

**Londubh Chapel and Old Burial Ground
Poolewe, Gairloch Parish, Wester Ross**



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for

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Londubh Chapel and Old Burial Ground

1.0 Background

Poolewe, Londubh or Inver Ewe chapel and burial ground are located immediately behind the raised beach east of the mouth of the River Ewe within the sheltered bay at the south end of Loch Ewe in Wester Ross. It is within the croft lands of Londubh on the edge of the village of Poolewe and 1km south of the renowned Inverewe Gardens, founded by Osgood Mackenzie and now managed by the National Trust for Scotland. The site is a Scheduled Ancient Monument, although occasional burials are still carried out.

This evaluation was commissioned by Loch Ewe Community Association and has been carried out in tandem with an interpretation leaflet and panel. Some of the information contained within the evaluation has been converted into a booklet. The evaluation will also take the opportunity to offer proposals and recommendations for future management and interpretation of the site, particularly with reference to the chapel. The examination of the standing building and the surface of the interior was undertaken once some clearance of the ivy and tree growth was undertaken.

2.0 Settlement History and Land Ownership.

2.1 Land Ownership

The part of Gairloch Parish north and east of Loch Maree and Loch Ewe was traditionally a part of the lands, or barony of Lochbroom and, it has been suggested, were also considered originally to be a part of Lochbroom parish. Lochbroom formed a part of the territory known as north Argyll, held by the Earls of Ross. They came into the possession of the Mackenzies of Kintail, chiefs of the clan Mackenzie, in the latter part of the 16th century. In 1623 Colin, Lord Mackenzie of Kintail was created Earl of Seaforth in recognition of the family's territorial importance and power, but was already in financial difficulties, and it was decided to dispose of the lands of Lochbroom first. In around 1672 the lands of Inverewe, Kernsary and Tournaig were claimed in exchange for debts by Alexander Mackenzie of Coul, member of another important Ross-shire land owning family.

MacKenzie of Coul does not appear to have had a personal interest in these bits of land. Lochend, or Kinloch (now Inverewe) was given as a tack to John Mackenzie, third son of Alexander Mackenzie, seventh laird of Gairloch. This must have happened soon after the purchase from the Seaforths.

The Rev. Kenneth MacKenzie, an Episcopalian minister from Bute, is known to have purchased Kernsary estate from the Coul MacKenzies, so he must have arrived after 1672. A date stone, now lost, was inscribed K M K 1678 and has been assumed to be the date at which Mackenzie built or rebuilt the chapel. After his death, three generations of the family

held the estate as minor lairds. Kernsary Estate was sold to the Seaforth family in the 1830s. At that time the Seaforths required a port at Londubh to enable access to their estates in Lewis. When they sold Lewis to the Matheson family in 1844, this was no longer needed and Kernsary was sold to the trustees of Kenneth Mackenzie of Gairloch, who in turn sold Kernsary, along with Lochend and Tournaig to Osgood Mackenzie in 1862-3.

2.2 Settlement History

The land north and east of the River Ewe appears to have been heavily populated during the Bronze and Iron Ages, judging by the number of prehistoric dwellings and fortifications known or located during improvements in the second half of the 19th century. Dixon mentions brochs at Craig Bhan halfway between Poolewe and Inveran on the NE side of the river and another 'with unusually high and perfect walls' standing on a grassy eminence to the east of the road between Poolewe and Tournaig. Neither of these has been located. The small dun on an island in Loch Tournaig does survive, and a crannog is recorded in Loch Kernsary, although this has not been investigated. Dixon refers also to a number of round houses, presumably hut circles, of which three were uncovered during the drainage of land at Loch nan Dailthean at Tournaig, and others near Kernsary, 'and in other places'. None of these have been located, but hut circles survive on Ploc an Rubha north of Inverewe and on the Allt loch nan Uain east of Tournaig. In addition, a number of bronze objects were recovered during peat cutting at Londubh in the 19th century, including two rings, a spearhead and a socketed axe.

The dun at Tournaig and the crannog on Loch Kernsary, although possibly prehistoric in origin, may have been used as defensive sites as late as the unsettled 16th century. Little is known of ordinary settlements prior to the Reformation, but it is likely that by that time they were established in the pattern which continued until the improvements of the 19th century. Timothy Pont's survey, carried out in the 1580s, records Tournag, Inveran and Inverewe, the original name for the township east of the river mouth.

Roy's military survey, carried out in the 1750s, appears to record the Londubh chapel, as a building with Kirk written beside it is recorded. However, by this time the church had fallen out of use and had been converted to a burial aisle, and it is more likely that Roy is recording the house occupied by the Kernsary MacKenzies, described by Dixon as a good example of a laird's house of the 17th century, which lay to the NE of the chapel and was known as Kirkton, or Baile na h'Eaglais in the Gaelic. Roy also records a cluster of buildings at Lochend, two clusters on either side of the river corresponding approximately to Pool Crofts and Shore, and a building and enclosure, named as Pole just east of the river mouth. This is probably the Londubh Inn, later Pool House. Corn lands are indicated all along the coastline.

John Thomson's map of 1823 only records Inverew, Poolewe with an inn west of the river mouth and roads or tracks to Strath and south along the SW shore of Loch Maree to join the military road at Slattadale. The name Inverew is located at what is now Srondubh, a house which has been dated to 1730-40 with a possibly earlier core, adjacent to the home farm of Inverewe. The name Srondubh only appears to have been applied to this house

with the building of the present Inverewe House. In 1855 the original Inverewe was, according to Osgood Mackenzie, 'a neglected outlying sheep farm...without even a resident farm tenant on it, and in charge only of two shepherds, who looked after its stock of Cheviot ewes.'

It appears that all the lands belonging to MacKenzie of Coul were given over to sheep, including the former tack of Lochend. Sir George MacKenzie was a great Improver, who introduced sheep to his east coast properties around 1808 and to Inverlael in Lochbroom in 1820. Inverewe and Tournaig farms are likely to have been established around the same time, but there are indications that they did not flourish. Osgood Mackenzie records that after sheep had been on the land for some years, part of the estate was let to a lot of crofters from Melvaig. Exactly where they settled is unclear, as by the mid 19th century the only land north of the Ewe available for small tenants was Londubh.

Londubh was a part of Kernsary estate, and Kenneth Mackenzie chose to live at Kirkton, within Londubh, probably for convenience. The date for the laying out of the Londubh crofts is most likely to be around 1844, the same date as the improvement of other townships on the Gairloch estate, although it does not display the typical grid- pattern of croft divisions favoured by Gairloch.

Poolewe village, west of the river mouth, was developed in 1808 with the intention of establishing a manufactory for woollen cloth. A jetty and storehouse were only built when steamers began a regular service. Before this, landing would have been limited on the Poolewe side of the river, which made the Londubh shoreline the principal landing place for fishing boats and packets from Stornoway.

The bridge over the river Ewe was not built until 1844, the year that Kernsary became part of the Gairloch estate. Before that, communication between the two sides of the river had been difficult and there are tales of people drowning while trying to cross the river via the cruives at the Red Smiddy. The road from Poolewe to Aultbea and beyond was not built until money was provided to relieve destitution after the potato famine in 1846.

After the Kernsary Mackenzies sold the estate to the Seaforths in the 1830s, Kirkton House was lived in by the family of Alastair Og, a descendent of the fifth laird of Gairloch and formerly tacksman of all the lands on the north side of Loch Ewe belonging to the Gairloch estate. His elder son was John, piper, poet and author, and his younger James, a collector of local history and folklore. The original house was demolished in the 1920s and replaced by the present cottage opposite the burial ground.

2.3 The MacKenzies of Kernsary

The Rev. Kenneth MacKenzie, an Episcopalian minister from Bute, purchased Kernsary estate from the Coul MacKenzies, soon after 1672 and built or rebuilt the church by 1678. He married a daughter of Mackenzie of Letterewe, and lived at Kirkton House by the chapel, which he may also have built as it was dated by Dixon to the 17th century. After his death his family took no major part in the religious life of Gairloch parish, but lived as

minor lairds for three generations. Kenneth's son Roderick was succeeded by his own son Roderick, who married Mary, sister of MacKenzie of Ballone (Inverbroom), and known as Mali Chruinn Donn. She was a celebrated beauty before her marriage, and the subject of a song by William MacKenzie, a Gairloch bard. They had one son, Alexander, or Sandy, who built the house at Inveran; he married a daughter of the Rev. Roderick Morison, minister of Kintail, 'the best-looking woman in the north of Scotland at that time'. They had three sons and three daughters. One son, Hector, became Established church minister at Moy, one daughter married Mr MacTavish, a lawyer in Inverness, another one Cameron, a farmer, while another son went to sea. Alexander sold the Kernsary estate to the Seaforths in the 1830s.

The Rev. Kenneth Mackenzie must have arrived from Bute with sufficient wealth and status to buy the estate, build Kirkton House and the church, and secure a good marriage. Successive generations also appear to have maintained their position in local society. Osgood Mackenzie describes an expedition by five lairds: 'Sir Hector MacKenzie of Gairloch invited Sir George MacKenzie of Coul, MacKenzie of Dundonnell, MacKenzie of Letterewe and Mackenzie of Kernsary...'. The second Roderick, Rorie, was, by Dixon's account a 'strange eccentric man' not above fighting a drover for possession of a cow. Dixon gives no information, unfortunately, on how the family ran the estate and treated their tenants.

3.0 Ecclesiastical Background

The history of usage of the Londubh chapel is directly linked to the ecclesiastical history of Scotland, although the doctrinal and organisational changes had less influence on the west coast parishes than on Easter Ross.

Christianity was first brought to north Scotland by Irish missionaries, later revered as saints. The distribution of saints' dedications in Wester Ross suggest that evangelising this area was undertaken first by Columba's contemporary, St. Donan of Eigg who died in c. 617 and, in the later seventh century, by St. Maolrubha of Applecross. St Columba, although he did visit Skye, does not appear to have had a presence on the adjacent mainland, and after Donan's death the process stagnated until the arrival of St. Maolrubha in Scotland in 671. According to the Annals of Ulster, Maolrubha, born on 3rd January 642, was a monk of Bangor in Northern Ireland, who founded a monastery at Applecross in 673 and died in 722 at the age of 80. Although there are few documentary references to Maolrubha, his connections with the monastery of Applecross and with the hermitage on Isle Maree are still well known locally. He is the titular saint of the parish of Gairloch, within which Isle Maree lies, and also of the parish of Lochcarron, south of Applecross. It should be noted that it is doubtful that every dedication to a saint would be proof of that personage's direct involvement in the foundation of the church.

