

The Lukis family of Guernsey and antiquarian pursuits in Scotland

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ABSTRACT

Frederick Corbin Lukis lived in Guernsey in the Channel Islands from 1788 to 1871. He was an archaeologist and polymath who created a remarkable archaeological and natural history archive, the majority of which is now held in the collections of Guernsey Museum. His archaeological work included excavations in Guernsey and the other Channel Islands, and also in England and France, mainly on megaliths. He corresponded on a range of topics with antiquarians in many places, including Scotland. His third son, William Lukis, carried out surveys of many monuments in Scotland with his friend and colleague Henry Dryden. Many of these plans are also held in the collections of Guernsey Museum along with various notes and letters. This paper highlights some of the archive relating to Scotland and gives an appendix of material held at Guernsey Museum.

INTRODUCTION

A VISIT TO EDINBURGH

*'You will I know be anxious to learn how we like Scotland.'*¹

This quotation is from a letter that Frederick Corbin Lukis of Guernsey wrote to his wife Elizabeth on 22 July 1823. Lukis was in Edinburgh as a guest of the Betts family of Portobello while Elizabeth was back at home in Guernsey. He continued:

Edinburgh affords some strange variation from what usually passes before our eyes, tho' I think not so much as might be expected, indeed the enlightened manners of the South and the easy communication between the two Countries, make customs nearly on a par. The old City is certainly a most crowded and disagreeable corner, swarming with inhabitants from the middling class downwards to the lowest rabble.²

Lukis was an antiquarian and natural historian. Born on 24 February 1788 at the Grange, St Peter Port, Guernsey, he was the last of the four children of Sarah Collings and John Lukis (1753–1832). Lukis's father had made a substantial income from the lucrative wine trade in the Channel Islands, and the family resided in a fine house which they had built in the elegant Grange Road leading out of St Peter Port.

As a young man Frederick Lukis became interested in a variety of subjects including natural history, botany, geology, conchology and natural science. However it is for his archaeology that he is particularly remembered. Indeed he created a veritable archaeological dynasty. Of his children, his third son William was the most active in Scotland (see below). Lukis senior served in the local militia, known later as the Royal Guernsey Militia. He rose to the rank of colonel and served as aide-de-camp to the Governor of Guernsey in 1820.

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He married his first cousin Elizabeth Collings in 1813 with whom he had six sons and three daughters. Four of the sons became archaeologists in their own right.

In 1811, Lukis had been taken by Joshua Gosselin, a noted Guernsey botanist many years his senior, to examine a chambered tomb on L'Ancrese Common, at the north of the island. The tomb had been uncovered by soldiers working to make a redoubt. They thought they had discovered an artificial cavern and were digging through pottery and bones when Gosselin and Lukis arrived. It is said that the young Lukis went away with a human skull under his arm. This brush with the past was the start of his life-long fascination with archaeology and the natural sciences. He went on to discover, record and try to protect the prehistoric remains of Guernsey and the other Channel Islands. He also collected artefacts from these investigations and in addition to the papers he published on Guernsey his greatest endeavour was his *Collectanea Antiqua* in which he recorded his excavations and fieldwork. This opus consists mainly of seven volumes along with a number of his letters, notebooks and diaries, and it is housed in Guernsey Museum

One of the earliest letters to survive is the one quoted above from Lukis to his wife from Edinburgh in 1823. He seems to have been in the middle of a tour of Scotland, most likely as a guest of the Betts family (relatives by marriage on his father's sister's side of the family), but the reason for the trip is unclear. It may simply have been a holiday. He implies in the letter that he has been to Paris and visited the Louvre and to London where he went to the British Museum.



ILLUS 1 Frederick Corbin Lukis of Guernsey, archaeologist and polymath (1788–1871) © Guernsey Museum & Galleries

He goes on with his description of contemporary Edinburgh.

Having said enough about the old City, I must however do the Scots justice in stating that the New Towne beats fair to me with any modern City, it is however but in part completed – but they have manifested a great deal of taste and is all in all on a beautiful plan. The Churches keep pace with the improvements and are placed where they can be both useful & ornamental – the architecture also of these pious buildings is the most florid, or simply Grecian order but judiciously planted so as to give the most pleasing effect to the streets or squares near the site. As far as the picturesque

is concerned the Ground possesses admirable pre-eminence over almost every other City – London cannot be surpassed whilst the spacious Thames severs its Banks – Edinburgh without this advantage, has elevated Mounts to give it the most desirable character and the mind has constant employ by the varied outline these hills give to the City.

He is not so impressed with Holyrood.

In the distance Holy Rood House is a shabby old building and may match with some parts of Fontainebleau or St James Palace. They show you the beds and clothing of Poor Mary the tables and room where she was at supper with Rizzio – the stains of his blood on the floor which they pretend cannot be washed out, however that may be it is said that Mary never permitted the spot to be washed during her life and that the boards have retained the marks – the Chapel containing the Ashes of many Scottish Kings is now in Ruins the Tombs are yet preserved, in going through these places my father would find much satisfaction from his knowing the different histories of these kingdoms which have caused so much blood and troubles, to fill their pages.³

By the time of this letter Frederick Lukis would have begun his own collection of antiquities and was therefore particularly interested in visiting museums wherever he went. The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland had been founded in 1780 by David Erskine, the 11th earl of Buchan, and the Society's museum at that time was housed in Edinburgh 'on the bedroom storey of 42 George Street for Library and "Cabinet" and the use of its hall for meetings'⁴ shared with the Royal Society of Edinburgh. Lukis describes it thus:

The Museum is a neat and elegant building not unlike the lower rooms of the Louvre in which the statues were – the Birds are very superior – minerals fine but not equal to the British M. – shells just to please ladies – Fish bad – Beast indifferent a few specfications (???) good – Corals fine – insects scarcely surpass my drawings and specimens and are mostly Brasilian – Antiquities none!!⁵

This last comment – 'Antiquities none' – seems rather unusual as records exist of prehistoric objects being donated to the museum in the 1780s⁶ and a paper was delivered by W C Little of Liberton entitled, 'On the warlike and domestic instruments used by the Scots before the discovery of metals' in 1782, which included references to items with their museum numbers on.⁷ The museum in Edinburgh seems to have had a chequered history in the early years of the 19th century, struggling to find premises and funding. However, in 1815 antiquities had also been sent from Denmark⁸ although it is possible that much material was in storage at the time of Lukis's visit. His remarks also imply of course that he had already visited the British Museum in London, which may have been an unfair comparison.

METEOROLOGY

Among his many other interests Frederick Lukis had contact with fellow antiquarians in Scotland particularly in geology and meteorology. In 1843 he was in correspondence with Mr Duncan Forbes from Edinburgh who sent his meteorological observations for 1842.

Edinburgh
106 Princes Street
March 1st 1843

Sir

I thank you for your polite communication of the 6th Ult Your information regarding the state of the barometer at the time of the hurricane in January is in every respect satisfactory.

I take the liberty of enclosing my meteorological summary for 1842. I shall be happy if the observations prove interesting to you.

Your obed serv
Duncan Forbes⁹

He wrote again from Edinburgh thanking Lukis for the communication about an earthquake and informing him that he would be happy at all times to receive meteorological observations. Lukis had recorded an earthquake that hit Guernsey in

December 1843, which was a rare and unusual event. Forbes replied:

Edinburgh
106 Princes Street
March 31st 1843

Dear Sir

I beg to return you my best thanks for your kind communication of the 16th inst. Your observations on the earthquake of the 10th are very interesting. That earthquake does not appear to have been so generally felt as the one on the 17th which extended over the greater part of the Northwest of England. It was felt in Dunfrieshire but I believe nowhere else in Scotland.

I shall be happy at all times to receive any meteorological observations with which you may be pleased to favour me.

Yours dear sir

Very truly
Duncan Forbes

And as an afterthought or postscript he added:

As from the middle of April my address will be as under

The great comet has not yet been seen by any of our Scotch Astronomers. I should think you must have seen that it has been visible to the South of England.

Culloden Castle
By Inverness
N Britain¹⁰

GEOLOGY

Lukis was also in communication with geologist John MacCulloch MD, FRS, FLS, FGS (1778–1835), who was also born in Guernsey. MacCulloch published a work on the antiquities of the Western Isles after spending a considerable time in Scotland, undertaking a geological survey for the Board of Ordnance.¹¹ Although born in Guernsey, MacCulloch spent his school years in the English West Country and then read medicine at Edinburgh University. He kept a link with the place of his birth and was in correspondence with Frederick Lukis to whom

he sent back many Scottish geological samples for his collection; these are now part of the collections of Guernsey Museum. MacCulloch is also mentioned by Lukis in his section in the *Collectanea Antiqua* on Celts (polished stone axes).¹²

The general form of the stone Celt is well known and this form has not failed to excite the astonishment of travellers and observers in all parts of the world. It seems however strange that in Scotland they are not so commonly found as might be expected, for Dr. MacCulloch in writing upon the antiquities of Isla, says, ‘Among the remains of the earliest inhabitants, may be enumerated those weapons called Celts, made of stone, as well as of brass, which have been found in this Island; the only instance in which they have been observed in the Western Islands, although occurring in various parts of North and South Britain.’

Lukis goes on to record MacCulloch’s observations on the mythical associations with flint instruments and makes comments on similar views held in Guernsey. Lukis further remarks: ‘These, together with fibulæ of brass, are found in the graves, their usual repositories. The universal weapon of ancient times, to which superstition still attaches some medicinal and antimagical powers in Scotland, has also been met with in this island; namely the Elf-shot or flint arrow head; which occurs also in Sky and in different parts of the mainland.’

Further material from Scotland was supplied by Robert Bald, confirmed by correspondence in the Lukis archive. A letter was sent from Plymouth but is likely to be from Robert Bald, the mining engineer who was a member of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and is recorded as describing a trip to Scandinavia in 1829.¹³

31st January 1846

Respected Sir

When lately in Guernsey on a visit to my friends in Mount Pleasant Mr Mainguy introduced me to your son Dr Lucas (*sic*) who most kindly and

politely favoured me with a view of your splendid and interesting collection of Ancient remains found in the Channel Islands. There was there ample scope for the Antiquarian to study for many days, all I could command or to form the time for was a very transient glance of your collection perhaps I may visit your island again this year and I will pay my respects to you and most definitely take a further view of your most interesting collections which tho' private is superior to many public Collections.

As I saw but few specimens of the agates and Jaspers from the Volcanic rocks of Scotland I beg your acceptance (12 in number) from my collection, they have no pretension to the least degree of splendour, but they are beautiful to the eye and they involve many Theories as to their formation, but upon this I can not now enter.¹⁴

It appears to have been common practice among the antiquarians to give each other items for their collections.

FREDERICK LUKIS AND DANIEL WILSON

Daniel Wilson (1816–92) was born into a large family in Edinburgh in 1816 and like Lukis was the son of a wine merchant. His brother George became the first curator of the Royal Scottish Museum.¹⁵ His interest in the past was fostered through his skill as an artist and he recorded his native Edinburgh and his excursions through sketches; at one point spending time in London engraving a painting by Turner. He was elected to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1842 from which time 'a new and more purposeful spirit enters the affairs of the Society'.¹⁶ He published his great work *The Archaeology and Prehistoric Annals of Scotland* in 1851 and is attributed as the first person in Britain to use the word 'prehistoric'.¹⁷ Wilson bemoaned the fact that all Scottish monuments had up to that time been ascribed to 'men from the north' (Scandinavia) whereas he considered:

It is not a mere question of Northman or Dane and Celt and Saxon. It involves the entire chronology of the prehistoric British periods, and so long as it

remains unsettled any consistent arrangement of our archaeological data into an historic sequence is impossible.¹⁸

Although he did not meet J J A Worsaae, who visited Edinburgh in 1846 to advise the Society of Antiquaries on the classification of their antiquities, Wilson catalogued the collections in a manner recommended by Worsaae.¹⁹ He distinguished Stone and Bronze Age artefacts from Roman and Christian and exhorted the British Museum to do the same. Wilson must have been familiar with Frederick Lukis's work in the Channel Islands, as in *The Archaeology and Prehistoric Annals of Scotland* Wilson quotes from Lukis's 1844 paper 'On the primeaval Antiquities of the Channel Islands',²⁰ drawing comparisons with a Guernsey 'cromlech' and his description of Knocklegoil Cairn in Scotland. However, there is no evidence that Lukis ever met Wilson, who moved to Canada and spent his time there observing the Indians of the Great Lakes. He drew analogies with 'primitive' races of his day to help in the chronology of the development of artefacts.²¹

THE LUKIS FAMILY

WILLIAM COLLINGS LUKIS

The majority of the material held by Guernsey Museum relating to Scotland was produced by Lukis's third son, William Collings, and his friend and colleague Henry Dryden. William Collings Lukis was born on 8 April 1817. He attended Elizabeth College in Guernsey before going to Trinity College, Cambridge. He took orders and entered the church in 1841, taking livings first in Wiltshire, and then becoming Rural Dean at Marlborough in 1851, and later Vicar of Collingbourne Ducis, again in Wiltshire. He married Lucy Fellowes in 1851 and they had nine children, four boys and five girls. In 1862 he moved to a living at Wath, near Ripon in Yorkshire, where he lived until his death in 1892. He was a member of many



ILLUS 2 William Collings Lukis (1817–1892), F C Lukis's third son © Guernsey Museum & Galleries

British and French learned societies and was elected to the Society of Antiquaries of London and the Society of Northern Antiquities of Denmark. William C Lukis wrote at length on archaeology, but also about church bells and plate. He was a long-standing friend of Sir Henry Dryden, whom he met while at Cambridge University. Henry Leigh Dryden was the fourth baronet of Canons Ashby, Northamptonshire, and was a superb draughtsman and surveyor.²² During the summer months Lukis and Dryden examined and recorded megalithic monuments in various parts of the country and in France and the Netherlands. Some of these excursions were funded by the Society of Antiquaries of London to whom reports were periodically made.

Between them they visited all the major monuments known at the time, as far apart as Aberdeenshire and Wiltshire, Anglesey and Brittany. Lukis also excavated in Yorkshire and Wiltshire. The archive of drawings, plans and sketches of William C Lukis and Henry Dryden is spread between various institutions including the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, the Society of Antiquaries of London, the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Northampton Record Office and Guernsey Museum.

The Archaeological Surveys of William C Lukis and Sir Henry Dryden

Guernsey Museum alone holds hundreds of plans, sections and elevations of megalithic monuments in Scotland, England, Wales, Ireland, France, Algeria and the Netherlands.

In 1880 a proposal was put to the Society of Antiquaries of London to publish all Lukis and Dryden's plans of megaliths, and a brochure was circulated to invite subscriptions. Unfortunately only some were published, hampered at the time not least by a serious fire at the printers. R J C Atkinson, in a paper in honour of Stuart Piggott's sixty-fifth birthday wrote, 'There can be no doubt if this project had been completed it would



ILLUS 3 Sir Henry Dryden Bart (1818–99) of Canon's Ashby, Northamptonshire © Guernsey Museum & Galleries

have ranked as one of the major archaeological publications of the nineteenth century, and would have earned for Lukis in the eyes of posterity a place no less occupied, say, by Sir John Evans or General Pitt-Rivers'.²³

The Lukis and Dryden plans were drawn to a standard format; stones in horizontal and vertical section were tinted pink; stones in elevation in grey; and fallen stones in buff. The plans are very detailed, and the level of accuracy is illustrated by comparison to plans drawn up with modern equipment. The plans are also of value in showing where stones have been moved or lost since the 1880s. Interestingly Lukis makes the following comment in one of his reports, which is the sort of remark that may be heard on field visits some 130 years later:

Before I visited the North of Scotland, I was led to expect to find numerous examples of Circles, in fact that Scotland is par excellence the land of stone circles . . . There is not one among them that is in the condition in which it was left when the use for which it was erected ceased.²⁴

The value of the original plans was demonstrated recently when Dr Sally Foster of Historic Scotland commissioned a new survey on the Hill o' Many Stanes, Caithness, which Lukis and Dryden had planned in 1871. The survey was carried out by Headland Archaeology using modern survey equipment in the form of a total station, and the comparison of illustrations 4 and 5 show how accurate the early surveyors were. This comparison is also useful as it shows how many of the stones have been removed or moved since Lukis and Dryden carried out their survey.

