

## I.

### THE ROADS THAT LED TO EDINBURGH, ETC.<sup>1</sup> BY HARRY R. G. INGLIS, F.S.A. SCOT.

#### I. FEATURES OF EARLY ROADS.

In endeavouring to ascertain which are the earliest roads leading to Edinburgh, investigation is very much circumscribed by the absence of early road-maps, as the first of any real service were those of Adair, issued as late as 1680. If we go farther back than that, we are only able to guess roughly the course of such roads from travellers' narratives, and from early documents, which do little more than let us know of their existence, without specifying their position.

Even though roads are referred to in early charters in describing the boundaries, the term then employed did not carry with it the idea of a modern highway, built, fenced, and ditched, but rather that of a right-of-way, where a beaten track, the marks of a sledge, or of an occasional wheeled waggon, marked out the road on the hillside, or a narrow causeway or a paved ford left a more permanent record across morass or stream. Fences or walls seem to have been non-existent, but standing stones and crosses marking parish<sup>2</sup> or estate boundaries were met with frequently in their course. In fact, where a

<sup>1</sup> See also "The Roads and Bridges in the Early History of Scotland," *Proc.*, vol. xviii., 1912-13, p. 303.

<sup>2</sup> The Buckstane, Comiston Road, Edinburgh, marks the parish boundary of Liberton and Colinton on the Dumfries road.

road was used for the old parish boundary, the antiquity of that road stands almost unquestioned.

Whether the side drains, banks, or dykes that are observed along some of the old roads are part of their original formation, or are eighteenth-century improvements, is at present a matter of some uncertainty; but one would be inclined to infer that, as there was no national authority constructing roads, and legislation merely provided for upkeep, such banking as existed would only be of a very insignificant character, little more than would serve to define its limit in cultivated lands. In no other way can we account for the complete obliteration of some of the well-known ancient roads for long stretches of their course.

As an example, the road that passes along the foot of the Pentlands, from Edinburgh through Morningside by Glencorse to Carlops and Dolphinton, betrays, after the Buckstane, little sign of its original course until near Nine Mile Burn, and even there it is merely a grassy mark on the hillside; but as it nears Lynedale (towards West Linton) it is well banked for a short distance, only to become a grassy track once more on the open moor at the golf course on the south side of the Lyne. On the old Soutra road there appears to have been no banking between Fala and Channelkirk; and on the old Lasswade road, while the outline of the roadway is well marked across the fields between St Catherine's and Gracemount, its appearance does not suggest anything more than a hard beaten track across the land.

Banking at the side of old roads, one is inclined to think, may have had its origin in the abuse of the road privileges by the cattle drovers in the eighteenth century. When cattle traffic to the English markets began after the Union, the small herds passing along caused no inconvenience; but as the trade reached huge dimensions, the great droves going to England trampled down the adjoining fields far beyond the limits of forbearance, and on this account quarrels arose between farmers and drovers, frequently leading to blows. For this reason one is inclined to hesitate before pronouncing in favour of an earlier date for such banks, because if they had existed previously there would have been little reason for the quarrels. Where there was no cultivation, there was no necessity for having the road confined in this way, and this theory seems to fit in with general observation.

The making of new roads in the last few hundred years has in many instances led to these old routes being abandoned, so that in agricultural districts the traces of former roads have frequently dis-

appeared, while in the moorlands the slightly beaten path or pack-horse track has merged into the surrounding moor and left no trace of its existence. In the latter instance, local knowledge and tradition usually point the course with some accuracy; but in the former, local knowledge is not always reliable in its estimate of antiquity, as the "old" road may be only the predecessor of the present highway and not the most ancient route.

Drove roads<sup>1</sup> have to be dealt with on a special footing, for we have to recollect that, owing to Scotland being the ancient enemy of England, such roads as existed were chiefly used in connection with the local markets, and those used for traffic to England can only have been brought into extensive use after 1603, when the Union of the Crowns opened the markets of England to Scottish traders.

The "Thieves'" roads,<sup>2</sup> "Salters'" roads,<sup>3</sup> "Herring" roads,<sup>4</sup> which are pointed out in various parts, appear to have been lines used for occasional traffic, and thus it is likely that they were mere tracks, rather than roads in the modern sense of the word, unless these titles are corruptions of other names, the explanation of which would make their origin clearer.

