

ARCHAEOLOGY ON A GREAT POST ROAD

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INTRODUCTION

THE object of this paper is to explore the history of a highway, described in the eighteenth century as a 'great post road', by an archaeological method. Its conclusions, that is to say, are based primarily on observations made on the ground, though eked out, where possible, with maps and record material. To the main work there have been added three Appendices – the first giving detailed descriptions of the more important bridges,¹ as accounts of only two of these have so far appeared in print; the second dealing with milestones and mileposts; and the third covering a number of miscellaneous points which possess some interest for the study of old roads in general. In addition to individual acknowledgments made in the course of the paper, I wish to record my special indebtedness to Mr M. R. Dobie, C.B.E., B.A., F.S.A.SCOT., who helped me greatly with the field-work; to Miss A. Young, M.A., of the National Library Map Room; to Mr G. D. Hay, A.R.I.B.A., F.S.A.SCOT., and Mr J. G. Dunbar, M.A., F.S.A., F.S.A.SCOT., for advice on architectural and historical matters; to Mr I. G. Scott, D.A. (EDIN.), F.S.A.SCOT., who prepared figs. 1 to 10; and to Miss A. Muir, who typed the final copy.

THE GREAT POST ROAD

The highway under review is the Scottish portion of A 1, between Berwick-upon-Tweed and Edinburgh, with certain associated by-ways (fig. 1).² It represents a route which must have carried traffic since a very distant past, and that little is known about its earlier history need be ascribed to nothing but dearth of detailed records. Facilities for contact with shipping, at Berwick, Dunbar and elsewhere, must always have made it attractive to invading armies, but traces of Roman road-work are notably conspicuous by their absence. Whether the volume of traffic has been as great as that borne by certain comparable routes in the Lammermuirs³ or the Cheviots⁴ cannot now be estimated, as so much of the adjacent land has been enclosed and brought under the plough, and in any case the observed amount of wear caused by traffic varies from one road to another in a puzzling fashion.

The earliest recorded evidence of a road on any part of this line dates from 1128, when the place-name Colbrandespade (Colbrandispath, Cockburnspath) appears in

¹ For the dimensions of Musselburgh Old Bridge I am indebted to the Ministry of Public Building and Works, which allowed me to refer to its plan and elevations of the structure prepared in 1956; and for most of those of the other bridges, as well as for valuable advice, to Mr W. Henderson, M.B.E., B.Sc., A.M.I.C.E., Road Engineer to the Scottish Development Department.

² National Grid references will be found on O.S. 6-inch map, Provisional Edition, 100-km. square NT, sheets 27 SE, 37 SW, 37 SE, 47 NW, 47 NE, 47 SW, 57 NW, 57 NE, 67 NW, 67 NE, 77 SW, 77 SE, 86 NE, 86 SE, 95 NE, 95 SE, 96 SW. See also O.S. 1-inch map of Great Britain, 7th series, sheets 62 (Edinburgh), 63 (Dunbar) and 64 (Berwick-upon-Tweed).

³ Examples are discussed in *P.S.A.S.*, LXXXIII (1948–9), 198 ff.; XCIII (1959–60), 217 ff.

⁴ For which see R.C.A.M., *Inventory of Roxburghshire*, 51, and examples there quoted.

the charter of Holyrood Abbey.¹ As the name is used with the evident intention of defining the eastern limit of Lothian, the reference is probably not to any village, corresponding with the modern Cockburnspath, but to a 'peth', or steep hollow track,² forming a landmark at the boundary. On this showing, the place in question would naturally be identifiable with the crossing of the Dunglass Burn, frequently described as a 'peth' in later times (p. 326), this burn being still the boundary between East Lothian and Berwickshire. Travellers' accounts begin with that of

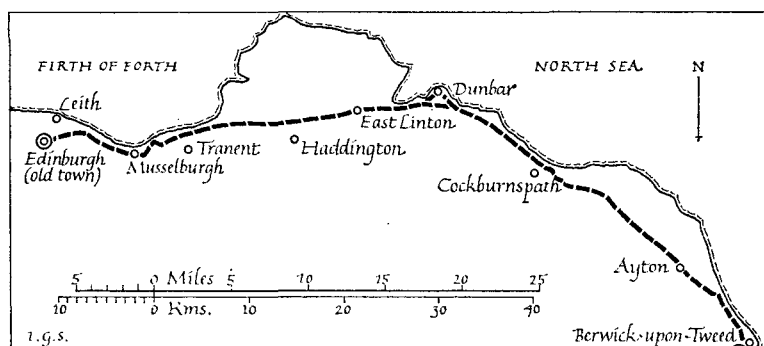


FIG. 1. The road as recorded by travellers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

John Hardyng, who noted the lengths of stages along the route, inaccurately, about 1415.³ From the end of the sixteenth century records become more common, and include not only travellers' narratives⁴ but also a useful report, made in 1617 by a body of Commissioners appointed by Parliament for the purpose, on repair-work needed in preparation for the king's journey from London.⁵ The later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are covered by the two *Statistical Accounts*⁶ as well as by works on the agriculture of the counties concerned. In the later periods, too, the written records are reinforced by maps.⁷ On the strength of such information, supplemented by surviving material evidence, it is possible to reconstruct much of the old route as it must have existed before the radical improvements of the later eighteenth century.

¹ Lawrie, A., *Early Scottish Charters prior to 1153*, 118. It is interesting to note that the form 'Colbrandespath' appears as late as 1832 in a memorandum book of Lady Helen Hall of Dunglass, preserved in the Dunglass Estate Office.

² *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*, s.v.

³ Hume Brown, P., *Early Travellers in Scotland*, 17ff. On inaccuracy in records of mileage, see p. 347 below.

⁴ For whom see Hume Brown, op. cit., 81 (Fynes Moryson, 1598); 126 ff. (John Taylor, 1618); 134 ff. (Sir William Brereton, 1636); 227 (Jorevin de Rocheford, 1661); 231 (John Ray, c. 1662). To avoid interruptions in the narrative, no further individual references to these writers will ordinarily be given.

⁵ *R.P.C.*, xi (1616-19), 92 f.

⁶ For Ayton, *N.S.A.*, ii (Berwickshire), 142 f., 149; for Coldingham Moor, *Stat. Acct.*, xii (1794), 44, 59. For Cockburnspath and neighbourhood, *Stat. Acct.*, xiii (1794), 229 f., *N.S.A.*, ii (Berwickshire), 309 ff. To avoid constant repetition, further individual references to these sources will not ordinarily be given.

⁷ Blaeu, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (1654), v, 'Mercia', 'Lothian and Linlithgo'; Adair's MS. maps of East Lothian (1682) and Midlothian (undated), and engraved versions by R. Cooper (1735); Roy's map of Scotland (1747-55); Armstrong's map of Berwickshire (1771); Taylor, G. and Skinner, A., *Survey and Maps of the Roads of North Britain* (1776); Blackadder's map of Berwickshire (1797); Ordnance Survey 6-inch map of Scotland, 1st edition (1853-6).

Berwick to Ayton (figs. 2, 3)¹

De Rocheford, who made the journey in the reverse direction in 1661, seems to have used a road which left Berwick on the side towards the Tweed, presumably by the Scotsgate, and which subsequently followed a line similar to that of Castle Gate and then of A 1, after reaching ground which faced the sea. Improvements have evidently obliterated the details of the earlier road-line, but this becomes identifiable at New East Farm (978561), where it diverges from A 1 and trends obliquely up the hillside, either as a grassy terrace or as a farm-track through fields. Where it passes

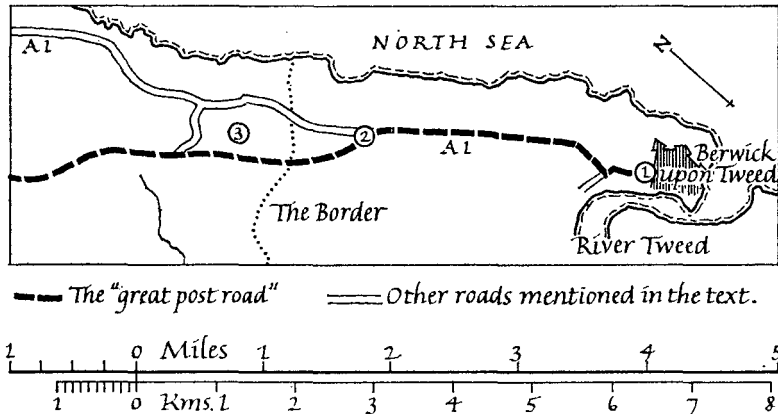


FIG. 2. 1. Scotsgate, Berwick; 2. New East Farm; 3. Lamberton Church

some cottages, above Lamberton Church, a short stretch has been improved; and at 960578 it coalesces with the by-road to Ayton, which thence follows a course, typical of an early road, over the highest part of the moor. Margaret Tudor came by this route in 1503 for her marriage to James IV, her official reception into Scotland being held at Lamberton Church.² In 1617, in preparation for James VI's visit, repairs were found necessary 'abone the toun of Lamertoun' and at 'the tua myres at the marche of Lamertoun lyand nixt to Aytoun Marche'³; what may well have been one of these 'myres' is the strip of rather boggy ground, now drained, that flanks the road just NW. of the Mordington by-road (*c.* 949587), while another damp hollow, also drained, lies just NE. of the road a short distance further north (*c.* 947590). The latter is actually on and the former is within 200 yds. of the existing parish-boundary of Ayton. In 1835, when inequality in the duties payable in the two countries made it profitable to smuggle Scotch whisky into England, excise officers patrolled two roads in Mordington parish, of which this was presumably one, to check the traffic. From Ayton Hill the route descends rather steeply to the valley of the Eye Water at Ayton, and the elimination of this steep section, by the substitution of the detour

¹ As figs. 2 to 10 form a homogeneous series, scale and legend are given in fig. 2 only.

² *Johannis Lelandi Antiquarii de Rebus Britannicis Collectanea*, ed. 1770, iv, 281.

³ *R.P.C.*, loc. cit. The 'entree fra the Bounrod', also mentioned in this passage, was presumably somewhere between Lamberton and Berwick.

now represented by A 1, is cited in the *New Statistical Account* as one of the principal improvements effected at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Ayton is mentioned by Moryson, Brereton and de Rocheford, but the river-crossing and the village have both been changed since their days. At some time later than the survey for Blackadder's map, published in 1797, and perhaps, like the new stretch at Dunglass (p. 328), in 1798, the existing main route by Reston and Grants-house was opened, work on it having been in progress since shortly before 1794; and this led to the construction of a new bridge (p. 334) over the Eye Water, upstream from the church, and later to the replanning of the village in its present form, with the main street aligned along A 1. Armstrong's map of 1771 shows the earlier arrangement, with the bridge downstream from the church and the houses

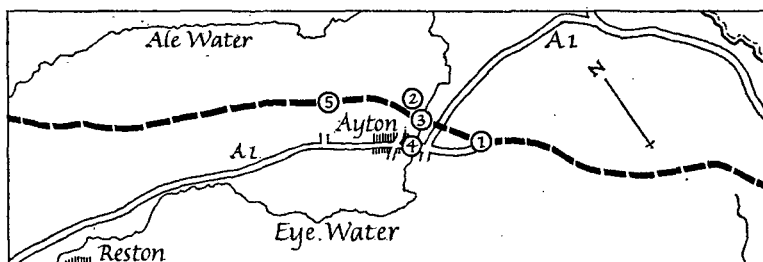


FIG. 3. 1. Ayton Station; 2. Site of old bridge; 3. Ayton Castle; 4. Ayton Bridge; 5. Aytonwood crossroads. Scale and conventions as in fig. 2

mainly grouped just west of the mansion-house; while Blackadder's map of 1797 shows a bridge as it is today, upstream from the church, though the main street is not yet in existence and most of the houses are strung out north-eastwards towards the older village-centre. The changes, which enabled the proprietor 'to get rid of the old houses at the upper end of the village, which trenched close upon the mansion-house', and which 'also led to the formation of an almost entirely new village', were completed before the *New Statistical Account* article was written in 1834. Under the old arrangement, the road, which now swerves westwards at Ayton Cocklaw (932604) on to the new alignment, ran on downhill along a line now marked, as far as the railway, by a strip of trees, and reached the Eye Water somewhere immediately downstream of the old church and graveyard. Traces of a terraced track can be seen curving down to the river at this point (928610), which was presumably the site of the 'ruinous bridge over the Eye (which formed part of a very old road to London)', and which fell down shortly before 1834 after having been used for a time for access to the church. On the left bank another curving terrace leads up to a short length of hollow track, and these no doubt represent part of 'Aytoun loan' and the 'pethe of Aytoun going up frome the watter', which were found to be in need of repair before James VI's visit.¹ Beyond this point the old line seems to have been taken over by the approach road to Ayton Castle, by the W. side of which, at a point about 140 yds. from the river-bank, there can be seen a milestone (p. 343) evidently dating from before the change of route.

¹ R.P.C., loc. cit.

Ayton to Old Cambus (figs. 3, 4)

At a point about 100 yds. W. of Ayton Castle the road turned NNW., its course being indicated sporadically by the alignment of some old trees.¹ From the other side of the Ayton-Eyemouth highway (B 6355) it is preserved as a track through fields to the cross-roads SE. of Aytonwood House (919619), its final section running along a planted strip; and from the cross-roads, up to and over Coldingham Moor and nearly as far as Woodend (*infra*), it is perpetuated by a modern road (A 1107 from Huxton Cottage onwards). The substantially straight course of this section, and

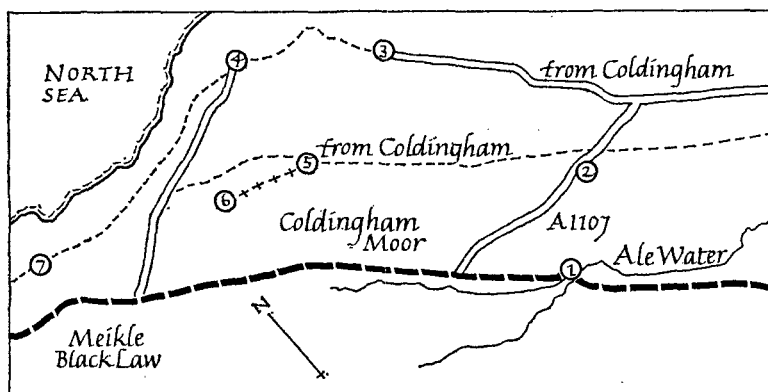


FIG. 4. 1. Press; 2. Silverwells; 3. Lumsdaine; 4. Dowlaw; 5-6. Road marked out but never made; 7. Redheugh. Scale and conventions as in fig. 2

its general preference for high ground except where it is forced to cross the Ale Water, suggest an origin on unobstructed moorland before the days of enclosure. Brereton and de Rocheford both mention passing over moorland, and the former, who was travelling in June, notes that the ground was dry; the latter's 'plain near a river', containing 'five or six small hamlets', was probably the Ale Water valley. Some hollow tracks which may be seen flanking the highway NW. of Moor House (square 8368) may or may not be remains of an unorganised road such as Brereton probably followed; much peat was cut on the Common before it was subdivided and this would naturally have led to the formation of numerous tracks. This was most probably the origin of two lightly-marked tracks on the whaleback of Laverock Law, observed about 854682 and aligned on Dowlaw Moss (square 8469).

The section of the route that crossed Coldingham Moor seems to have been a troublesome one for maintenance. The Commissioners of 1617 reported unfavourably on a stretch between Blackhill and Wester Whitefield (square 8963), on what seem to have been the burn-crossings near Press Castle (870654), on an unidentifiable part of the 'common moor', and on the section that descends from the high point beside Meikle Black Law to the Old Cambus Burn (squares 8269, 8169, 8069). Before 1772, the Berwickshire roads were maintained by statute labour, but this was so ineffective that an Act was obtained for the setting-up of turnpikes and the conversion of the labour to payments. No turnpikes were actually set up, but the

¹ Information from Mr D. Liddel-Grainger of Ayton Castle.

conversion money was 'rigorously exacted', about £3000 being taken by 1794, and this was duly applied by the several district authorities. 'The great post road leading across the common moor, naturally rough, wet and deep, swallowed up a great part of these conversions for many years,' but in 1794, after a new Turnpike Act had been secured, it was described as 'in perfect repair'.