The monastery of Applecross held extensive lands, which were administered by a lay abbott after the destruction of the actual monastery by Norse raiders. It has been suggested that these lands correspond to the Earldom of Ross, itself covering effectively the same

area as the diocese of Ross, which was in existence from the 11th century, with a regular succession of bishops and a clear parish structure. The diocese contained 37 parishes, of which Gairloch was one of the largest, although it seems that the area of Gairloch parish north of Loch Maree and Loch Ewe appear to have been considered to be part of the parish of Loch Broom as late as the beginning of the 17th century.

Each parish contained one parish church, but also chapels at which worship was also carried out, particularly important in the large west coast parishes with a scattered population. Some chapels were on earlier Christian or even pre-Christian sites, while others were established by wealthy individuals or families. So, in Gairloch parish, as well as the parish church, worship was probably carried out at the chapel of Sand at Laide, Londubh chapel and another at Kinlochewe. Of these, only the Kinlochewe chapel is recorded on Timothy Pont's map (as Heglis Loch Ew, ie. The church of Loch Ewe, Loch Maree at the time being frequently referred to as Loch Ewe) The lack of reference to Sand and Londubh chapels suggests that they had possibly already fallen out of use by the Reformation.

The mediaeval structure of the diocese involved bishops, who were royal nominees, based at Fortrose, and vicars, or priests, appointed to each parish. Gairloch was a 'common kirk' whose revenues belonged to the chaplains or canons of the cathedral at Fortrose. The focus of religious life was the parish church and many burials took place within the church building itself. Mediaeval churches were built along an east-west line so that the congregation and priest, who faced the altar to celebrate mass, looked east. At or near the entrance to the church was the baptismal font. Other church furnishings might include a rood screen, piscine, aumbry and sacrament house, all of which were swept away with the Reformation.

In 1560 an act of parliament abolished the authority of the Roman Catholic church and the celebration of Mass was forbidden. Henceforth the Church of Scotland was governed not by a hierarchy of bishops and archbishops, but by kirk sessions of lay elders and later by district presbyteries, possessing the power to ordain ministers. Churches would now be unadorned, and liturgy was abandoned in favour of spontaneous prayer and preaching. The change in worship necessitated changes in the layout of churches. As the pulpit rather than the altar was now the focus, the simplest solution was to locate it in the centre of the south wall, and to make new large windows in this central section. As congregations increased in size, galleries, often accessed by external stairs, were built, or a new wing was erected, creating the T-shaped church.

The religious struggles of the 17th century, as Episcopacy and Presbyterianism vied for authority, probably had little impact on the Wester Ross parishes. Sir John Broik was rector of Gairloch at the time of the Reformation and continued so until his death in 1583. The people and clergy tended towards Episcopacy, and the celebration of the principal Christian festivals continued in Gairloch until the 19th century. The Rev. Roderick MacKenzie, minister from 1649 to 1710, served equally through times of Episcopacy and Presbyterianism, while later attempts to implant Presbyterian ministers met with fierce local opposition. However, by the middle of the 18th century, Presbyterianism was the accepted denomination in Gairloch.

The size of the parish dictated that, as with the chapels in the pre-Reformation period, more than one place of worship was required to serve the scattered population. The chapel of Sand appears to have been repaired by George Mackenzie of Gruinard around 1713 and the ministers of Gairloch appear to have preached there periodically through the 18th century, while the old church or chapel at Culinellan near Kinlochewe existed, and therefore was possibly in occasional use, until at least 1792, when the minister wrote in the Old Statistical account: 'There are three places of public worship in the parish, exclusive of the church, viz., Kenlochew, Chapel of Sand, and the croft of Jolly (sic)'. In 1733 the kirk-session of Gairloch petitioned the presbytery to enlarge the 'chapel at Pollew', and the presbytery agreed to do so. This, however, was probably not the chapel at Londubh, but a small place of worship at Tollie Croft, or Cruive End. This appears not to be the same as that built by the Rev. John Morrison, who became minister in Gairloch in 1711 but did not find favour with his parishioners. He stated to the presbytery in 1716 that, 'having no glebe, manse, or legal maintenance, he was obliged to take a tack of land', this at Tollie bay. He held services in a turf-built church which stood on the shingle beach. After Morrison, the minister was provided with a manse, garden and glebe at Cliff. The church at Tollie Croft appears to have been still used for occasional services as late as 1826. In 1772 Thomas Pennant passed through on his tour of Scotland and recorded: 'Land; are received by the Rev. Mr Dounie, minister of Gairloch, whom we attend to church, and hear a very edifying plain comment on a portion of scripture. He takes us home with him.' In 1826 Duncan MacKenzie, the innkeeper at Poolewe, was accustomed to read the scriptures to the congregation at Tollie Croft while awaiting the minister's arrival.

Although the differences in Episcopal and Presbyterian worship were initially ignored in the Western parishes, by the end of the 17th century there is a suggestion that those wishing to follow Episcopal doctrine were required or preferred to do this outwith the established places of worship. The Londubh chapel, described in more detail below, was used for Episcopalian worship in the second half of the 17th century, but this appears to be solely because an Episcopalian minister, the Rev. Kenneth Mackenzie moved to Kernsary, and the ministry seems to have finished with his death.

By the time the Old Statistical Account was written by the Presbyterian minister in 1792, he felt able to state that there was then no division or dissent in the parish. However, it seems that a few still clung to Episcopacy, as Bishop Forbes recorded that in the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century, 'pastors took it by turns to wander over the west of Ross, through Strath Garve, Torridon and Gairloch, and thence into Skye and the long Island, ministering to the detached families who still kept up a connection with them.' It is perhaps significant that one of the handful of Episcopal churches in the northwest, dedicated to St Maelrubha, was opened in Poolewe in 1965.

In 1823 an act of parliament was passed to fund and build new churches in the Highlands and Islands to reflect the growing and shifting population of the early 19th century. Sir Francis Mackenzie applied for three churches in Gairloch parish. The application was initially turned down, but as other applications dropped out or were proved unsuitable, Gairloch was reconsidered, and the Commissioners agreed in 1826 to allow for one church: 'The Commissioners have seen occasion to revise their proceedings with regard to the

extensive parish of Gairloch, the applications from which appear to have been unsuccessful, from circumstances which merit indulgence; so that one church will be placed in that parish, when the best situation for it shall have been ascertained, the original application having extended to no less than three additional churches.'

It is clear from this that Poolewe was not the immediate choice for the new church, perhaps being considered to be adequately served by the Tollie Croft church, known to be in use in 1826. However, a site was provided by the proprietor and the church was completed on the 7th November 1828. There is no suggestion that any previous place of worship had occupied the site. Poolewe was created a *quoad sacra* parish, one that from a church point of view was completely part of the church system, its ministers and elders having all the usual rights, powers and privileges, but with no civil authority. In 1843, with the Disruption which split the Established church, the minister at Poolewe 'came out' with his congregation. As the Mackenzie laird of Gairloch also joined the Free Church, they were not denied a site for a new church as was the case in other parts of the parish, where the Free Church congregation had to resort to preaching caves such as at Sand and Cove. The present Poolewe Free Church was not built until 1889; it appears to occupy the same site as the meeting house used after the Disruption.

4.0 History of Londubh Chapel

4.1 Early History

The ecclesiastical history of the chapel is almost entirely derived from Dixon's 'Gairloch and Guide to Loch Maree', written in 1886. Dixon admits that 'there is no record whatever of its history', meaning its establishment and early history. He does speculate that the chapel existed before the Reformation, but considers that the chapel 'seems to belong to the 17th century, judging from the appearance of the ruins now present'.

It has been noted that the chapel is not aligned E-W, as would be expected in a pre-Reformation place of worship. This suggests that, even if there were an early structure here, around which the burial ground developed, it was too ruinous to be rebuilt in the 17th century, and there is no fabric of this early phase incorporated into the later building, although foundations and other below ground features may survive. More reliable indicators of the existence of a pre-reformation chapel may be the font stone (see below, Section 10) which would have occupied a focal position inside the doorway of the chapel, and would have been removed from the building along with all other furnishings associated with Roman Catholic ritual. Dixon notes the stone basin of the font, lying loose in the burial ground, and 'a stone now placed over a grave...moulded along one edge, and may possibly have formed part of the altar'.

4.2 Use for Episcopalian Worship

The Rev. Kenneth MacKenzie was already an Episcopalian clergyman when he bought the Kernsary estate soon after 1672. It is interesting to speculate whether he had been invited

by the local population who staunchly adhered to the Episcopal faith. However, the parish minister at the time, Roderick MacKenzie, was content to conform to either Episcopacy or Presbyterianism, depending on which was established at the time. In 1672 the Scottish church was officially Episcopalian. It may also be that the services of a clergyman were felt necessary where the distance to the parish church was so great, although this would have been truer of the more northern townships of the parish. It is also possible that the notion that the lands north of the River Ewe belonged to the parish of Lochbroom still held, and the people felt themselves sufficiently detached from the Gairloch parish church to require their own clergy. It is probably most likely, however, that the Rev. MacKenzie wished to establish himself on a small estate and held services as much for his own benefit as for the local population's. It may be that Bute, his place of origin, was more firmly Presbyterianism and he decided to take his ministrations to an area known to be favourable to Episcopalianism. There is a local tale that he had a boatload of soil brought from Bute to Kirkton, part of which was put in the burial ground so that he might lie beneath Bute soil. Whatever his intentions in establishing himself at Kernsary, he married the daughter of MacKenzie of Letterewe and lived in, or possibly built, the laird's house later known as Kirkton.

The Rev. Kenneth MacKenzie, according to Gairloch tradition, either rebuilt a pre-existing chapel or built a new structure in which to hold Episcopalian services. Dixon describes a loose stone in one of the burial places, inscribed 'KMK 1678' which is taken to be the date the building or restoration was completed. Dixon also describes initials and a date inscribed on the lintel of the door of the principal burial place, almost unreadable but the date appeared to be the same.

4.3 Later History

On MacKenzie's death services in the chapel came to an end, and, according to Dixon, with the final establishment of Presbyterianism in 1689 the church was partially pulled down and converted into two burial aisles for the Kernsary Mackenzies. His grandson, Rorie, was 'buried in the chapel in the Inverewe burial-ground'. There is no local tradition of Presbyterian services being held here despite the need for a place of worship. It is possible that the building was too small for the local congregation, and the surrounding burials made any extension impractical, or that the building was considered in some way 'tainted' by Episcopalianism, or that the Kernsary family refused permission for its use.