Therefore, in considering the origin of the roads, we have to recognise that their existence depends on the centres of population, and that their earliest course is marked out by considerations of dryness of surface, rather than by directness of course. The earliest roads were undoubtedly *Ridgeways*<sup>5</sup>—roads following the dry, firm surface of the watershed,—and one has only to study carefully the relation of two parallel roads in this respect to find out which is the more ancient. It is to the Romans that we owe the discarding of *Ridgeways* for constructed roads leading directly from point to point, and it is for this reason that a study of ancient geography is necessary before going into detail in regard to the direction of the roads and the points to which they led. Unfortunately our knowledge of early Scotland is at present almost a blank in this respect, and even though one may consider the aspects of ancient geography as far as we know it, such a study does no more than show how vague and inconclusive is the information, and how little foundation we have to build upon.

Therefore, in approaching this subject entirely from a geographic

<sup>1</sup> The road to Lasswade through Liberton appears to be the only "drove" road spoken of near Edinburgh.

<sup>2</sup> Near West Linton; between Drumelzier and Moffat; and at Penmanshiel (Cockburns-path). There is a Thieves' bridge at Aberdeen, mentioned in 1410.

<sup>3</sup> Near Dalkeith, and near Fala; and there is a "Salters' Ford" at Melrose.

<sup>4</sup> Near Dunbar to Lauder.

<sup>5</sup> Using the English name, as there seems to be no equivalent in Scotland.

point of view, it is necessary to go over the various important maps of Scotland and study the chief points of which each survey has made a feature, distinguishing copies from originals, in order that we may test the value of each map, for the purposes of research.

## II. EARLY MAPS.

The earliest known map of Britain is the one furnished by Ptolemy's *Geography*.<sup>1</sup> Although it is generally spoken of as a map, it should be more accurately termed a geographical index of the rivers, bays, promontories, and towns, with the latitude and longitude of each. To draw the map, it is only necessary to plot down the lines of latitude and longitude, and then, marking the exact position of each point, to connect the consecutive places so as to form a coast-line, the result being an outline of Britain (fig. 1). The map drawn in this way, while showing England with a comparatively recognisable outline, turns Scotland at right angles to it, and makes it lie east and west instead of north and south. Many explanations have been given of the reason of this curious feature, which cannot be entered into here, but it seems undoubtedly to have been caused by an effort to reconcile conflicting geographical information, and at least make it presentable. A careful examination shows that while the names on the coast outline are not very far out of sequence, the positions of the inland towns are in hopeless confusion. This clearly points to there having been several sources of information—the one, a nautical description of the coast, evidently from a fairly accurate source; and the other, a trader's or military description, plotted down by a person who had no idea of the relative positions of the towns.

It is significant that in England the town names correspond only with stations in a certain number of the routes in the *Antonine Itinerary*,<sup>2</sup> but that names taken from routes 9 and 12 of that work are wanting. It is also evident from the relative positions of York, Aldborough, and Catterick that the Roman road to the north appears to have been taken as following the meridian, instead of pointing NNW. The same feature is also observed in the west of England, where two stations on one of the Antonine routes, Uriconium and Mediolanum, are also placed as lying directly north and south. The importance of these facts must not be overlooked, as, even though the positions of many of the towns are quite wrong, they seem fairly accurately placed in regard to their neighbours, showing that their place is relative to one another in the same group, and not to the rest of the country.

<sup>1</sup> *Circ.* A.D. 150.

<sup>2</sup> Referred to below.