The road leaves the high ground of Coldingham Moor on the eastern shoulder of Meikle Black Law, at an elevation of about 740 ft., and passes on to a slope which falls steeply northwards to the sea-shore. This slope it crosses at a gentle downward gradient, and is still some 400 ft. above sea-level after passing the position of the former village of Old Cambus. Beyond this point, for nearly 3 miles, the route is beset by serious natural obstacles, its line being traversed by no less than four deep, rocky chasms cut out by drainage from an ice-sheet overlying the Lammermuirs. Before this section is discussed, however, it will be necessary to make a digression, to deal with an alternative route which passed through Coldingham.

Another route, by Coldingham (fig. 4)

An alternative to the route over Coldingham Moor existed by way of Coldingham, as is clear from the records of travellers who stayed at the Priory. In 1218, for example, Prior William of Durham died there when returning from a tour in Scotland¹; Edward I stayed there in 1296 in the course of his advance on Dunbar and Haddington,² and Mary Tudor's retinue were entertained there in 1503 while she herself went on to Fast Castle.³ No doubt this was a common practice, while the Priory and the town must themselves have generated at least some traffic to north and south. Routes which would have served such traffic may well be represented by (i) the by-road to Lumsdaine and its extension, not now passable by cars, to Dowlaw (857702)⁴; (ii) the dyked lane that leaves A 1107 just east of Silverwells (884664) and runs NW. across Lumsdaine Moor as a 'green road' to the Dowlaw by-road at 840659; (iii) traces of an abandoned road, which served Dowlaw within living memory, and which can now be seen descending the steep seaward slope obliquely and running westwards near the top of the cliffs. This would have given access to the Pease Burn crossing (*infra*), by way of Redheugh (822700), along the lower part of the sea-face. Roy's map shows a road on this line as coming from Eyemouth by Coldingham.

What does not, however, appear to possess any relevance to the present question is the feature marked 'Old Road' on the 1st edition of the 6-inch O.S. map. This crosses Lumsdaine Moor and Coldingham Common from the green road mentioned above to a point near the head of the Dowlaw Burn (843698); but on examination it has proved not to be a road at all, but only the preliminary trace of one, marked out by slight mounds and ditches 18 ft. apart. For whatever purpose it may originally have been laid out – and its accurate alignment and the neat arrangement of an angle indicate the work of a surveyor – it shows no traces of traffic and has certainly never been used.

¹ *Chronica de Mailros* (Bannatyne Club), 133.

² Gough, H., *The Itineraries of King Edward the First*, ii, 140.

³ *Johannis Lelandi Antiquarii de Rebus Britannicis Collectanea*, ed. 1770, iv, 282.

⁴ Beyond the north-eastern margin of fig. 4.

The Pease Burn (fig. 5)

Until the Pease Bridge was built in the 1780s (p. 334), the Pease Burn was crossed by a ford close to the shore. Rightly or wrongly, a diarist of 1547 placed the crossing at 'twenty skore' from the sea,¹ though in the eighteenth century it was evidently much lower than this, while Blaeu marks it a good deal higher; Blaeu's basic topography, however, is inaccurate, and a track leading to Pease Mill (793704) may have confused the issue further. In Armstrong's day, in order to reach the ford, the road, after leaving Old Cambus, turned sharply downhill some 470 yds. E. of Woodend

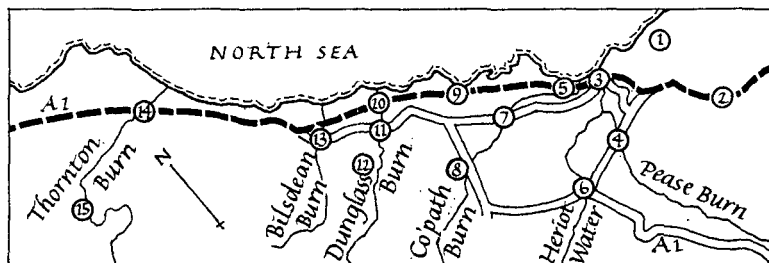


FIG. 5. 1. St Helen's Church; 2. Old Cambus; 3. The Peaths; 4. Pease Bridge; 5. The 'Clownlawis'; 6. Tower Bridge; 7. Cove Bridge; 8. Cockburnspath Village; 9. Cove; 10. Dunglass Old Bridge; 11. Dunglass Bridge; 12. Dunglass Castle; 13. Bilsdean Bridge; 14. Thornton Burn Bridge; 15. Innerwick Castle. Scale and conventions as in fig. 2

(798702); his map marks wide zigzags here, parts of which appeared in the parched grass in the summer of 1962. According to the *Old Statistical Account*, part of the gradient was as steep as 1 in 5, no doubt on the final pitch coming down to the haugh. This lowermost section is now represented by a lane, branching off the by-road to Redheugh quarries and descending to the ford by way of a gully, where the gradient is considerably easier than the one recorded; but at some undefined former time the road is said to have occupied not this gully but the one immediately north of it (Pl. LIV, 4),² which now appears impossibly steep and narrow. The pale strip of parched grass that can be seen in Pl. LIV, 4 represents what was evidently an eighteenth-century version of the road, crossing the low ground and leading to a ford downstream from the existing one; stones which are ploughed up on this strip show that the roadway was metalled.³

The by-road that crosses the Pease Burn valley today, re-aligned and re-graded as it is, does not suggest that the crossing need ever have been exceptionally troublesome; but it is clear from the records that it was once extremely hazardous. Patten wrote eloquently of the difficulties that the troops encountered in 1547, mentioning the 'numerous paths and foot ways leading slopewise' that travellers used in mounting the steep sides of the valley, and noting the name 'ye Peaths' that these gave to the place.⁴ An English commander in the following year was careful to arrange for an adequate escort 'to make sure of the passage of the Pease',⁵ and the valley's quality

¹ Patten, W., 'The Expedition into Scotlande', 32, in Dalryell, Sir J. G., *Fragments of Scottish History* (1798)

² Information from Mr J. Hood, Linhead.

³ ditto.

⁴ loc. cit.

⁵ *Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots*, I (1547-63), 110.

as an obstacle and as a natural defensive line was recognised on more than one occasion in the course of the same campaign.¹ In 1650 Cromwell reported that he could not 'without nearly a miracle' get through the 'strait pass at Copperspath', blocked against him by the Scots, 'where ten men to hinder are better than forty to make their way'.² The repair-work needed in 1617 will be mentioned in the next section, and repairs to 'the Passadge throw the Den of Cockburnspath' called for the attention of Parliament in 1689.³ The crossing was described in 1776 as 'very difficult and dangerous',⁴ in 1785 as 'formerly the terror of female travellers',⁵ and in 1794 as 'a very dangerous pass'⁶; while a later author (1836) recalled the sides of the glen as having been 'almost impracticable for loaded carriages'.⁷

Pease Burn to Bilsdean (fig. 5)

The course of the road between the Pease and the Dunglass Burns has varied from one period to another, in ways now to be considered. Before the improvements of the later eighteenth century it seems to have crossed the small Cockburnspath Burn on the low-lying land immediately behind the beach, where the ground has been improved and the record has been further obscured by the construction of an anti-tank ditch, and then to have mounted the bluff on the western side of the bay and to have passed the lip of the bluff by way of a very steep cleft (Pl. LIV, 3). The only trace of the road surviving here is a short length of wasted terrace which approaches the bottom of the cleft from what is now a precipitous slope falling directly to the bay, and this doubtless represents the remains of a former cliff-top track, now destroyed by landslips. The instability of the clay drift overlying the sandstone hereabouts is illustrated by the frequency with which small landslips occur at Cove Harbour. Such a place might well have been a terror to eighteenth-century travellers, and in fact the cleft is so steep that today the passage up it of a road seems hardly credible; but that the road did follow this course is placed beyond doubt by an estate-map of 1772⁸ which specifically marks 'Old Road' at this very spot, while Armstrong's map of 1771 and Taylor and Skinner's *Road Book* likewise agree. A field-gate at the top of the cleft is also pointed out as standing on the road's course.⁹

The report of the Commissioners of 1617¹⁰ accords very well with these conclusions, as it notes for repair, west of the 'Auld Cambes' (Pease) Burn, 'the peth of Colbrandispeth callit the Clownlawis bewest Auld Cambes miln quhilk is ane difficle way be eardfast stones and mony louse stanes lyand in the way and by shoiting of the brae on bothe sydes, and at the Quhyte Cove on the east and west sydes thairof'; and, though 'the Clownlawis' have dropped out of local memory, they are probably

¹ e.g., *ibid.*, 18, 80, 129, 156, 160.

² Carlyle, T., *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, Centenary ed., ii, 199, 212 (Letters cxxxix, cxl). Carlyle was, of course, mistaken in putting the seventeenth-century crossing-place at the position of Pease Bridge (*ibid.*, 181).

³ *A.P.S.*, ix, 52 b.

⁴ Ridpath, G., *A History of the English and Scottish Border* (1776), 560 n.

⁵ Knox, John, *A View of the British Empire, etc.* (1789), 568.

⁶ *Stat. Acct.*, xiii, 230.

⁷ Carr, A. A., *A History of Coldingham Priory*, 105 n.

⁸ I am indebted to Mr C. M. Rowe, Factor to the Dunglass Estate, for permission to consult the interesting collection of maps preserved in the Estate Office, and also for much valuable advice on a number of local problems.

⁹ Information from Mr R. Paxton, Old Linhead.

¹⁰ *R.P.C.*, xi (1616-19), 93.

to be identified with the bluff just mentioned in view of its 'cloven' character.¹ The 'shoiting' of loose matter from the sides of the cleft on to the roadway would also be natural enough. 'Quhyte Cove', too, falls easily into place, as Blaeu marks 'Whyte-coaue' very much in this position and already before 1606 'Quhytecoiff' was the name of the natural harbour at Cove now improved with breakwaters.² Local tradition agrees in stating that the road passed by the existing hamlet of Cove,³ and it is clear from an estate-map of 1768, with which Blaeu, Roy and Armstrong are all in accordance, that it reached the Dunglass Burn at the point where a hollow lane now dips down to give access to Dunglass Old Bridge. Its point of junction with the lane is remembered locally as the site of the existing house known as Ramsheugh,⁴ but no traces survive as the ground is all under cultivation. The hollow way or 'peth' must originally have been a good deal steeper than it is today as, before 1794, the top of the bridge was not level but dipped downwards at the centre (p. 337); and this was no doubt the 'strait place, called the Dunglass peis', where a traveller was attacked and beaten in 1674.⁵ Blaeu's map marks, close by, a house called Pethead, with which correspond 'Path' on Adair's map and 'Pathhead' on the estate-map of 1768.

Improvements, which probably began soon after 1770, seem to have deflected the Pease-Dunglass stretch of the road slightly inland from the edge of the cliffs, carrying it across the Cockburnspath Burn by a bridge (p. 336) about 150 yds. north of Old Linhead (789709). Thence it flanked the right bank of this burn at a lower level than the modern by-road to Pease Bay, its course being traceable by the stones that are turned up when the field is ploughed.⁶ Just short of the Cove farm-cottages it recrossed the burn by another bridge (p. 336), and presumably reached the approach to Dunglass Old Bridge by way of Cove hamlet, as before. Taylor and Skinner's *Road Book* marks a road on each side of the Cockburnspath Burn between these two bridges, and the change-over may thus have been effected about 1776.

The route by the cliffs, however, does not seem to have been the only one in use, as some travellers evidently went through Cockburnspath village, and not direct to Dunglass Old Bridge. Taylor in 1618 and de Rocheford in 1661 certainly did so, and Sibbald, writing at the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, mentions Cockburnspath as being on the road⁷; while Armstrong's map of 1771 shows a diversion to the village from near Cove farm-cottages, traces of which still show as crop-marks, and a direct access from the village to Dunglass Old Bridge. Just what route the King was expected to take in 1617, on his way to Dunglass Castle, does not appear very clearly, but it must have included the village as the Commissioners noted for repair 'that pairt of the way going fra the Clownlawis to the toun of Colbrandispeth'⁸; they added, however, 'and fra Colbrandispeth to the peth heade abone Dunglass Boig', which suggests that he did not continue to the bridge, which

¹ See *The Scottish National Dictionary*, s.v. 'cloven', and *A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*, s.v. 'clovin', for alternative form 'clowin'.

² MS. Register of the Privy Seal, H.M. General Register House, LXXV, 127.

³ Information from Mr J. Hood, Linhead.

⁴ Information from Mr P. Levy, Bilsdean. An old toll-house is marked on the 6-inch O.S. map of Berwickshire, i SW.

⁵ Information from Mr J. Hood, Linhead.

⁶ *R.P.C.*, 3rd series, IV (1673-6), 128.

⁷ Macfarlane, W., *Geographical Collections relating to Scotland*, I, 376.

⁸ *R.P.C.*, IX (1616-19), 93.

was pretty certainly standing at that date,¹ but made straight for a crossing by the Castle which is now steep and difficult. On this showing the bog would have to be looked for in the hollow lying below Eildbalks Wood (7771), which, though now arable ground, is known to have been marshy before it was properly drained.

The last point to be considered in this stretch is the passage of the Dunglass Burn itself. This is now effected by means of Dunglass Old Bridge (Pl. LI, 1) which spans the gorge – at this point really a chasm – some 360 yds. upstream from high-water mark (772723). Structural evidence (p. 337) suggests that the bridge dates from the early seventeenth century, and by about 1648 the ‘bridge at Dunglass mill’, described as ‘lying in the high road and post way to England’, was already decrepit enough to need extensive repairs.² However, this is not to say that the cliff-side route leading to the site of the bridge only came into existence with the building of the bridge itself, as, in spite of the fact that the chasm is so deep and steep-sided that a direct crossing would have been impossible except on a fairly high bridge, there is some reason to believe that in earlier times the burn may have been forded on the sea-shore, below the opening of the chasm. The burn-mouth, though inaccessible along the beach, could have been reached, and in later times certainly was reached, by terraced roads cut into the walls of the chasm; on the left bank such a road still exists, and is in use for local purposes, while on the right bank the upper and lower ends of another survive in a wasted condition, a stretch of some 50 yds. having been carried away by a landslip just opposite Dunglass Mill. The upper ends of both these roads are shown on a Dunglass estate-map of 1796, though this is not large enough to include their lower portions. It is thus not at all unlikely that the cliff-side road and the ‘peth’ are in fact older than the bridge, and were originally intended to serve a crossing at sea-level – as well, no doubt, as the landing-place at Gutcher’s Hole.³ This idea, moreover, is supported by a local tradition, to the effect that, before the bridge was built, traffic went down the right-hand road to the beach, westwards below the cliffs to the mouth of the Bilsdean Burn, and up a similar terraced road on the left bank of the latter,⁴ which runs in a chasm which is almost as formidable as that of the Dunglass Burn. A track exists here today, improved for access, presumably, to quarries, boats, etc., and associated with a nineteenth-century bridge just below the mouth of the chasm. Some fragments of a small, earlier bridge survive on the upstream side of this structure, but they are too slight to give any clue to its original character.

Old Cambus to Bilsdean, later route (fig. 5)

The situation so far described was materially altered in the 1780s,⁵ when the Peaths crossing was superseded by bridges, newly built, on the Pease Burn (791699) and the Heriot Water (784697). Neither the Pease nor the Tower Bridge is at a

¹ I am indebted to Mr J. G. Dunbar, M.A., F.S.A., for verifying that the original document has been transcribed correctly, and that ‘Boig’ is not a misprint for ‘Brig’.

² *R.P.C.*, 2nd series, VIII (1544–60), 187.

³ MS. Register of the Privy Seal, H.M. General Register House, LXXV, 127 f.

⁴ Information from Mr W. Fairbairn, Cove. The crossing of the Bilsdean Burn in the eighteenth century is dealt with below (p. 328).