Early Surveys of Monuments in Scotland

Lukis and Dryden spent the summer of 1884 in Scotland surveying megaliths and other monuments which Lukis reported to the Society of Antiquaries in London (published in May 1885).²⁵ He describes his tour of Scotland which (as his father before him) included a visit to the Museum of Antiquities in Edinburgh where he

met Dr Joseph Anderson who provided him with information about various sites. They then proceeded to Aberdeen and spent several weeks in Kincardineshire, Aberdeenshire and Caithness. Some of the material now held in Guernsey Museum's collections relates to this trip but there are copies of plans and various notes with other dates and executed by other people. Of the drawings that survive, two in Lukis's distinctive handwriting are clearly marked, 'Cairn at Sunhoney 15th Aug., 1884' and 'Glassel Aberdeenshire, 28th July, 1884'.

There are many notes in Dryden's hand also such as:

I have lately had some rough sketch plans and some measures sent me from Scotland to put into shape and lay down to scale. These are 10 plans of circles in Kincardineshire and Aberdeenshire. The diameters are about, 52, 69, 65, 73, 13, 76, 44, 30, 82, 52 feet. The height of stones from 2 to 7 feet.

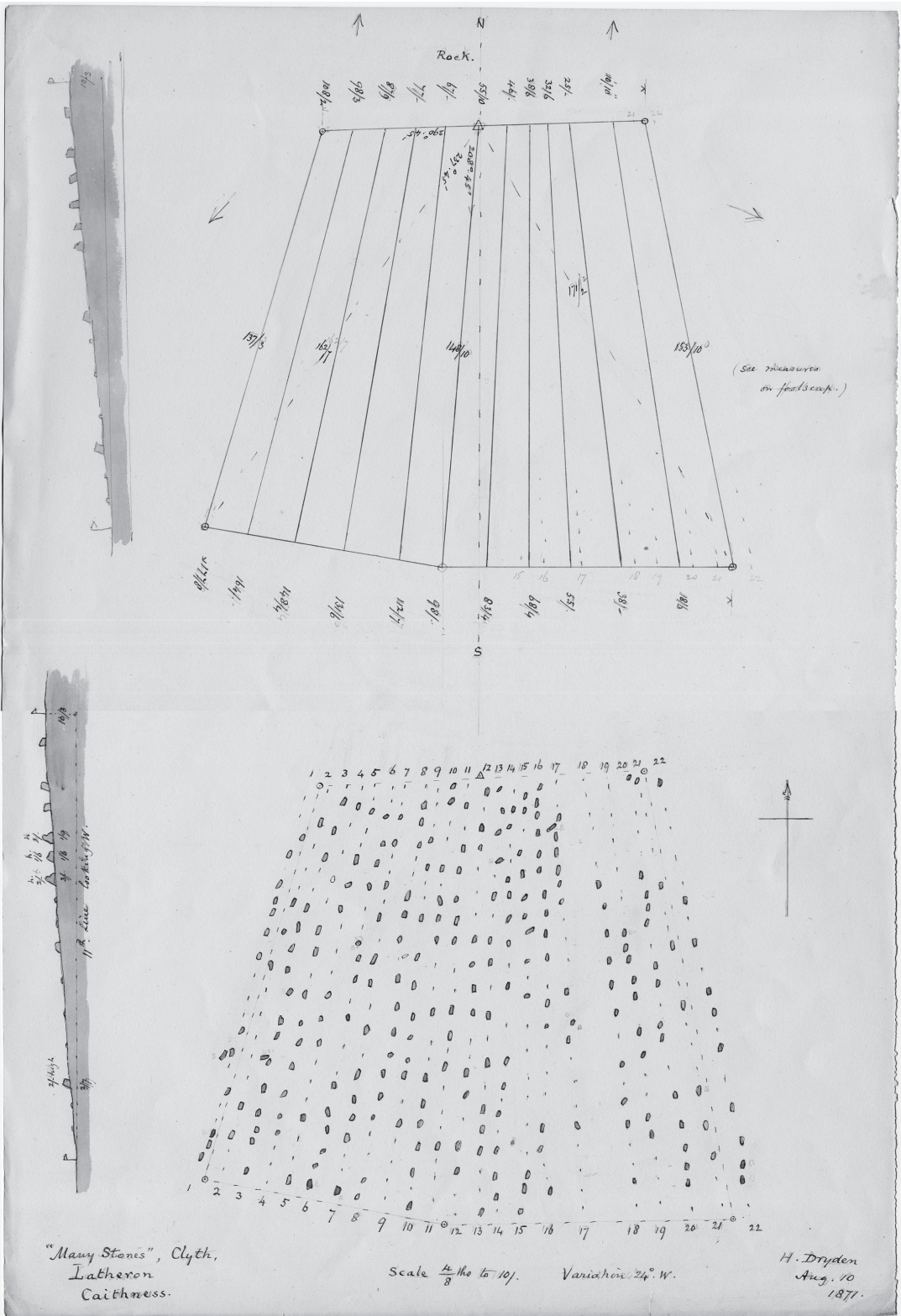
Several have an inner circle of smaller stones; but the Most remarkable feature is this – in 5 of the 10 and perhaps in more on the S is a long prostrate stone between standingstones. I think the 13th circle is probably not of the same class. It has no lying stone and no inner circle.

The plans are very ill done and my scale plans are only approximate. Such as they are you can see them after a time.

HD March 1881²⁶

There is also a list of notes on Stone Circles that Dryden copied from those published by R Angus Smith in 1880, which says at the bottom, 'None have been properly planned so I hope you will get some of them done especially Esslie'. The note is annotated in William C Lukis's hand, 'West Mulloch', to which Lukis has added 'from Banchory Station' implying that on this particular trip Dryden may not have been present.²⁷

Lukis had also copied notes on Sunhoney Circle from 'the Sculptured Stones of Scotland' Spalding Club, Aberdeen, 1856 (Appendix to Preface xxi).



ILLUS 4 W C Lukis and H Dryden 1871 survey of the Hill o Many Stanes, Clyth, Latheron © Guernsey Museum & Galleries

Another fuller note by Dryden is entitled 'Circles in Kincardineshire and Aberdeenshire. Sketch plans and figures sent to the Soc of Ant of Scotland by Dr Brown of Edinburgh in 1881':

The plans were done by J Rait and A Crease.

See descriptions of these circles in the Proceedings of the Soc Ant Scot Vol XIV

I have attempted to lay down the 8 circles from the plans & measures and 2 others from the descriptions only. In Mr Creases plans the measures are stated to be straight from middle to middle of stones. In No 1 plan the measures appear to be made on the curve. There are many discrepancies between the plans & the descriptions on the Proceedings. In the lists of distances it is not stated where the

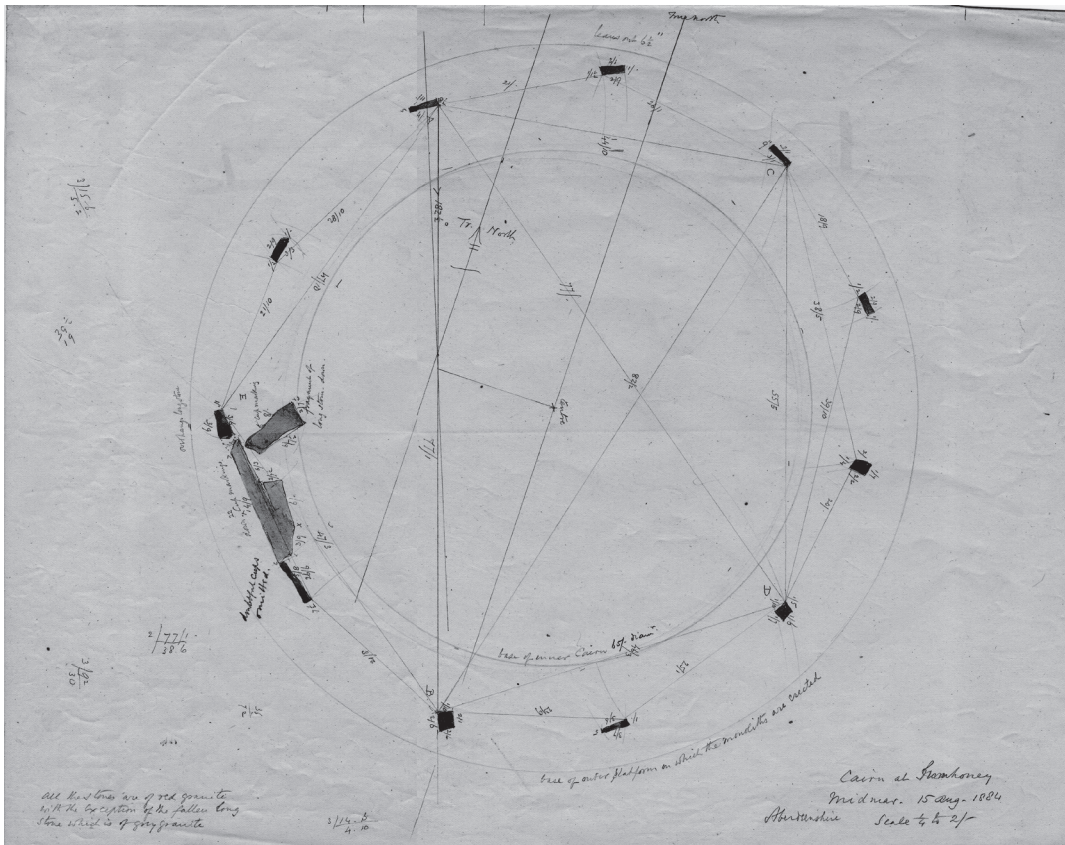
measurements started nor which way he went right or left. The measures of stones horizontally (plans) are not given except that in some cases the length of the large flatstone when there is one (which he calls 'the priests stone') is given.

The most remarkable thing in these circles is the large flat stone in 7 of them which I have not seen elsewhere.

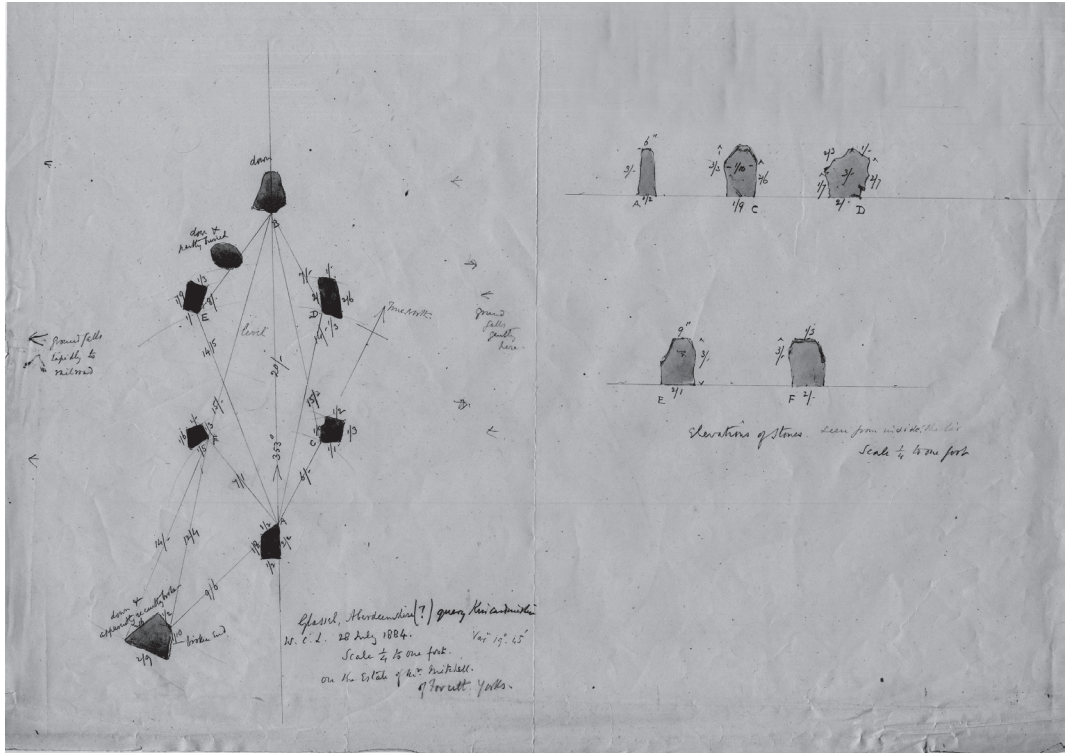
There are great omissions & mistakes both in the plans & descriptions.

Some of the circles as Nos 3 & 6 may have been retaining walls of tumuli; but those that have the flat stone cannot I think be of that class.

It is curious that in the plans the length of the stones is shown as being N&S & not corresponding to



ILLUS 6 Cairn at Sunhoney, 15 August 1884, recorded by William Collings Lukis © Guernsey Museum & Galleries



ILLUS 7 Glassel, Aberdeenshire, 28 July 1884, by William Collings Lukis © Guernsey Museum & Galleries

the curve of the circle but I suspect that though on a plan the stones are intended for elevations.

Where there is a lying stone the stones at the ends of it are drawn at right angles to it & not in the line of the circle.

My plans are only approximations.

All except one are to scale of $\frac{1}{8}$ inch to 1 foot & that one is $\frac{1}{4}$ inch to one foot.

Mr Crease lives near No 4 Circle and I sent a rough plan of it to him for more measures & corrections. The measures sent made it still greater confusion so I took some & disregarded the others.

H Dryden June 1881²⁸

Another note from Dryden which appears to have been meant for Lukis is as follows:

Chambered tomb?

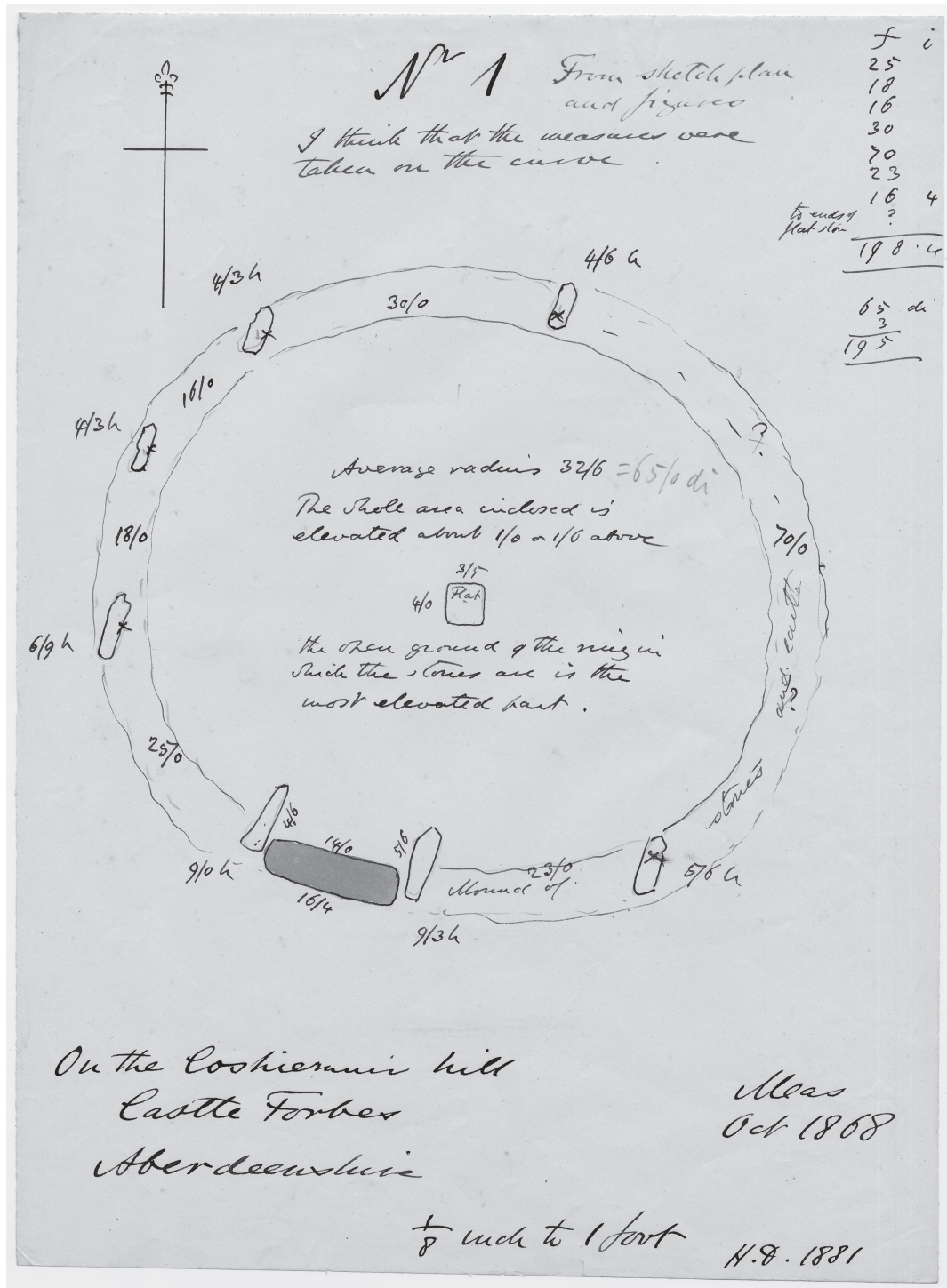
At airlie Barns near Airlee castle Forfar 20 miles from Dundee called Picts House at the meeting of

the Brit Ass at Dundee? In 1867 this was opened. It is a roofed passage 70 foot long.