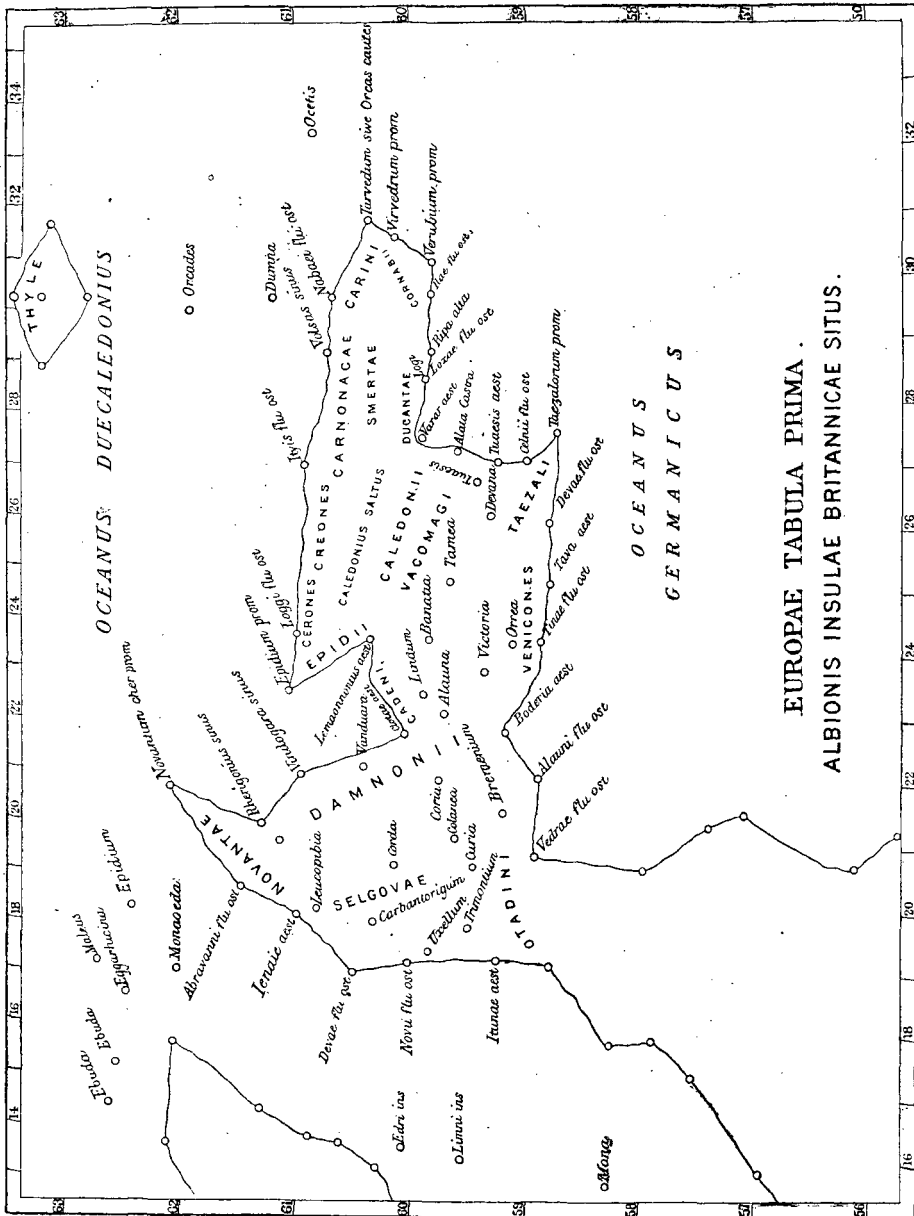


Fig. 1. Map of Scotland, showing its relation to England and Ireland, made up from Ptolemy's Tables for the British Isles.

While we have this knowledge of the source of the information as to the towns in England, the source of information as to the towns in Scotland is unknown to us, so that whatever grouping has been adopted, it can be taken as being only approximate and of no definite value, until we have the key to the riddle in our hands.

Although Ptolemy's map is of no use to us in determining the roads, it is of this service, that it gives us an inkling of the names of the chief places in Scotland which the Romans would require to subdue in their northward campaign.

The earliest known reference to the roads in Britain is the Roman *Antonine Itinerary*, compiled apparently about the Second Century, and added to at later periods. There are fifteen routes, varying in length from 70 to 506 miles, with the distance between each station carefully noted. When these are plotted out on a map, they are in most cases so accurate that the locality of the Roman station can be placed with very little doubt. In several cases the route is quite unintelligible in the light of our present knowledge; but as there is a summary of the total measurement at the beginning of each, it is quite easy to see when there has been an obvious mistake and when the measurement is accurate.

The routes in the south of England do not concern us at the present time. In regard to those going northward we have to note two separate roads proceeding towards Scotland, one passing by Boroughbridge, Catterick, and Bishop Auckland to Corbridge and Bremenium<sup>1</sup>—a point twenty miles from Corbridge,—where it terminates; and a second route which branches off at Catterick, crosses the hills by Brough, Appleby, and Penrith, to a place called Luguwallium, generally recognised as Carlisle, and terminating at a spot twenty-four miles beyond, called Blatum Bulgium.<sup>2</sup> It is remarkable that the most northerly termini of the two chief Roman roads referred to seem to be at points only about twenty miles from the last station near the Roman Wall between the Tyne and the Solway. Many reasons have been given to account for the complete absence of the mention of any roads extending into Scotland, but the fact remains that no road north of the Cheviots is claimed by the Romans in their own documents.