⁵ For the date of the Pease Bridge, see p. 334.

natural crossing-place, though close to the latter, at the bottom of the chasm, there was formerly an ancient 'pack-horse bridge'; this, however, is probably not to be associated with any highway but with the near-by Cockburnspath Tower.¹ To reach the new bridges the road was carried forward at a slight downward gradient from the point where it had previously turned downhill to the Peaths; and after making the crossings it was continued, as today, past Cockburnspath village and thence to Dunglass Old Bridge. This arrangement held until the end of the eighteenth century, a new section between Pathhead Farm and Bilsdean being brought into use in 1798² and the route from Ayton by the Eye Water being opened probably about the same time. The latter incorporated the Tower Bridge, then already in existence, though this is now by-passed by a high-level bridge built in 1928; and the former called for the building of two new bridges, respectively over the Dunglass and Bilsdean Burns (p. 338, Pls. LIV, 1, 2). Dunglass Old Bridge had already by 1794 come to be regarded as 'very inconvenient', no doubt justly in view of its narrowness and of the way in which it dipped towards a hollow at the centre; but to a Romantic of 1834, relieved of the necessity of crossing it, it had become 'very ancient and picturesque'. This same writer describes the new bridge at Dunglass as 'more modern and exceedingly beautiful, both in itself and in its accompaniments of rocks, woods and waters'.

Before these changes, the Bilsdean Burn was crossed by a bridge of which nothing now survives, but it is shown by the estate map of 1796 and the 25-inch O.S. map, surveyed in 1855 and revised in 1906, to have been either at or just downstream from the present highway-crossing on A 1 (764726). Roy's map of 1747-55 and Taylor and Skinner's *Road Book* of 1776 also show the crossing in this position. The vague suggestion of a flattened hollow on the left bank of the burn probably represents an approach. Between Dunglass Old Bridge and the old Bilsdean Bridge the road took a direct course through what is now arable ground. The new Bilsdean Bridge (Pl. LIV, 1) is situated just above the point where the burn enters its gorge, the upper reaches running in a wide and gentle hollow. Some 80 yds. above the bridge this hollow is blocked by a massive transverse embankment, locally known as 'the Compound', which was probably designed to dam up an artificial lake. This is older than the new bridge, as it was already in existence in 1796, and is shown on the estate map as carrying a 'Road to Dunglass'. Between the bridge and the 'Compound', traces can be seen of a terraced roadway about 12 ft. wide, leaving the highway at the Farm Lodge, by the south-eastern approach to the bridge, describing an arc in the bottom of the hollow, and fading out as it rises to rejoin the highway at the north-western end of the bridge. These traces no doubt represent the remains of the re-routed road as it existed between 1798 and the reconstruction of the 'new' bridge after the collapse noted on p. 338.

Bilsdean to East Linton (figs. 5, 6, 7)

Between Bilsdean and Dunbar the ground has all been improved, and early

¹ These three bridges are all described below (pp. 334ff).

² Lady Helen Hall of Dunglass, MS. 'Memorandum Book' preserved at Dunglass, 15, 28.

tracks obliterated; but the route shown on Adair's map of East Lothian agrees substantially with A 1, and the bridges over the Thornton and Dry Burns seem to be at natural crossing-places. On this showing Brereton, who mentions Innerwick Castle, must be supposed to have seen it from about a mile's distance. The bridges show no interesting features, apart from an elliptical arch at the Thornton Burn

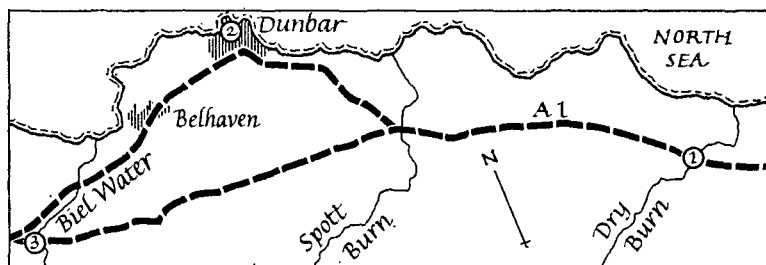


FIG. 6. 1. Dryburn Bridge; 2. Dunbar Castle; 3. Beltonford Bridge.
Scale and conventions as in fig. 2

which may be compared with the one at Magdalen (p. 341). The short cut from Broxton to Beltonford, which by-passes the town of Dunbar and now forms part of A 1, is marked on Adair's map but not on Blaeu's; it may perhaps have been fairly new in 1682 as the travellers previously quoted, whose dates range from about 1415 to 1662, all mention Dunbar itself. Mileposts in this and the next section of the road are described below on pp. 342f.

On leaving Dunbar the old road seems to have followed the existing line, though between Belhaven and West Barnes Cooper shows it as crossing tidal sands. This agrees with de Rocheford's mention of sandhills, and is not at all unlikely as the ground immediately to the north, now partially reclaimed, must have been tidal before the construction of the sea-wall across the bay and of the embankments at the mouth of the Biel Water. In fact, the road appears to cling as closely as possible to the base of the low bank that rises from the coastal flats. Between West Barnes and Beltonford, where the Dunbar by-pass rejoins it, the road still appears to follow approximately the line marked by Adair and Roy, though at some time between the dates of these two maps the Biel Water must have been diverted to its present course from one which carried it across the road and out into Belhaven Bay.

The next point of interest is the crossing of the Tyne at East Linton, where the river passes through a narrow, rocky cleft. Some 70 yds. upstream from this point the road is carried over the river on a bridge (p. 339; Pl. LII, 1, 2), the oldest part of which is dated to the sixteenth century by the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland.¹ A stone bridge existed here at least as early as 1547, when it was used by the infantry of the English army while the cavalry and transport went through a ford²; what was no doubt the same bridge was destroyed in 1548 to delay the retreat of the English from Haddington,³ but it seems to have

¹ *Inventory of East Lothian*, No. 151.

² Patten, W., 'The Expedition into Scotlande', 37, in Dalrymple, Sir J. G., *Fragments of Scottish History* (1798).

³ *Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots*, H.M. General Register House, 1 (1547-63), 180, No. 356.

been rebuilt by 1560.¹ The existing bridge most probably originated with this reconstruction. The ford was situated above the bridge, about midway between the railway-bridge and the new road-bridge that carries A 1 (592770); building and other developments have obliterated all traces of it on the river-banks, but the former course of the approach-road, marked by Sharp, Greenwood and Fowler in 1825, is represented on the right bank by a gap between Numbers 5 and 6, Lauder Place,

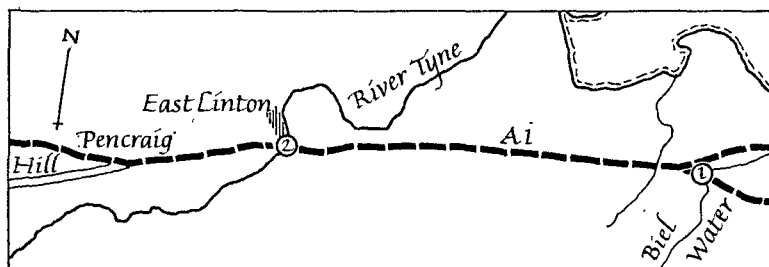


FIG. 7. 1. Beltonford Bridge; 2. East Linton Bridge.
Scale and conventions as in fig. 2

while on the left bank a lane leads up between buildings from its former position.² The ford is thus in general alignment with the road to east and west of the town, and to reach the bridge the road has had to diverge slightly to the north. In 1825 the turn on to the bridge seems to have been more pronounced than it is today.

A large stone, known locally as the 'Jook Stane' (Duck Stone) formerly lay in the river-bed some 30 yds. above the bridge and served to indicate the depth of water at the ford, but it was washed away in the great flood of 1948.³

East Linton to Levenhall (figs. 7, 8, 9)

From East Linton Bridge the road ran straight up the shoulder of Pencreaig Hill, a conspicuous standing stone to the north no doubt serving usefully as a landmark in mist or snow. Short of the summit of the hill, however, it forked; Adair shows one branch proceeding by Haddington and Tranent, as does A 1, while the other takes a more northerly course across the slopes of the Garleton Hills, to arrive on the line of the Edinburgh-North Berwick road (A 198) at Seton. De Rocheford took the former route, in reverse, as he mentions Tranent and Haddington, while records of the latter are provided by Moryson and Brereton. Moryson gives a mileage from Dunbar to Haddington, describing Haddington as 'something out of the way', and another from Haddington to Seton; Brereton notes that he passed near Seton House.

No remains of old tracks survive along the A 1 line, as all the adjoining ground has been improved, but the Seton route as marked by Adair can still be identified in places. A line of farm-track and by-road, still known locally as the 'Tinkers' Road', runs west for about 2 miles from the NW. corner of Pencreaig Wood to a point (540762) on B 1347 west of Beanston; it is there interrupted for 2 miles by

¹ *ibid.*, 343, No. 705.

² Information from Mr D. Wilson, East Linton.

³ Information from Mr D. Wilson, East Linton. The weir below the bridge, mentioned by the R.C.A.M. (*Inventory of East Lothian*, No. 151), was carried away at the same time.

cultivation, but from Phantassie (510757), on A 6137, further by-roads pursue a rather less regular course to Cantyhall (434752) on the road from Edinburgh to North Berwick. On Roy's map this latter section bears the legend 'Short Road from Edinb. to Dunbar'. The tracks in question have, of course, been improved and the by-roads metalled; but taken together they correspond substantially with the line marked by Adair, and some stretches show a sinuous alignment which suggests that the road antedates the straight-sided arable enclosures. Again, at two points there are some typical hollow tracks. One of these points is just inside the NW. corner of

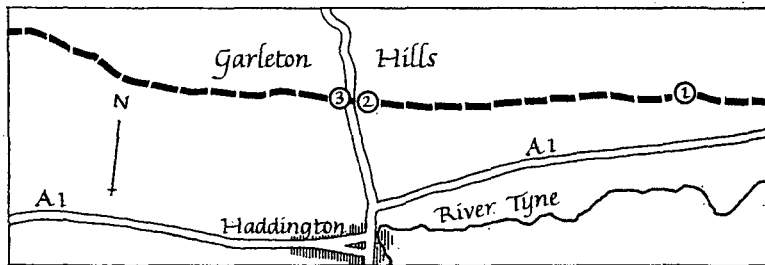


FIG. 8. 1. Beanston Mains; 2. hollow tracks; 3. old hospital.
Scale and conventions as in fig. 2

Pencairg Wood, where a hollow track 10 ft. wide produces the line of the farm-track for 35 yds. into the wood in a direction which would have made it coalesce with A 1 east of the wood and the quarries. The other is on the S. face of the Garleton Hills (NW. corner of square 5175), where a stone dyke descends a small gully from a projecting feature, defined by the 500-ft. contour, to a point on the Haddington-Drem by-road just opposite the old hospital near Phantassie. A deeply worn hollow way runs along the N. side of the dyke, and two others to the S. of it, for much of the distance down the gully. At their upper end, the tracks are aligned towards Beanston across the intervening arable fields; and it is worth noting that, from the top of the 500-ft. feature, Moryson could have obtained an excellent view of Haddington, lying exactly below him and distant about a mile. A road of some kind seems still to have been open here as late as 1825, but conditions may well have been fluid as Roy's map, some seventy years older, shows this route as taking a more northerly course in the section E. of Phantassie, leaving East Linton by the northern end of the street and making a detour by Markle. At the same time Roy shows the road on the A 1 line, between Beanston and Haddington, as laid out perfectly straight, as if already improved, and attaches the legend 'Old Turnpyke'. The whole situation here is likely to have been modified, soon after Roy's time, by further improvements resulting from the Turnpike Act of 1750.¹

To return to the neighbourhood of Seton, it may be assumed that, W. of Cantyhall, the road followed the approximate line of A 198. Adair carries it along the street of Preston village and past Prestongrange on the south; and though the next stretch, being on a margin in each of his maps, is worn and rather indistinct, he

¹ 23 Geo. II, cap. xvii; An Act for repairing the Roads leading from Dunglass Bridge to the Town of Haddington; and from thence to Ravenshaughburn in the County of Haddington.

probably meant to indicate it as running straight on through what are now the Drummorie policies. Cooper's engravings support this interpretation. Its junction with the other route from Haddington, by Tranent, is then clearly shown on the coast just W. of Westpans. Roy, however, puts the descent to the coast much nearer Prestongrange, suggesting that, in his time, the road used the same hollow that is occupied by a by-road today; and it is possible either that the route was altered between 1682 and 1755 or that the apparent discrepancy between the two maps arises from inexactitude on the part of Adair. Somewhere hereabouts, no doubt, was the place, described as 'at the backe of Prestoungrange',¹ where a board of Commissioners, appointed in 1633 to inspect the roads in preparation for a visit by

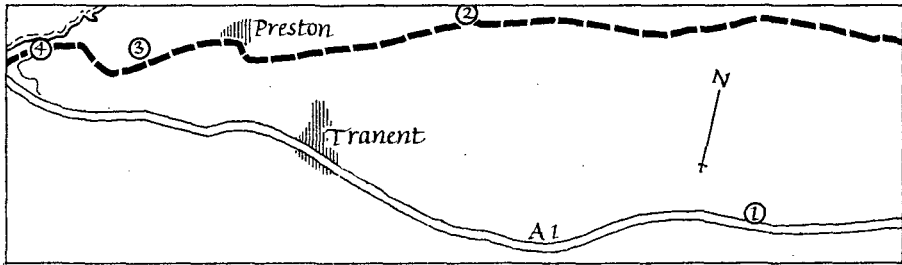


FIG. 9. 1. Gladsmuir Church; 2. Seton House; 3. Prestongrange House; 4. Ravenshaugh Bridge. Scale and conventions as in fig. 2

Charles I, reported that repairs were necessary. The ascent was remembered, in the later nineteenth century, as having been 'very severe and steep'.² A milestone survives in this section, by the East Lodge entrance to the Drummorie policies (372733), and is described below on p. 343.

At the bottom of the hill, this by-road joins the highway from Musselburgh to Prestonpans (B 1348), which is here built on an embankment rising directly from the beach and is flanked on its landward side by the high wall of the Drummorie policies. This embankment, however, and the cutting-back of projecting rocks that is associated with it, are clearly of no great age, and the remains of the old road are to be seen, in the form of a wasted terrace, rising obliquely across the face of the raised-beach bank just inside the policy wall – the masonry of which, moreover, is interrupted at the bottom of the hill by a patch marking the former position of a gateway. The terrace rises, on the line indicated by Roy, to the top of a small bluff, which bears the ruins of a summerhouse, and continues for a short distance along the lip of the declivity overlooking B 1348, but fades out before reaching the hollow down which runs the Ravenshaugh Burn, the boundary between East Lothian and Midlothian. Quarrying and plantation in the hollow, together with the cutting back of the rock to make room for B 1348, have removed all traces of the old road on its descent to the former Ravenshaugh Bridge, as well as of the bridge itself; but the maps indicate that the bridge was close to the beach, and it was probably on the same site as the existing culvert. Through Westpans B 1348 follows the old line.

¹ *R.P.C.*, 2nd series, v (1633-5), 77.

² Martine, J., *Reminiscences and Notices of Ten Parishes in the County of Haddington* (1894), 157.