5.0 Description of the Building

The ruined church building was probably built in or shortly after 1672 by the Rev. Kenneth MacKenzie. It is unlikely to include any walls of the original chapel although undoubtedly the stones of the chapel would have been re-used in the later building. The church is not aligned E-W, as one would expect if it had been a pre-Reformation place of worship. This suggests that the earlier chapel was either too ruinous to rebuild or had been deliberately destroyed at the Reformation, which had only been 100 years before, too short a time for a stone building to naturally crumble.



1. View of the church building from the NW

The church, built in the 1670s for Episcopalian worship, was small, measuring only 12.4m by 5.1m. Only the NE wall stands to its original full height, and this seems to have had no windows. The doorway is to the south of the SW wall, and part of the moulded rybat, or jamb, can still be seen in place. This type of moulding is typical of 16th-18th century Scottish buildings and about the only visible architectural detail which allows a rough dating of the building. Another section of the same moulding is lying on the ground further along the wall, but there is unlikely to have been a second doorway, so either this was a window surround or the stone has been moved.

There appears to have originally been a stone lintel over the doorway, with the carved inscription 'K M K 1678'. In 1880 this stone was lying inside the building, in 1965 it was seen standing upright in the burial ground to the SW of the building, but it is now lost.

Internally, there would have been an altar set at one end of the building. In 1880 Dixon noted a 'stone, now placed over a grave...moulded along one edge, and may possibly have formed part of the altar'. This stone may well be still in the burial ground, but too overgrown for the moulding to be visible.

In 1689 the building was partly pulled down and converted to burial lairs for the family of the Rev. Kenneth MacKenzie, the MacKenzies of Kernsary. The internal wall which divides the building in two was probably built at this time. Other burial lairs for local families have been built onto the outside of the NE wall.

For many years the inside of the building was, unfortunately, used as a tip for grass cuttings and dead flowers, and trees were allowed to grow on the ruined walls, while ivy covered

the whole building. It is hoped, now the trees have been felled and the ivy treated, that more details of the building will be revealed.



2. SE corner of church building, with ivy stems

6.0 The Burial Ground

6.1 History of Burial in Gairloch Parish

While in smaller parishes, such as those of Easter Ross, burial of the dead would have taken place at, or even within, the parish church, the distances involved in the west coast parishes necessitated the use of many burial grounds. In Gairloch parish, apart from the main churchyard, there are burial grounds still in use at Sand/Laide, Londubh/Kirkton, and Mellon Charles, while there are others which have now fallen out of use at Culinellan at Kinlochewe, Isle Maree, Isle of Ewe and Cladh nan Sasunnach near the head of Loch Maree. This last is considered to be the burial ground only of English or Lowland workers at the ironworks, but its use may have been over a much longer timespan. Other burial grounds associated with remote townships have probably not yet been identified. For example, William Mackenzie, catechist and bard, is recorded by Dixon as having been buried in Creagan an Inver of Meikle Gruinard, at the northern edge of Gairloch Parish.

Of the known burial grounds, all but three are associated with places of worship or an early Christian establishment. Two are, significantly, on islands. This may derive from the continuation of beliefs and practices associated with burial of the dead from before the arrival of Christianity. Local tradition certainly associates Isle Maree with druidical

worship. There is also a more prosaic explanation for this preference for island sites. At the time of the Reformation, the problem of wolves digging up graves was so great that island burials were preferred even if this involved carrying the dead some distance. The island burial grounds appear to have continued in use long after the threat of wolves was removed. In the neighbouring parish of Lochbroom the burial ground on Gruinard Island served the townships of Strath na Sealg even late in the 19th century. A sea captain was buried in the Isle Ewe burial ground in 1822, although it is unlikely that it was in general use after the island was converted into a sheep farm. Isle Maree burial ground was in use until the end of the nineteenth century; the gravestone inscriptions would seem to indicate that the last interment took place in 1925.

Geographical distribution did not necessarily dictate where one was buried, and people were often carried great distances. The extreme example of this is the MacKenzie lairds who were carried from Gairloch to Brahan by up to 500 tenants. Isle Maree burial ground appears to have served primarily the inhabitants of the north side of Loch Maree including the English and Lowland ironworkers, but its sanctity and associations with St Maolrubha appear to have attracted burials from further afield. The presence of roadside coffin cairns, formed by every member of a funeral party adding a stone to the spot where the coffin or bier was placed when a halt was made, would have allowed a study of the movement of the dead in the parish. Unfortunately, the majority of these will have been destroyed or concealed by modern road widening. One such cairn was visible in the 1880s on the high part of the road between Poolewe and Gairloch. It is not always clear which burial ground was the destination, but in the case of the abovementioned cairn, it was probably on the route to Gairloch parish church. It is assumed that the majority of ordinary people on the SW side of the Ewe would have been interred there, leaving Londubh for the NE side of the river.

6.2 Location of Burial Grounds

As has been seen, all but three of the burial grounds identified in Gairloch parish are associated with early Christian establishments. The choice of location of early Christian establishments and chapel sites is the subject of debate. Erosion at some sites in the Outer Isles has revealed evidence for domestic settlement, such as middens, adjacent to the chapel. This would indicate a close relationship between areas of settlement and places of worship, but which came first has yet to be clarified by excavation. It is possible that secular settlements grew up around early monastic sites. Although a significant body of monastic sites were in remote, inaccessible locations, others would appear to have been established under the protection of local tribal leaders and were in close proximity to defensive sites and the settlements around them. None of the churches and chapels in Gairloch parish is in a defensive or prominent location, rather, they are all on low lying ground adjacent to water: the sea in three cases, and the Kinlochewe river. Londubh is unusual in this group in being in the midst of good arable ground, the others are at the edge of the Early Modern settlement areas.

Before the Reformation, many interments took place within the church building, and after this practice was banned it still continued in some parishes. The burial grounds which grew

up around chapels and churches would not have been located on the easiest ground for digging deep graves (possibly the reason for so much predation by wolves). The burial grounds not associated with chapels or churches appear to have been located partly where the soil depth was suitable, e.g. Isle Ewe or where the ground was neither waterlogged nor good arable land, e.g. Mellon Charles, which is on a small rise surrounded by wet ground.

If the soil depth within burial grounds attached to chapels was not adequate, it is possible that in some places soil was brought to the site. At Teampull Mhicheil in the Outer Isles there is a local tradition that soil was brought in to the cladh to raise up the land for burials. And at Teampull Chrìosd in Uig, the legend is that the burial ground was once bare rock, and a man named Eidheann brought the soil from a nearby hill. There may be some echo of these traditions in the Gairloch tale that the Rev. Kenneth MacKenzie brought a boatload of soil from Bute to ensure that when he was buried he would lie under Bute earth.

6.3 Enclosure of burial grounds

Most of the Gairloch burial grounds appear originally to have been unenclosed. Dixon records that in 1727 Mr Smith, minister of Gairloch, got the heritors of the parish to erect churchyard dykes. This can only have been at the parish church. The small burial ground at Mellon Charles was still unenclosed at the time of the 1st Ordnance Survey, although by this time Culinellan and Sand were defined by regular drystone dykes. Other enclosing dykes may be much older, for example Isle Maree, whose sub-circular burial enclosure may be contemporary with the original oratory or chapel. The burial ground on Isle Ewe is sub-oval and surrounded by low rubble walling which must pre-date the establishment of the model farm.

The dyke enclosing Londubh burial ground is described by Dixon as having been built ‘a few years ago’ which would place its construction in the second half of the 19th century.

Of the burial grounds under discussion, only that at Gairloch parish church and Londubh have trees planted along the inside of the enclosing dyke. The trees at Gairloch are recorded on the 1st edition OS map, and so must have been mature by the 1870s, although it is not known whether they are contemporary with the dyke. These trees have suffered damage during winter gales and some have been felled. The Londubh trees are much younger, as the photographs of the military funeral in 1914 show them as no more than a few decades old.

6.4 Londubh Burial Ground Description

The burial ground is located within Londubh crofting township, set just back from the top of the raised beach overlooking the broad shingle beach at the head of Loch Ewe. It is adjacent to one of the narrow roads providing access to the inland croft holdings, which probably pre-dates the enclosing of the burial ground. It is surrounded by grazing land containing field clearance cairns and rubble banks dating to pre-crofting land use. The narrow strip of land between the raised beach and the shore line, formerly croft land, is

now occupied by a camp site and 20th century villas and bungalows, and the croft landscape contains a scatter of croft houses dating to the 19th and 20th centuries.

The enclosed area of the burial ground is roughly circular, flattened where it is contiguous to the road. The rubble dyke in some places consists of short straight sections, probably to facilitate its construction with poor quality rounded pebbles. The dyke appears to have been originally lime mortared, although much of this has washed out, with mortared capstones. Modern repairs using concrete have resulted in rather unattractive sections. The north and NE part of the dyke appear to have been constructed on top of a low bank. This is particularly visible from the north and may represent the original boundary of the older part of the burial ground.



3. Low bank extending beyond rubble dyke, possibly original extent of burial ground

On the inside of this section, standing grave stones which obviously pre-date the dyke are located less than 0.5m from its base, also indicating that the dyke was built on or within the original boundary. There is no bank along the southern part of the dyke. It would appear that the original burial ground, before it was enclosed in the mid 19th century occupied only the north part of the present enclosure. The earth and rubble banks outside the enclosure, which are the remains of pre-crofting field clearance and field boundaries, at three locations run up to the drystone dyke, but there is no trace of their continuing into the burial ground. It is likely that when the decision was made to enclose the burial ground, allowing a generous expansion for future burials, the rubble from these banks was incorporated into the new dyke. This would have been during the ownership of Osgood Mackenzie, whose decision it must have been to create the circular shape.

The ruins of the church or chapel are in the NE segment of the enclosed area, on slightly higher ground. It has been suggested that the chapel and burial ground have been sited on top of a previous, possibly prehistoric structure. This suggestion may be based on the

apparent circular nature of the enclosure. This, however, appears to have been the case only since the mid 19th century. There remains the possibility that the slight knoll on which the church is sited, in an otherwise flat landscape, could be the fallen and spread remains of an earlier structure. There is also the possibility that material was brought to the site to create a depth of soil sufficient for burials. It is also interesting that the now waterlogged SE segment of the enclosure has been described by locals as an 'old pool' which offers the possibility that this was quarried for soil. Recent interments in the modern, SW part of the burial ground indicate that the earth contains huge quantities of large, rounded beach pebbles, possibly from a storm beach. These are nowadays removed from the burial ground after the grave has been dug. The large numbers of field clearance cairns and banks and later consumption dykes in the surrounding croft lands indicate that this is the norm and would have made the artificial raising of the ground level to allow for easier burial an attractive proposal.