In the Roman *Notitia Dignitatum*, dating from about the fourth century, are given the rank of the officers and the composition of the chief Roman garrisons in Britain.

After the departure of the Romans there is no literature giving any

<sup>1</sup> Bremenium is always associated with Rochester, near Cateleuch Reservoir, but the distance from Corbridge is six miles more than in the *Itinerary*.

<sup>2</sup> This remarkable name is generally believed to refer to the camp at Birrens, near Ecclefechan.

description of the routes in Scotland until we come to the document called Hardyng's *Chronicle*,<sup>1</sup> drawn up in the time of James I. There are several copies of the book, the most easily accessible of which is a transcript in Professor Hume Brown's *Early Travellers in Scotland*, taken from Ellis's edition.

Hardyng was a Northumbrian who had taken part in several incursions into Scotland, and appears to have been used by Henry VI. (cir. 1427) in connection with his claim to be Scottish overlord. While so employed he seems to have gone over Scotland, and in his *Chronicle* he describes what castles existed, and suggests what routes the King should follow in a plan of campaign.

Broadly speaking, it is a spy's narrative of what to do, what routes to follow, and what castles to beat down and towns to capture or burn. He tells the King to start from Wark and move by Duns to Dunbar and Edinburgh, and if he is content with that, to come back by "Dalketh a roode casell" and "bete down Edmoston<sup>2</sup> and Liberton in your waie." Thereafter by Newbattle, Lauder, and Earlston to Dryburgh, and "bete down Wetslade, Crosby, and Hume." After that he can deal with Berwick, Dunglass, "Colbrandespethe and Ennerwike."

On the other hand, if the King wants to do more, he advises the employment of three armies, the first working as above to capture Edinburgh, Linlithgow, and Falkirk; the second to invade by Jedburgh, Peebles, and Lanark; and the third to invade by Carlisle, meet the second at Lanark; the three thereafter to meet at Stirling, after which they are to sweep round by Ayr, Galloway, and Dumfries. Then if he wishes to capture all Scotland, he is to cross Stirling Bridge, capture Doune Castle, and then attack Fife, castle by castle, then Perth, Dundee, Aberdeen, and on by Moray to Inverness, and so to Caithness. With our knowledge of Scotland developed by railway travelling, it is easy for us to recognise that these routes are quite obvious; but this appears to be a very important document, and one we should not overlook in questions of the Roman occupation of Scotland, for these routes appear so eminently practicable and effective, noted at a time when knowledge of Scotland cannot have been very thorough. There are several pictorial maps of Scotland in these

<sup>1</sup> British Museum, Lansdowne MS. and Harleian MS.; Oxford, Bodleian MS. These manuscripts are of different dates and vary considerably both in their style and the details they give in regard to Scotland, although the general facts laid down are much the same. A concise account of Hardyng's work and schemes is given in *English Historical Review*, 1912, p. 462, but it does not deal with the geographical aspect of the Scottish section.

<sup>2</sup> Observe Craigmillar Castle is not named, which is puzzling, as the castle is generally believed to be earlier than the date 1427 which appears over the doorway.

manuscripts, one of which is reproduced in the National MSS.,<sup>1</sup> but as a cartographic production it is more interesting than useful, as it makes no attempt at being a map, its purpose being illustrative and decorative to the book.

### III. THE FIRST SURVEYS OF SCOTLAND.

The earliest survey of Scotland that we know of appears to be contained in the manuscripts which Timothy Pont, a minister in Caithness, commenced about the year 1609. Up to that time such maps as existed were crude attempts to correct the errors of those in Ptolemy's *Geography*. Pont, however, seems to have begun his survey in a very primitive fashion, on small sheets of paper, and in putting these together the outlines had frequently to be remodelled to make them fit in with each other. The earliest of his maps seem to have been those of Sutherlandshire, the sketches being made, some from a boat, some from the hill-tops; but as he extended his work southwards, the outlines became more accurate with growing experience. Unfortunately these early drawings fell into the hands of a hopelessly incompetent would-be geographer, who, apparently knowing nothing of the districts, joined up maps of different scales and manipulated the outline utterly regardless of the inevitable result. These maps subsequently got into the hands of Gordon of Straloch, who took them in hand, in 1641 redrew with some draughtsman-like skill the uncertain outlines of Pont's Maps, and these along with some of his own were sent over to Amsterdam, where they were issued in Blaeu's Atlas of 1648.<sup>2</sup> The scrap manuscripts of Perthshire, however, which for some reason were not included in Blaeu's Atlas, passed into the Advocates' Library, where they are now carefully preserved. Some are manifestly original sketches, made by a surveyor according to some plan of his own; but as few of them have any scale, any geographer using them has to be very careful as to their interpretation. After being in the hands of the Gordons of Straloch, they were passed over to Sir Robert Sibbald, who made use of them and collected them with many manuscript memoranda, which latterly became part of the Macfarlane Geographical Collections. Although these maps are not bound up with the Macfarlane Manuscripts, the one belongs to the other, for many of the seemingly scrappy memoranda in the Geographical Collec-