This coastal stretch ceased to be the principal highway about 1816, when it was superseded by the existing route down Edgebucklin Brae.¹

Levenhall to Edinburgh (fig. 10)

The remainder of the road, from Levenhall to Edinburgh, lies wholly in town or suburb, but its course as recorded by Adair² is clearly reflected in the alignment of certain streets. Thus Pinkie Road and, in Musselburgh, Inveresk Road, correspond very closely with the line shown by Adair, flanking Pinkie on the S. and by-passing the burgh itself; while Inveresk Road leads directly to the old bridge (p. 340; Pl. LIII, 2) and its associated ford, and on the opposite bank Market Street carries

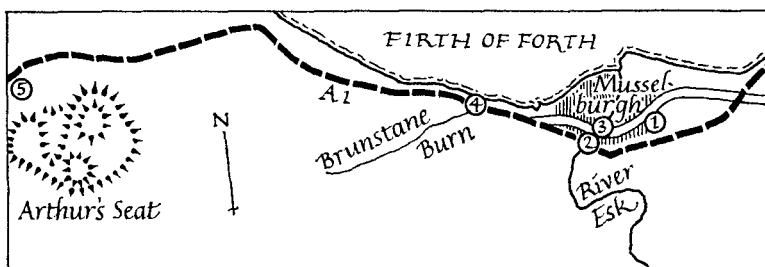


FIG. 10. 1. Pinkie House; 2. Musselburgh Old Bridge; 3. Musselburgh Bridge; 4. Magdalen, both bridges; 5. Palace of Holyroodhouse.
Scale and conventions as in fig. 2

Adair's line forward. The ford, insofar as it has been a permanent natural feature, must have fixed this portion of the route, but no notice of a bridge has been found of earlier date than 1547, when a stone structure is on record.³

The by-pass looks odd at first sight, but more than one explanation can be suggested for it. If a route had made use of the ford from very early times it would have antedated the organisation of the burgh, and in that case the High Street of the latter might well have been laid out purposely on an independent line. This would have been thoroughly in keeping with burghal ideas, and a later parallel may be quoted from the Falkirk of 1647, when it was decided to build a town-wall for the 'keipeing furthe of strangers', or to ensure that they entered, if at all, by one of the regular ports⁴ and so were subject to control. Through traffic may likewise have preferred to avoid a crowded main street and market-place, particularly as, until about 1765, the former was divided into two by a central row of houses, known as the Midraw, from the Tolbooth eastwards.⁵ There may also have been a question of avoiding burghal tolls.

West of Musselburgh, Roy, Adair and Ainslie all mark the road as following much the same course as the modern highway. The bridge that now carries the

¹ *ibid.*

² Though Adair's MS map of Midlothian is undated, there is no reason to suppose that the date of its survey differs materially from that of its East Lothian counterpart (1682).

³ Patten, W., 'The Expedition into Scotlande', 48, in Dalrymple, Sir J. G., *Fragments of Scottish History* (1798).

⁴ MS. Court Book of Falkirk, preserved in H.M. General Register House, under date 18th May 1647. I am indebted for this reference to Miss D. M. Hunter, M.A., Curator of Falkirk Museum.

⁵ Paterson, J., *History of the Regality of Musselburgh*, 78 n.; *Stat. Acct.*, xvi (1795), 6 n.

Musselburgh Road (p. 341; Pl. LIII, 3) over the Brunstane Burn probably occupies the same site as the former Madgalen Bridge,¹ which was stated in 1575 to be 'in dangear of falling gif it be not spedelie helpit'²; but the existing structure must be recent, and perhaps more or less contemporary with Rennie's bridge in Musselburgh (p. 341; Pl. LIII, 1). Beyond what is now Portobello the road turned inland, on the general line of today's London Road, passed through the hamlet of Jock's Lodge,³ and arrived at the bottom of the Canongate by way of Abbey Hill.⁴ The maps show nothing to correspond with the route followed by de Rocheford, which evidently led round the south side of Arthur's Seat.

¹ The old bridge at the mouth of the Brunstane Burn is unlikely ever to have carried the road for the reasons given on p. 342

² *R.P.C.* II (1569-78), 497.

³ Thus Roy in 1747-55. Cooper (1735), shows 'Jockes lodge' as a large house, and carries the road just N. of it.

⁴ In 1617 James VI entered Edinburgh by the West Port (Adamson, J., *τὰ τῶν μουσῶν εἰσόδια* (1618), 38), and probably in order to stage a progress through the town on his way to Holyrood.

APPENDIX I

Bridges

Ayton Bridge

This bridge was built in the 1790s (p. 321), as part of the scheme for diverting the road from Coldingham Moor to the Eye Water valley. It is a plain structure of large squared rubble with a single segmental arch; at the abutments pilasters rise above the line of the parapets, which are crenellated and have iron balustrades in the embrasures. It thus resembles Dunglass Bridge (p. 338) though showing fewer ornamental features. It is approximately 150 ft. long, including the abutments, and has at some time been widened by some 10 to 11 ft. on the upstream side, the total width being now 26 ft. 2 in. The downstream face seems to have been renewed, as the voussoirs of the arch-ring are dressed smooth like the arch-ring and soffit of the addition, whereas the soffit of the original portion is slightly rusticated. The arch of the addition rises 1 ft. higher at the centre than that of the original portion, though both spring at the same level, a few feet above irregular rock foundations. The span is 56 ft., and the height of the original arch above the springing-line is 15 ft. 7 in. The embrasures of the parapet are 50 ft. above the bed of the burn. Two spandrel-ties have been inserted to check outward movement.

Pease Bridge

Though the *New Statistical Account* states positively that this bridge (p. 327; Pl. LI, 2), a necessary part of the scheme for by-passing the Peaths, was built in 1785-6,¹ it must certainly have been in use at least as early as 1784, as a publication of 1785 already describes it as 'just completed'.² This need not be taken as at variance with the fact that legislation covering the construction of the bridge and repairs and improvements on the whole length of the road from Berwick, and also on two branch roads, was only passed in 1787 and 1789,³ as the cost of the bridge seems to have been raised by private subscription⁴ and the Exchequer contributions may have been applicable, wholly or mainly, to the road-work. The cost of the bridge was £1500.⁵ The *New Statistical Account* further records the architect's name as 'Mr Henderson', and he may possibly have been David Henderson,

¹ Vol. II (Berwickshire), 311.

² Knox, John, *A View of the British Empire, etc.* (1789), 568. The date 1779-82, given without supporting authority in *P.S.A.S.*, I (1915-16), 39, seems to be a mere error.

³ 27 Geo. III, cap. 89; 29 Geo. III, cap. 42.

⁴ Knox, John, *loc. cit.*

⁵ *ibid.*

of the Edinburgh contracting firm of Henderson and Wilson, who submitted a plan for the North Bridge, Edinburgh, in 1765 and surveyed the damage after the collapse in 1784, or his son John, who built the Assembly Rooms in George Street in 1784-7.¹ Credit for the idea of constructing this bridge has been given, though tentatively, 'to the talents of a lady, the late Miss Hall of Dunglass'.²

The structure is 220 ft. long and 19 ft. 1 in. wide over all, the carriageway being 15 ft. 10 in. wide. The approaches are slightly wider; the western one is 51 ft. and the eastern one 12 ft. long. The chasm of the Pease Burn being here very deep and narrow, the parapet stands no less than 117 ft. above the water. The masonry is red or grey sandstone rubble brought to courses; the piers and the soffits of the arches show well-squared blocks, and the voussoirs of the arch-rings are long (2 ft 9 in.) and plain. The superstructure is carried on four rounded arches supported by three piers, oblong in section and finishing in square impost-mouldings; the central pier, well shown in Grose's illustration,³ rises from the bottom of the chasm and the other two are founded higher up on the rocky sides. Of the arches, which are approximately semicircular, the one E. of the central pier spans 55 ft. 6 in. and the one W. of it 46 ft. 4 in.; the others are incomplete, as their haunches meet the walls of the chasm well above the springing-line, but their arcs, if produced, would give spans of 49 ft. 10 in. on the E. and 41 ft. 8 in. on the W. The easternmost arch rises 26 ft. 10 in. and the one W. of the central pier 24 ft. 2 in. above the springing-line. The crown of the arch E. of the central pier is 7 ft. 10 in. below the top of the parapet. Over each pier there is a circular opening 9 ft. in diameter, centred 21 ft. below the top of the parapet. Spandrel tie-bars and plates have been inserted above the haunches of each arch. At the base of the parapet there runs a string-course of square section; the parapet itself, which stands only 1 ft. 7 in. above the roadway, is rendered to simulate ashlar, the date of the rendering being given by the *graffito* D F 1911, scratched while the surface was wet. The cast-iron balustrade, which is 2 ft. 10 in. high, is formed of uprights 1½ in. square, set diamondwise, and a handrail 2¾ by 2 in. in section (Pl. LV, 3); at intervals there is a round upright 3 in. in diameter. At the ends of the approaches the parapets curve outwards. The copings are flat and are secured with iron cramps. The bridge was under repair in 1826.⁴

Tower Bridge, Cocksburnspath

This bridge, like the Pease Bridge, formed part of the scheme of improvements effected in the 1780s,⁵ and carries the road then built over the narrow, rock-bound gorge of the Heriot Water at a point immediately upstream from Cocksburnspath Tower (784697). It is a plain, rubble-built structure 97 ft. long over the abutments and 19 ft. 6 in. wide over all, having dressed voussoirs and parapet-coping but otherwise showing no distinctive features. The carriageway is 16 ft. 2 in. wide. The single arch, which springs from foundations on the rock of the chasm-walls, is approximately semicircular, as it spans 33 ft. 3 in. and rises 18 ft. 9 in. above the springing-line. The parapets, which are somewhat wasted, stand 12 ft. 3 in. above the crown of the arch and 44 ft. above the bed of the burn. The archivolt shows two longitudinal cracks, and on the downstream side the arching is displaced near the crown and the spandrels are bulging.

Old Bridge, Cocksburnspath Tower

Though there is no question of this bridge ever having carried the road, it deserves a passing mention. It formerly stood at the bottom of the Heriot Water gorge about 70 yds. upstream from Cocksburnspath Tower, and is marked 'Packhorse Bridge' and 'Cromwell's Bridge' on successive editions of the 6-inch O.S. map. In 1881 it was described as a 'curious old bridge'.⁶ It was badly

¹ I am much indebted to Miss K. Cruft of the Scottish National Buildings Record, for information about the Hendersons. See also the *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, xxii, 196, 199; *Arch. Scot.*, i, 46; Lindsay, I. G., *Georgian Edinburgh*, 36.

² Carr, A. A., *A History of Coldingham Priory* (1836), 105 n. This lady must have been Isabella, the unmarried daughter of the 2nd baronet, who was evidently active in estate and family matters in the last third of the eighteenth century. (Dunglass Papers, H.M. General Register House, section II, Nos. 145, 506.)

³ Grose, F., *The Antiquities of Scotland* (1797), i, opp. p. 94. He also confirms that the balustrade is an original feature (*ibid.*, 95).

⁴ Lady Helen Hall of Dunglass, MS. 'Memorandum Book on Cottage Business' preserved at Dunglass, 19.

⁵ On the dating, see p. 327.

⁶ *H.B.N.C.* (1879-81), 446.

damaged about 1928 during the construction of the high-level road-bridge that carries A 1 immediately over its site, and its destruction has since been completed by floods; but the Ancient Monuments Commission's officer, who visited it in 1908, recorded that the arch was pointed, that it spanned 10 ft. 9 in., and that it must originally have been a good deal broader than the 4 ft. 3 in. of the fragment then surviving.¹ He also noted a masonry abutment on the left bank, and a vestige of the core of this, consisting of more or less loose earth and stones, was still visible in 1962.

Cove and Linhead Bridges

These two bridges may conveniently be dealt with together. The first, which is hardly more than a large culvert, now carries the by-road to Pease Bay over the Cockburnspath Burn immediately S. of Cove farmhouse (782712); but it was evidently intended to serve the main highway in the phase of the latter's existence attributed on p. 326 to the later eighteenth century. It is built of rough red-sandstone rubble brought to courses and dressed with stugging; the voussoirs are plain and the keystone projects ornamentally. The arch, which is rounded, springs 2 ft. 6 in. above the water, spans 7 ft. 6 in. and rises 4 ft. above the springing-line. The breadth of the soffit is 31 ft., and there are no signs of widening. There are no parapets, and the total height above the water is 6 ft. 6 in.

The other bridge spans the same burn about 600 yds. lower down, being situated about 150 yds. N. of Old Linhead, but no road makes use of it today (cf. p. 326). Materials, construction and style are the same as those described above, down to the projecting keystones, and it was certainly constructed as part of the same scheme. It is, however, slightly wider (33 ft. 6 in.), and the arch is rather larger and stands rather higher above the water as the channel is broader and deeper.

Dunglass Old Bridge

This bridge (p. 327; Pl. LI, 1) carries an obsolete section of the road, still in use for local purposes, over the chasm of the Dunglass Burn. The chasm being deep and steep-sided, the bridge, which originally dipped to a hollow in the centre but has now been levelled up (*infra*), appears as

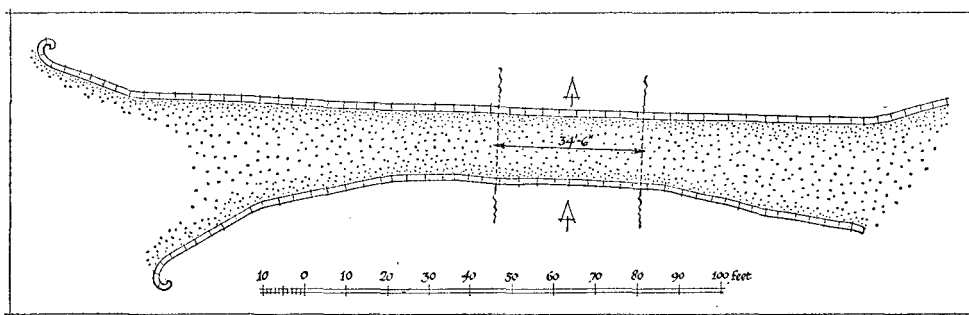


FIG. 11. Dunglass Old Bridge; plan of carriageway and parapets

a wedge of masonry pierced by a single lofty but rather narrow opening. Its length along the carriageway is 218 ft., and its breadth varies from 37 ft. 6 in. to 15 ft. within the parapets, which average about 1 ft. 5 in. in thickness and are flush with the outer faces of the bridge. The plan of the top is thus extremely irregular, and it will be seen in fig. 11 how the left-bank parapets splay out asymmetrically to ease the access to the bridge from the terraced road, partly rock-cut, that runs down the W. side of the chasm. They are founded here on the steep bank considerably below the roadway, and finish in scroll terminals measuring 4 ft. 6 in. over all (Pl. LV, 2) and thus contrasting with the ends on the right bank, which are square with widely chamfered arrises. The reason for ornamenting this end of the work was no doubt that it gave on to the approach from Dunglass. At the centre of the arch the height from the bed of the burn to the tops of the parapets, which are up to 2 ft. 8 in.

¹ *Inventory of Berwickshire*, No. 68.

above the present level of the carriageway, is 54 ft. 6 in. The arch, which is approximately semi-circular, spans 34 ft. 6 in. and rises 16 ft. 3 in. above the springing-line; its crown is 36 ft. 3 in. above the burn-bed. The arrises of the archway are chamfered except at their bases, and the chamfers are continued on the arch-ring; this is double, the voussoirs being short. Five tie-rods with straps have been applied to contain the arch-ring and spandrels.

The bridge has evidently undergone a great deal of repair and patching, which have disguised its structural history, and its upstream face is also much obscured by ivy; but on the downstream face (Pl. LL, 1) there is evidence for at least three main phases of construction. To the first of these may be allotted an area of smallish yellow rubble, of poor quality, which adjoins the archway on the left bank, and, presumably, some larger and better rubble, of pinkish colour, on the right bank. In the second phase part of the right-bank abutment and the adjoining downstream portion of the arch seems to have been reconstructed, and strengthened with a stepped buttress with a weathered top set at the angle of the jamb, and by a stretch of continuous buttressing, also with a weathered top, which runs back from the angle buttress into the steep bank of the ravine.

The masonry of these last two features has a deceptively early appearance, but there seems to be no doubt that they are, in fact, secondary, as the corner buttress is evidently of one build with the adjoining portion of the archway, while this, in turn, is much less heavily weathered than the upstream portion. The same contrast obtains between two moulded corbels set in the face of the archway below the springing; there is, however, no question of the bridge having been widened. A third phase is represented by construction in large, well-squared blocks, coursed and interspersed with putlog-holes, which occupies a large part of the face on the left bank, extends to and beyond the haunch of the arch, and overrides the rubble-work. This portion of the face is supported by two narrow and rather shallow buttresses, themselves patched, which finish in weathered tops; and on the upstream side there is a single similar buttress, also on the left bank.