The earlier graves are concentrated in the north segment of the area, particularly against the north arc of wall, while later and recent burials form neat rows to the south and west of the area. The SE segment is known to be waterlogged and no burials have taken place here, although this is also the access via the gateway from the public road. Extending north of the enclosing dyke, adjacent to and with its own access from the road, is a small rectangular enclosure which forms the burial lair of the Sawyers. Other burial lairs are attached to the NE wall of the church.

Mature trees are spaced around the edge of the burial ground, immediately inside the dyke. These are now regularly causing damage to the dyke, particularly in winter gales, when the movement of the roots causes sections of dyke to tumble. In the southern part of the enclosure, there appears to have originally been a row of low concrete posts running approximately 2m in from the dyke. One is still in situ, others are piled beside a tree. They measure no more than 30cm in length and are formed of rough, gritty, pinkish concrete. The function of this row is unknown, but may be connected with the planting of the trees.

7.0 The Gravestones

7.1 Background History of Gravestones

It is notable that despite the burial ground probably having served the population NE of the River Ewe for many centuries, the area containing burials pre-dating the late 19th century is fairly small, and the number of visible grave stones and slabs, both uninscribed and plain, in situ and stacked against the wall, is barely more than 100. This number can have no relation to the actual number of burials, but does reflect the fact that until the mid 19th century individual burials were not marked by permanent memorial stones. This anonymity after death is particularly notable on the west coast, as Easter Ross burial grounds contain grave slabs dating back to the 14th century as well as 17th and 18th century memorials with symbols of mortality such as skulls, and of trades and occupations. Whether the lack of memorials on the West coast is a reflection of religious beliefs or of poverty and the lack of available stone has yet to be studied.

The two cross slabs on Isle Maree, probably dating to the 9th-10th centuries and associated with the local legend of tragic Viking lovers, although likely not to be contemporary, are a rare occurrence outside Argyll. After these, the earliest inscribed stone in Gairloch parish is a memorial to John Hay, the last manager of Letterewe ironworks who must have died in the first decades of the 17th century. It is said that the stone was sent by boat to the parish and lay at the port for some years before being placed, in the mid 18th century, in Gairloch burial ground. John Hay is thought to have been buried at or near Letterewe. The early MacKenzie lairds of Gairloch, buried within the chapel at Gairloch, may be remembered by two stones, one with the initials AMK and the date 1638 and the other with the initials IMK and the date 1730, but all other grave slabs are uninscribed until the 19th century. The earliest memorial inscriptions at Londubh record deaths in the 1830s but may have been erected some years later.

A major factor influencing the lack of permanent grave markers would be the burial practices of the time. There was a marked preference for family members to be buried in the same plot, possibly even the same grave. Dixon refers to John MacKay, the piper, who died in 1754 aged 98 and 'was buried in the same grave as his father' and Alastair Buidhe the bard, who died in 1843 aged 76 'and was buried in his family grave in the Gairloch churchyard'. In the latter case certainly the term grave probably means lair, an area defined by walling or a kerb containing several burials, but in the older cases, where individual graves were not clearly defined, successive burials probably took place on the same spot. Osgood Mackenzie noted that the ordinary way of interment in the time of George's grandfather (probably early 1800s) was to have the dead body swathed in blue homespun, carried on an open bier to the graveyard, and slid down into the grave. This practice would probably have had the effect of allowing a shorter period of time to elapse between burials in the same plot as without a coffin, the remains would settle more rapidly. The main reason for the practice was the difficulty in getting any planking and nails for coffins.

The many small uninscribed upright stones marking graves were probably seen as temporary, and could be removed and replaced as needed. It is only with the introduction of inscribed memorials that individual burial plots became 'fossilised' and prevented any further burials. This led to a need to extend the area of the burial ground, although much later burials could be inserted into family lairs. Burials without family connections therefore spread west and south at Londubh, probably even before the enclosing dyke was constructed. The neat lines of the most recent burials probably reflect the policy of the local authority.

7.2 Gravestone Survey

The early, uninscribed grave markers consist of both low, upright, rough-hewn slabs or of recumbent slabs. Without inscriptions it is impossible to ascertain whether the two types were contemporary or reflect changing fashions or burial practices. It is possible that the headstones were placed to mark graves which would be re-opened to allow the interment of other family members, while the slabs 'sealed' the graves. There is one example of a recumbent stone with upright head and foot stones; the recumbent stone is not a slab, and has not been set into the ground.



4. Recumbent grave marker with head and foot stones

The number of slabs propped against the enclosing dyke and the chapel wall are probably both upright and recumbent stones which have been removed from their burial sites to allow for modern graveyard maintenance. There are likely also to be many recumbent slabs which have become completely grassed over. For these reasons, it is not possible to draw any conclusions about the early grave markers.



5. Plain and inscribed gravestones propped against perimeter wall

The earliest inscribed stones are likely to have made use of local stone in simple shapes. There are several examples of flat-topped stones with rounded corners made of what appears to be a fine-grained sandstone. These simple stones are set directly into the ground, with no pedestal. The people these stones commemorate do not appear to be of particularly high status or wealth, but represent a point in time when the desire developed to memorialise one's family members.

It would be interesting to analyse the stone to ascertain whether it is of local origin, and whether a local stone masonry industry was established in the mid 19th century. It is likely that if the quarry was not local, then it, or the manufactured slabs, were accessible by boat rather than overland, and possibly on an established route for commerce.

Two almost identical cross stones of a coarse, red sandstone were most likely purchased at the same time, although one commemorates Donald MacLeay of Kinlochewe, who died in 1839, and the other Kenneth MacKenzie, who died in 1866.

The fashion for a Gothic revival style spread throughout the country in the 19th century. In its simplest form, this is represented by the same, possibly local, stone. The shaping of the stone becomes more complex, with Gothic arched tops, moulding on the edges, and decorative or symbolic motifs. The stones become larger and more complex and are placed on pedestals. Exotic stone such as polished granite become popular, some with decorative inserts of a different, contrasting stone, such as a white marble plaque for the inscription. Makers' names are inscribed on the sides of the pedestals.

The grave marker of Sydney Smith is probably the most Gothic of this group, being a gabled cross which attempts to mimic Mediaeval grave slabs.



6. Two identical sandstone crosses, commemorations dating to 1839 and 1866



7. Obelisks of imported granite, commemorating a surgeon and a registrar.

The trend towards larger and more imposing memorials had the result that the traditional family lairs were, after only a couple of generations, effectively full, and this led to the expansion of the burial area southwards.



8. Granite memorials crowd the Urquhart lair

The 20th century saw a greater incidence of individuality in the material used for gravestones, although on the other hand the majority of stones for this century display a marked uniformity. The more individual grave markers include slate, concrete, an unshaped boulder and what appears to be a quernstone.



9. Slate gravestone



10. Quernstone re-used as grave marker

7.3 Inscription Survey

In the past, the primary interest in graveyard inscriptions has been for genealogical studies, and for this purpose a previous record of gravestone inscriptions at Londubh was made by AS Cowper and I Ross in 1979. This recorded details of names and dates, places of birth and death and occupations of most 19th century inscriptions but not the exact wording. It is, however, particularly useful in having recorded inscriptions which are now made illegible by lichen. See Appendix 4.

Further recording of inscriptions was carried out for the purposes of this present evaluation. See Appendix 5. This, however, is incomplete, not having recorded the majority of the 20th century inscriptions, and should not be used for genealogical purposes. There remains the potential for a full graveyard survey, which could be carried out as a community project. The survey did allow the following observations to be made about attitudes to death and memorializing:

7.3.1 Attitudes to Death

Studies of gravestone inscriptions elsewhere in Britain demonstrate changing attitudes towards death over the 18th-19th centuries. Early memorials emphasise the presence of the corpse and the decay of mortal remains. This was replaced by themes of immortality and salvation, with representations of cherubs indicating the soul and its passing to heaven. Following this, the focus on the soul and its salvation declined and was replaced by an emphasis on remembrance of the deceased as they had been in life, with descriptions of occupations and relationships.

The inscriptions at Londubh contain no examples of reminders of mortality or the fate of the soul. They are all variations on the simple theme of ‘in memory of...’, ie. ‘in loving memory of..’, ‘sacred to the memory of..’ and ‘in memoriam’. This is probably a reflection of the late date of introduction of inscriptions on grave stones.

7.3.2 Occupations

Inscribed stones in burial grounds elsewhere in Scotland, and, notably in some of the Black Isle graveyards, contain symbols of trades and occupations, such as representations of tools of particular trades. There is only one instance of this in Londubh: the anvil carved at the top of the memorial to Ian Macilleathain, blacksmith, who died in 1931. This is a particularly late date for such symbolism, and the memorial is unique at Londubh in being entirely in Gaelic, so this cannot be taken as an example of a local tradition.

A number of occupations are recorded, usually representing high status occupations such as doctor, surgeon, registrar, lecturer, blacksmith and overseer of the fish curing depot in Poolewe.

7.3.3 Places of Birth, Places of Death

Places of birth have been recorded in only four cases, and of these only one is given as Poolewe, where the person died elsewhere. The other recorded places of birth are outwith the local area, namely, Banffshire, Lynchatt Kinross and Boath Alness. There are fifteen places of death, most of which are local, eg. Poolewe, Londubh, Flowerdale, Kernsary and ‘here’. There are three examples where the person died elsewhere, namely Edinburgh, Torquay and Garden Cottages, Nairn. In these cases, it is possible that the person is not buried within Londubh burial ground. Finlay MacIver, Sergeant 4th Seaforth Highlanders, killed in action 14th March 1915, is remembered on the gravestone of his parents but would have been buried abroad.

7.3.4 Language

The language of the inscriptions is predominantly English, despite the population of Gairloch parish being Gaelic speakers late in the 19th century. This probably reflects the notion that Gaelic was the vernacular, but English the official, even superior, language. This notion was common throughout Scotland, and Gaelic inscriptions are rare nationwide. Dixon notes that a famous Gairloch bard, who died in 1790 and was buried at Gairloch, was marked by a ‘simple stone with an English inscription’ suggesting that the use of English goes back as far as the use of inscriptions.