<sup>1</sup> *National Manuscripts of Scotland*, part 2, plate lxviii.

<sup>2</sup> See Chambers's *Biographical Dictionary*, 1835, vol. ii. p. 468 (Gordon). Mr Chubb, Curator of Maps at the British Museum, states that the Scottish volume was not issued till 1654. The Introduction is dated 1648.



tions refer to some single maps, and titles written on the maps are the same as the headings of the descriptions.

From a cartographic point of view these maps form an exceedingly interesting study in map-drawing, because the most of the lines which editors have hitherto described as "unintelligible" are in fact the earliest attempt to show the mountains. There are three distinct methods—first, the wavy outline; second, the pictorial; third, the pimple. On the Loch Lomond sheet there is a very interesting representation of the twin peaks of Ben Lomond and the jagged outline of the Cobbler (fig. 2).

The next maps of Scotland, adding considerably to our knowledge, are the beautifully drawn maps of Central Scotland, attributed to Robert Adair about 1680.<sup>1</sup> They are all on a good large scale, and for the Lothians practically displace the older maps of Pont and Gordon; and as the scale is nearly one inch to the mile, they are very serviceable maps for showing the Lowlands at that period. The roads and bridges are very accurately shown, and these maps form a distinct advance in map-drawing, both in accuracy and fineness of execution of detail. They are, in fact, the first good road-maps of the south of Scotland.

The next atlas of Scotland, based upon the surveys of the previous geographers, is Moll's *Atlas of Scotland*, published in 1725, and it puts in handy form the chief features of the larger maps, with some roads roughly drawn in, but the source from which these were obtained is not clear.<sup>2</sup>

Between 1720 and 1750 a good many local maps were issued, the earlier of which were copied from those of Adair. Quite a number of these were published between 1730 and 1740 by the engraver R. Cooper, who also issued special surveys of part of Argyllshire, Ardnamurchan; and the Caithness coast, but they are too local to be described as a fresh survey of Scotland.

#### IV. THE MILITARY SURVEY OF 1755.

It was not till 1745, when the military authorities were alarmed by the absence of satisfactory maps for their officers, that a real survey of Scotland was begun. The military authorities therefore undertook the preparation of a great survey of Scotland, and after many years' labour

<sup>1</sup> The Map of Ettrick Forest credited to Adair is almost identical with one attributed to Gordon, and is of such a different character from Adair's other maps, that some further explanation seems desirable.

<sup>2</sup> "A History of Old Scottish Road Books," by the writer, was given in the *Motor World*, July 10, 1913.



Fig. 2. Part of Manuscript Map, Loch Lomond District. Pont's Maps, No. 17. Advocates' Library.

This MS. shows three attempts to complete the outline of the southern part of Loch Lomond on different scales; as well as various efforts to convey the idea of hills, the most primitive of which is an irregular line following the shore. The "Cobbler," at Arrochar, known now as Ben Arthur, is here called "Suy Archire."

the map was revised up to 1755, and a good many of the manuscripts from which this map was compiled now lie in the British Museum. Through the kindness of the authorities access has been readily given to the eighty-four uncatalogued rolls, and photographs of many of them have been taken, in case any accident should befall the originals. Most of the original rolls relating to the south of Scotland never reached the British Museum, but there is a complete transcript of the whole of Scotland and some duplicates on a smaller scale which are always available for reference. These maps are sometimes called the "Duke of Cumberland's Survey"; sometimes, "General Roy's Survey"; but it is very doubtful if the latter title is correct. They were used by Ainslie for producing some county maps in 1770, but the originals have never been reproduced on their full scale. They are on twice the scale of the present Ordnance Survey, being one mile to two inches, and it is rather remarkable that maps of such great topographical value do not appear to have been much consulted or referred to. The maps show no county or parish boundaries; they are purely road-maps with finely executed hill-shading. There appear to have been a number of copies made, but which are the originals and which are the duplicates I cannot say as yet.