Near the base of the upstream face, on the left bank, there can be seen the top of a subsidiary arch, now largely earthed up and also encroached on by a modern wall and a penstock which formerly served the power-house at Dunglass Mill. The extent of the visible span is 5 ft. 6 in. and the voussoirs are chamfered. The corresponding opening on the downstream side is earthed up and invisible. The top of the arch being 11 ft. above the footings of the main archway, the opening seems too high above the stream to have served to carry off flood-water, and it was probably designed from the first to give passage to a mill-lade. Dunglass Mill is on record at least as early as 1648.¹

The foregoing structural evidence may be taken as suggesting that the bridge was originally built in the seventeenth century; that subsequently part of the downstream archway on the right bank, and of the right-bank abutment adjoining it, was reconstructed and strengthened with buttressing; and that much of the upper work on the left bank was renewed at a still later date.² The reconstruction and buttressing can probably be dated to about 1648, as the bridge was then so ruinous that 'it would not have failed to have gone away with the first spaitt of rain', and Sir James Nicolson of Cockburnspath repaired it at a cost of 400 merks.³ On this showing the first construction is likely to have been fairly early in the seventeenth century, and quite possibly before the visit of the Commissioners in 1617. The second major repair may be dated with confidence to 1794, when 'owing to the accumulation of surface water upon the hollow in the middle of the bridge . . . the wall on the lower side and west end burst out and fell down with the filling up; and has left a break 65 feet long'.⁴ The arch and the upstream side were undamaged. Repairs, expected to cost £50, were to be entrusted to a Haddington mason called Macwatt. It was also decided to raise the level of the carriage-way 'so that there should be one equal slope from the East end to the West', the cost of this extra work being estimated at a further £50.

¹ *R.P.C.*, 2nd series, viii (1544-1660), 187.

² I am indebted for the planning and analysis of the structure to Messrs G. D. Hay, A.R.I.B.A., and J. G. Dunbar, M.A., F.S.A.: also to Mr Hay for the preparation of fig. 11.

³ *R.P.C.*, 2nd series, viii (1544-1660), 187. Sir James estimated (*ibid.*) that 'if the said bridge had been brok downe by inundatione of watter . . . the same could not have been built of new againe under the expence of twell hundreth merks'.

⁴ Dunglass Papers, H.M. General Register House, section II, No. 300, letter dated 11th November 1794.

Dunglass Bridge

This bridge (Pl. LIV, 2), opened in 1798,¹ carries the Pathhead-Bilsdean section of the highway, now by-passed by A 1, over the deep, narrow gorge of the Dunglass Burn at the entrance to the Dunglass policies (769720). Excluding the western approach, where the parapets splay out, as if copying those of Dunglass Old Bridge (*q.v.*), towards the policies entrance on the S. and the opening of a by-road on the N., the length of the bridge may be put at 248 ft.; the breadth, measured along a passage through the western abutment (*infra*), is 18 ft. 6 in. The masonry is large squared rubble brought to courses. A single segmental arch, which springs close to the side of the gorge on either bank, spans approximately 83 ft., rising 30 ft. above the springing-line and 76 ft. 6 in. above the burn-bed; alternate voussoirs project, and have been left rough, and the arch is flanked by rusticated pilasters which rise above the parapets and are heavily capped. The parapets are crenellated; the northern one ends in short pillars resembling the tops of the pilasters while the southern one shows the ruins of a similar pillar at its eastern end but runs up to the policy gateway on the W. The merlons are capped, and the embrasures, which have projecting sills, are filled in with iron balustrades like those of Ayton Bridge. The embrasures are 9 ft. 6 in. above the crown of the arch, and below them there runs a string-course of square section supported on square-ended corbels. The western abutment is hollow, being pierced by a round-arched passage 6 ft. 5 in. high by 8 ft. 1 in. wide ending in square-headed doorways 5 ft. 6 in. high by 4 ft. 1 in. wide; the eastern abutment, which is shorter on account of the steepness of the slope, may perhaps be solid; doorways, similar to those on the left bank but blind, can be seen in inaccessible positions, but they may well be merely decorative.

Bilsdean Bridge

This bridge (Pl. LIV, 1) carries the Pathhead-Bilsdean section of the road, now by-passed by A 1, over the Bilsdean Burn, and is situated about half a mile NW. of its counterpart at Dunglass. It replaces the original 'new' bridge, built in the reconstruction of this stretch of the road, as the latter fell down in 1798, apparently before it had actually come into use.² Immediately below the bridge a deep gorge develops, but at the crossing the burn runs down the western side of a rather wider but rocky hollow. Excluding approaches, the bridge is 87 ft. long; its overall breadth is 30 ft. 8 in. and it has been widened on the downstream side by about 9 ft. It is built of large squared rubble brought to courses, and comprises two segmental arches supported on a central pier 4 ft. 1 in. wide. The arches spring at 8 ft. above ground-level on the downstream side of the pier, and at different heights on the irregularly sloping banks. The eastern arch spans 20 ft. 3 in., over dry ground, and rises 5 ft. 9 in. above the springing-line; the corresponding measurements for the western one, which crosses the burn, are 19 ft. 10 in. and 5 ft. 8 in. The pier is cracked at the springing of the western arch. Alternate voussoirs project from the arch-rings, and there is a decorated roundel above the central pier; these features, like the string-course below the parapet, have been left rough. The parapets are crenellated, the merlons being capped and secured with iron straps but the embrasures containing no ironwork; they splay out slightly at the ends and finish in rectangular columns with flat caps at the same height as those of the merlons. The embrasures are 7 ft. above the crowns of the arches and, on the downstream side, 26 ft. above the burn-bed; upstream the height is less, as there is a waterfall underneath the bridge.

Beltonford Bridge

This bridge carries A 1 over the Biel Burn at 645776. The date of its construction is recorded in the books of the Scottish Development Department as 1826. It is a plain structure mostly of red sandstone, with a segmental arch, parapets with flat coping, and pilasters at the abutments. The arch spans 44 ft. 6 in., springs about 5 ft. above the water, and rises 5 ft. 4 in. above the springing-line. The width of the soffit is 32 ft. 3 in. The voussoirs are of grey stone on the south and of red on the north; both sets are droved and channel-jointed, but the northern ones project alternately

¹ Lady H. Hall, MS. 'Memorandum Book' preserved at Dunglass, pp. 15, 28.

² *ibid.* See also p. 328 above.

and are covered by a hood-mould. This diversity seems to result from a double process of widening. The masonry of the soffit indicates that an original structure of red stone, probably about 15 ft. wide when its faces were in place, was first enlarged by up to 5 ft. on the south, the projecting voussoirs being cut back, and later – in fact very recently, in view of the use of concrete – by 14 ft. on the north, the old voussoirs and hood-mould having been reset in the new northern face.

East Linton Bridge

This is a two-arched structure (Pl. LII, 1, 2) aligned approximately NW. and SE., and measuring 98 ft. in length between its abutments; the long approaches bring the road virtually to bank-top level, and over the south-eastern arch the parapet stands 31 ft. 6 in. above the bed of the river. While certainly having its origin in the sixteenth century, and perhaps being dateable substantially to the period between 1548 and 1560 (p. 329), it has evidently undergone a good deal of alteration and numerous repairs – for example, the repair of Linton and Musselburgh bridges was before Parliament in 1625, that of Linton and Haddington bridges in 1639, and that of Linton bridge alone in 1661¹; while the date 1763 cut on the downstream keystone of the north-western arch probably refers to the widening that is mentioned below. In more recent times, the arch-rings and spandrels were tied with rods and straps, and concrete was laid on the extrados of the arches, about 1884; the parapets were heightened about 1895²; and still further repairs are indicated by the date 1934 and a mason's mark carved on the downstream side of the north-western abutment. As a result of the various modifications made to it, the structure now shows many irregularities of detail, and the description and dimensions that follow must be read as subject to this proviso.

The bridge is built mainly of large squared sandstone rubble, red and yellow, with a reconstructed parapet projected on a convex corbel-course much of which is replacement. The central pier is based on a stepped cut-water of droved masonry, from which a slighter upper cut-water with a rounded nose rises some 6 ft. and is then splayed back to the face of the main work. Originally the cut-water was carried up to the level of the roadway. The arches are segmental, having chamfered voussoirs of yellowish-grey sandstone; the soffits show clear evidence of widening on both sides,³ as the central strip is borne on four massive chamfered ribs, each 1 ft. 6 in. wide, and this is flanked by a pair of unribbed strips each 3 ft. wide, while the springing of the ribs on the south-eastern abutment is marked by an impost-moulding which does not continue across the lateral strips.⁴ Discontinuity in the masonry can also be seen between the spandrels and the areas from which the upper parts of the cut-waters have been removed. The ribbed strip is now 10 ft. 6 in. wide, and the original ribbed soffit may thus have been about 13 ft. wide when the facings were in place; the whole bridge is now 18 ft. 9 in. wide over the parapets, which are 3 ft. 7 in. high. The carriageway measures 17 ft. and was stigmatised as too narrow in 1835⁵ – not unnaturally seeing that the new bridge at Musselburgh (p. 341) had been given a carriageway 34 ft. wide some thirty years earlier. At the face of the work, the south-eastern arch spans 44 ft. 3 in. and the north-western one 43 ft. 2 in., the spans of the ribs being naturally shorter⁶; the south-eastern arch rises 11 ft. 10 in. above its springing-line and the north-western one 11 ft. 11 in. It was observed in 1884, when the masonry of the extrados was exposed, that this had at some time not been covered with stones, as its surface had been polished by the traffic and the roadway exhibited the curved form of the arches underneath.⁷ The abutments splay out on to the steep banks, showing a great deal of patching and reconstruction; at the south-eastern end refuges have been contrived at the abutment, and, at the base of the unribbed strip of soffit on the downstream side, there are three short lengths

¹ *A.P.S.*, v, 185a, 606a; vii, App. 76b.

² These two dates were obtained by Mr D. Wilson from Mr George Cameron, an old resident of East Linton.

³ The R.C.A.M. description (*Inventory of East Lothian*, No. 151) states that only the S. side has been widened.

⁴ The Abbey Bridge, near Haddington, dated by the R.C.A.M. to the early sixteenth century (*Inventory of East Lothian*, No. 76 and fig. 91), exemplifies the same arrangement of heavy, chamfered ribs with an impost-moulding at their springing-line.

⁵ *N.S.A.*, II (Haddington), 25.

⁶ This may account for the figure 39½ ft. given for the span by the R.C.A.M. (*loc. cit.*).

⁷ As for n. 2 above.

of corbelling slightly splayed apart. Behind the south-eastern abutment there is a filled embankment 65 ft. long; the north-eastern approach merges imperceptibly with the roadway on the bank.

Musselburgh Old Bridge

This bridge (Pl. LIII, 2) crosses the River Esk in Musselburgh, linking the end of Inveresk Road, on the right bank, with that of Market Street on the left; its general alignment being from SE. to NW. It is built of large squared rubble brought to courses, measures 248 ft. in length, including approaches, and has a cobbled carriageway generally 11 ft. 6 in. wide between parapets 3 ft. high over the central arch and 1 ft. thick.¹ The total breadth over the parapets varies from 12 ft. 3 in. to 14 ft. The parapets splay out at either end to flank the flights of steps by which the bridge has been approached since before 1839²; formerly the approaches must have been ramped and paved to be usable by carts and animals. The idea of a fortified gatehouse³ is not in fact supported by the authority quoted for it,⁴ as this says no more than that Cromwell, in 1650, took Dunbar and Musselburgh without much opposition; while Patten's statement that the bridge was 'welwarded with ordinaunce'⁵ does not necessarily imply the existence of a gatehouse with artillery mounted on it. It is true that 'bridgend doores' are mentioned in the Town Council records of 1687,⁶ but their position and character are unknown.

The structure embodies three arches, with hood-moulds and chamfered voussoirs; they are of segmental form, though the central and north-western ones are somewhat distorted, and they spring at a height of approximately 6 ft. above mean water-level. They span respectively, from NW. to SE., 51 ft., 50 ft. 6 in. and 51 ft. 2 in., and rise 11 ft. 10 in., 11 ft. 8 in. and 11 ft. 2 in. above their springing-lines. The highest part of the parapet is 23 ft. 9 in. above the water. The whole of the bridge is not on the same axis, as the south-eastern arch, which crosses a strip of bank subject to flooding, is deflected slightly to the south; it points directly, however, to the opening of Inverleith Road, which gives access to it from the east. The mid-stream pier is founded on a shoal, now covered over and fortified with a whaleback of masonry; a similar masonry foundation, now partly earthed up, can be seen below the right-bank pier. Between the arches are cut-waters, the south-eastern pair of which are carried up to the parapet to form refuges, now blocked with masonry. There is no structural evidence of a gate having existed at this point,⁷ the slight appearance of checks having simply been caused by the filling-up of the refuges; nor is there anything to suggest that the whole bridge is not of one build. The theory accepted by the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland,⁸ that the south-eastern arch is a later addition to an original two-arched structure, seems to be based on a more or less contemporary engraving of the battle of Pinkie (1547)⁹ which shows the bridge as two-arched; but this inference is unsound in view, firstly, of the unrealistic character of the picture as a whole and, secondly, of the fact that it shows another two-arched bridge, in this case over the Water of Leith, which resembles the Musselburgh one so closely as to indicate that the double arch is simply the artist's convention. Again, if this picture were really true to life, it would have to be taken as representing a different bridge, as its arches are high and semicircular, not low-set and segmental. There is thus no reason to doubt that the existing bridge is, as it seems, a unit, and that the deflected south-eastern portion is not a later addition; though if it is true that, during repairs effected in 1809, 'the face of one of the buttresses' was opened up and 'inside the outer building, remains of still older masonry resting on transverse oaken beams was found',¹⁰ some earlier structure must have been incorporated in it. On this showing, the bridge

¹ I am indebted to the Ministry of Public Building and Works for permission to make use of its plan and elevations of the bridge, prepared in 1956; the dimensions quoted here are taken from these drawings.

² *N.S.A.*, 1 (Edinburghshire), 295.

³ *ibid.*, 277.

⁴ Eachard, L., *The History of the Revolutions in England under the Stuarts*, ed. 1711, 146.

⁵ Patten, W., 'The Expedition into Scotlande', 48, in Dalryell, Sir J. G., *Fragments of Scottish History* (1798).

⁶ Quoted by Paterson, J., *History of the Regality of Musselburgh*, 80.

⁷ As stated by the R.C.A.M., *Inventory of Midlothian*, No. 120, apparently following Paterson, J., *loc. cit.*

⁸ *loc. cit.*

⁹ Facsimile published with Berteville, *Récit de l'Expédition en Écosse l'An MDXLVI, etc.*, Bannatyne Club, 1825.

¹⁰ Stirling, R. M'D., *Inveresk Parish Lore* (1894), 37.

as we see it may well have been built, as tradition holds, by Jane, Lady Seton, who died in 1558,¹ and might incorporate part of the stone bridge that was certainly standing in 1547,² supposing this to have been subsequently damaged or destroyed – as might have occurred, for example, in 1548, when Musselburgh was burned by the English.³

An Act was passed for the repair of a bridge at Musselburgh in 1597,⁴ the subject was again before Parliament in 1625 and 1639,⁵ and repairs are mentioned fairly frequently in the Town Council records of the seventeenth century and later.⁶ That the stream could cause trouble on occasion is shown by the decision to make a new channel through the 'mid-bow' in 1688.⁷

Musselburgh Bridge

This bridge (Pl. LIII, 1) crosses the River Esk about 300 yds. downstream from the Old Bridge (p. 340), linking the High Street on the right bank with Bridge Street on the left. It was built in 1806–7 by John Rennie, and a metal plaque set in the northern parapet reads THIS BRIDGE / WAS BUILT BY JOHN RENNIE, ENGINEER / 1806 / REPAIRED AND WIDENED / 1924–5 / ALEXANDER MITCHELL, PROVOST / BLYTH & BLYTH / ENGINEERS / JOHN ANGUS & SONS / CONTRACTORS. It is a five-arched structure of yellowish-grey sandstone and is remarkably flat, the carriageway standing only 13 ft. 6 in. above the water and almost on a level with the adjoining streets. The masonry is ashlar, rusticated on the cut-waters and elsewhere droved, the soffit having V-joints. The two central piers stand in the river-bed and the others at the water's edge, the two outermost arches being thus over strips of bank which are dry except during floods. The cut-waters are rounded, and the piers that rise from them are 7 ft. wide, are advanced 1 ft. from the faces of the arches, and each of them contains an empty, round-headed niche. These pilaster-like projections are carried up through the parapet. The arches, which are segmental, spring at a height of 4 ft. 6 in. above mean water-level; they span respectively, from W. to E., 37 ft., 42 ft., 46 ft., 42 ft. and 37 ft., each one rising one-tenth of its span above the springing-line.⁸ Above the arches, a string-course of square section and, immediately above it, a heavily moulded cornice-course 1 ft. 3 in. wide run from end to end of the bridge and round the piers, defining the shallow arc of the carriageway. The parapet stands 3 ft. 8 in. above the pavement and has a bevelled coping; a section of it 5 ft. 10 in. long over the middle of the central arch is advanced 4½ in. from the remainder. The ends splay out sharply to give access from the streets. The original breadth of the carriageway, between the parapets, was 34 ft., but the widening operation of 1924–5 increased this to 53 ft.; the addition was made to the N. face and, while the voussoirs here are fresh-looking and sharply tooled, much of the rest of the original facing-material, including the cornice, seems to have been re-used.