Sculptures on walls I do not think that any plan has been made of it No doubt Anderson at the Museum will know.²⁹

Some further notes in William C Lukis's hand are a description of a 'dilapidated cromlech enclosed in a circle at Strichen, Aberdeenshire' which he has copied from Boswell's *Journal of a Tour of the Hebrides*.³⁰ He also quotes the description of a "'Druids temple", 3 miles beyond Aberdeen' and mentions that 'In the Isle of Skye we also saw 3 Cairns (sic) of considerable size'.³¹

There are also extracts copied by Dryden in 1841 from *Views in Orkney and on other north eastern coast of Scotland taken in 1805 and sketched (?) in 1807 by Elizabeth, marchioness of Stafford and afterwards Duchess countess*



ILLUS 8 On Coshie Muir Hill, Castle Forbes, Aberdeenshire. Henry Dryden's copy of a plan made in 1868 by Crease © Guernsey Museum & Galleries

of *Sutherland in the library of Earl Spencer at Althorp, co Nor*³² and copies of plans of monuments on Orkney which were published by the Society of Antiquaries in 1851.

Two items relating to the monument at Callanish on the Isle of Lewis include a sketch in William C Lukis's hand copied from MacCulloch's *Western Islands* (for MacCulloch, see above)³³ and a delightful early photograph which is undated but entitled 'Druidical Circle, Callernish, Lewis 6168 GWW' which includes three figures one of whom is in a policeman's uniform.³⁴ The level of the lichen growth is of interest and may indicate some clearance had taken place.

Two further photographs survive in the archive. They are both of the 'Picties Houses or

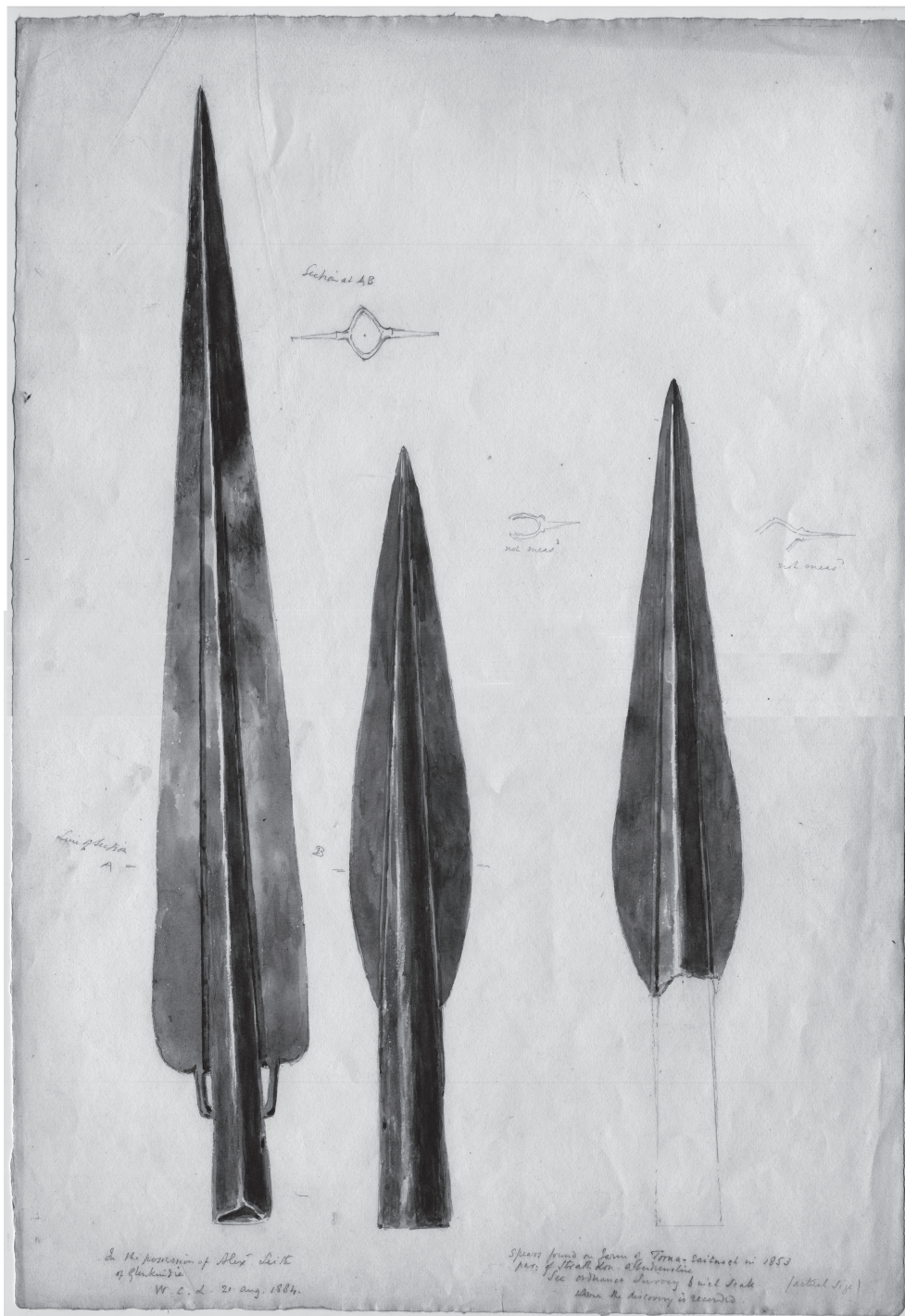
Fairy Mounds in the Strath, Berrydale between Helmsdale and Berrydale, County Caithness'. They both contain a man leaning on the monument in the form of a scale – a common trait in the early photographs associated with Lukis and Dryden, particularly those taken of sites in Brittany.³⁵

ARTEFACTS

A watercolour of three bronze spearheads is a rare example of a record of artefacts that Lukis has seen rather than of sites visited (illus 10). The watercolour is of three bronze spearheads seen by William C Lukis on 21 August 1884 which are now in the collections of the Aberdeen City Museum and Art Gallery.³⁶ Lukis annotated the drawing with a pencil note 'In the possession of Alex. Leith of Glenkindie', and 'Spears



ILLUS 9 Druidical Circle, Callernish, Lewis. Photograph by GWW © Guernsey Museum & Galleries



ILLUS 10 Spears found on farm of Torna Eaitnach in 1853, par. of Strathdon, Aberdeenshire © Guernsey Museum & Galleries

found on farm of Torna Eaitnach in 1853, par. of Strathdon, Aberdeenshire. See Ordnance Survey 6 inch scale where the discovery is recorded'. On the reverse is a very faint outline sketch plan of a chambered barrow. To date however no further evidence has been found of a connection between William C Lukis and Alexander Leith.

CONCLUSIONS

It is apparent from all this material that William C Lukis and his father Frederick Lukis before him had many connections with friends and colleagues in Scotland and that they considered the sites they visited and the artefacts they saw very important. The full account of Lukis's 1884 journey is published in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries* (London) (Lukis 1884) including some observations on the weather along with the monuments: 'It was perhaps the hottest and most oppressive morning ... Not a cloud was to be seen and not a leaf stirred' (as he travelled from Banchory station) but this was followed by 'the storm clouds rolled over the mountains tops with great rapidity and the rain began to descend'. Nothing changes for the dedicated field worker.

NOTES

- 1 GMAG Lukis Collection Letters GMAG No 7645.24 This is one of the rare letters that survives from Frederick C Lukis to his wife Elizabeth during their marriage.
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 Stevenson 1981, 57.
- 5 GMAG 7645.24.
- 6 Stevenson 1981, 38.
- 7 Ibid, 38.
- 8 Ibid, 38.
- 9 GMAG 7645 14.2 Letter on meteorology from Duncan Forbes of Edinburgh.
- 10 GMAG 7645 14.3 Reply to letter on meteorology from Duncan Forbes of Edinburgh.

- 11 MacCulloch 1824.
- 12 GMAG 7453 Coll Ant Vol V, 318.
- 13 Stevenson 1981, 70.
- 14 GMAG 7645 10.18 Letter from Robert Bald to F C Lukis concerning geology.
- 15 MacKay 1999, vii.
- 16 Ash 1981, 101.
- 17 Ash 1999, 60.
- 18 Wilson 1851, xvi.
- 19 Kehoe 1998, 16.
- 20 Lukis 1844, cited in Wilson 1851, 67.
- 21 For Wilson in Canada see Trigger 1999.
- 22 Atkinson 1976, 113.
- 23 Ibid.
- 24 Lukis 1885, 301.
- 25 Ibid.
- 26 GMAG 7635 35.
- 27 GMAG 7633 36 Dryden also noted the following reference, PSAS XIV 294.
- 28 GMAG 7633 41.
- 29 GMAG 7633 39.
- 30 GMAG 7633 43.
- 31 GMAG 7633 44 (with reference to Boswell 1831, 113).
- 32 Ibid (with reference to Boswell 1831, 143, 175).
- 33 GMAG 7633 45 (with reference to MacCulloch 1824).
- 34 GMAG 7633 82.
- 35 GMAG 7633 124.
- 36 GMAG 7829.97.

Dr B J O'Connor has kindly supplied the following note on the provenance of the three spearheads.

Until the objects were donated in 1955, the ownership was by the Hon Mrs A G Leith of Petmathen. She was The Hon Alexandra Gladys Vivian (died 1966) who married Major A R Leith (1878–1950). This Major A R Leith was the elder son of Major Thomas Leith (1830–1920), who lived at Petmathen (or Pitmathen) House, just north-west of Oyne, Aberdeenshire. Thomas was the youngest son of General Sir Alexander Leith of Freefield and Glenkindie, who died in 1859 – after the find in 1853 but before Lukis saw the spearheads. In 1884 these must have belonged to the General's eldest son, Alexander Leith of Freefield and Glenkindie (1817–86), who was an MA of Trinity College Cambridge, a figure in the Scottish establishment and a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

This provides circumstantial evidence for the looped spearhead, which must have been found before 1884 and probably somewhere on the Leith estates, but I think ‘Aberdeenshire’ must be its best provenance unless any further information appears. The Tornahatnach provenance of the other two must have got lost in favour of Freefield as the objects were moved about.

Petmathen House was apparently built in the late 19th century, so perhaps by or for Thomas Leith, but demolished in 1956. It is still marked on the OS map (NJ 6701 2617). Petmathen is only about 5km south of Freefield House (NJ 6762 3131).

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Appendix

The catalogue of drawings relating to Scotland is held in Guernsey Museum. The legends have been transcribed as they appear on the drawings. Where possible, the modern site names and grid references have been given along with the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland NMRS reference. All copyright Guernsey Museum and Galleries.

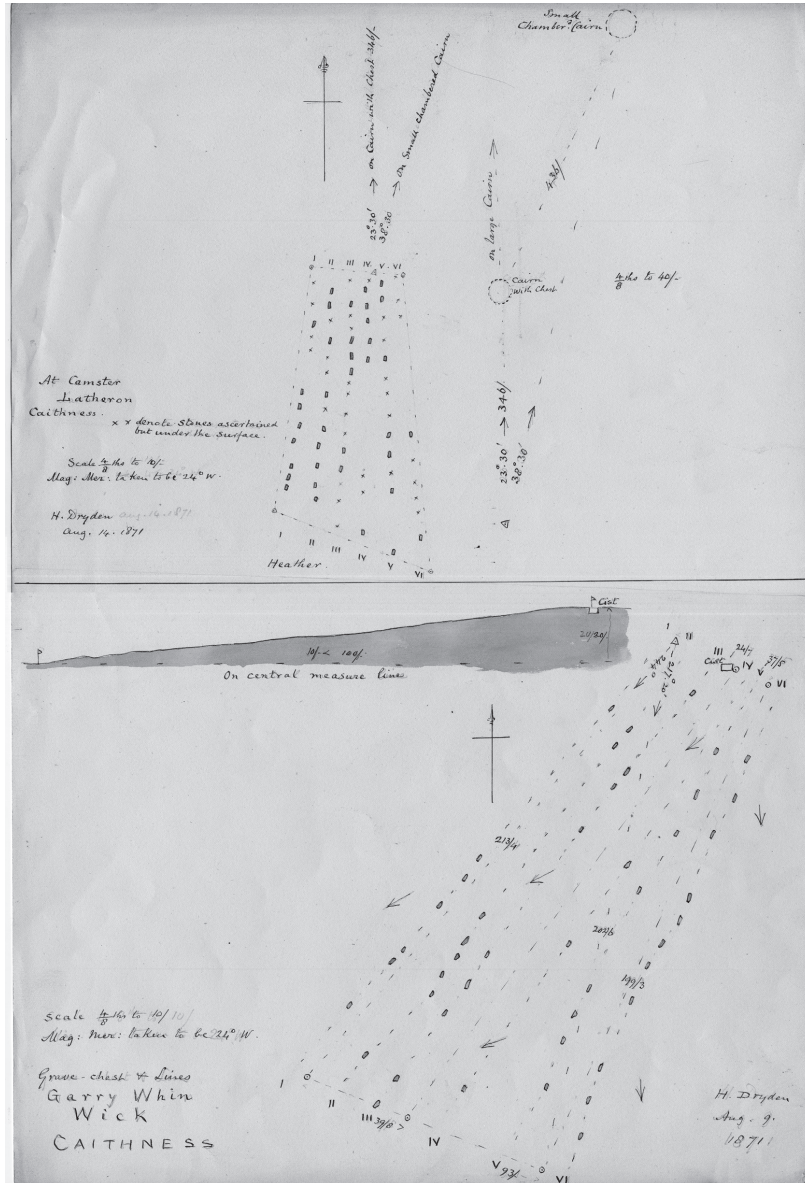


1 GMAG 7829.1

Unsigned watercolour

Annotation: Western circle of the Stones of Stenness.