At Londubh there is only one inscription entirely in Gaelic, this dates to 1931, by which time Gaelic had given way to English, and may be some form of nationalist statement. The memorial erected by Osgood Mackenzie to John Grant has the same inscription repeated in English and Gaelic; Mackenzie was a champion of Gaelic. There are two gravestones with a Gaelic epitaph below the English inscription, one dating to 1849 and the other to 1944.

7.3.5 Other information from inscriptions

Other information which can be obtained from a study of the inscriptions includes the incidence of infant and child mortality. Memorials to these range from simple additions to the memorial of the parents such as ‘also our two brothers who died in infancy’ to full sized memorials dedicated to one child such as ‘beloved daughter Rebecca Urquhart who died on the 30th June 1874 aged 2 years’.



11. Small concrete memorial to two unnamed infants

A number of inscriptions contain memorials to several members of the same family. This may represent the continuing tradition of family members being buried in the same plot, but also the erection of a memorial is taken as the opportunity to add a memorial to the long-deceased, for example a stone probably erected in 1944 includes a memorial to a parent who died in 1919.

Notable are the number of inscriptions where the name of the relative who erected the memorial is inscribed before the name of the deceased. There are ten examples where the inscription begins with 'Erected by...' compared with eight inscriptions where this information is given at the end. This apparent self-promotion is probably to some degree an advertising of social and economic status, particularly where the price and difficulty of transportation of the memorial stone would be well known.

8.0 People

It should never be forgotten that burial grounds contain the mortal remains of individual people, many of whom have family still living in the area, for whom the burial ground and the individual memorials are settings for mourning and remembrance. To select a few individuals for study is not to imply that they are objects in the same way that the memorial stones and other graveyard furniture are objects freely available for investigation and research. Nor is it to imply that the rest of the deceased are not of any interest. However, the lives, and deaths, of some individuals represent episodes in the history of the area and provide points of interest for the visitor.

Military graves of the First World War

S Gordon, Stoker 1st Class RN, SS/113752, HMS Lion, 20th August 1914

J Higgins, Stoker 2nd class, RN, SS/114640, HMS New Zealand, 18th August 1914

A row of three Commonwealth War Graves Commission memorials mark the graves of three men serving in the navy who died at Loch Ewe during the First World War . These are the only physical remains to mark the important role that Loch Ewe played during the Great War, which has been overshadowed by the well-recorded events of the Second World War.

At the outbreak of the Great War in August 1914, the German navy immediately deployed submarines, and Scapa Flow, in Orkney, the home base of the British Grand Fleet, was found to be vulnerable to submarine attack. So, during these first weeks of the war, Admiral Jellicoe kept the fleet at sea carrying out exercises as much as possible, and used Loch Ewe as the main base for refuelling and taking on stores.



12. First World War military graves, and the upright marking Albert Haskell's grave

Albert Haskell and the burning of Inverewe House

Adjacent to, and aligned with the three war graves, is a post, which is all that remains of a wooden cross. This marks the grave of a blacksmith's mate from HMS Zealandia, a battleship which was in Loch Ewe drilling and exercising in April of 1914. Because this was before the outbreak of war, no military gravestone was erected, and the grave was forgotten about until research began for this survey. Fortunately, the young man was remembered by his friends, who had a memorial placed on the wall of the chancel in Christchurch Priory in Dorset:

By chance, the full military funeral for Haskell at Londubh had just finished when it was noticed that Inverewe House was in flames, and the crew were able to rush to help.

The brothers Urquhart and the great storm of 1860

The story of the great storm in October 1860 which threw the fishing fleet onto the shore and caused many drownings, and the example of the second sight which foresaw the tragedy is recorded by Dixon (Appendix 7). The gravestone of the brothers William and Donald Urquhart records the event, but is unfortunately too covered with lichen for the inscription to be easily read. It is worth pointing out despite this, as the record of events provides a picture of the dangers of the herring fishing and the reaction of the small community to the tragedy, as well as the normalcy of the prediction of the events by means of the second sight.

James Packman and the salmon fishings

From about 1840, AP Hogarth of Aberdeen leased the salmon fishing of Gairloch. There were fishing stations at Red Point, Achtercairn, Ormiscaig and Laide, where the fishing was carried out by means of bag nets, and all the fish were sent to Poolewe for processing. The boiling house was on the west side of the village street where the fish were boiled and packed in vinegar in kegs. In summer when the salmon were plentiful they were taken fresh, packed in ice, to the London market, in fast sailing smacks. The manager of the Boiler House in 1886 was a Mr Alexander Mutch. James Packman is described on his memorial as having been for 30 years fishing overseer. While the manager was sent to Poolewe at the start of each season, Packman, who originally came from Banffshire, is likely to have lived there all year round, as his three children who died in infancy are also remembered on the memorial.

The Sawyer Lair



13. The Sawyer lair

Mairi Sawyer, daughter of Osgood Mackenzie, her two husbands and one son by her first husband, are all buried in the small lair which has been built on to the north side of the main burial ground. Mairi Sawyer spent the years between 1922 and her death in 1953 developing the gardens which had been established by her father at Inverewe, before gifting them to the National Trust for Scotland. In the mid 1930s, she and her second husband, Ronald Sawyer, rebuilt Inverewe House, destroyed by fire in 1914. Ronald was Regional Controller in Inverness during the Second World War.

The account of Mairi Sawyer's funeral by Dawn MacLeod, in her memoir of her time at Inverewe, 'Oasis of the North', is an interesting and poignant account of a highland funeral

with a touch of highland superstition, and the only first-hand account of a burial at Londubh. (Appendix 6)

Archie Lawrie

The grave of Archie Lawrie is the only military grave dating to the Second World War. The Seaforth Highlanders were part of the 51st Highland Division that was left behind at Dunkirk in May 1940 to fight a rearguard action against the German army at St Valery-en-Caux whilst the evacuation was taking place. Archie Lawrie was one of those who made a daring escape and was able to return to Scotland. His brother, Duncan, was killed at St Valery.

Archie went home on leave and married on 27th August, but when returning to his unit he was killed in a road accident. It is for this reason that he is buried at home.



14. Second World War military grave of Archie Lawrie

John Grant

John Grant Erected by OH MacKenzie as a token of his great regard for John Grant who served him and the Gairloch family faithfully all his life. He died at Sronduhb House 27th September 1898 aged 66 years. (Repeated in Gaelic.)

Sir John Horlick



15. John James MacDonald Horlick, 1922-1995, *Nulli Secundus*

Sir John was the son of Sir James Horlick, who owned the island of Gigha between 1944 and 1972, and who established the renowned gardens at Achamore, which are open to the public. Sir James was a rhododendron enthusiast, and was able to make use of shelter belts planted by a previous owner. It is perhaps not surprising that Sir John was attracted to Tournai, as the gardens there had been planted by Osgood Mackenzie who had built Tournai as a home for his mother after his marriage.

The Horlick fortune was founded on the famous malted drink, which was invented by William Horlick while he was living in Wisconsin in America. William was a great supporter of Antarctic exploration, and the Horlick Mountains in Antarctica were named after him in gratitude for his financial help. His brother, James, returned to Britain and was made a Baronet in 1914.

Dr Finlay MacEwen

Finlay A MacEwan 30 years doctor of Gairloch parish, died 10th October 1899. He loved his fellow men. His son, Sydney Smith 23rd May 1899. Not lost but gone before. Erected by Gairloch friends

Dr MacEwen was the first doctor in Gairloch parish. Before he came, the dowager Lady Mackenzie, mother of Osgood Mackenzie, was said to have doctored the whole parish, around 5,400 souls, and was apparently most successful, despite occasional outbreaks of typhus and smallpox. Dr MacEwen, who lived at Moss Bank, Poolewe, was a qualified surgeon and physician, and received a fixed salary for medical attendance on the paupers of the parish. He was at the centre of a very public and personal dispute in the 1890s, mostly conducted through the pages of local newspapers. The people who lived in the south part

of the parish felt that Dr MacEwen was providing an inadequate service to the paupers in their area. Among their complaints was the frequent absence of death certificates for paupers (indicating that the doctor had not attended early enough to certify the cause of death).

In 1896 Dr MacEwen wrote a long letter in his defence, published in *The Scottish Highlander*, which included the following rather insulting comments:

‘It seems very unfair and unjust that I should be called upon to perform more work that is beyond my capacity [...] We live in an age of restless philanthropy, and while one cannot help admiring the good intentions of noodles and nobodies, most reasonable men generally recognise what is fair and just to a public official who has tried to do his duty, however much he may have failed to come up to the expectation of the goody-goody men who too often try to rule the roost in this part of the county.’

The matter was not settled until Dr MacEwen’s death, of pneumonia, in 1899, when the post and salary were split between two doctors serving the north and the south parts of the parish.

Sydney Smith

Sydney Smith, Inveran, Died 8th March 1886, aged 60

This grave is, at present, a mystery, as nothing is known of Sydney Smith. He does not appear to have been a local resident, as he is not listed in the 1880 census, and Inveran was still, in 1886, the residence of JH Dixon. In addition, (see above) the local doctor’s son, who died in 1899, was also named Sydney Smith; one presumes there is a connection between the two men.

The gravestone is fairly exotic, being a Gothic ‘low monument with gabled cross’ although the inscription is frustratingly functional.



16. Gravestone of Sydney Smith

9.0 The Pictish Carved Stone

Lying to the north of the church building is what appears to be a plain sandstone grave slab, similar to many others in the burial ground. It is distinguished now by being surrounded by a low rail, placed around the stone in approximately 1999 to prevent damage to the stone edges from grass-strimming. Worn carvings can be made out at one end. There are also prominent, natural striations on the rest of the stone. These, and the lichens and mosses on the stone, make the carvings particularly difficult to spot, and for many centuries the stone lay unnoticed. It was only identified in 1992, when Dr Richard Hingley of Historic Scotland was visiting the burial ground and must have been fortunate in the light conditions.

9.1 Stone Description

The stone is a roughly rectangular slab of Torridonian sandstone which measures 1.45m by 0.45m but is probably broken at the carved end. The carving is of a crescent and V-rod, and is described officially as follows: ‘The crescent contains two spirals which interlock at the centre to form a pelta.* In each of its outer segments there is a triangular group of three small hollows, and a series of similar hollows is set inside the outer arc of its main section. Another hollow is placed in the angle of the V-rod, and there are traces of the lower spirals of its right terminal, but the left one is obliterated.’