Magdalen Bridge

A bridge at this site is on record at least as early as 1575,⁹ but the structure described here¹⁰ which, like the Thornton Burn bridge (p. 329), embodies an elliptical arch, is unlikely to date from before 1800–3, when Rennie made use of this form for his bridge at Kelso. It carries the Musselburgh Road over the Brunstane Burn and the strip of low ground alongside; the total length of bridge and approaches is thus 110 ft., and the general level of the roadway is uninterrupted. The bridge is built of plain sandstone ashlar, with pilasters of slight projection flanking the single arch and, at the base of the parapet, a string-course of square section. The arch spans 36 ft. 9 in. and rises 9 ft. above the springing-line, which is close to the water and is emphasised by a string-course of square section. The arch has been widened by 8 ft. on the south and 9 ft. on the north, the total width of the soffit being 43 ft. 9 in.; the masonry of the additions is droved, but most of that of the original portion is plain and somewhat rough. Occasional blocks of limestone were observed in the soffit.

¹ Maitland, Sir R., *Genealogy of the House, etc. of Setoun*, ed. Sharpe, C. K. (1830), x, quoting a Nisbet MS. preserved in the National Library of Scotland.

² Patten, W., *op. cit.*

³ *Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots*, H.M. General Register House, 1 (1547–63), 118, No. 240.

⁴ *ibid.*, v, 185a; 606a.

⁵ *A.P.S.*, IV, 157b.

⁶ Paterson, J., *op. cit.*, 81 f.

⁷ *ibid.*

⁸ Mr W. Henderson, M.B.E., B.Sc., A.M.I.C.E., informs me that these are probably the flattest arches of deliberate design in Britain.

⁹ *R.P.C.*, II (1569–78), 497.

¹⁰ Reconstructed while this paper was in the press.

Old Bridge, Magdalen

Although, as will be seen shortly, this bridge is unlikely ever to have carried the road, a note on it will be in place in view of past controversy regarding its date.

The bridge (Pl. LV, 1) spans the mouth of the Brunstane Burn at high-water mark (327731), 100 yds. downstream from the highway-crossing; it is accessible from the east, through the yard of Messrs J. H. Harwell (Contractors), Ltd., but is closed off on the west by the high boundary-wall of a maltings, the footings of which here form an artificial left bank to the burn. What is left of the original structure comprises a single segmental arch, springing from a single course of rusticated ashlar blocks. The blocks forming the archivolt are droved and the voussoirs are not chamfered. The masonry of the faces was originally large squared rubble brought to courses, but only one course of this construction now survives, on the south, and two on the north, above the uppermost voussoirs, the superstructure being of later date. The arch spans 13 ft. and rises 4 ft. 2 in. above the springing-line, which is close to the level of the water; the breadth over all is 14 ft., and consequently, unless the parapets were corbelled out, the carriageway can hardly have been much more than 11 ft. wide. The left-bank abutment curves outwards below the bridge, evidently to form, or to join up with, a revetment above the beach.

Although the precise position of the bridge at Magdalen does not appear very clearly on Adair's MS. map of Midlothian, Cooper's engraving of the same suggests that it was well back from the sea, while Roy marks houses on the seaward side of the road close to the crossing. It thus seems safe to infer that this bridge, placed as it is virtually at the water's edge, never carried the road, a conclusion which is supported by its narrowness. Its function may have been to connect two parts of a property, or to serve some longshore industry such as a saltpan. Its date may safely be put in the eighteenth century.

APPENDIX II

Milestones and Mileposts

There is no evidence for milestones or mileposts, in either East Lothian or Berwickshire, before the later eighteenth century. Elphinstone's map of the Lothians, published in 1744 but purporting to be based on Adair's surveys made about 1680, marks no mileages along roads; but Armstrong's map of Berwickshire (1771) shows distances as from Berwick, and Taylor and Skinner's *Road Book* (1776) similarly as from Edinburgh. Sharp, Greenwood and Fowler (1825) show distances from Haddington along the present line of A 1, by their time incorporating the section on Edgebucklin Brae, which is believed to have superseded the coastal stretch by Ravenshaugh Bridge about 1816.¹ These indications, however, by no means prove that milestones actually existed, at the points indicated, at any of the dates in question.

Mileage has latterly been marked by cast-iron mileposts, the patterns of which are similar in the two counties but not quite identical. In East Lothian very few survive, but in Berwickshire so many were found that only those W. of Tower Bridge were noted in detail. Between this point and Bilsdean there can be seen the 37th, 36th and 35th posts from Edinburgh, the first two of these being in Berwickshire and the third in East Lothian. The example measured in Berwickshire stands 3 ft. high and consists of a broad, fusiform head (1 ft. 9 in. by 7 in.) on a stem 6 in. thick and with a flared base. The legends, e.g. 'BER^K 22' and 'EDI^N 36', appear on the parts of the heads that point away, respectively, from Berwick and Edinburgh; the letters and figures are raised from the surfaces of flat, oval panels surrounded by raised beads. Between Bilsdean and Dunbar four further examples of the East Lothian series remain, the 33rd, 31st, 30th and 29th from Edinburgh, while W. of Dunbar there is only the 26th. These differ from the Berwickshire examples in being a little smaller, and in having their stems slightly tapered and their legends differently arranged. Thus

¹ Martine, J., *Reminiscences of Ten Parishes in the County of Haddington* (1924), 157.

the 33rd post (Pl. LV, 4) shows 'D 5' on the part of the head pointing towards, not away from, Dunbar, and $\frac{R 9}{H 11}$, on the other, R and H standing respectively for Renton and Houndwood, on the Eye Water section of A 1. The 26th post shows the distances from Haddington ('H 9') and Dunbar ('D 2'). The distance from Edinburgh is given on the neck of the stem in every case. No record of the erection of these mileposts has been traced, but they seem to have been in place before the first Ordnance Survey, of 1856, and their lettering suggests a date in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

Earlier than these posts, but presumably later than the re-routing of the Berwick-Ayton section, completed before 1834, is a milestone found in 1963, during the widening of A 1, at a point 180 yds. E. of the Hillburn road-junction (937611).¹ This is a block of red sandstone wedge-shaped in section but with its point and back rounded; it measures 2 ft. 7 in. in length, as now unearthed, by 1 ft. in greatest thickness, and shows light droving except on a panel left smooth on either face for the inscriptions. With damaged letters restored, these read EDI[N] / 50 / MILES and [?BERW] / 7 / MILES; in addition, the top bears a broad arrow and a small pit from which the metal knob of a bench-mark has disappeared. Its life as a milestone must have ended before 1856, as, on the first edition of the 6-inch O.S. map, surveyed in that year, it is shown as 'Stone', with 'BM 206.9', while a milepost with the legend 'Berwick 6½ / Edinburgh 51' appears on the opposite side of the road about a quarter of a mile further east.

An older milestone, however, which may safely be assumed to antedate the re-routing operations, is to be seen not far away in the policies of Ayton Castle, as noted above on p. 321. It is a small squared pillar of grey freestone lightly droved and with its angles chamfered and its top partly rounded off. It stands 11½ in. high, measures 9 by 7½ in. in section and bears a large incised 7, the style of which would agree with a date in the later eighteenth century. It is marked 'Old Milestone' on the first edition of the 6-inch O.S. map, and, as Armstrong's map (1771) marks the seventh mile from Berwick a short distance away on the opposite side of the river, the stone was most probably moved from an original position there, and placed in the policies for preservation, when the road was abandoned and its surface brought under the plough.

A third milestone deserving mention is the one that stands by the eastern entrance to the Drummore policies, its position suggesting that it dates from before 1816, when the main road was diverted to Edgebucklin Brae (*supra*). It is a block of freestone 1 ft. 2 in. square in section and now standing 1 ft. 1 in. high; the upper surface is slightly domical within a flat border. It bears the broad arrow and small metal knob of a bench-mark, and the only legible inscription is a small, deeply-cut 7 on the SE. face. Some illegible marks occur below the figure, but the lettering is wasted and has also been purposely obscured by a coating of plaster, no doubt applied, as to other milestones in East Lothian,² in 1940, to deny information to the enemy in case of invasion. The incised figure would agree with a record³ that the stone once showed distances of 7 miles from Edinburgh and 8 from Haddington, though the distances are, in fact about 8 and 9 miles respectively and the first edition of the 6-inch O.S. map, surveyed in 1854, marks 'Haddington 9' at a point close by.

APPENDIX III

Miscellaneous Points

From the foregoing account of this 'great post road' there arise some points which are of interest in the study of highways in general. These concern highway legislation, the idea of the 'King's Highway', the physical remains of early roads, the damage and interference that they have suffered, maintenance and repair-work done, and records of mileage.

¹ I am indebted for notice of this discovery to Mr F. B. Dryburgh, M.B.E., M.I.MUN.E., M.I.H.E., Berwickshire County Road Surveyor.

² e.g. on the coast road to North Berwick, at c. 379741 and 392749.

³ Martine, J., loc cit.

Highway legislation

Some references have already been made, and more will follow, to Acts of the Parliament of Scotland affecting the highways, and the following list may be found convenient for reference. It covers all general Acts, applicable to the kingdom as a whole, which were concerned with the construction or maintenance of highways or their protection from damage or interference. References are given, by volume and page, to the *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, Record edition, 1844-75.

1555. Highways, especially those from burghs to sea-ports, to be kept open (ii, 489).
 1592. Ratification of the last, etc. (iii, 579).
 1617. Highways and passages between market towns and sea-ports to be 20 ft. wide at the least, and to be under the charge of the Justices of the Peace (iv, 536).
 1641. Justices to keep open and repair roads to market towns, and to inform the Council of any new road required from a town to a parish kirk (v, 702 a).
 1655. Justices to order the repair of highways (vi, ii, 833 b).
 1661. To facilitate enclosure and afforestation, heritors and others are permitted to move highways up to 200 ells 'at the sight of' Sheriffs and other local authorities (vii, 263).
 1669. A far-reaching measure for the upkeep of highways, bridges and ferries, strengthening earlier arrangements for statute labour and control - the latter by adding a Sheriff or Sheriff-depute to the local Justices (vii, 574 ff.).
 1670. An amendment to the last, relating to statute labour (viii, 18).
 1685. Ratification of the Act of 1661 regarding the alteration of highways (viii, 488).
 1686. Ratification of the Acts of 1669 and 1670, with additional provisions (viii, 590).
 1696. Draft of an Act to renew former Acts governing the repair of highways (x, 12 a).
 1698. A repetition of the last (x, App. 22a).
 1700. Overture for an Act to tax ale for the repair of highways (x, 231a).

In addition to these general Acts, numerous local and other Acts were passed, either for the repair of individual roads (1593-1698) or to authorise changes in the courses of roads (1607-1706).¹

On highway legislation the late Professor Dickinson has made an illuminating comment.² 'Acts of 1617 and 1661', he writes, 'had put the maintenance of highways under the charge and supervision of the justices of the peace; and in 1669 the duties of the justices in this connection were clarified, and an attempt made to strengthen their hands. . . . But despite some evidence of this act being put into operation it was only casually observed, much depending upon the initiative (and authority) of the local J.P.s. The very fact of its renewal in 1686 (when the county commissioners of supply were brought in and conjoined with the justices), and the drafting of similar acts in 1696 and 1698, are all evidence of failure. A like act was again passed, after the Union, in 1719; but, as Graham observes,³ it too was "quietly ignored. . . ."

The King's Highway

It might well be thought that the commonplace origin of the road from Berwick to Edinburgh, to which detailed attention will be drawn in the next section, was necessarily at variance with the status of a 'King's Highway', which a 'great post road' would naturally be assumed to possess. The expression 'via regia' occurs at least as early as the twelfth century, in the *Assise Regis Willelmi*⁴; many later examples of the same usage occur in such forms as 'Kingis way' or 'King's calsey'; and such allusions to the sovereign are apt to give rise to the idea that the roads to which they were applied possessed some special features, perhaps still to be identified in their surviving remains. However, it may be said at once that no grounds for this belief exist. A 'highway' is not a material thing at all, but simply a 'right of passage in general to all the king's subjects without distinction',⁵ being called a 'king's' highway 'because the public, represented by the sovereign, have the right to

¹ *A.P.S.*, xii, 642, s.v. Highways, 'Local Acts', 'Warrant for altering Highways'.

² *A Source Book of Scottish History*, iii, 356, 358.

³ Graham, H. G., *Social Life in Scotland in the 18th Century*, i, 167.

⁴ *A.P.S.*, i, 382 (red pagination).

⁵ Bell, Sydney, J., *Cases decided in the House of Lords on Appeal from the Courts of Scotland*, iv, 381. I am indebted for this reference to Lord Migdale.

use them'.¹ No physical differences between the remains of one kind of road and another need therefore be looked for in the field.

Physical Remains

Important and much used as this highway undoubtedly was, it does not appear to have differed, in its earlier phases, from the primitive traffic-tracks commonly found in many moorland regions.² General preference for high ground, as on Lamberton and Coldingham Moors or the Garleton Hills, is a significant primitive feature³; while Brereton's note that he found the stretch on Coldingham Moor dry, the month being June, implies that he was using an unmade, customary road of the kind well described as 'mere tracts, appropriated for passage, often much at random, before the general enclosure, and before funds were established for making and repairing them'.⁴ Actually the hollow tracks familiar on routes of this class hardly appear on the present line except on the Garleton Hills, as elsewhere most of the adjoining ground has been improved; but their rather conspicuous absence from the steep banks of burns, where the plough does not ordinarily reach them, suggests that the existing bridges and their approaches, e.g. at the Dry and Thornton Burns, may have overridden and obliterated the marks of old crossings. It is probable, too, that, where the road crosses ground which has been under cultivation since very early times, it has always been more or less confined by roadside dykes or hedges, and has not been able to form a wide belt of tracks. Thus Patten, in 1547, reported a 'lane or strete of a xxx foot brode, fenced on either syde with a wall of turf an elle of height' somewhere between Falside and Musselburgh⁵; while Froissart's record of complaints made in 1385, when French mounted troops left the roads and rode through the crops, suggests some form of demarcation or enclosure even at that early date. For that matter, walled-off cattle-ways are a common feature of prehistoric field-systems. Enclosure likewise appears, but in a converse aspect, in the Act of 1669,⁶ which provides that 'laboured land' adjoining highways 'shall be fenced with a dyk or ditch or hedge', the purpose being here to prevent encroachment on the roads by farmers.

As regards other guides to the former courses of roads, it will have been noted, for example, how the old line could be perpetuated by a farm-track (Lamberton), or by a lane or a strip of old plantation (Ayton), the last having probably been formed because the roadway was too hard for ploughing. Other useful indications are sometimes to be found in local names such as 'tinkers' or 'cadgers' roads,⁷ of which an example was noted on the Garleton Hills.

Interference, Damage, etc.