Stones of Stenness: NMRS HY31 SW2; OS HY 3067 1252



2 GMAG 7829.3

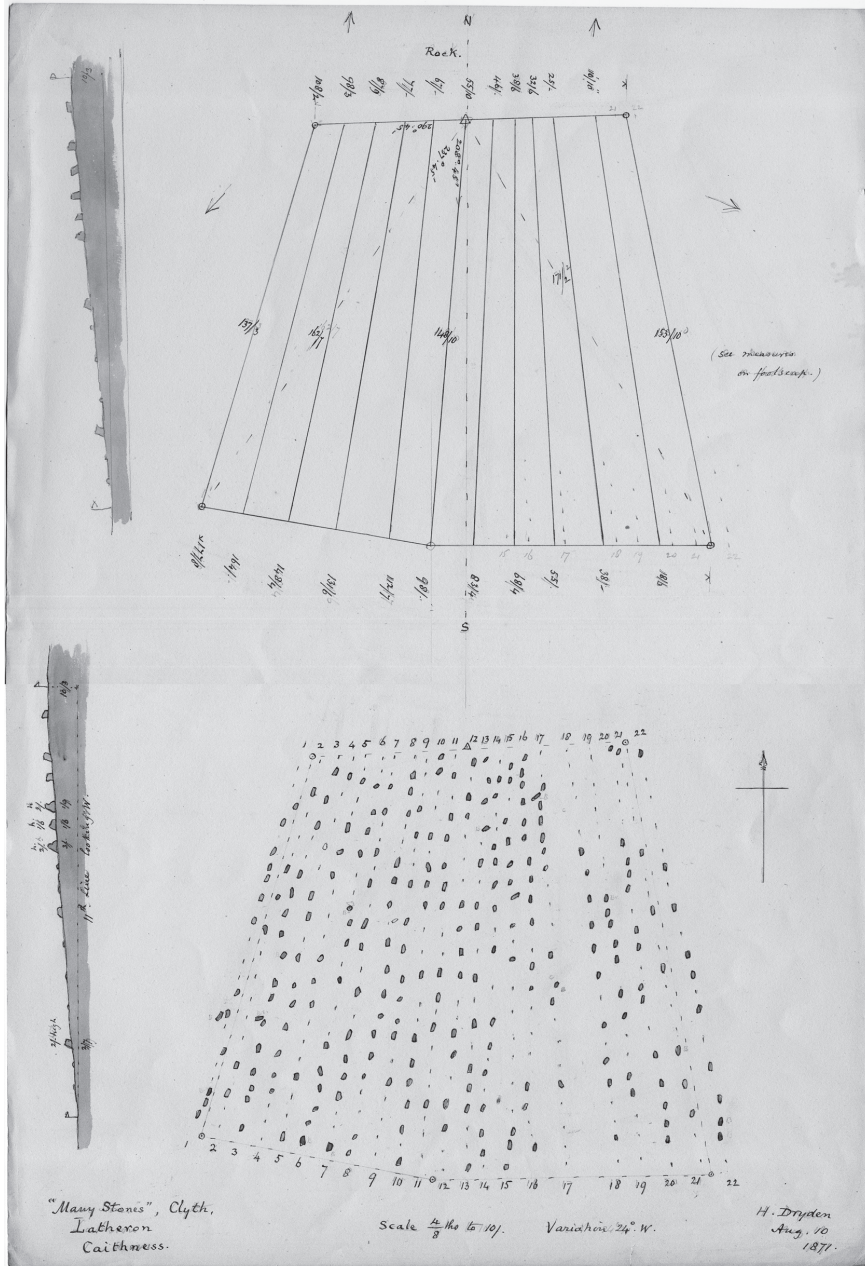
Ink and watercolour plans and section of two sites, Camster, Latheron, Caithness, and Garry Whin, Wick, Caithness

Annotation: At Camster, Latheron, Caithness. Stone alignments and small chambered cairn and cairn with chest (scale $\frac{4}{8}$ ths to 40 feet) Dryden, H, 14 August 1871; Mag. mer. taken to be 24° W.

2 Grave chest and lines at Garry Whin, Wick, Caithness, scale $\frac{4}{8}$ ths to 10 feet

Annotation: Dryden, H, Aug 9 1871; Mag. mer. taken to be 24° W.

Garry Whin: NMRS ND348W 18; OS 3138 4129



3 GMAG 7829.4 (illus 4)

Ink and watercolour plan of stone alignments at Clyth, Latheron, Caithness, and ground plan and section through the 11th line of stones

Annotation: 'Many Stones', Clyth, Latheron, Caithness; scale 4/8ths to 10 feet; Dryden, H, 10 August 1871; (See measures on foolscap.); Variation 24° W.

Hill o' Many Stones, Clyth, Latheron: NMRS ND23 NE6; OS ND 2951 3840

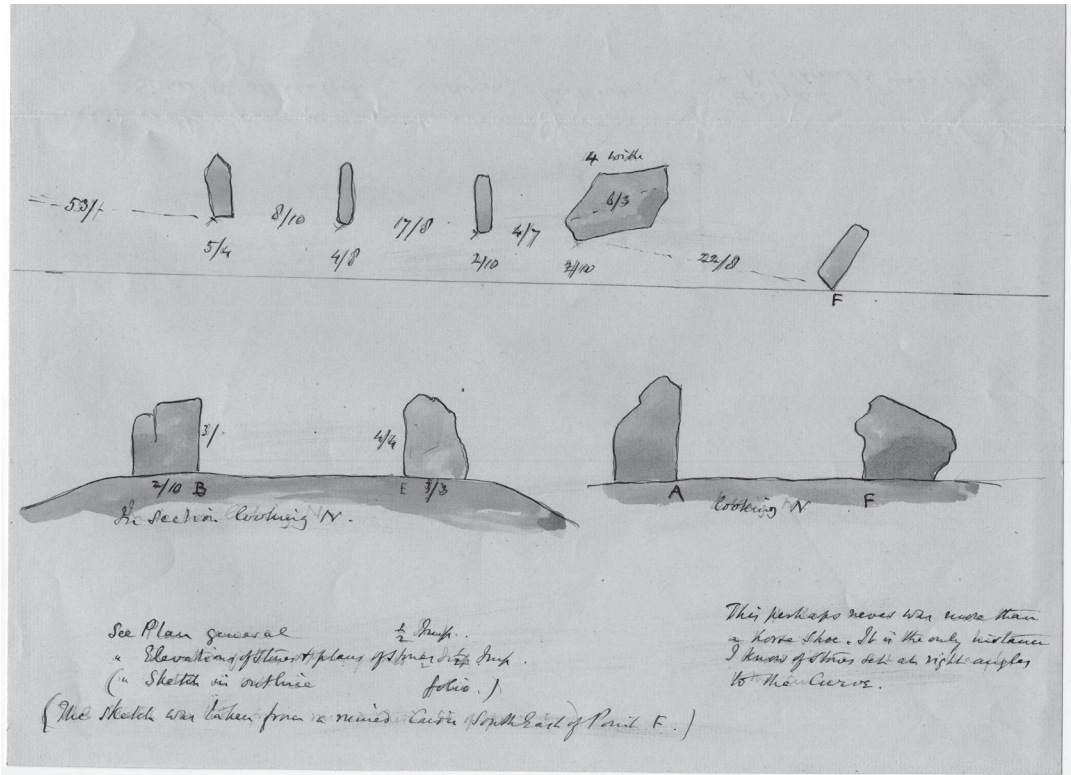


4 GMAG 7829.6

Ink and watercolour plan of site at Guidebest, Latheron, Caithness

Annotation: At Guidebest, Latheron, Caithness; scale 4/8in to 10 feet; Dryden, H, 12 August 1871; Mag. mer. taken to be 24° W. (See notes.)

Guidebest: NMRS ND13 NE3; OS ND 1802 3510



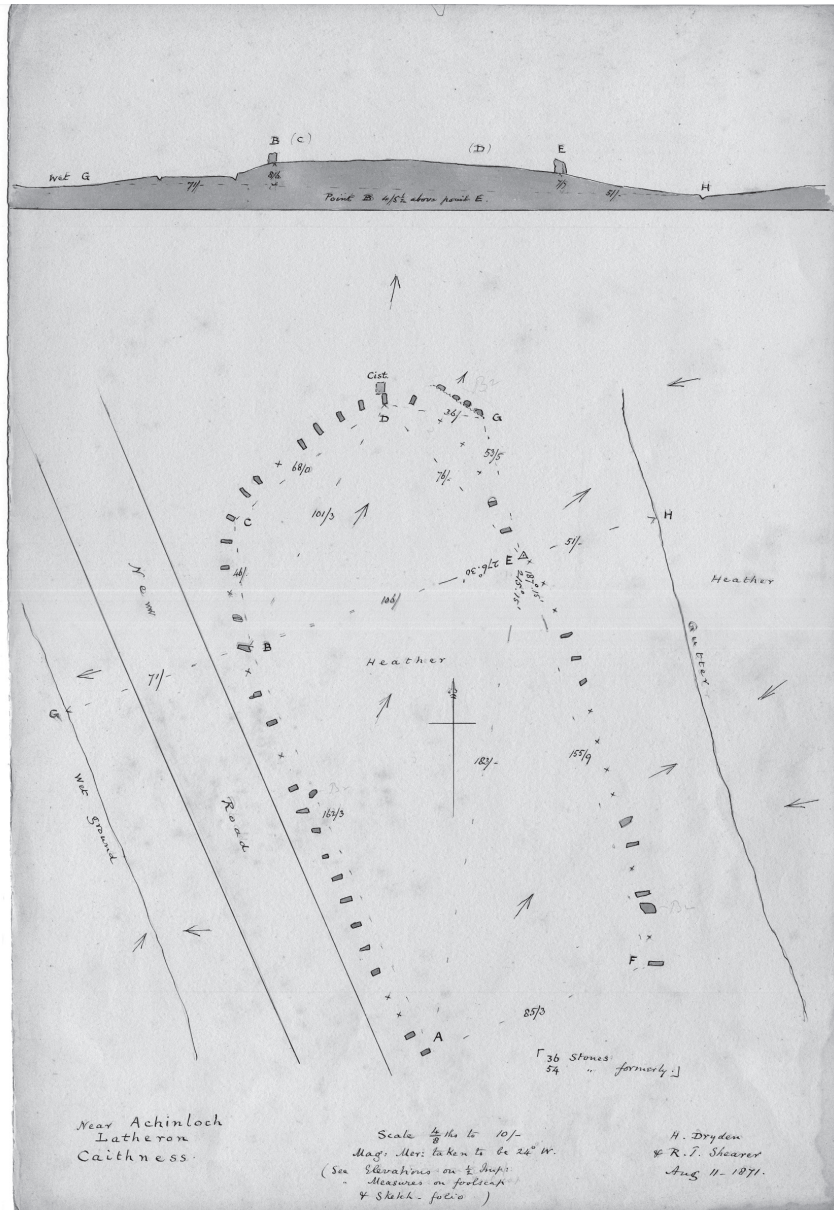
5 GMAG 7829.7

Two ink and watercolour plans, one on each side of a sheet of folded paper, of stones at Achinloch (Achavanich), Latheron, Caithness

Stones at Achinloch, Latheron, Caithness

1. Annotation: Dryden, H and Shearer, R.T, August 1871; see note at the end; cist about 2ft deep and 3/3 below the surface; stones flat as of a wall building
2. Annotation: see plan general 1/2 Imp; see elevations of stones and plans of stones 1/2 Imp; see sketch in outline folio (taken from a ruined cairn South East of point F); this perhaps never was more than a horse shoe. It is the only instance I know of stones set at right angles to the curve.

Achinloch: NMRS ND14 SE 2; OS ND 1880 4178



6 GMAG 7829.8

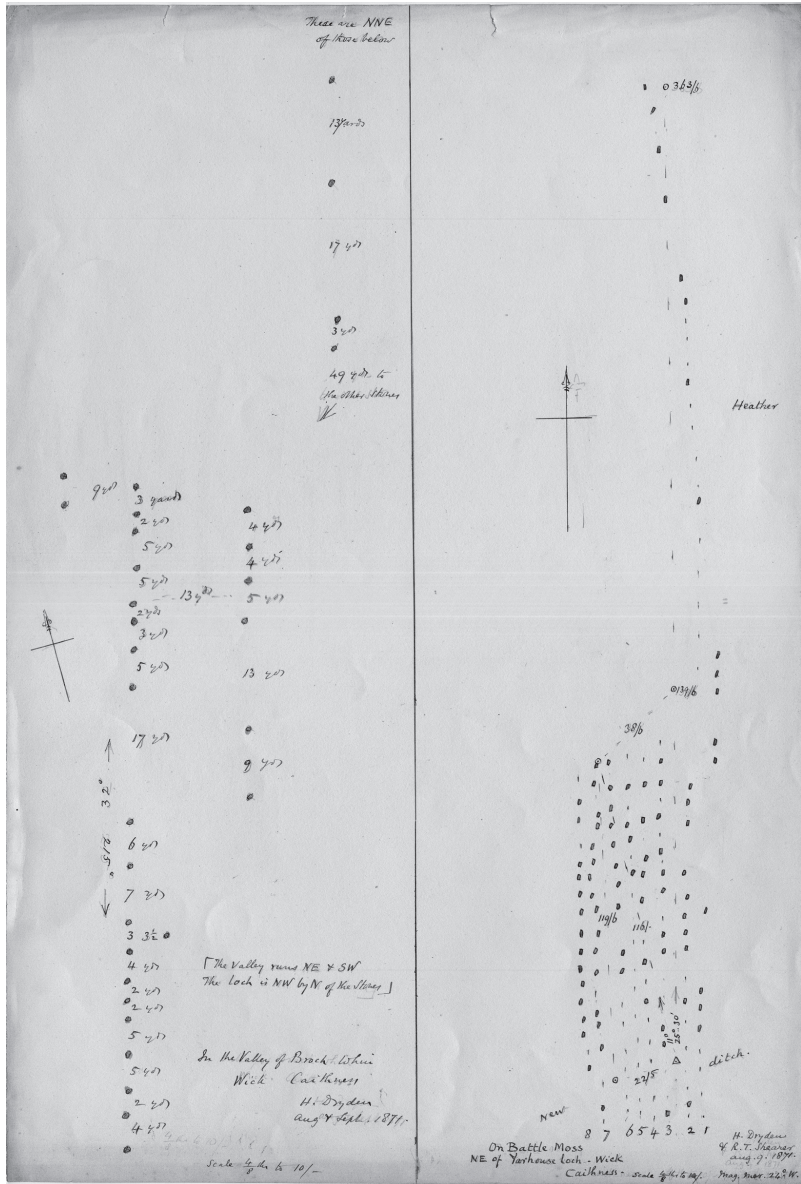
Ink and watercolour plan and section of site near Achinloch (Achavanich), Latheron, Caithness

Annotation: Near Achinloch, Latheron, Caithness. Scale 4/8in to 10 feet,

Dryden, H and Shearer, R.T, 11 August 1871; 36 stones, 54 formerly; see elevations on 1/2 Imp; see measures on foolscap and Sketch-folio; Mag. mer. taken to be 24° W.

2. Section at BE.

Achinloch: NMRS ND14 SE2; OS ND 1880 4178



7 GMAG 7829.9

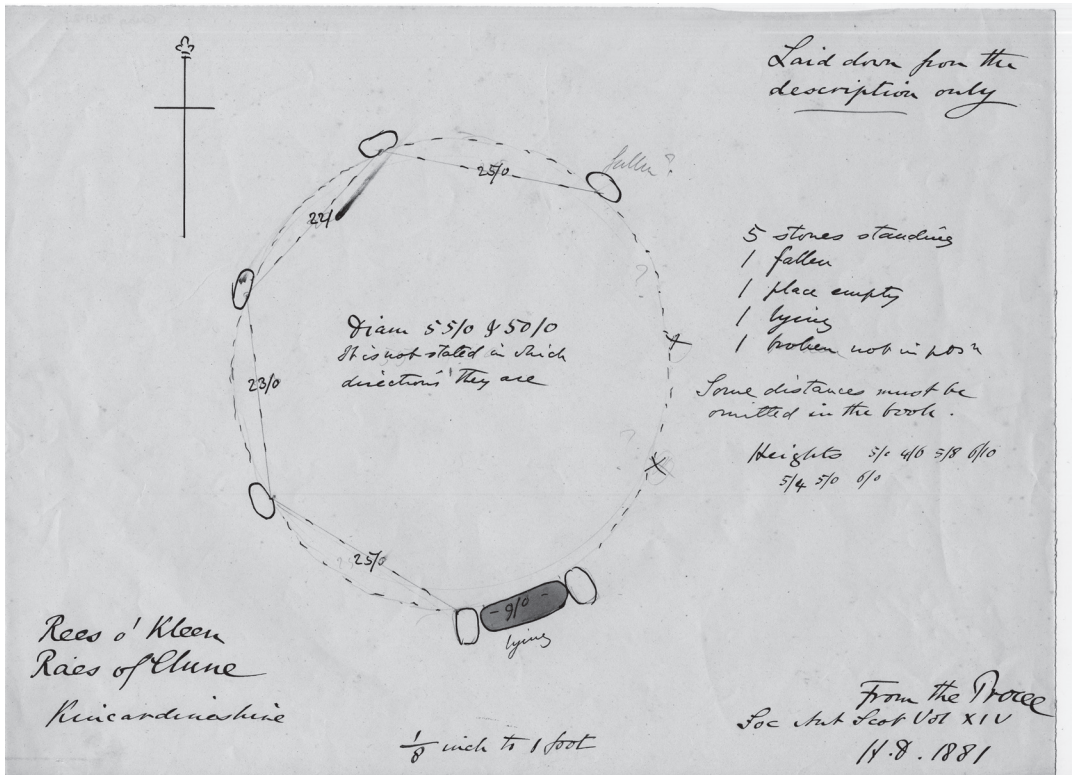
Ink and watercolour plans near Wick, Caithness

1. Annotation: (the valley runs north-east and south-west, the loch is north-west by north of the stones); In the Valley of Broch Whin, Wick, Caithness Scale 4/8in to 10 feet; Dryden, H, August and September 1871; [At the top] (these are NNE of those below ... 49yds to the other stones).