*a decorative motif thought possibly to have been copied from Anglo Saxon hanging bowls

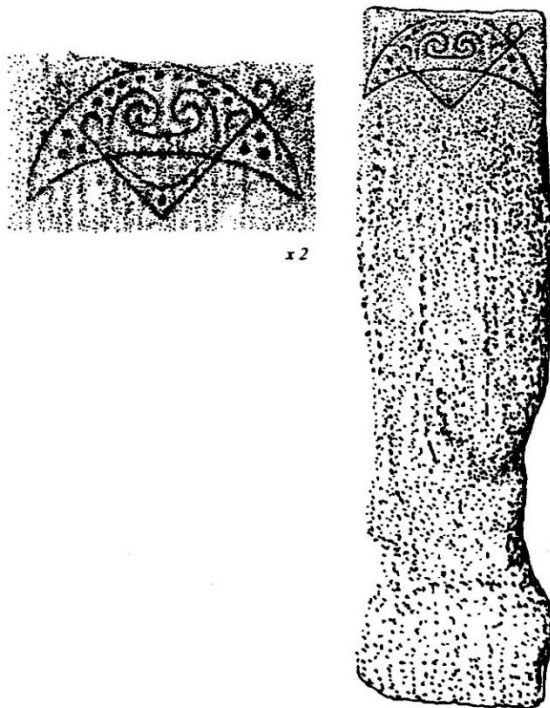


17. The Pictish stone within its protective railing



18. Carved end of stone

Although the crescent and V-rod is the most common Pictish symbol, the Poolewe stone is unique in having the series of finger-tip sized depressions inside the upper arc of the crescent.



19. Drawing of symbol stone, and detail of symbol.

9.2 The Crescent and V-Rod Symbol

This is one of the most common Pictish symbols, which is found from Edinburgh to Orkney, and on Skye and the Western Isles; in all 86 examples are known. The symbol is found carved on stone slabs of various sizes and shapes, but also on bones (Broch of Burrian and Pool, Sanday, Orkney) and on cave walls (East Wemyss Caves, Fife). It is found alone, and paired with other symbols, on both Class 1 (no Christian Symbolism) and Class 2 (cross-marked). The Poolewe stone has no cross or other Christian symbolism, so is a Class 1 stone, dating to before the conversion of the Picts to Christianity.

What the symbol meant to the Picts is a matter of speculation. The crescent would appear initially to represent the moon, but is always depicted with its horns pointing down, as the moon is never seen in the Northern hemisphere. It has been suggested that the V-rod is 'almost certainly' a broken arrow and the crescent is a small shield viewed from the side, although there is no boss as is common on the round shields depicted on some Class 2 stones. The crescent is also depicted without the V-rod, but not the V-rod alone.

9.3 Meaning of the Symbol

The meaning of the Pictish symbols is still unknown, but the wide distribution of the crescent and V-rod symbol through Scotland indicates that, at the time, all of Pictish society had a common knowledge of its message or symbolism. Henderson and Henderson (2004) have summarized the various, occasionally conflicting, theories about meaning. It has been suggested that the shapes of the symbols bear a relationship to contemporary artifacts, particularly the gear of the warrior aristocracy, but this does not offer a clue as to the visual code they represent. They have been variously interpreted as displaying information about the rank and status of the deceased, where they have been erected as grave markers, or recording marriage alliances. The pairing of symbols has been taken as a representation of bi-partate names, ie. names consisting of two syllables.

The symbol stones were erected as conspicuous monuments in the landscape, and may have served as some form of territorial marker, or as the focus for communal transactions and ceremonies. The concept that the symbols represent the trappings of authority and rank is carried through to the visual expression of power and protection represented by the stones.

9.4 The Picts and Background to the Stone.

The term Picts (*Picti*=painted people) was first used by a Roman writer in AD297 to refer to the tribes of northern Britain. These were the indigenous Iron Age inhabitants whose tribal names were also recorded by the Romans. It is possible that the instability brought about by the Roman invasion of England brought about a grouping of the tribes into kingdoms. By the 6th century the heartland of the northern Pictish kingdom was around the inner Moray Firth, and for much of the period up to AD 850 there was political stability, and a slowly improving climate provided greater wealth. These were ideal conditions for

the development of art, and although no Pictish documentation has survived, there is a rich heritage of stone carving.

The symbol stones are considered to have been erected by or for the elite of Pictish society, and are likely to be located in areas with a sizeable population, landed estates and political significance in this period. Poolewe fits well with this description, with good access to the sea, a major route to the east coast, and good arable and pasture land.

Although the Poolewe stone is now lying flat, it is likely to originally have been standing upright, and was found to be a convenient size and shape as a grave marker long after its significance had been forgotten. It may have been moved to the burial ground for that purpose, or may have stood within a Pictish burial ground which was later taken over for Christian burial. Many symbol stones are associated with burial grounds, but it is rarely known whether they were originally placed there.

It is interesting that, although symbol stones are very rare on the west coast, another Pictish symbol stone was found only a few miles away in Strath of Gairloch. This carving is of an eagle and a salmon, and it can be seen in Gairloch Museum.

10.0 The Font Stone

Near to the Pictish Stone and surrounded by old burial slabs is a small, naturally shaped boulder, which has on its upper surface a circular hollow about 12cm across and 15cm deep. This is the stone known locally as the Wart Stone, and it is almost certainly the original font stone of the pre-Reformation chapel. As such, it is the most definite evidence of there having been a chapel on this site. Dixon describes it in 1886 as lying loose in the burial ground. Today it is embedded in the turf, so that the dimensions of the boulder can not be measured.

10.1 Comparisons

Similar basins carved into natural boulders have a range of secular functions, notably knocking stones, used to crush small quantities of grain and bait basins, found by the shore where they were used for holding or crushing shellfish bait for longline fishing. The location of the Font Stone within the burial ground is the main indicator that it was in fact a font rather than one of these. Other similar, roughly hewn stone basins have been found within burial grounds in the Highlands. At Kildermorie at the head of Loch Muire in the parish of Alness, two such font stones were located in the burial ground by the present owner. These have now been moved into the ruined chapel. In Strath Brora in Sutherland, a crude basin stone lies in the river bank adjacent to the lost chapel site at Cladh Maireannach, Sciberscross. These parallels make the identification of the Poolewe stone as the former font fairly certain.



20. Font Stone at Kildermorie, Alness, within chapel walls

10.2 History and Superstitions

At the time of the Reformation, in 1560, the reformers zealously threw out all the trappings and practices which they thought savoured of Popery and superstition. The old stone fonts would have been viewed as especially suspect because of their association with pre-Christian beliefs and many were smashed. Others were just thrown out into the burial ground. In line with the Reformed teaching, the clergy employed instead smaller moveable vessels placed nearer the pulpit.

The font stones appear to have been a part of a continuous tradition of belief which existed a thousand years before Christianity arrived in Scotland, when water collected in natural hollows or deliberately carved basins formed a part of religious practice. Cup and ring marks on rocky outcrops date back to the Bronze Age, and basins carved into rocks, known as Bullauns, are common throughout Ireland.

There are a number of instances where customs associated with stone basins caused offence to the Church, for instance, the marble cursing stones which were flung into the sea by order of the Iona Synod in the 18th century, but it is equally probable that the early Church adopted and Christianised these objects of veneration to the local populace it was in the process of converting. A number of crosses appear on cup-marked boulders in Aberdeenshire. Other basins in boulders at church sites were taken over as fonts for baptism, with double hollows explained as the kneeling places of saints. This begs the question whether the church was deliberately sited by a pre-existing, possibly prehistoric basin stone.

A particularly pagan tradition which survived in Ireland and Scotland was the use of ‘cursing stones’, large round pebbles which were placed in the cavities of the basin or bullaun. The curse against an opponent was uttered while turning the stone clockwise. Many other beliefs and practices have been attached to stone basins throughout Scotland. For example, a large stone cup on Seil Island: ‘...one day each spring this basin had by custom to be filled with milk. If it was not so filled, the ‘wee folk’ would see that the cows gave no milk that summer’.

The same veneration shown towards cup and ring marks and hollows in rocks was given to moveable stone basins such as church fountains. Everyday utensils such as querns, or grinding stones, if they collected rainwater, had curative powers, but the water from a fountain was considered to be doubly holy and effective. This has given rise to a blurring of the boundaries between sacred and functional which is confusing to archaeologists and historians. For example, the fountain at St Magnus’ Kirk, Laxo, Shetland, was a sea boulder originally used as a prehistoric trough quern, and in the Heritage Centre at Applecross, what is obviously a broken Iron Age saddle quern is displayed as the fountain discovered just outside the churchyard in the 19th century. Church fountains, meanwhile, once they had become obsolete in terms of Christian ritual, continued to have a function in folk medicine and healing.

The water which gathered in the basins was frequently thought to cure warts or rheumatism, or to correct barrenness in women. The Poolewe stone is particularly associated in local memory with the curing of warts. It is also a tradition that the water in the hollow never dries up.

Pagan practices were so widespread in the 17th century that, at one particular meeting of the Presbytery of Dingwall held on 5th September 1656 at Applecross, the minister of Lochcarron (also at that time in charge of Applecross parish) was ordered to summon some of his parishioners for being:

‘accustomed to sacrifice bulls at a certain tyme uppon the 25 of August, which day is dedicate, as they conceive, to St Mourie as they call him; and thair wer frequent approaches to some ruinous chappells and circulateing of them, and that future events in reference especiallie to lyf and death in taking of journeys was expect to be manifest by a holl of a round stone, quein they tried entering of thair heade, we if could doe, to witt, be able to put in thaire heade, they expect their returning to that place, and faileing, they conceived it ominous; and withal their adoring of wells, and other superstitious monuments and stones tedious to rehearse.’

The sacrifice of bulls is known to have taken place at Isle Maree, while the standing stone with a hole in it is supposed to have stood within a stone circle, now lost, at Applecross. The nearest example of the adoring of wells, or rather, the resorting to them for their curative powers, is also Isle Maree. The people of Gairloch parish were certainly partaking in these pagan practices, and while there will be no proof that Londubh chapel was one of the ruinous chapels referred to, it would have been, until appropriated by the Rev. Kenneth Mackenzie, one of few standing chapels in the parish.

