, Christison & Anderson 1905; RCAHMS 1963: 100.
- 145 Caesar *De Bello Gallico* 7.73.
- 146 Bruce 1893: 318.
- 147 Hale & Sands 2005.
- 148 *Annual Report* 1901–2: p. 2 (UGAS, the Glasgow Archaeological Society collection, DC 066/2/1/3).
- 149 *Illustrated London News*, 4 October 1902.
- 150 Cf Buchanan, Christison & Anderson 1903: 321 fig 26.
- 151 UGAS, the Glasgow Archaeological Society collection, DC 066/2/1/3, letter to members dated 15 September 1902.
- 152 Haverfield Archive, Sackler Library, Oxford. The allusion is to the Anarchist Movement in Russia. For Macdonald's sense of humour see also Keppie 2002: 38.
- 153 *Illustrated London News* 2 May 1903; Keppie 2009b: 53 fig 3.
- 154 Macdonald & Park 1906.
- 155 Robertson, Scott & Keppie 1975. Robert Blair, Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle, who visited the Wall several times in 1903–4, sketched the excavations at Rough Castle and drew finds from Camelon in John MacLuckie's garden and from Bar Hill at nearby Gartshore House (Northumberland Archives SANT/BEQ/2/1/20–21).
- 156 *Kirkintilloch Herald* 27 January 1904.
- 157 Curle 1940; Freeman 2007: 411.
- 158 Macdonald 1896; 1897; 1903; and other papers.
- 159 Macdonald & Park 1906; Robertson, Scott & Keppie 1975: 4; Keppie 2002.
- 160 Anon 1908; *Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society* (new series) 6 (1916): 185.
- 161 Anon 1908, 231.
- 162 See also *The British Architect* 17 July 1908: 52.
- 163 Formerly James Dalrymple Duncan; see Black 1916; Mearns 2008.
- 164 Macdonald 1911.