2. Annotation: On Battle Moss, north-east of Yarhouse Loch, Wick, Caithness.

Scale 4/8in to 10 feet; Dryden, H, and Shearer, R.T, 9 August 1871; Mag. mer. 24° W.

Battle Moss: NMRS ND34 SW22; OS ND 3129 4401



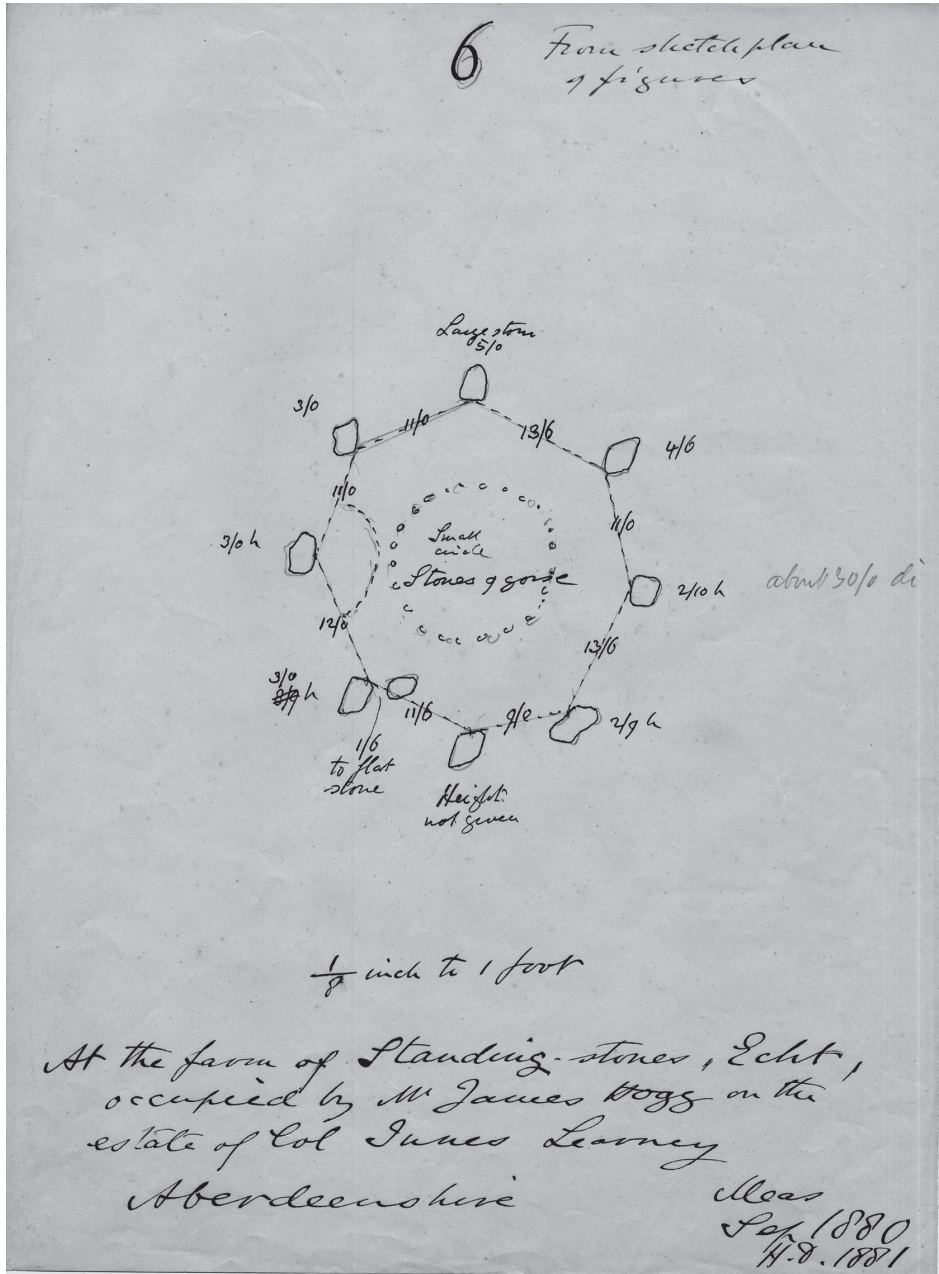
8 GMAG 7829.24

Ink and watercolour plan of stone circle at Rees O' Kleen or Raes of Clune, Kincardineshire.

H. Dryden

Annotation: Laid down from the description only; from the *Proc Soc Ant Scot* Vol. XIV; H.D. 1881; scale 1/8 to 1 foot; 5 stones standing, 1 fallen, 1 place empty, 1 broken not in position; Some distances must be omitted in the book; Heights 5/0, 4/6, 5/8, 6/10, 5/4, 5/0, 6/0; Diam. 55/0 and 50/0. It is not stated which direction they are in.

Raes of Clune: NMRS NO793 NE17; OS NO 7934 9503

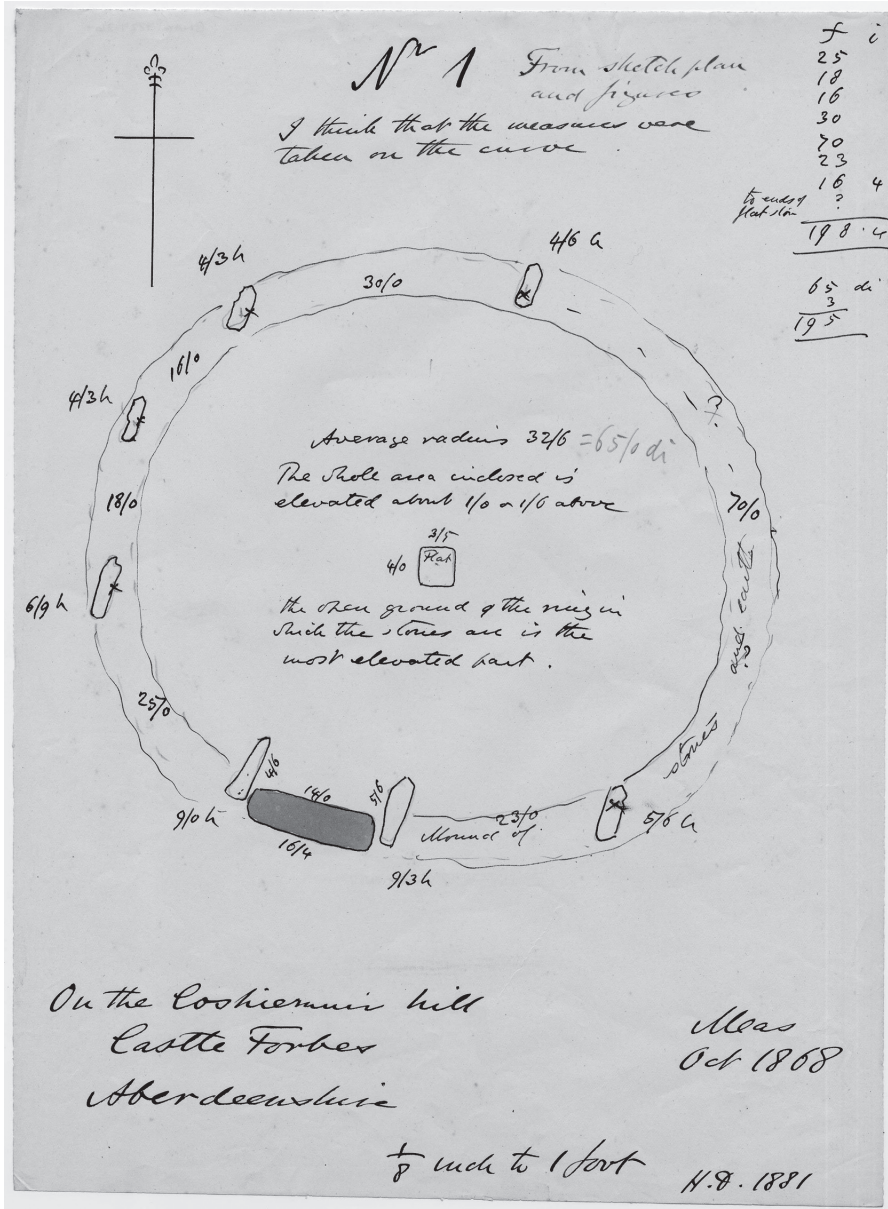


9 GMAG 7829.25

Ink and watercolour plan of standing stones at Echt

Annotation: Labelled '6'; From sketch plan and figures (in red ink); At the farm of Standing Stones, Echt, occupied by Mr James Hogg on the estate of Col. Innes Learney, Aberdeenshire; Scale 1/8 inch to 1 foot; Meas. September 1880, H.D. 1881.

Echt: NMRS NJ 70SE2; OS WJ 7850 0428

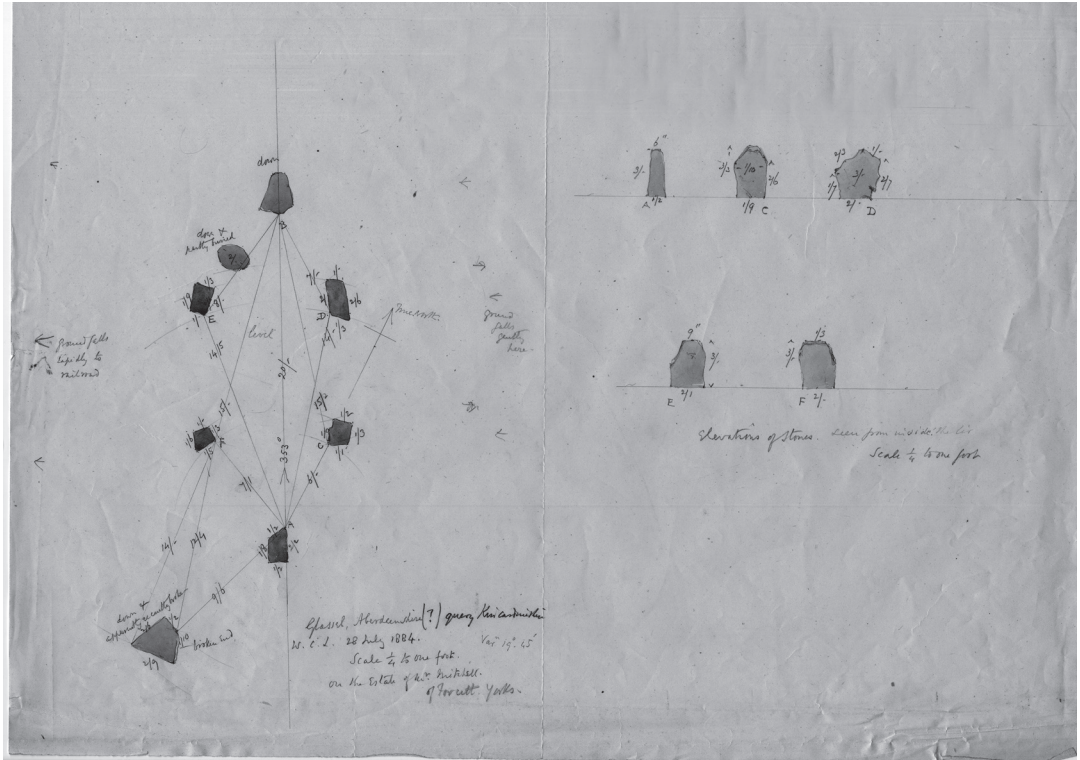


10 GMAG 7829.26

Ink and watercolour plan

Annotation: On the Coshie muir Hill, Castle Forbes, Aberdeenshire scale 1/8in to 1 foot, Meas. October 1868, H.D. 1881; red ink annotation, 'From sketch plan and figures', ink annotations, 'I think that the measures were taken on the curve', 'Average radius 32/6. The whole area enclosed is elevated about 1/0 or 1/6 above the other ground and the ring in which the stones are is the most elevated part'; ink and watercolour

Coshie muir Wood Recumbent Stone Circle: NMRS NJ61 NW1; OS NJ 6171 1980

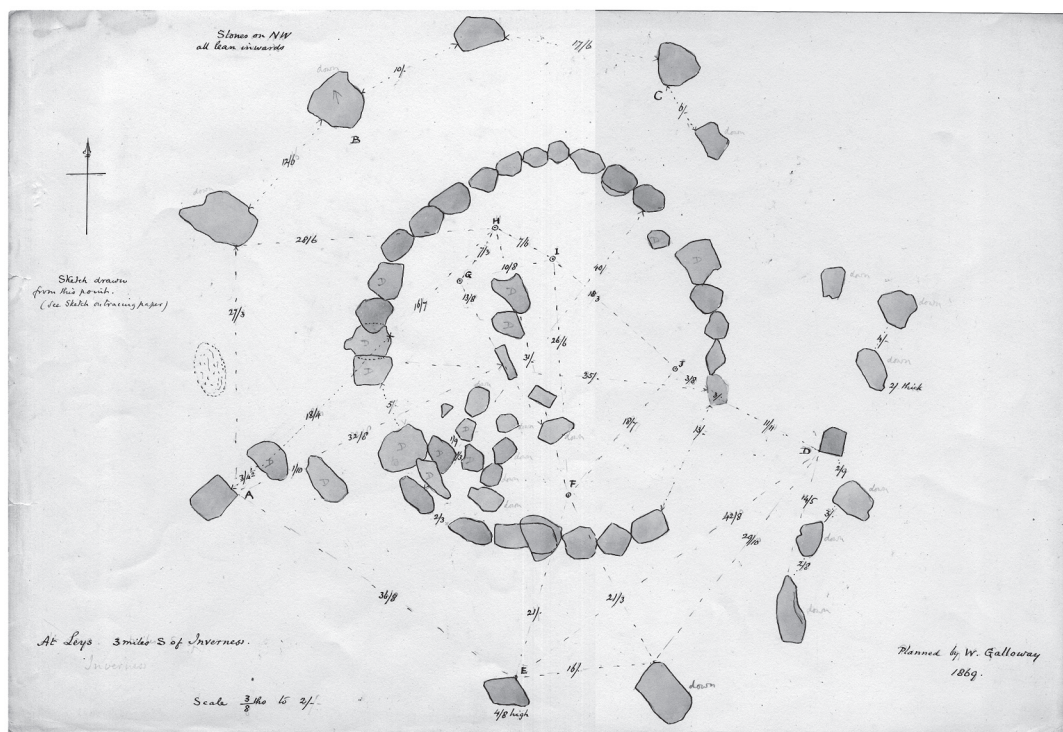


11 GMAG 7829.29

Ink and watercolour ground plan and elevation. W. C. Lukis

Annotation: Glassel, Aberdeenshire (?) quarry Kincardineshire; on the estate of Mr Mitchell of Forcett, Yorks; elevations of stones seen from inside [on the left] ground falls rapidly to railroad; [on the right] ground falls greatly here; Scale 1/4 in to 1 foot; W.C.L. 28 July 1884; Mag. mer. 19° 45°.