11.0 Management Issues

11.1 Condition of Burial Ground

The burial ground, chapel and Pictish stone are Scheduled Ancient Monuments and are monitored regularly by Historic Scotland's monuments warden. The burial ground is also maintained by Highland Council TEC Services. The appearance is tidy and accessible, but some long-term management issues require consideration:

- **Trees.** The trees are now approximately 100 years old and are of considerable size and presence, being a major contributor to the tranquil and private nature of the burial ground. However, they were planted immediately within the enclosing dyke and, in the north section of the burial area, among old graves. The gale of January 2005, in particular, caused movement of the trees and their root systems with the result that the adjacent sections of the dyke fell down. With the apparently increasing ferocity of winter gales, this will be an increasing problem, with the possibility of the trees falling entirely, lifting gravestones and exposing burials. It would be advisable to consider the selective felling of the most vulnerable trees, which raises the issue of whether they should be replaced, as the same problem will be repeated after a few decades. It would be preferable for a belt of trees to be planted outside the burial ground, to preserve the atmosphere of the place, and prevent any further damage to the dyke or graves, but this is crofting ground and unlikely to be made available.



21. Tumbled wall, loosened by movement of tree roots during storm.

- **Damage to recumbent stones.** A number of recumbent stones are partially concealed by turf, and others stand slightly proud of the ground level. The former are particularly vulnerable to accidental damage through strimming of the grass, as was noted during a site visit in 2005.



22. Recumbent slab damaged by strimming

This would become more problematic as in dry weather the turf shrinks back from the partially covered stones, and can only be avoided by either completely covering these stones with turf, or by revealing them more to ensure they are clearly visible

11.2 Current Work

A programme of work, with Scheduled Monument Consent (November 2004) and working under an archaeological Watching Brief provided by the Archaeology Unit at Highland Council, is underway, although it has been delayed by the necessary diversion of resources and labour to deal with storm damage elsewhere. The work consists of the following elements:

- Provision of a hard-standing parking area for hearses within the burial ground
- Improvement of drainage within the area currently used for internments
- Rebuilding of damaged sections of perimeter stone wall
- Reduction of load on old church, through cutting back of ivy and trees.

The first two elements have as yet (March 2006) not been carried out. Damage to the perimeter wall, caused by the storm of January 2005, was rapidly and competently repaired, although this leaves untouched the relatively minor damage referred to in the Scheduled Monument Consent. Ivy growing on the church walls has been treated with an approved herbicide, and is being left to die back before any is removed. Trees growing within and beside the walls of the church have been felled and the stumps treated. No report on this work has yet been submitted to Historic Scotland.



23. Felled tree stump within church building, October 2005

In addition, creation of a turning space outwith the burial ground, which involved the removal of a field boundary dyke on the opposite side of the Londubh crofts road, was monitored by an archaeological Watching Brief. This work was carried out in October 2005.

11.3 Public Access and Interpretation

The findings of this evaluation have been used to inform the creation of a free information leaflet and interpretation panel. These are in place for the 2006 tourist season, and the potential for increased visitor numbers with their accompanying wear and tear on the burial ground and potential for damage to monuments will require a degree of monitoring. Local interest in the project has led to production of a booklet, presenting the information contained in this evaluation in a more visitor-friendly format, which will be on sale locally. It is hoped that this will fuel the desire for further research by the community Heritage Group.

It is noted that guided walks around Poolewe village will probably become a regular feature through the summer months, and it is hoped that the burial ground will be incorporated into this project.

11.4 Research Potential

An attempt was made during this evaluation to record the majority of early gravestone inscriptions. This, however, proved too time-consuming a task and would be better carried out as a community or school project. The completed inscriptions are listed below, Appendix 5.

It was also noted during work on the information leaflet and booklet that there is possibly a wealth of oral tradition held by residents of Londubh, concerning both the people buried within the burial ground and memories of actual interments. This could be developed as a local history project.

The possibly artificial mound on which the early chapel was sited and which contains the earliest burials could be further investigated by non-intrusive means, by means of a detailed topographical survey using an electronic total station.

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12.3.06

APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Extracts from Admiral Viscount Jellicoe (1919) *The Grand Fleet 1914-16* *(Everything within brackets is added for clarification)*

Aug 11th Orders were given to establish Loch Ewe as a secondary coaling base, and Rear Admiral Richard PF Purefoy was appropriated to take charge of the base

Aug 12th The 3rd battle squadron went to Loch Ewe to coal and to test the suitability of this base and its capability for defense against submarine attack

Aug 13th The dreadnought Battle fleet was coaling at Scapa during the day, and the 3rd battle squadron coaling and storing at Loch Ewe. My object in providing this alternative base was to expedite entry into the bases for fuelling and also to be prepared for a second base in the event of Scapa Flow becoming untenable submarine attack

Aug 14th All battle squadrons rejoined the flag, and battle exercises were carried out until 7pm. At midnight the whole fleet passed through the Fair Isle channel on its way to carry out a sweep in the North Sea

Aug 17th A telegram was sent to the Admiralty requesting that new condenser tubes might be sent at once to Loch Ewe together with dockyard workmen to assist with the retubing (of HMS Orion)

Aug 18th The Dreadnought battle fleet arrived at Loch Ewe to fuel early in the afternoon; it was accompanied by the 1st light Cruiser Squadron, which was without the Falmouth and the Liverpool. The attached cruisers were anchored in suitable positions for defending the entrance against submarine attack, so far as they were capable of doing it, and the armed steam boats of the Fleet patrolled the entrance.... The Assistance arrived at Loch Ewe as base repair ship and was connected to the shore telegraph system

Aug 19, 20, 22 The Battle Fleet and the 1st battle cruiser squadron remained in harbour during the 19th, coaling, storing, cleaning boilers and taking in additional ammunition up to a maximum storage. With the exception of the Orion, these ships left on the 20th at 6.30pm for an area to the westward of the Orkneys to carry out target practice on the 21st. The battle Cruiser New Zealand was ordered to the Humber to join the Invincibles

Aug 30th During the day the Assistance returned to Scapa from Loch Ewe as baseship

Sept 1st The Assistance was ordered to Loch Ewe

Sept 5th The Dreadnought battle fleet arrived at Loch Ewe at 4pm on the 5th to coal; two mine sweeping gunboats having been previously detached to that base to search the entrance for mines

Sept 7th The Dreadnought battle Fleet remained at Loch Ewe until 6am . The Orion was left behind to complete work on her condensers and rejoined the fleet at sea on Sept 9th

Sept 12th The Dreadnought Battle Fleet proceeded to Loch Ewe The DBF remained at Loch Ewe coaling, storing and cleaning boilers from 5pm on Sept 13th to 6pm on Sept 17th... Advantage was taken of the stay at Loch Ewe to make arrangements with the Admiralty for the defense of that base, and on Sept 17th the 1st Lord of the Admiralty (Churchill) with the Chief of War Staff, the Director of the Intelligence Division Commodores S & T arrived at Loch Ewe to confer with me

5am Oct 7th a submarine was reported inside Loch Ewe, being sighted by a collier and by the assistance; she was fired at by the latter ship, in misty weather. On receipt of that report I ordered all vessels to leave loch ewe at once, and sent a division of destroyers there from Scapa Flow to search for the submarine.

(This incident cast doubt on the safety of the base, so Loch Swilly N. Ireland and Loch na Keal in Mull were chosen as the next temporary bases. There were henceforth numerous reports of submarines in the Minch.)

Appendix 2. Records of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission

Casualty: Lieutenant ANWYL ELLIS
Served with: Motor Boat Reserve Royal Navy Volunteer Reserve
Died: 18th November 1914
Additional Information: Age 36
Son of David and Catherine Ellis, of 'Birchtor', Strathblane Road, Milngavie, Glasgow

Casualty: Stoker 1st class S GORDON, SS/113752
Served with: HMS 'Lion' Royal Navy
Died: 20th August 1914

Casualty: Stoker 2nd class J HIGGINS, SS/114640
Served with: HMS 'New Zealand' Royal Navy
Died: 18th August 1914

Casualty: Corporal ARCHIBALD LAWRIE, 2817034
Served with: Seaforth Highlanders
Died: 25th October 1940
Additional information: Age 29
Son of John Lawrie and of Catherine Lawrie (nee MacDougall) of Poolewe; husband of Abigail Lawrie, of Poolewe

Appendix 3: Records of Maritime memorials

Memorial Location: Christchurch Priory, Dorset, England
Transcript: In memory of Albert Haskell who was killed in the execution of his duty on board HMS Zealandia. April 24th 1914 aged 22 years. This tablet is erected by his messmates and friends.

Memorial Details: Type: wall tablet
Position: chancel
Vessel: HMS Zealandia

Listed on the memorial: Haskell, Albert
Age: 22
Date of Death: 24.2.1914
Cause of Death: unknown/none
Rank/occupation/organisation: Royal Navy

Appendix 4: Grave Inscriptions as recorded by AS Cowper and I Ross, 1979.

1. Erected by John McLachlan in memory of his beloved wife Isabella McIntyre who died on the 7th July 1857 aged 62 years
2. Erected by John MacLean in memory of Mary MacLachlan his beloved and affectionate wife, who died on the 30th August 1855 aged 32 years
3. Erected by William Foster in memory of
4. In memoriam: James Packman born in Banffshire 20th July 1808, died at Poolewe 21st January 1886 for 30 (50?) years fishing overseer Hogarth & co. His Children John Johan and Eliza who died in infancy
5. In memory of Isabella Robertson who died here on the 21st December 1850 aged 3 years
6. 1875 Erected by Peter Urquhart clothier Poolewe in memory of his beloved daughter Rebecca Urquhart who died on the 30th June 1874 aged 2 years
7. In memory of Thomas MacIntosh registrar of Gairloch who died at Poolewe January 13th 1877 aged 50 years. Erected by his brother James
8. In memory of James MacIntosh, born at Lynchatt Kinross 18th August 1822 died at Poolewe 11th February 1904. he was highly esteemed as a consistent Christian and wise counsellor (*Isaiah 35 10*) (1881 census: resident at Poolcrofts Post Office)
9. *A Lawrie*
10. *In memory of Benjamin Ross died April 1936 his wife Jessie Mackenzie died January 1947 also their son Alick died 22nd January 1960 aged 65 years*
11. *within lair, large stone face down and moss-covered*
12. *In loving memory of Annabella MacLennan who died at Londubh Poolewe 19th June 1897 aged 21 years (only AM of the right age on 1881 census is at 4 Bualnaluib with her family)*
13. *In loving memory of Jessie Marshall wife of George MacLennan died at Gordon Cottages Nairn on 10th January 1932 aged 61 years also the above George MacLennan died on 18th May 1942 aged 63 years*
14. *In loving memory of our dear parents Donald Urquhart died 2nd June 1944 Isabella MacLean died 8th April 1919 also our two brothers who died in infancy their beloved daughter Margaret Urquhart died 28th January 1957 aged 65 aig dia's ro-phriseil bàs a naomh*
15. (30) Erected by Catherine MacDonald in loving memory of her husband Alexander MacLean born in Boath Alness 15th March 1808 died at Kernsary by Poolewe 6th July 1882 aged 74 years (1881 census resident at Inisabhard)
16. *In loving memory of our dear mother Annie Urquhart died 10th December 1932 aged 82 years also our dear father Murdo Cameron died 14th August 1962 aged 71 years erected by the family*

Appendix 5. Gravestone Survey, 2004

The following 24 inscriptions were noted during work on this evaluation.