The maps in the years following this great survey appear to have been very largely compiled from the reduced editions which were available, and there were practically no new surveys of the country of any fresh value except the various county maps which were issued between 1770 and 1820.

The next complete survey of Scotland was Thomson's Atlas, published about 1823, which gives in very portable form a really excellent survey of the whole of Scotland, copied mostly from estate plans, and this map continued in use until the advent of railways almost wholly drove out of existence maps and road-books of every kind. The Government Ordnance Survey of 1856-1887 superseded, in turn, the whole of the previous maps, and it now forms the basis of all modern maps of this country, and gives a true record of all the roads and paths in Scotland at the date of issue.

Having thus reviewed the chief surveys of Scotland, it is perhaps only necessary to say that practically only five distinct epochs are of use in ascertaining the changes that have occurred in the country, and these appear to be—Pont's Maps, 1610-1640; Adair's Maps, 1680; the Military Survey of 1755; Thomson's Atlas, 1823; and the Ordnance Survey, 1860. In putting aside the others, it is necessary to remember that from a geographer's point of view it is important to know which are original surveys and which are copies. An immense number of maps of Scotland were issued between 1730 and 1830, and it is very difficult at first sight to

distinguish originals from improved editions of earlier surveys, especially as no catalogue exists for such a purpose, nor is there a general collection anywhere accessible. The only maps that are of real value, from an antiquarian point of view, are those original manuscript surveys which give definite dates for definite points. Cooper's Maps, for instance, dated 1730, are of little service to us, because they are modified copies of Adair's Maps of 1680, and for this reason it is absolutely necessary to put aside a large number of maps as being of little service, simply because we know they are not original.

Therefore, in making use of these maps in seeking to trace the course of the old roads in Scotland, one is able to follow with considerable accuracy the main lines of roads in each period by eliminating from the Ordnance Survey of 1860 the roads which do not appear on each previous survey.

It is rather unfortunate that in Blaeu's Atlas there is only one sheet on which the roads have been shown, but a very fair idea of their probable course is obtained from the positions of the bridges indicated on the maps. In point of fact, it appears to be perfectly clear from an examination of most of the sheets that the bridges were laid down on the map because they were used in connection with roads, and the surveyor had marked their positions for that reason and not simply because he was aware of their existence, as somewhere on the river, in that county.

The map given in Blaeu's Atlas with the roads upon it is that of the Lothians (fig. 3),<sup>1</sup> and from it we are able to get a general idea of the ancient roads approaching Edinburgh; but it is plainly not very reliable as to the roads, as the draughtsman seems to have had no sure knowledge of their course. Moll's Maps (1725) show the chief roads, all over Scotland, but the maps are not on a very large scale, while the straightness of the lines shows that the cartographer only knew of their general direction, rather than their true position.

On the other hand, the Military Survey of 1755 was for the distinct purpose of having an accurate survey of the roads for military use, and the surrounding country was filled in roughly. It is therefore a most satisfactory source to rely upon in any inquiry as to the old roads in Scotland, because it was completed at a time when the road traffic had begun to extend, and the new superior roads formed under the Turnpike Acts were only newly planned.

<sup>1</sup> Pont's Map of the Lothians seems to have been issued in some form about 1618, for it was issued in the Mercator-Hondius Atlas, 1630; re-issued in 1636; and again in Jansson's Atlas 1647. Blaeu omits Pont's name. I have to express my indebtedness to Mr Chubb of the Map Department of the British Museum for elucidating these facts, hitherto unknown.