Glassel Stone Circle: NMRS NO69 NW2; OS NO 6488 9966

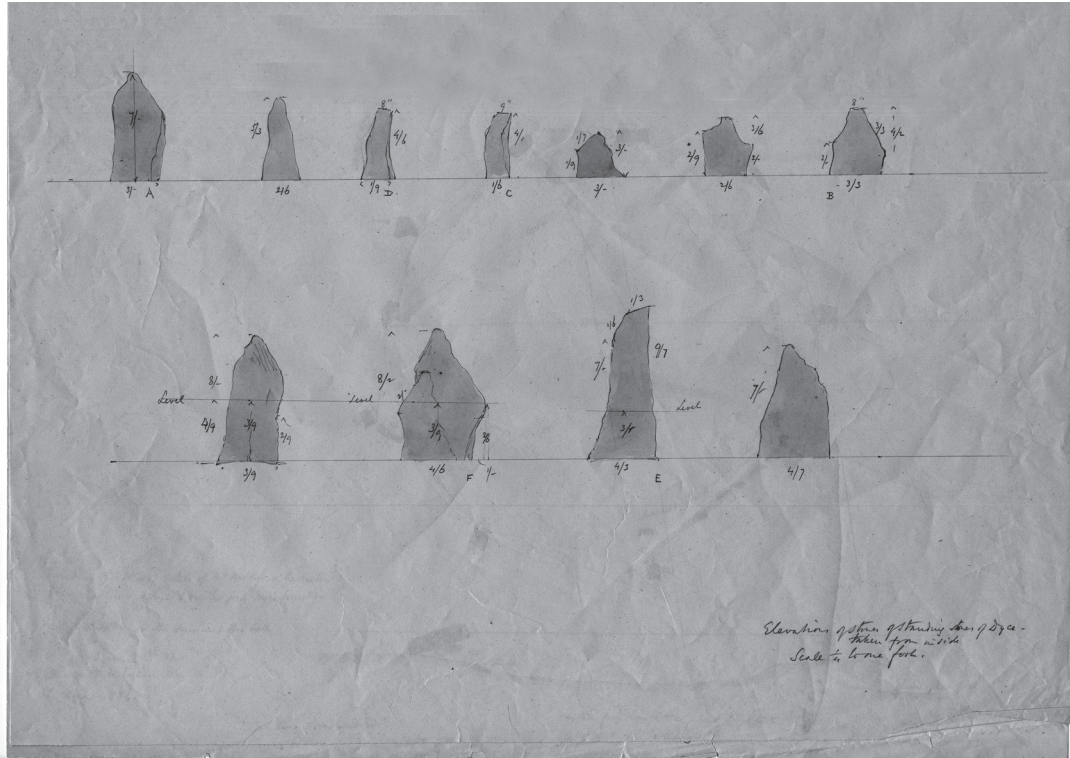


12 GMAG 7829.30

Ink and watercolour

Annotation; 'Sketch drawn from this point (see sketch on tracing paper)' and 'Stones on north-west all lean inwards' At Leys, 3 miles S of Inverness; Planned by W Galloway 1869.

Leys Stone Circle: NMRS NH64 SE23; OS NH 6851 4201



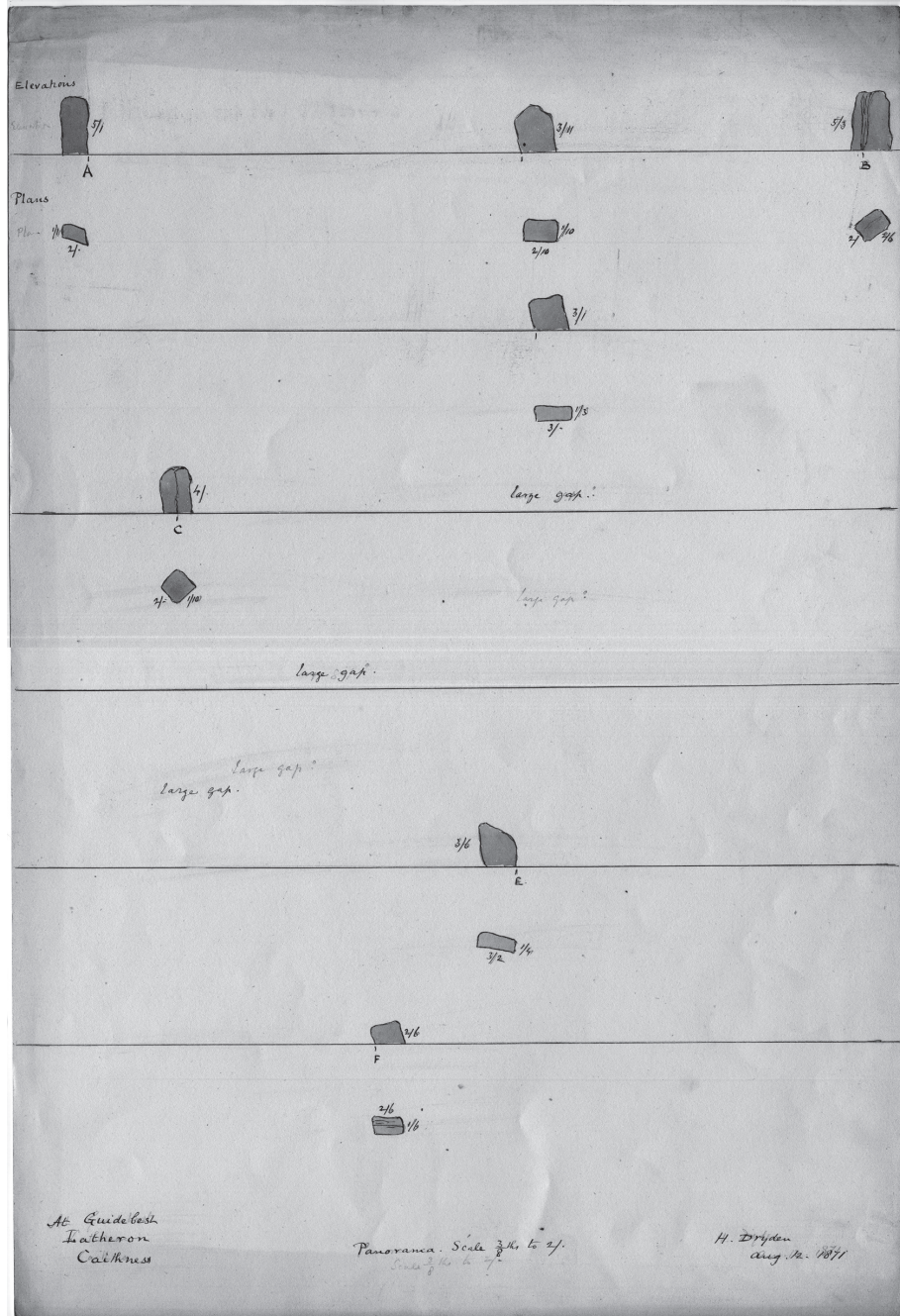
14 GMAG 7829.32

Ink and watercolour. W. C. Lukis

Standing Stones of Dyce, two drawings – one on each side of a sheet of folded paper – of a recumbent stone circle ‘Standing stones of Dyce’, Dyce Junction, Aberdeenshire

Annotation: Elevations of stones of standing stones of Dyce taken from inside; scale 1/4in to 1 foot, ‘Standing stones on estate of Mr Miller of Gaskieben, Aberdeenshire, about 2 miles from Dyce Junction. In a plantation on the summit of a hill’, ‘supposed stones of inner circle irregularly placed and much overgrown in the moss and the broom’; Mag. mer. 21° W; 2.

Dyce Stones: NMRS NJ8SE11; OS NJ 8590 1325

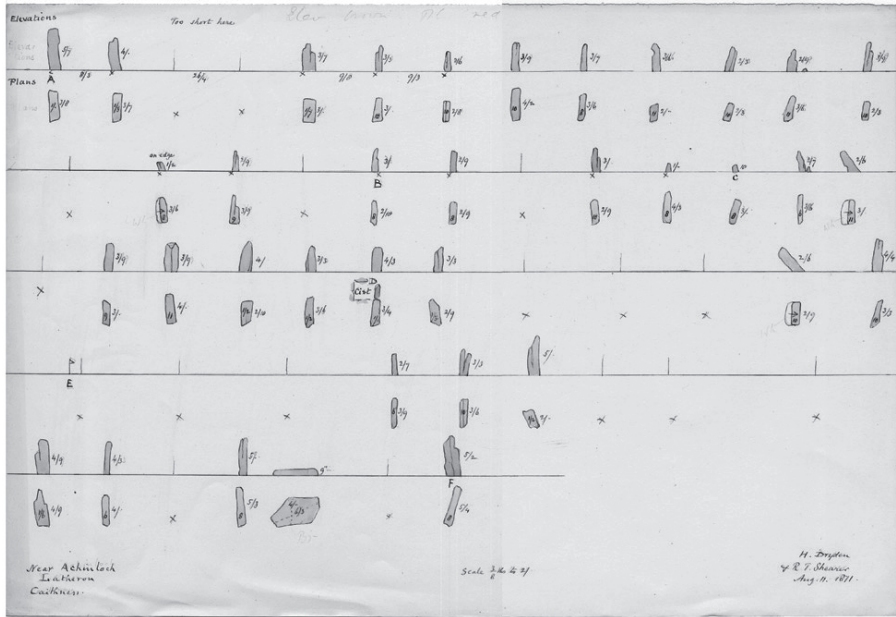


15 GMAG 7829.33

Ink and watercolour plan

Annotation: At Guidebest, Latheron, Caithness, scale $\frac{3}{8}$ in to 2 feet; Dryden, H, 12 August 1871.

Guidebest: NMRS ND13 NE3; OS ND 1802 3510



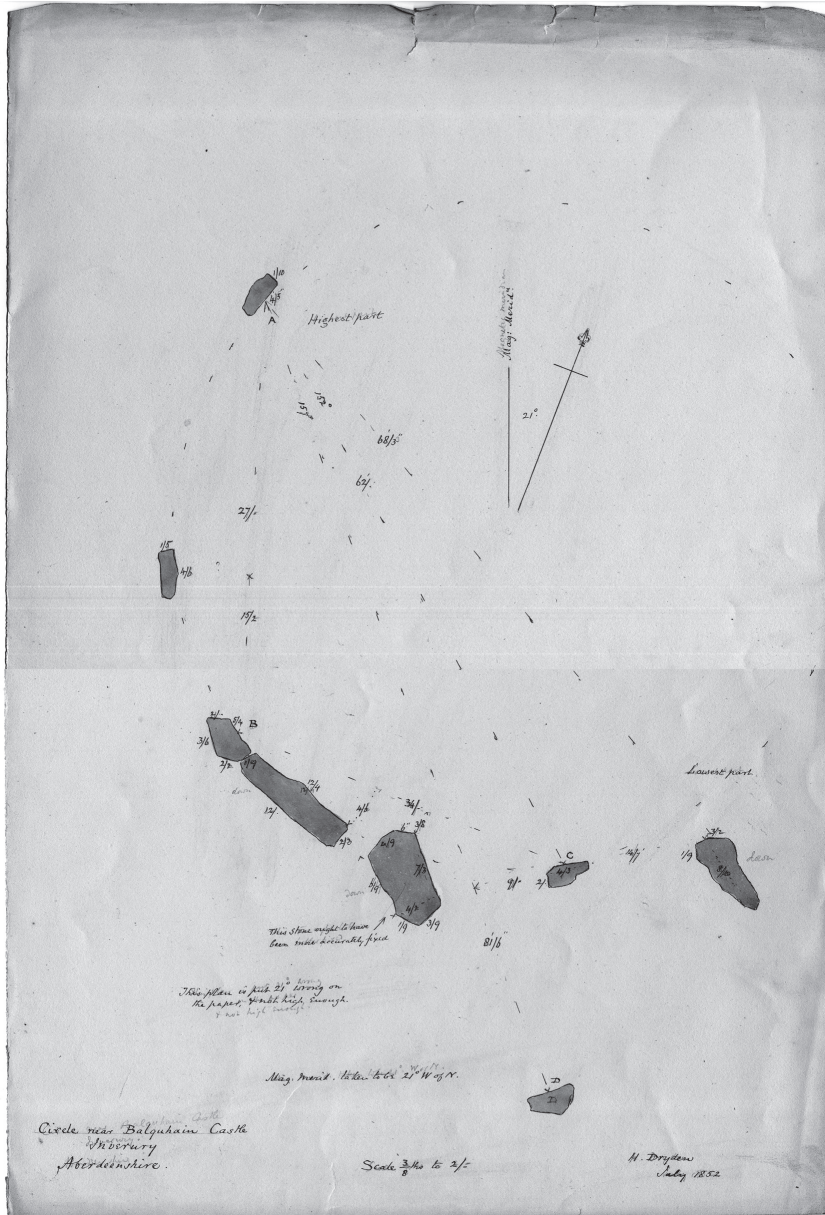
16 GMAG 7829.34

Ink and watercolour plan and elevation

Elevations and plans of stones at Achinloch (Achavanich), Latheron, Caithness

Annotation: scale 3/8in to 2 feet, Dryden, H, and Shearer, R.T, 11 August 1871; ink annotation, 'Too short here', pencil annotation, 'Elev brown, pl red'.

Achinloch: NMRS ND14SE 2; OS ND 1880 4174



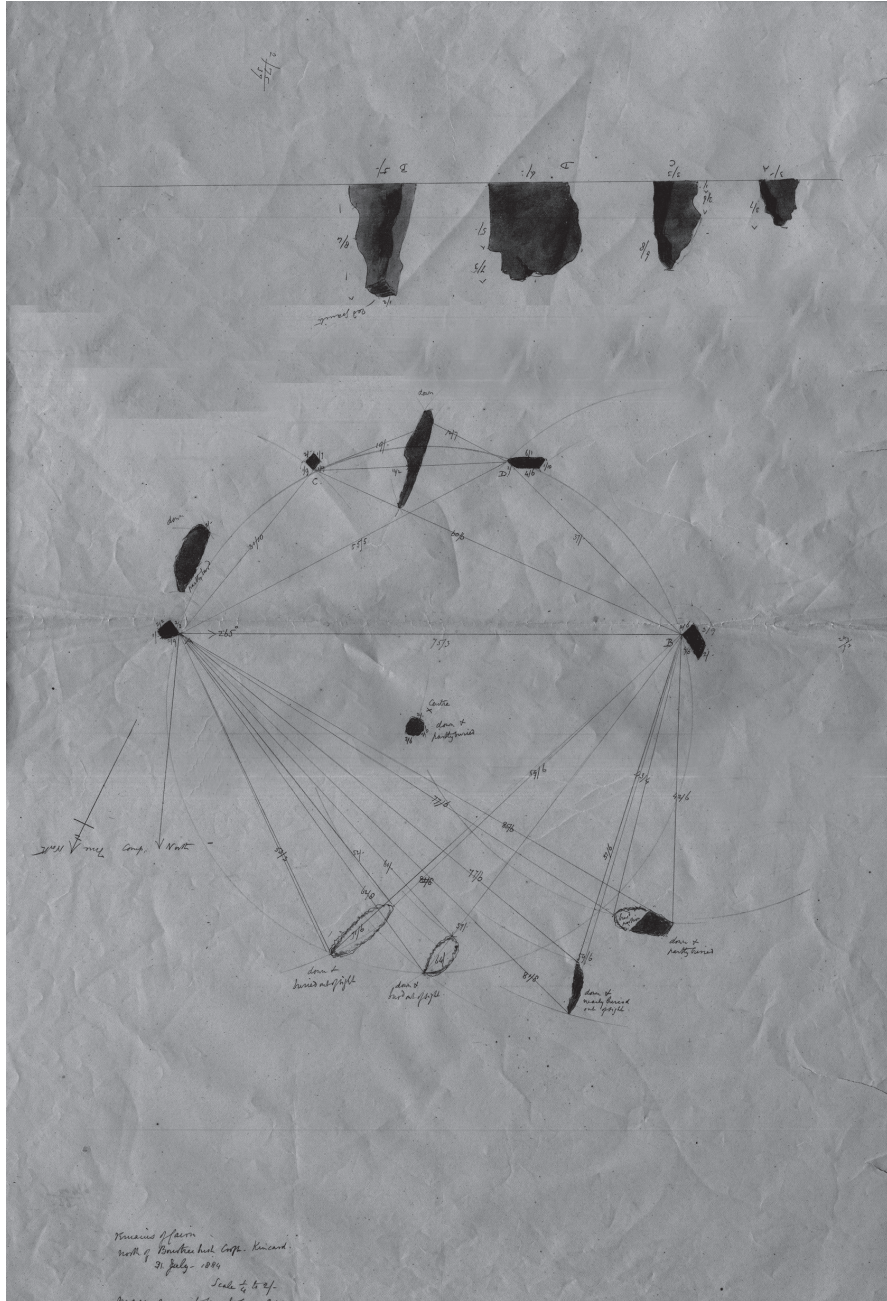
17 GMAG 7829.36

Ink and watercolour plan

Plan of a recumbent stone Circle near Balquhain Castle, Inverury, Aberdeenshire

Annotation: scale 3/8in to 2 feet, Dryden, H, July 1852; ink 'This stone ought to have been more accurately fixed', and 'This plan is put 21 degrees wrong on the paper and not high enough'; Mag. mer. 21° W of N.