1. In most loving memory of my husband **Robert John Hanbury** born 1867 died 5th March 1933. He giveth his beloved rest.
2. **Robert Mackenzie Hanbury** 2nd son of Robert J Hanbury and Mairi T Hanbury, born 11th December 1913 died 9th March 1914. What I do thou knowest not now but thou shalt know hereafter. John 13 verse 7
3. **Mairi Thyra MacKenzie** wife of Robert J Hanbury and Ronald Sawyer Died 23rd July 1953

4. Cherche et tu trouveras. To the most precious and undying memory of my second husband **Ronald Ernest Sawyer**, who died 25th October 1945. One who never turned his back but marched breast forward, never doubted clouds would break, held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better, sleep to wake.
5. Erected by John MacLachlan in memory of his beloved wife **Isabella MacIntyre** who departed this life 7th July 1857 aged 62 years. (C/R 1.)
6. Erected by John MacLean in memory of **Mary MacLachlan** his beloved and affectionate wife, who died on 30th August 1855 aged 32 years (C/R 2.)
7. Erected by William Foster in memory of ... (*Agnes Hindmersh 20.12.1847 aged 29 and daughter Jannet 4.4.1849 aged 4*) (C/R 3.)
8. In Memoriam. **James Packman** born in Banffshire 20th July 1808, died at Poolewe 21st January 1886, for 30 years fishing overseer Hogarth & co. His Children John Johan and Eliza who died in infancy
Erected by the family 1892 (C/R 4.)
9. In memory of **Isabella Robertson** who died here on the 21st December 1850 aged 3 years.
10. In memory of **Thomas Mackintosh** registrar of Gairloch who died at Poolewe January 13th 1877 aged 50 years. Erected by his brother James
11. In memory of **James Mackintosh** born at Lynchatt Kinross 18th August 1822, died at Poolewe 11th February 1904. He was highly esteemed as a consistent Christian and wise counsellor (Isaiah 35 10: and the ransomed....flee away)
12. In loving memory of **Anabella MacLennan**
13. In loving memory of **Jessie Marshall**
14. Erected in loving memory of **Annie Mackenzie** beloved wife of John Macbeth and only daughter of Donald MacKenzie Letterewe, who died at Flowerdale, Gairloch 14th June 1911 aged 31 years. Also her brother John who died at Letterewe 29th August 1884 aged 12 years and her grandmother Bella MacKenzie who died at Drumchork 13th December 1882 aged 81 years. Blessed are the dead who die in the lord.
15. Erected by OH MacKenzie as a token of his great regard for **John Grant** who served him and the Gairloch family faithfully all his life. He died at Sronduh House 27th September 1898 aged 66 years. An cuimhna air Iain Granade, etc
16. Sacred to the memory of **Roderick Maclean** died November 2nd 1878 aged 16 years and 11 months
17. Sacred to the memory of **John MacIver**... (unintelligible) (C/R 9. :12.1834 36. s. Hector ed 1860)

18. In memory of **Donald Morrison** who died on 27th June 1859 aged 32 years. This memorial is erected by his afflicted widow Mary MacLennan (C/R 10.)

19. In memory of **Peter Morrison** who died at Kainsary 8th April 1836 aged 61 years (C/R 11.)

20. Erected by Donald MacLeay merchant Kinlochewe in memory of his father **Donald MacLeay** who departed this life March 1839 aged 66 years (C/R 12.)

21. In memory of **Kenneth Macrea** and his wife Alexandria Macrea and of their two children who died in infancy, died 1887 and 189..

22. In loving memory of **Hector MacIver** who died at Londubh 3rd December 1929 aged 85 years. His beloved wife Margaret Macleay died 8th may 1944 aged 98 years also their son Finlay, Sergeant 4th Seaforth Highlanders, killed in action 14th march 1915, and their daughters Johan and Grace. (C/R 13.)

23. **Finlay A Macewan** 30 years doctor of Gairloch parish, died 10th October 1899. He loved his fellow men. His son, Sydney Smith 23rd May 1899. Not lost but gone before. Erected by Gairloch friends (C/R 14.)

24 Erected by D MacNaughton Poolewe in loving memory of his son **James** who died at Mossbank 20th May 1907 aged 18 years 'With Christ which is far better'

Appendix 6. Account of the Funeral of Mairi Sawyer, from *Oasis in the North* by Dawn MacLeod (pps 224-225)

When I reached the Big House about eighty people were assembled before the front door, and a row of cars in the drive; and the coffin was brought out of the garden-room and placed on a bier to the right of the door. Elders of the Kirk, in black suits and carrying bowler hats, gathered in a group to the left, and the fourteenth Chief of the clan, wearing the MacKenzie kilt, stood by the bier with the nearest relatives. All the men (but very few women) from the estate and village were present – the old custom of keeping attendance at funerals to the male sex being still largely observed.

The minister came out of the house and began the simple service, accompanied by the drone of bees working in the roses on the house behind him. The Elders sang a long psalm in Gaelic, keeping the pitch and rhythm perfectly to the end. Their slow, sad tune might well have been as old as the hills which surrounded us, and there seemed no reason why the singing should ever cease.

It broke off at last, abruptly, and there was a pause. Then the men from the estate stepped forward and lifted the bier to the shoulders of four of them, while male relatives took up positions alongside, each holding a cord attached to the coffin. The Chief took the leading cord, but being too infirm for the long walk to the burial ground he relinquished it before the procession started.

Slowly the cortege moved off along the drive by the flaming Watsonias and tall Himalayan lilies, underneath the leaning eucalyptus trees and out of the gates. Then we turned down beside the loch towards the village, completely blocking the narrow road to all traffic. We passed a cairn to the memory of Alexander Cameron, the Tournai Bard, once shepherd to the estate, and the long white wall of the Home farm, where colliers peered through the gates – and came at last to the rough track which leads to the graveyard.

I would not join the rest of the mourners inside the enclosure, preferring to stand by the open gate with the loch in full view. As the words of committal were spoken I saw a large white steam-yacht swing round the wooded point on which Inverewe House stands and come to anchor near the private jetty. Her paintwork gleamed so brilliantly in the sun that light seemed to shine through her sides. I expected to see a dinghy pull away from her, but there was no sign of life.

The last rites of the ceremony completed, people began to file out of the gate in the wall. As we moved away to our homes I saw the yacht slip from her anchorage, and soon she was round the Point and out of sight as silently and as quickly as she had come. I asked the men about the craft, but no-one recognised her; and later inquiries on the coast bore no fruit.

Old Sheena, who had stayed at home during the interment, said she had never known a big vessel come in so far for so short a stay. 'You would think they had come *to fetch someone*,' she said; '*but no boat came ashore*'.

Appendix 7. A manifestation of second sight and the drowning of William and John Urquhart from Dixon's Gairloch, p 171

At the date of this story the blacksmith at Poolewe had his house and smithy where the Pool House stable now stands. It was close by the east side of Poolewe bridge...The smith had a son, a boy, almost a young man; he was in sickly health and died shortly afterwards...One day the smith's son had walked over to Gairloch, and returning somewhat exhausted, came into his father's house (the door being open) and instantly sat down on the nearest chair. No sooner was he seated than he fell from the chair in a fainting fit. He presently came round, and on recovering consciousness the first thing he said to his family was, 'What are all those people on the bridge for?' They pointed out to him that there was no-one on the bridge. He then told them, that as he had approached the bridge he had seen it crowded with people, that he had had to push his way through them, and that he had felt very much frightened. Those members of the smith's household who were at home had seen no-one on the bridge, and were not thirty yards from it so that no individuals, much less a crowd, could have been on the bridge without the family having noticed them. The following day, the 3rd October 1860, was a day that will never be forgotten by those who witnessed its terrible events. A number of open boats with their crews were at the head of Loch Ewe near Boor, Cliff House and Poolewe, setting nets for herrings, when a storm suddenly came on, far exceeding in violence any other storm before or since, so far as those now living remember. A hurricane sprang up from the west-north-west, of such extraordinary force as actually to lift boats and their crews from the water, and in one or two cases to overturn the boats. Happily, most of the men clung to their boats and were soon washed ashore. One boat was carried rapidly past the point called Ploc-ard, by Inverewe House. As she was passing close to some big stones one of her crew jumped out onto a rock, but was washed off and drowned. In another boat, opposite Cliff House, there were four men; the boat was capsized and three of the men were drowned; the fourth had tied himself to the boat, which came ashore by Cliff House; he was taken to the house, and restoratives being applied soon recovered. About a score of the boats ran into the pool under Poolewe bridge. And thus the vision of the smith's son was fulfilled, for at the very hour at which he had crossed the bridge on the preceding day, a multitude of the fishermen's friends and relations, breathless with agonising anxiety, crowded the bridge and its approaches watching the arrival of the boats. The tide on this awful evening rose one hundred and fifty yards further up the shore and adjoining land than on any other occasion remembered in the district. The bodies of the drowned men were recovered, and were buried in the Inverewe churchyard, where the date of this memorable storm is recorded on a gravestone over the remains of two men named William Urquhart and Donald Urquhart.

Appendix 8. Data Sources and Bibliography

The following data sources were consulted during this evaluation:

Highland Sites and Monuments Record (SMR) held by the Archaeology Unit at Highland Council in Inverness.

National Monuments Record for Scotland (NMRS) held by the RCAHMS in Edinburgh.

Early maps held by the Map Library within the National Library of Scotland in Edinburgh.

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