The report made by the Commissioners of 1617, on repairs needed in preparation for James VI's visit, directs attention to the kinds of damage that roads were liable to suffer, and to the standards officially expected in their protection and maintenance. Obstruction of highways must already have been recognised as an offence in the thirteenth century, as it is classed as *purpresture* in *Regiam Majestatem*⁸; and obstruction and narrowing are evidently still common in the seventeenth. Thus in 1617 two farmers in Coldingham parish narrowed the road where it passed between their holdings, one ploughing it up where the other had 'biggit housis and yairdis' on the opposite side⁹; narrowing is again mentioned in laws passed both in that year and again in 1641,¹⁰ while analogous types of damage are, for instance, the cutting of ditches through roads,¹¹ or 'plowing up any parte therof, laying stones, rubbish or dung therupon, or any way breaking or pooling the same, or turning in

¹ *ibid.*

² For examples see R.C.A.M., *Inventory of Roxburghshire*, 51 and references there quoted; *Inventory of Selkirkshire*, 28; P.S.A.S., xciii (1959-60), 217 ff.

³ As noted by Kerr, R., *The Present State of Agriculture in the County of Berwick* (1809), 435.

⁴ *ibid.*

⁵ 'The Expedition into Scotlande', 48, in Dalrymple, Sir J. G., *Fragments of Scottish History* (1798).

⁶ A.P.S., vii, 576.

⁷ On which see R.C.A.M., *Inventory of Roxburghshire*, 403, n. 4; *Inventory of Selkirkshire*, 84, n. 2.

⁸ A.P.S., i, 622 (red pagination).

⁹ R.P.C., xi (1616-19), 92.

¹⁰ A.P.S., iv, 536b; v, 702a.

¹¹ A.P.S., iv, 536b.

or damming water therupon'.¹ Some of these provisions, like that mentioned above for the dyking-off of 'laboured ground', suggest that the surface of the road did not differ materially from the arable land alongside. Coal-mining, too, might cause damage; 'coall pitts' had to be filled up in 1696 and 1698, and roads might subside near the workings.²

However, notwithstanding neglect and misuse, roads were regarded as possessing a standard width and fixed courses. Their breadth was defined, in 1617 and again in 1669, as 20 ft. at the least³; though a local Act of 1647 laid down that the work should be of a 'competent breadth of Twell footes straight plane and passable for coatches and kairtis according as all his Ma^{ties} hie wayis sould be by the Lawis and custome of this kingdome'.⁴ Alterations in the courses of roads were frequently authorised by Parliament,⁵ though the Acts of 1661 and 1669 pass responsibility for alterations to the local authorities.⁶ The amount of permitted alteration was set in 1661 at 200 ells (c. 205 yds.).

Road-work Done

Another point to which attention is drawn by the improvements ordered in 1617 and 1633 is the nature of the work that could actually be done at the time. Steep gradients, leading to the formation of 'peths', and mosses seem to have been largely in question in 1617, while the Commissioners of 1633 were instructed 'to consider what places neid ather enlarging or mending of the wayes, fuidrs, bridges or passages'.⁷ This language suggests that quite extensive repairs were in view, while a private Act passed in 1647⁸ went so far as to provide for 'mending and repairing the saidis hiewayis by breaking doune of the high and filling up of the hollow partis thairof', and by causewaying the bogs. Again, that road maintenance could be taken seriously when its defects touched someone's pocket is shown, for example, by the relatively large number of Acts designed to improve access to burghs and sea-ports; of these no less than twelve were passed between 1555 and 1698,⁹ five of them relating to Cowiemount Causeway, the approach to Aberdeen from the south. The Act of 1647, too, from which an extract has just been given, was passed in favour of someone with a financial stake - actually a mining concessionnaire, interested in the carting of lead-ore from Leadhills to the Port of Leith - while the rest of the special Acts mentioned above¹⁰ were no doubt similarly inspired. Evidence of road-building in earlier times is scanty, but notice should be taken of the road from East to West Tarbert that was made by Robert I in 1326¹¹; while even in 1208 some stretches of 'Malcolm's Road',¹² near Lauder, were evidently provided with causeways.¹³ In Dark-Age Ireland, road-building could evidently be organised on a tribal basis, the roadway, in a recorded case, being made partly or wholly of branches on a bottoming of stones.¹⁴

This mention of the use of branches as a material for roads brings up a useful example of the backwardness of the earlier road-makers in practical technique, and this in addition to the general administrative inefficiency by which they were evidently handicapped. 'The pernicious use of bundles of faggots in building and maintaining roads persisted up to the eighteenth century',¹⁵ and may well have something to do with a peculiar feature observable on some moorland roads - the tendency to fade out in high-lying and difficult ground even when the lower and more accessible stretches show definite signs of construction, heavy scarping, etc. Again, the important Act of 1669¹⁶ hints that the work in view would be largely superficial, as it details 'horses, carts, sleds, spades, shovells, picks, mattocks and such other instruments as may be required', but does not specifically

¹ *A.P.S.*, vii, 575, more conveniently accessible in Dickinson, W. Croft, and Donaldson, G., *A Source Book of Scottish History*, iii, 357 f.

² *ibid.*, iv, 536b; vii, 575.

³ *A.P.S.*, x, 12a; App. 22.

⁴ *ibid.*, vi, i, 787.

⁵ For a summary, see *ibid.*, xii, 642, *s.v.* Highways, 'Warrant for altering Highways'.

⁶ *ibid.*, vii, 575.

⁷ *R.P.C.*, 2nd series, v (1633-5), 13.

⁸ *A.P.S.*, vi, i, 787.

⁹ For a summary, see *ibid.*, xii, 642, *s.v.* Highways, 'Local Acts'.

¹⁰ *A.P.S.*, xii, 642, *s.v.* Highways, 'Local Acts' and 'Warrant for altering Highways'.

¹¹ *Exch. Rolls*, i (1264-1359), 54.

¹² On which see R.C.A.M., *Inventory of Roxburghshire*, 322.

¹³ *A.P.S.*, i, 390b (red pagination); '... qua itur versus louueder per calceias'.

¹⁴ Cogitosus' 'Life of St Brigid' in Migne, J.-P., *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, etc.*, LXXII (1849), 786; '... cum regis ... praecceptum invalesceret ut ... populi omnes ... aedificarent viam latam, et firmam ramis arborum, petris in fundamento positis, et munitionibus quibusdam firmissimis in gronna profunda ...'

¹⁵ Singer, C., and others, *A History of Technology*, iv, 520.

¹⁶ *A.P.S.*, vii, 574 ff.

mention any tools for quarrying stone, such as wedges or hammers, let alone gunpowder for blasting.¹ Even on the 'military roads', built in the succeeding century, standards of achievement were low on account of primitive tools, unskilled labour and general ignorance of technique²; the method usually employed being to dig away the surface material and pile it along the roadside, leaving the road as a mere ditch, about 12 ft. wide.³ In East Lothian, in the 1780s, 'one-half of the road between Dirleton and North Berwick was repaired every spring by the very primitive method of ploughing, rolling and harrowing'.⁴

Mileage

Privy Council records, in addition to their evidence for the course and condition of the post-road from Berwick to Edinburgh, give distances between certain places, and that not only here but also on other routes over which the king was to travel in 1617. These figures were laid down as a basis for mileage-allowance for the carting of the royal baggage.⁵ Unofficial figures for mileage, again referring to a number of different routes, are given by the early travellers⁶ and by the Rev. Dr James Garden,⁷ and all alike are remarkable for their lack of accuracy. That such records should differ to some extent from the distances established today is no doubt natural enough; but most of the errors are so large, and they show such a lack of consistency among themselves, that the subject is worth ventilation.

If the recorded figures are converted from Scots to statute miles⁸ and compared with the true distances, doubtfully significant cases being weeded out, all are found to be underestimates, and many of them gross ones. Thus the Privy Council's errors range from four to thirty-seven per cent and the travellers' from five to thirty-four per cent; while Garden, though writing of his own native district, is wrong in one figure by forty-four and in another by fifty per cent. Nor, except possibly in Garden's case, are degrees of inaccuracy correlated with particular localities, with the result that the errors cannot be due to the use of 'customary' miles of irregular lengths; while the fact that private persons underestimated distances in the same way as the Privy Council shows that the latter was not influenced by the parsimony common to Governments. It seems necessary, in fact, to conclude that no distances were known with accuracy, and that the figures are simply guesses; the way-wiser, though known in France and Germany in the sixteenth century,⁹ was evidently not in use, and for that matter the Scottish roads of the day may well have been too rough for its operation.

¹ For the use of gunpowder for blasting as early as about 1495, see Dickinson, W. Croft, *Scotland from the Earliest Times to 1603*, 279, n. 1.

² Haldane, A. R. B., *New Ways through the Glens*, 5. The shortcomings of the statute-labour scheme embodied in the Act of 1669 are discussed *ibid.*, 2 f.

³ *ibid.*, 6, n. 1.

⁴ *N.S.A.*, II (Haddington), 222.

⁵ *R.P.C.*, XI (1616-19), 113 f., 160.

⁶ Hume Brown, P., *Early Travellers in Scotland*, as quoted above on p. 319.

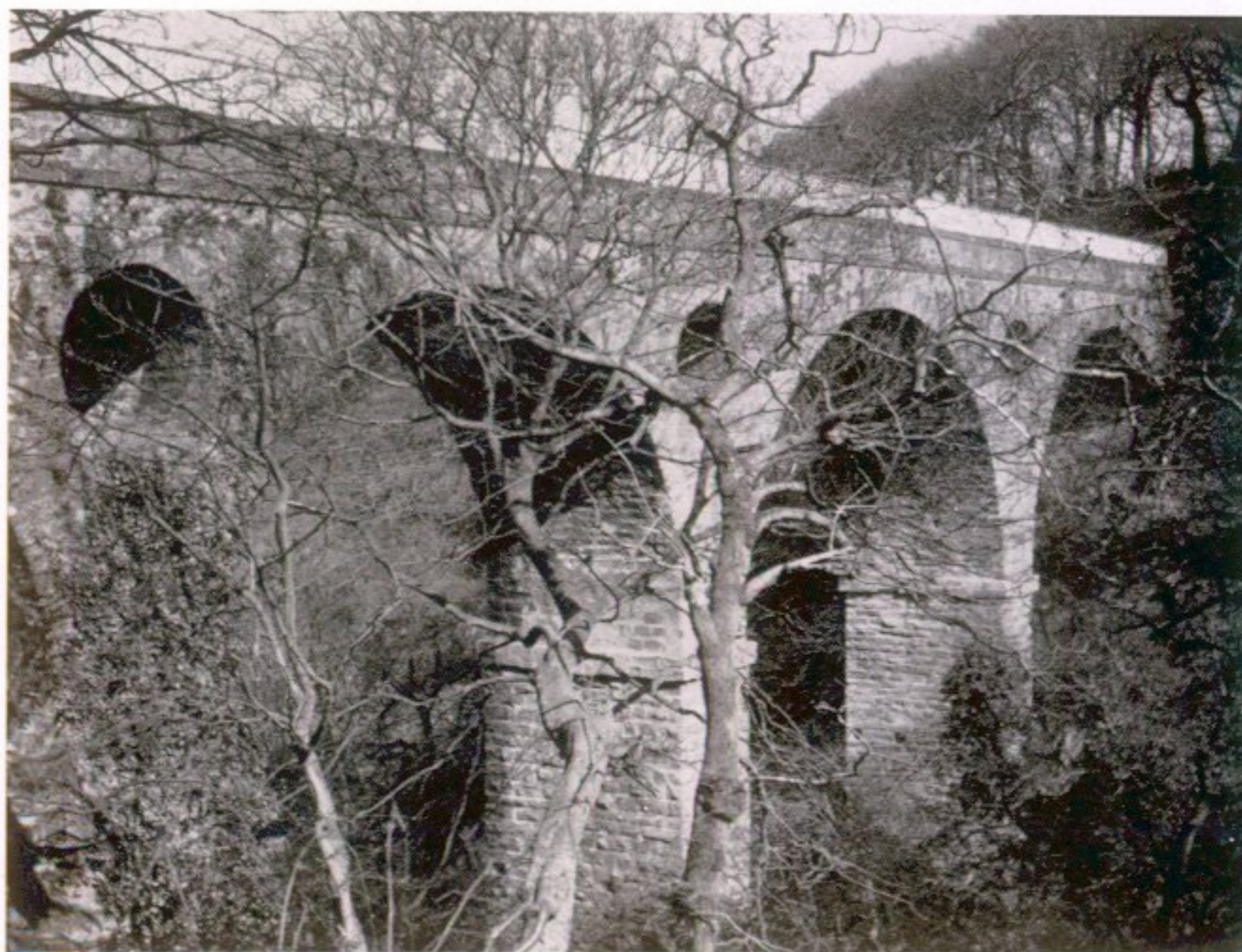
⁷ *Miscellany of the Third Spalding Club*, III (1960), 11 ff., 14.

⁸ The Scots mile measuring 1976.5 yards, the conversion is effected by multiplying the Scots mileage figure by 1.12.

⁹ Knight, E. H., *The Practical Dictionary of Mechanics*, II, s.v. Odometer. I am indebted for this reference to Mr R. W. Plenderleith, B.Sc., F.R.S.E., of the Royal Scottish Museum.



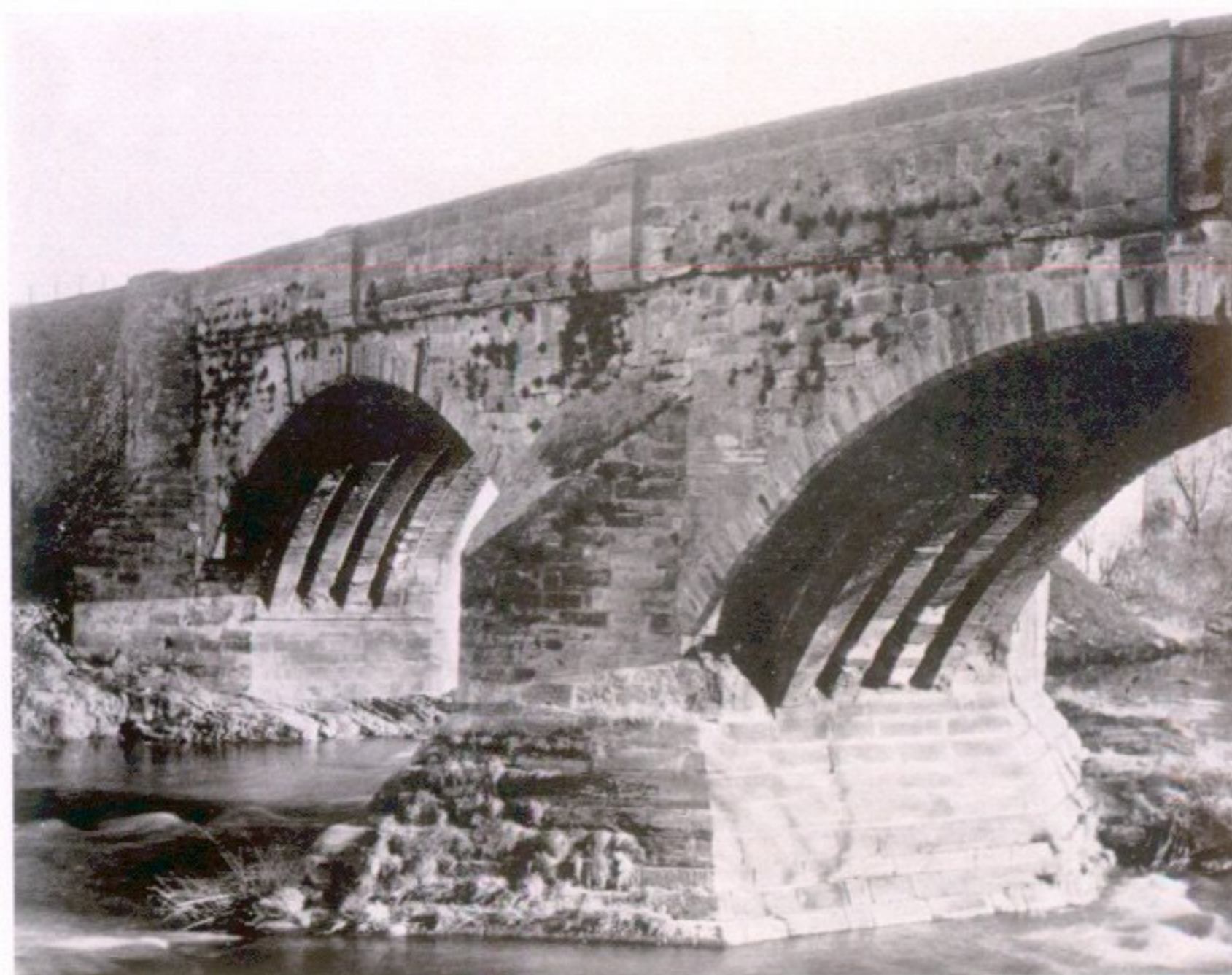
1. Dunglass Old Bridge (seventeenth century), downstream side