Balquhain Circle: NMRS NJ72 SW2; OS NJ 7350 2408

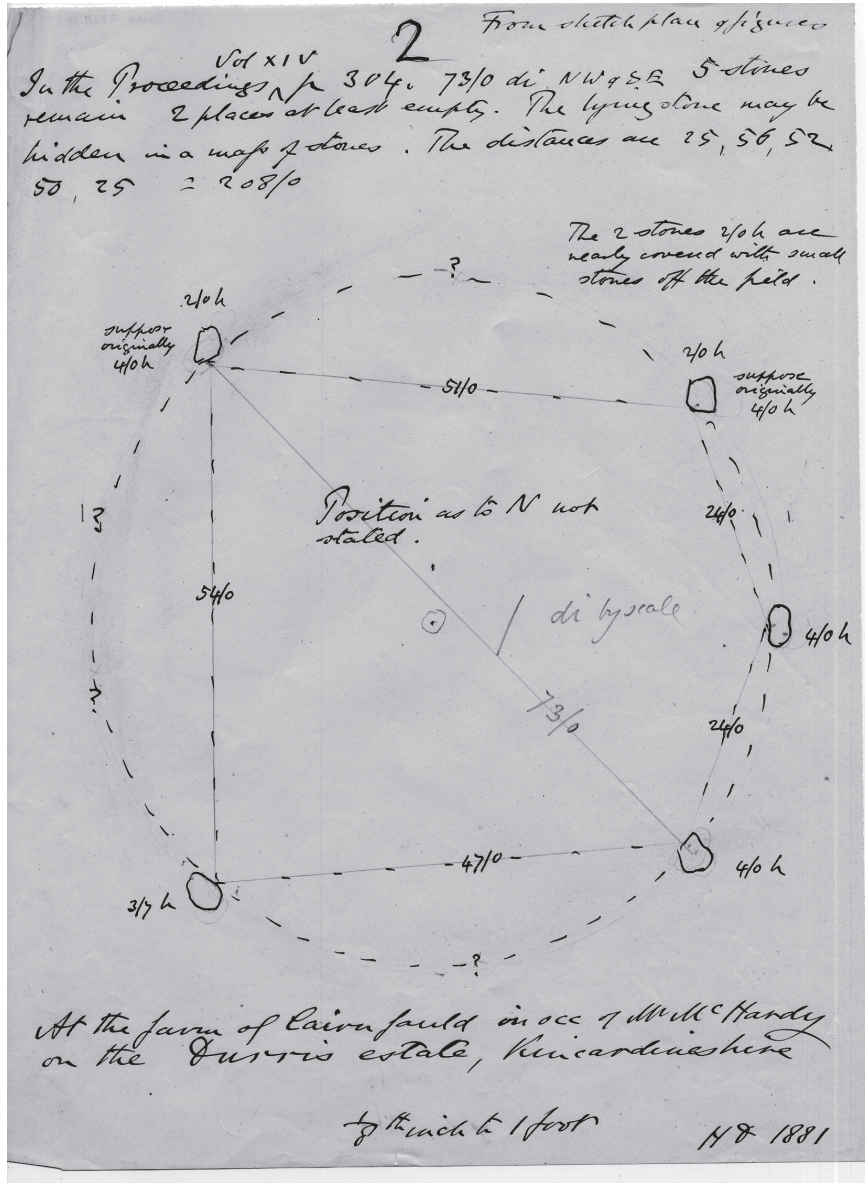


19 GMAG 7829.38

Ink and watercolour plan and elevations. W. C. Lukis

Annotation: Remains of Cairn, north of Bourtreebush Croft, Kincardineshire: scale 1/4in to 2 feet, 31 July 1884; Mag. mer. 21° W of N.

Bourtree Circle: NMRS 099 NW3; OS NO 9117 9772

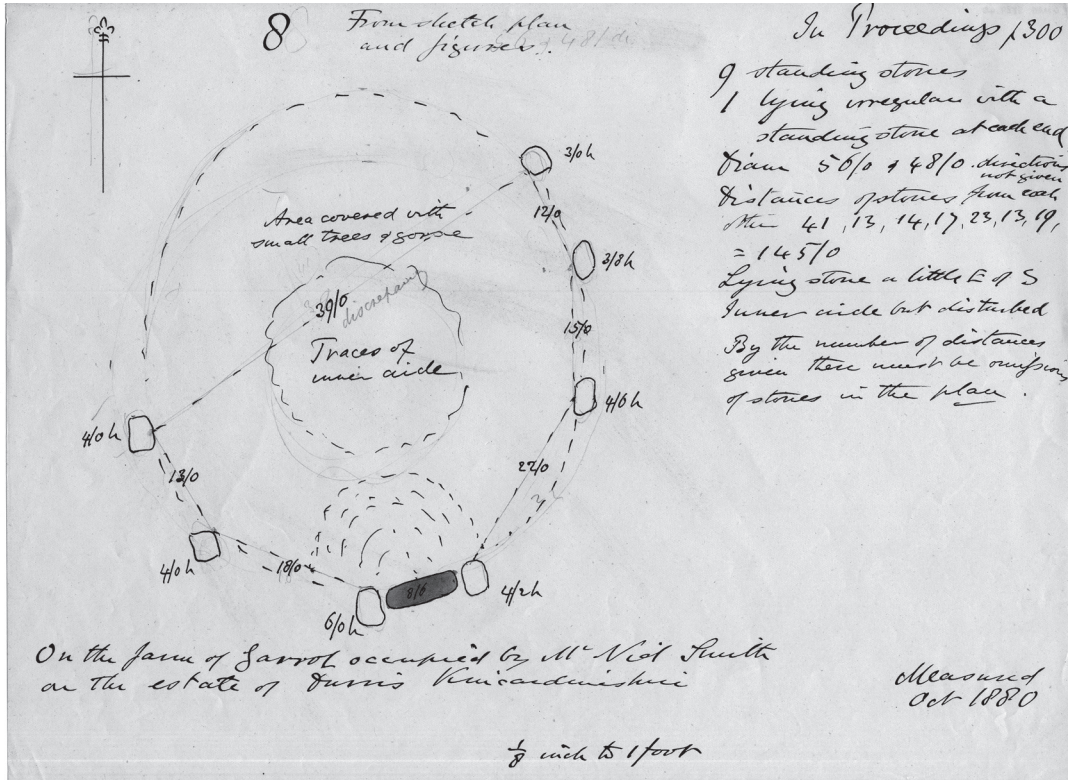


20 GMAG 7829.39

Watercolour and ink plan

Annotation: At the farm of Cairnfauld (by H Dryden) in occ. (sic) of Mr McHardy on the Durris Estate, Kincardineshire: ground plan, labelled '2'; scale 1/8in to 1 foot, H.D. 1881; red ink 'From sketch plan and figures', ink annotations, 'The 2 stones 2/0h are nearly covered with small stones off the field', in the *Proc Soc Ant Scot* Vol. XIV, p304, '73/0 di North-West and South-East, five stones remain two places at least empty. The lying stone may be hidden in a mass of stones. The distances are 25, 56, 52, 50, 25 equals 208/0', 'Position as to N not stated'.

Durris Stone Circle: NMRS NO70 SE1; OS NO 7535 9406

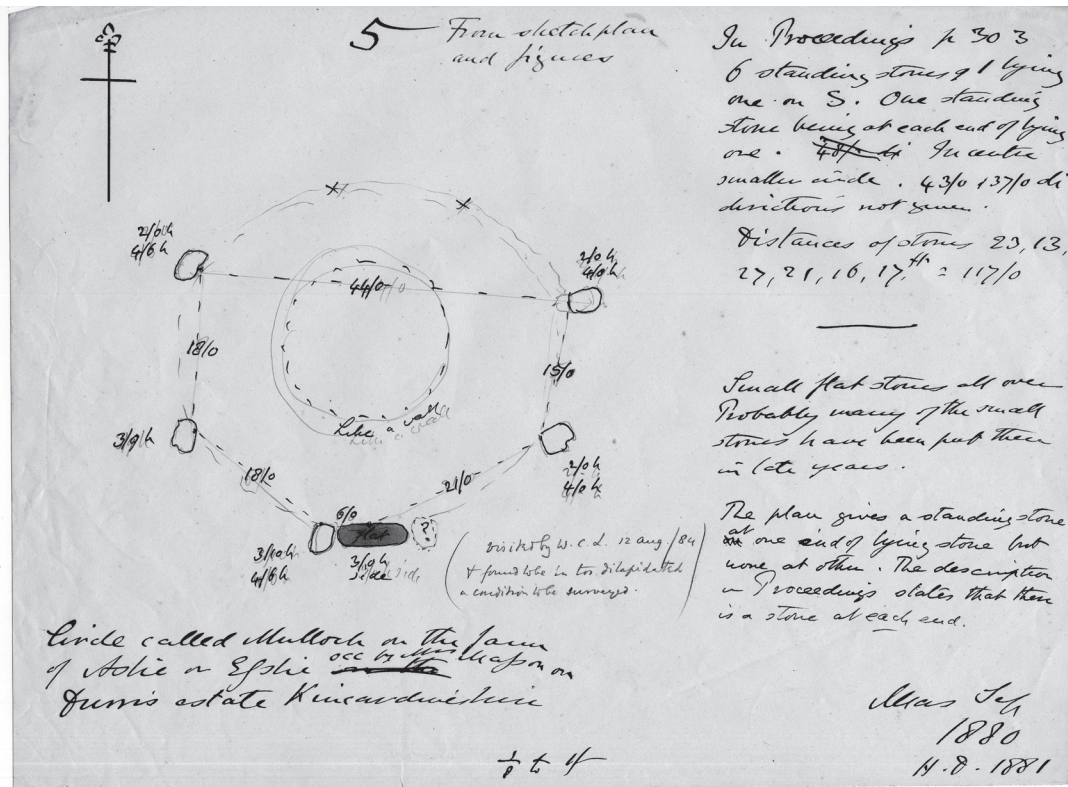


21 GMAG 7829.40

Ink and watercolour plan. H. Dryden

Plan of stone circle on the farm of Jarrot occupied by Mr Niel Smith on the estate of Durris, Kincardineshire: ground plan, labelled '8'; scale 1/8in to 1 foot, meas. October 1880, not signed; red ink annotation, 'From sketch plan and figures', ink annotation, 'In Proceedings p. 300, 9 standing stones, 1 lying irregular with a standing stone at each end. Diam. 56/0 and 48/0, directions not given. Distances of stones from each other 41, 13, 14, 17, 23, 13, 19 equals 145/0. Lying stone a little E of S. Inner circle but disturbed. By the number of distances given, there must be omissions of stones in the plan', 'Area covered with small trees and gorse. Traces of inner circle.'

NMRS NO7941 9336; OS NO79SW 5

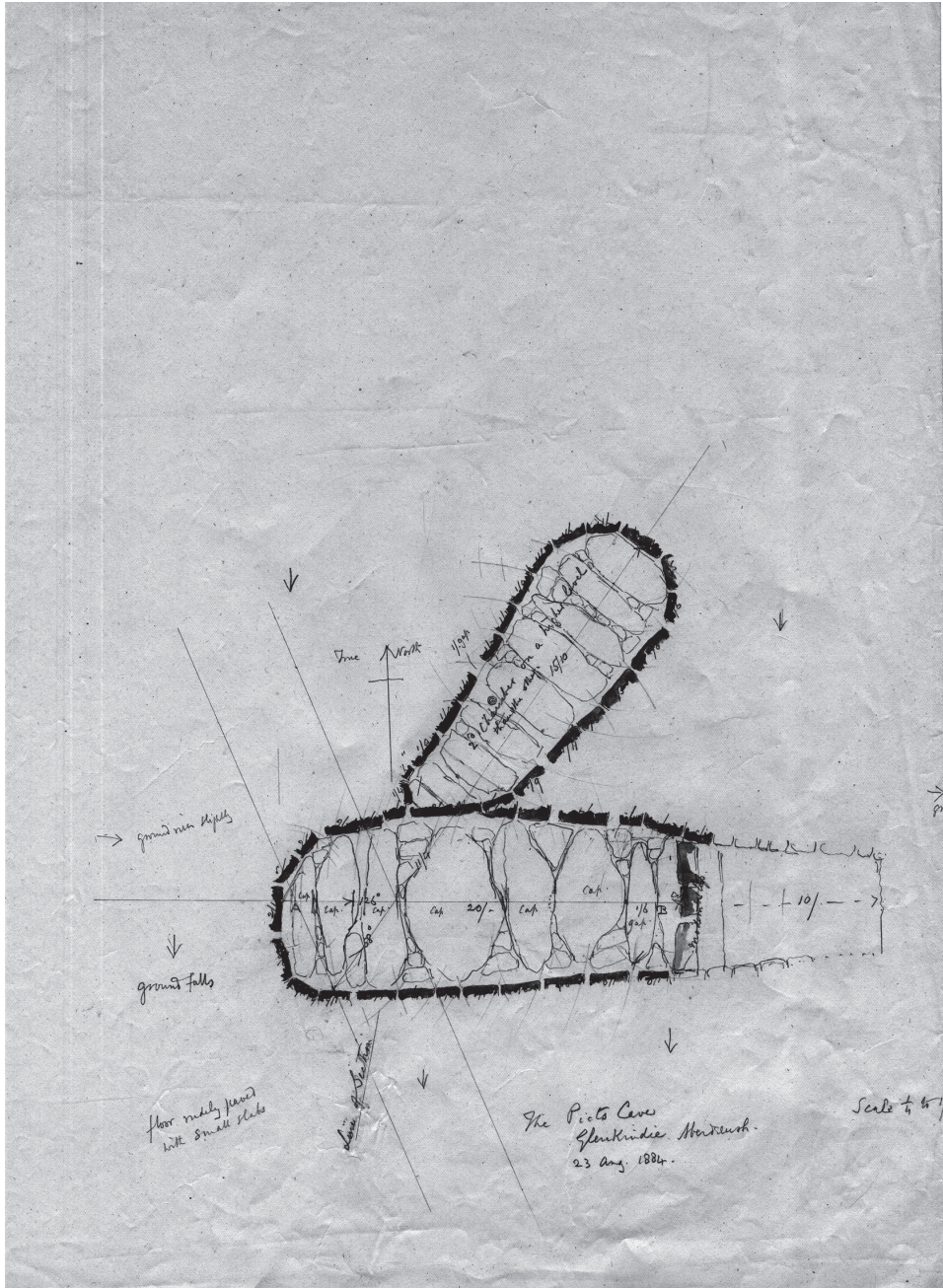


22 GMAG 7829.41

Ink and watercolour plan

Annotation: Circle called Mulloch on the farm of Aslie or Esslie occupied by Mr Masson, Durris estate, Kincardineshire: ground plan, labelled '5'; scale 1/8in to 1 foot, meas. September 1880, H.D. 1881; red ink annotation, 'From sketch plan and figures', 'In Proceedings p. 303, 6 standing stones and one lying one on S. One standing stone being at each end of lying one. In centre smaller circle. 43/0 and 37/0 directions not given. Distances of stones 23, 13, 27, 21, 16, 17 equals 117/0', 'Small flat stones all over. Probably many of the small stones have been put there in later years', 'The plan gives a standing stone at one end of lying stone but none at other. The description in Proceedings states that there is a stone at each end'; pencil annotation, 'visited by W.C.L. 12 August 1884 and found to be in too dilapidated a condition to be surveyed'.