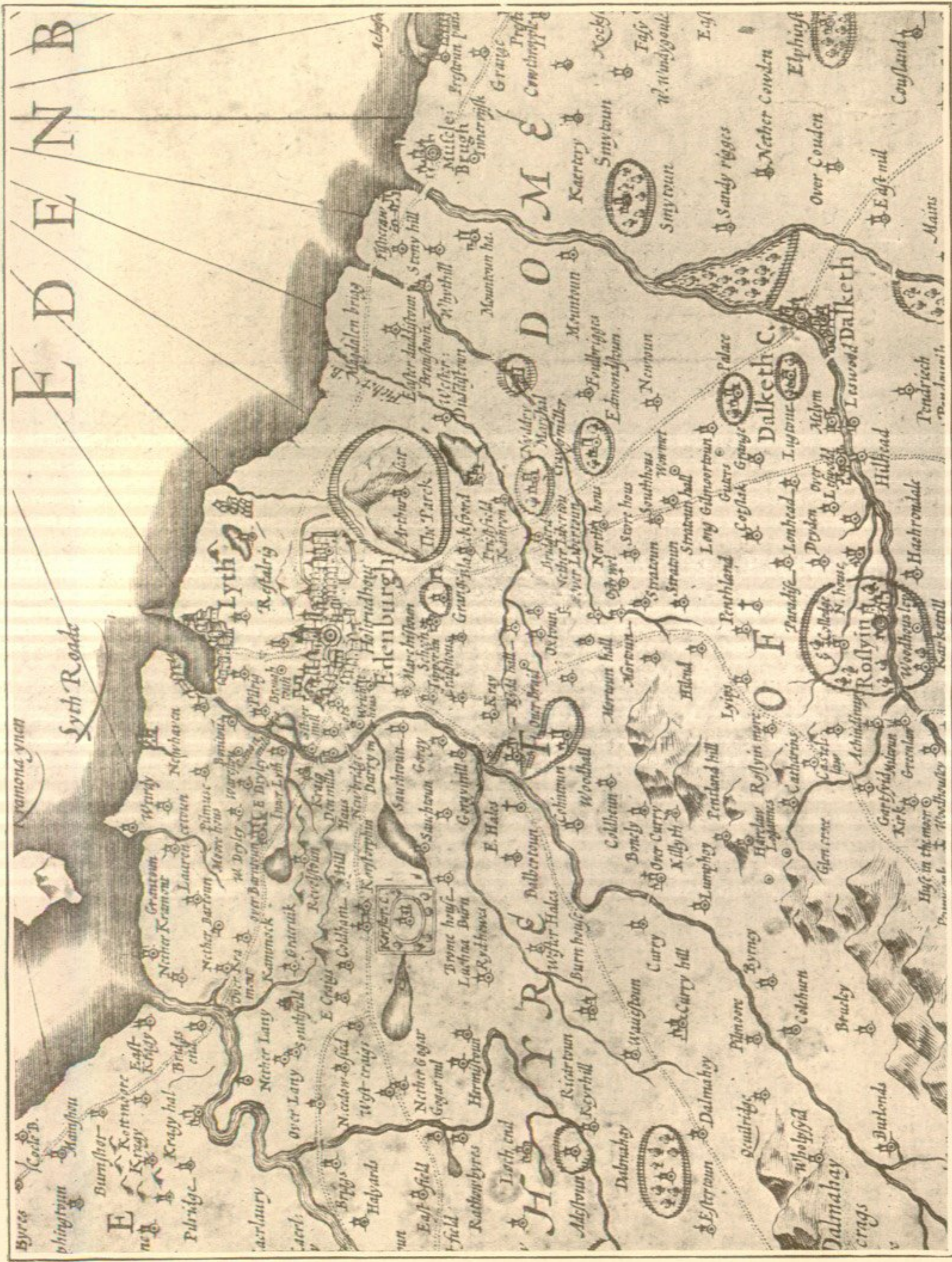


Fig. 3. Part of the Map of the Lothians by Pont issued in Mercator's Atlas, 1636, enlarged to the scale of half an inch to a mile. A map scarcely distinguishable from this was issued in Blaeu's Atlas, omitting Pont's name, and bearing Blaeu's name as the author. Blaeu's Map is recognisable by the "Dalketh C." and "Palace" (on this map) having been scraped out on the plate and the blank never re-engraved.

In this map the military roads through the Highlands, constructed by General Wade and his predecessors about 1718, are the chief features; but in the south of Scotland, where there was no military road except the one from Dumfries to Portpatrick, this survey gives us a very accurate idea of the highways about 1755.<sup>1</sup>

#### V. OLD CENTRES OF POPULATION.

Having thus reviewed the older surveys, it is obvious that in each epoch the roads through the country would be formed between the chief centres of population, therefore in the pre-Roman period of the towns named in Ptolemy's *Geography* we must expect that some style of track would exist between the chief towns of each tribe. Thus in the six-town group of the Damnonii<sup>2</sup> there must have been considerable intercommunication, while in the four-town group of the Selgovæ<sup>3</sup> the same would hold good.