2. Pease Bridge (c. 1784), upstream side



1. East Linton Bridge (mid-sixteenth century), upstream side



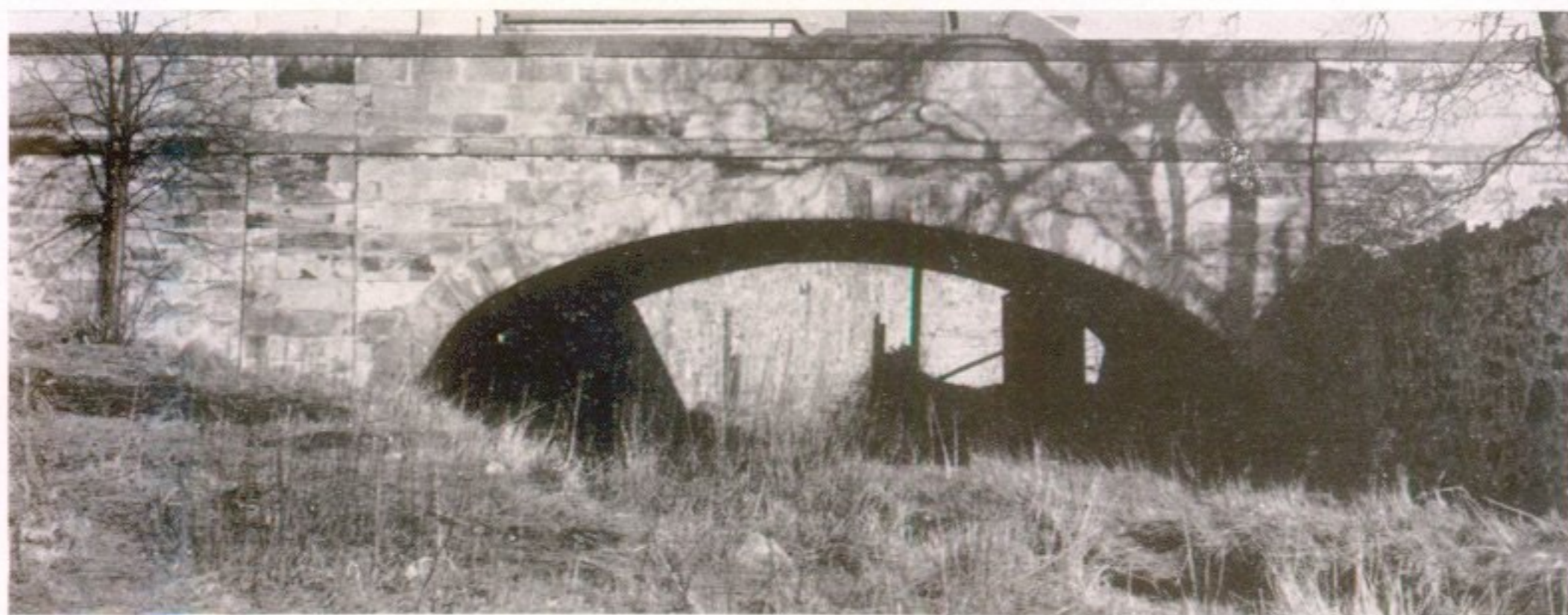
2. East Linton Bridge (mid-sixteenth century), downstream side



1. Musselburgh Bridge (1807), upstream side



2. Musselburgh Old Bridge (mid-sixteenth century), upstream side



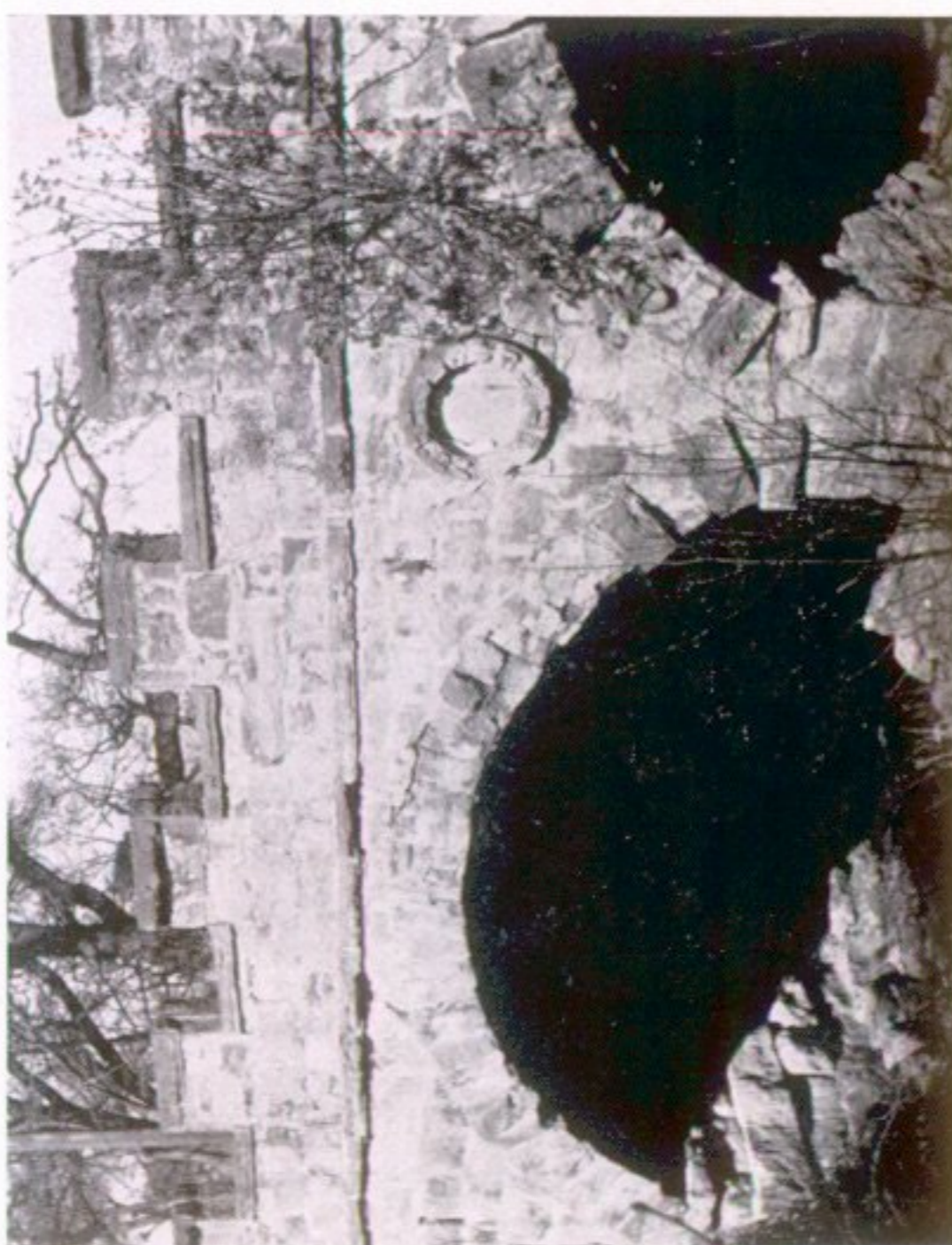
3. Magdalen Bridge (prob. early nineteenth century), upstream side



2. Dunglass Bridge (1798), upstream side



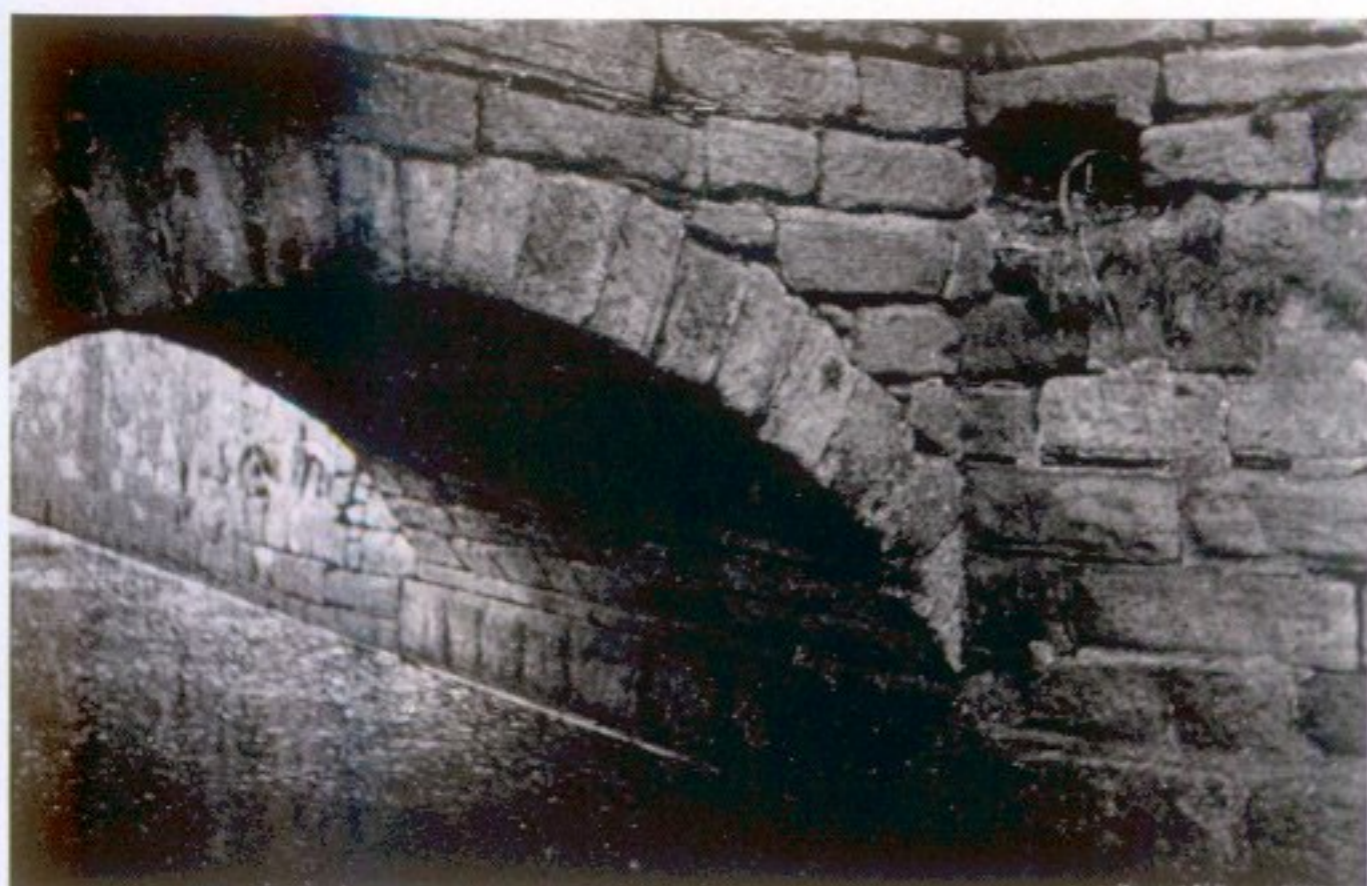
4. Eastern approaches to the Pease Burn, with the gully (arrow) and parched roadway mentioned on p. 324



1. Bilsdean Bridge (c. 1800), upstream side



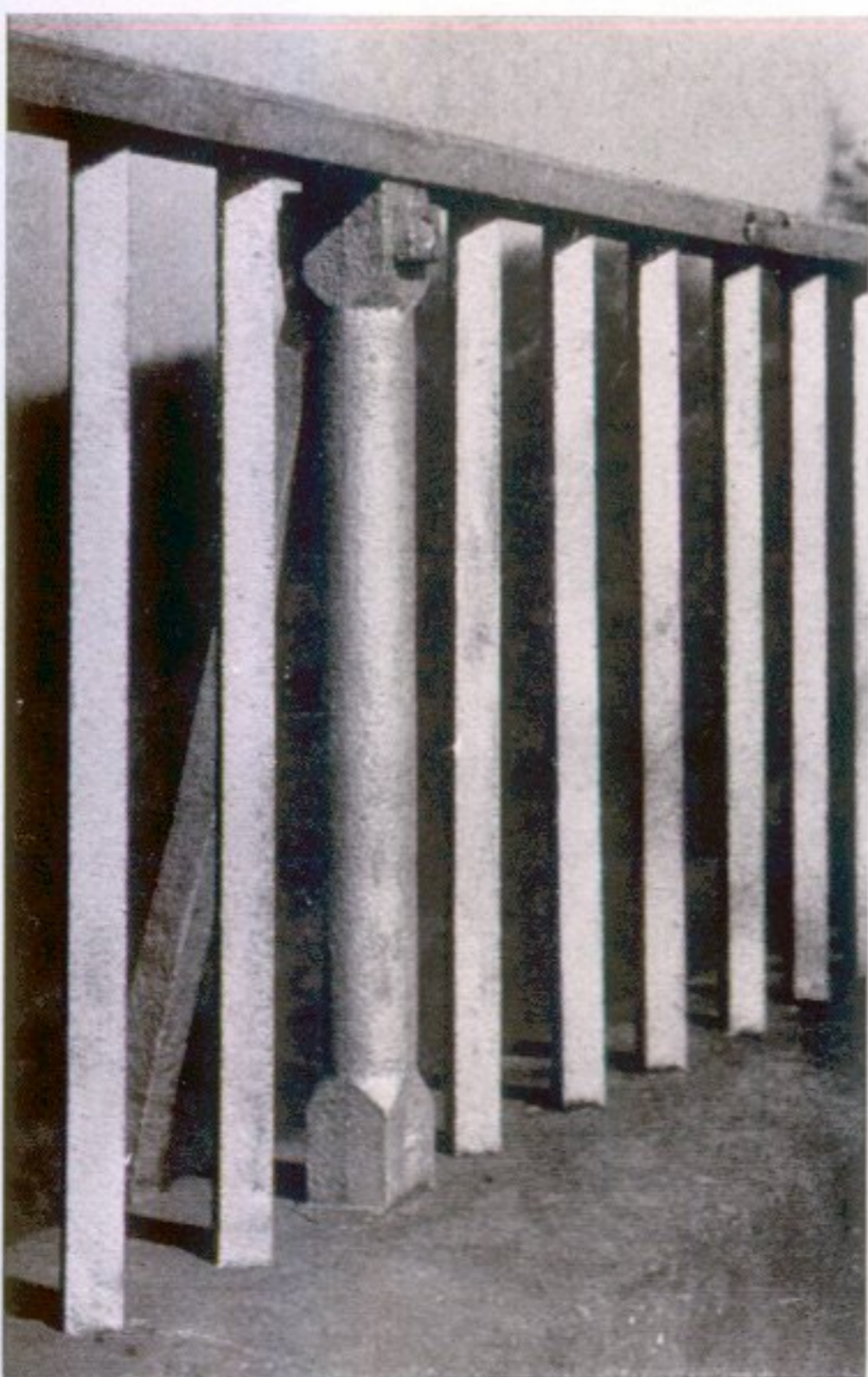
3. 'Cloven' bluffs W. of the Pease Burn. The conspicuous earthwork in the right middle distance is a wartime anti-tank obstacle



1. Old bridge on the Brunstane Burn



2. Dunglass Old Bridge; W. terminal of the upstream parapet



3. Pease Bridge; handrail



4. Fifth milepost SE. of Dunbar