Esslie Circle: NMRS NO70SW 7; OS NO 234 923

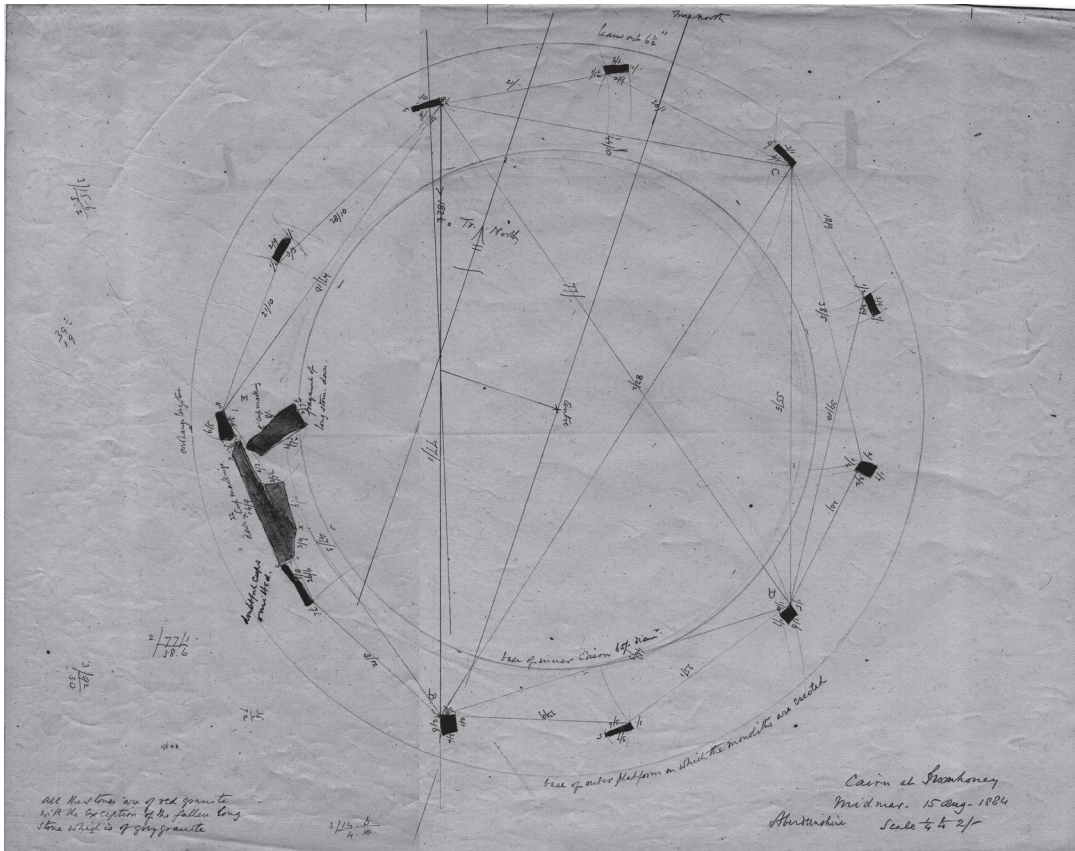


23 GMAG 7829.42

Ink and watercolour plan. W. C. Lukis

Annotation: The Picts Cave, Glenkindie, Aberdeenshire: scale 1/4in to 1 foot, unsigned, 23 August 1884; 'Transverse section requires correction', 'floor rudely paved with small slabs'.

Picts Cave: NMRS NJ 41SW2; OS NJ 4191 1433

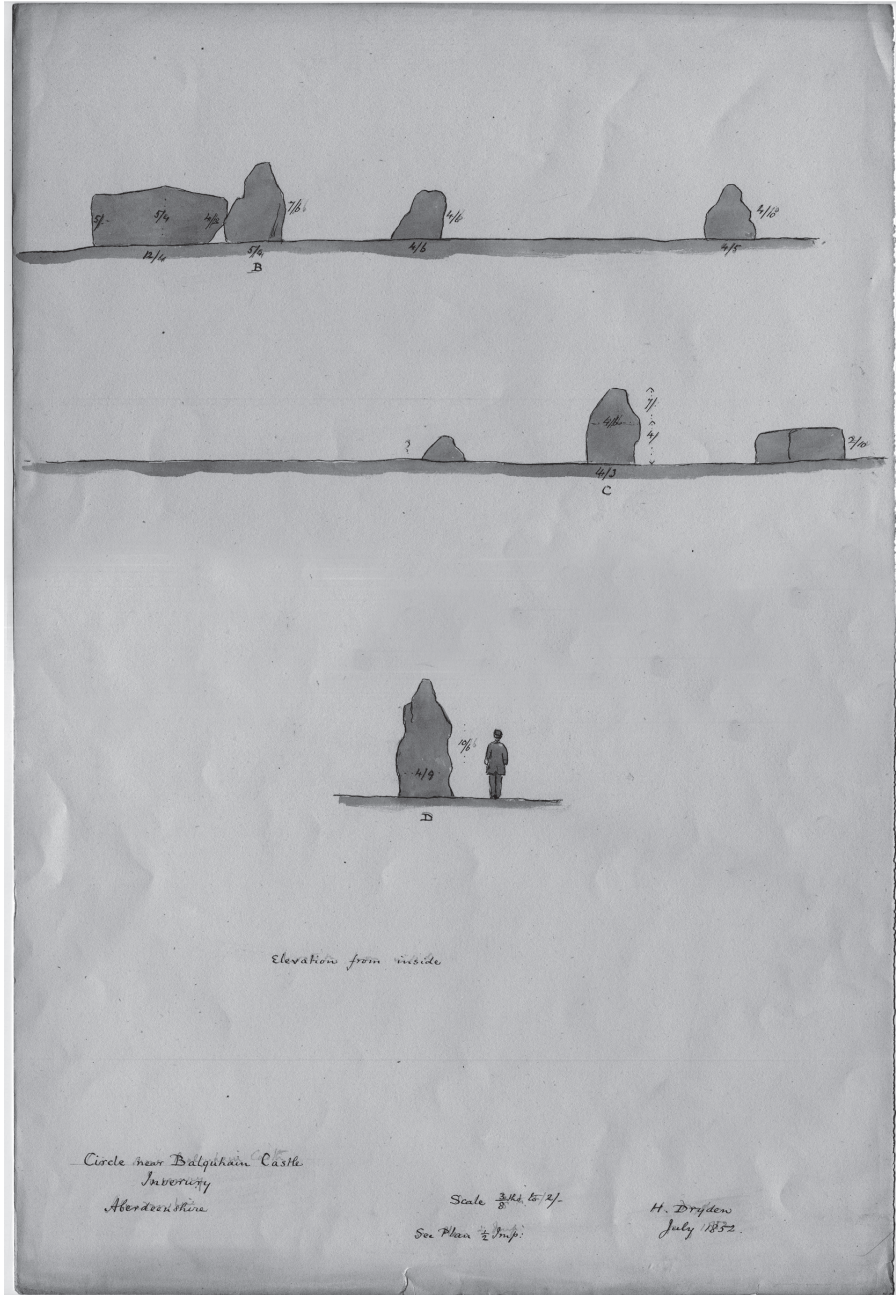


24 GMAG 7829.43

Ink and watercolour plan. W. C. Lukis

Annotation: Cairn at Sunhoney, Midmar, Aberdeenshire: scale 1/4in to 2 feet, unsigned, 15 August 1884; 'All the stones are of red granite with the exception of the fallen long stone which is of grey granite'.

Sunhoney Recumbent Stone Circle: NMRS NJ 70NW55; OS NJ 7159 0570

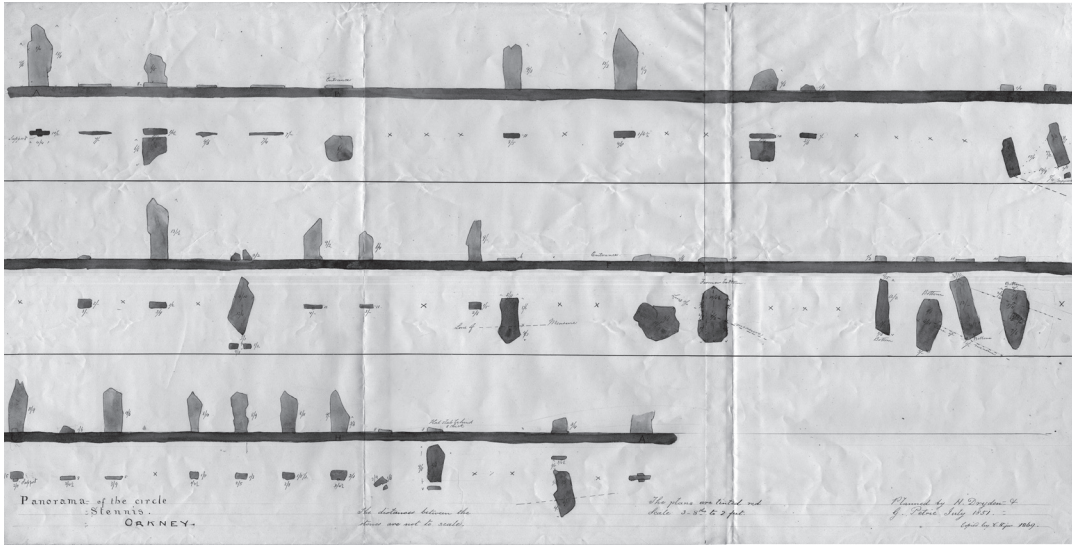


25 GMAG 7829.44

Ink and watercolour elevation

Annotation : Circle near Balquhain Castle, Inverury, Aberdeenshire: elevation from inside; scale 3/8in to 2 feet, Dryden, H, July 1852; 'See plan 1/2 Imp'.

Balquhain Circle: NMRS NJ72SW 2; OS NJ 7350 2408

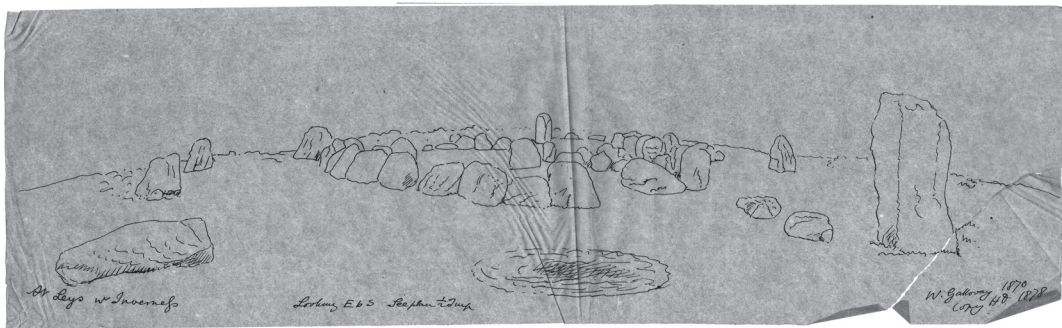


26 GMAG 7829.49

Ink and watercolour plan

Annotation: Panorama of the circle Stones of Stenness, Orkney: scale 3/8in to 2 feet, planned by Dryden, H. and Petrie, G, July 1851, copied by C.H. Jnr. 1869; 'The distances between the stones are not to scale' and 'The plans are tinted red'.

Stones of Stenness: NMRS HY31SW2; OS HY 3067 1252

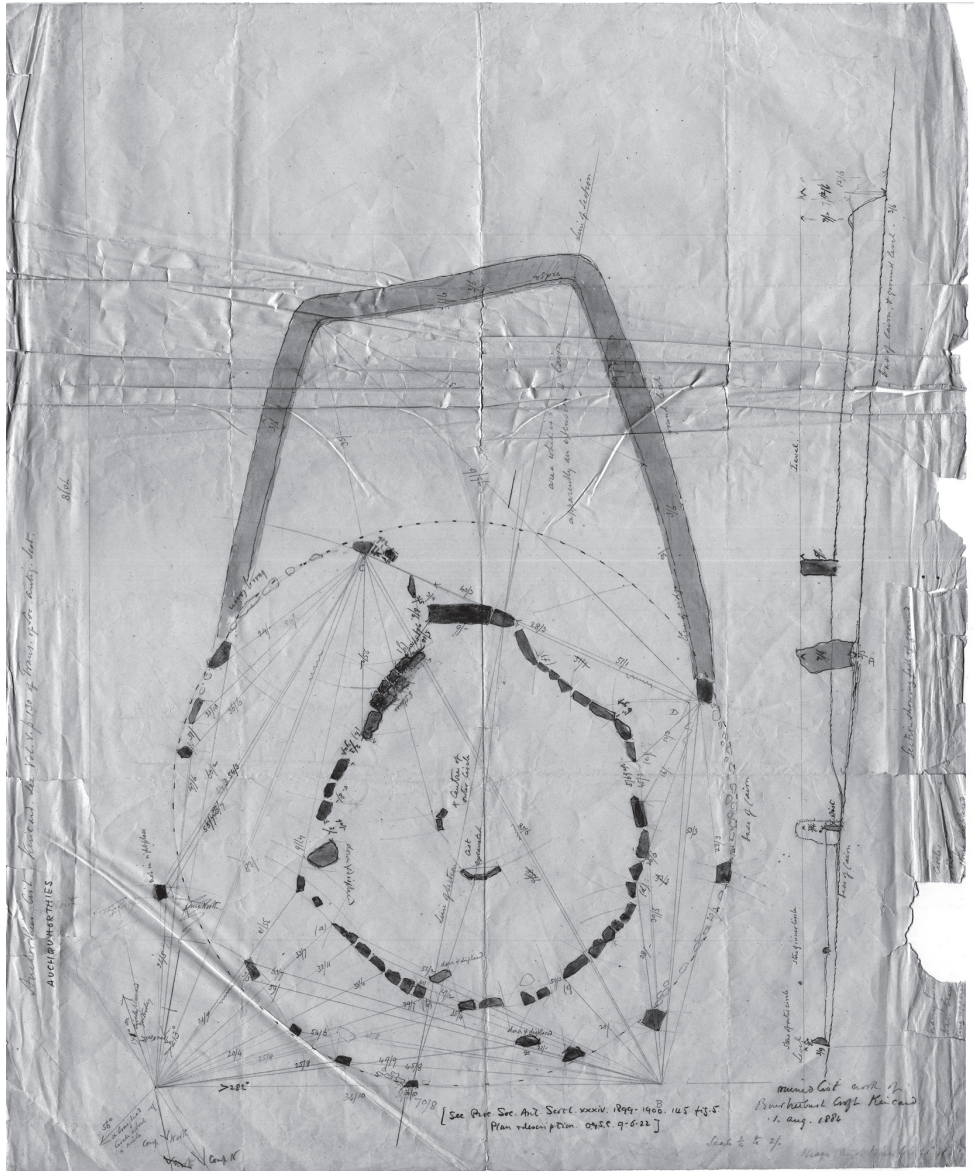


27 GMAG 7829.50

Ink on tracing paper

Annotation: At Leys, W. Inverness; looking east to south, of a stone. W. Galloway 1870, copied H.D. 1878; 'See plan 1/2 imp'; ink.

Leys Stone Circle: NH64 SE23; OS NH 6851 4201



28 GMAG 7829.52

Ink and watercolour plan. W. C. Lukis

Annotations: Stone circle Auchorthies (Auchquorthies) Cist, north of Bourtreebush Croft, Kincardineshire: scale 1/4in to 2 feet, 1 Aug 1884; 'See Vol. V., p. 130 of Trans. of Soc. Antiq. Scot.', 'ruined cist north of Bourtreebush Croft, Kincard. 1 August 1884', further pencil annotation impossible to read because of torn and missing edge of paper, later pencil annotation in a different hand, 'See Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot. XXXIV 1899-1900 145 Fig. 5 Plan and description O.G.S.C. 9.6.22', Mag. mer. 21° W.

Auchquorthies: NMRS NO99vNW2; OS NO 9035 9608