It is exceedingly unfortunate that the reading of Ptolemy's *Geography* so far leaves us in the dark as to the identification of any place in Scotland. But that trackways of some kind existed there can be no manner of doubt, and if we were only able to locate the town groups, the course of many of the ancient roads would be easily found.

After the departure of the Romans, and in the subsequent readjustment of the kingdom, we have to recollect that Southern Scotland and Northern England formed the kingdom of Northumbria on the East Coast, and on the West Coast the kingdom of Strathclyde, so that the intercommunication in these districts must have been extensive.

In the tenth century the connection between Durham, Coldingham, and Melrose was very close, and in the eleventh Malcolm Canmore's jurisdiction seems to have extended far south. In 1329,<sup>4</sup> in a reference to Haydon Bridge, near Hexham, the "Scotia Via," which must be the road over the Cheviots, is referred to. On the west side of the Cheviots in 1304 the "old way of Roxburgh" is mentioned in a document,<sup>5</sup> and one is inclined to believe that this must have some connection with the "Wheel Causeway," which passes the head of Liddesdale and leads to Jedburgh or Ruberslaw. In 1305 we have the curious note in the *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*<sup>6</sup> that a

<sup>1</sup> The date of the survey is fixed by the note on sheet 184, "Last survey of the ground near Fort George, Fife, etc., 1755." The survey is catalogued in the British Museum as 1747 to 1755.

<sup>2</sup> Colanica, Vandogara, Coria, Alauna, Lindum, Victoria.

<sup>3</sup> Carbantorigum, Uxellum, Corda, Trimontium.

<sup>4</sup> *Chr. Lanercost*, 259.

<sup>5</sup> *Calend. Doc. Scot.*, 1304, 423.

<sup>6</sup> 451.

man is appointed for eight days to guard the road over Minchmoor for fear of robbers at Roxburgh Fair. About 1230, among the Coldingham Papers<sup>1</sup> is a reference to Crhachoctrestrete, which one imagines has some connection with the road between Coldingham and Dunbar, while in the Kelso Charters<sup>2</sup> the road from Risebrig to Innerwick is referred to about 1240. It will be observed that in each case we seem to be dealing with roads among the hills not at present in use, showing that at that time—in addition to Dere Street, which will be referred to later—there was a series of important highways of considerable antiquity in the hill country in the south of Scotland. Whether Edinburgh had at that time the importance that it subsequently attained is a subject which is not fully understood, but one has the impression that, as the Royal residence was moved from Scone to Dunfermline and from Dunfermline to Edinburgh, the centre of Scottish national life drifted southwards, and the pre-eminence of Edinburgh coincided with the moving of the Court. It is therefore quite probable that the most ancient roads in Scotland did not at first lead to Edinburgh, and that it was only about the time of Malcolm Canmore that this city began to attain the importance which caused the traffic to converge to it, and lifted it to the level of the chief city in Scotland.

#### VI. THE "ROMAN" ROAD—DERE STREET.

It would be impossible, in a short review of this kind, to treat in detail of all the roads leading to Edinburgh, and I propose therefore to deal with a few of what seem to be outstanding points of interest, the elucidation of which is assisted by the maps referred to. First of all comes the Roman road from England into Scotland. Perhaps the most important of the northern highways—No. 1 in the *Antonine Itinerary*—was the Roman road which passed by York to Aldborough, Catterick, Bishop Auckland, and Corbridge, to Bremenium. Thereafter it was supposed to have made its way over the Cheviots by Jedfoot to Newstead, and thence by Lauder to Edinburgh. It has always been regarded in its entire course as a Roman road, but in the *Antonine Itinerary* the last station is Bremenium, twenty (Roman) miles from Corbridge, and therefore apparently about ten miles short of the Scottish Border. It is therefore very remarkable that at this point the road changes its character, for instead of driving over hill and dale in a series of straight lines, as is Roman custom, it changes into a ridgeway (fig. 4) of a similar type to the Icknield Way,

<sup>1</sup> Raine's *Durham*, App. 13. The spelling of this name suggests a misprint either in the original or in the copy.

<sup>2</sup> 203.

in the south of England, and winds along the surface in the driest position. Eight miles beyond the Chew Green Camp it bends sharply round, and follows a general course heading for the Eildon Hills (fig. 5). It crosses Lilliard's Edge, and at St Boswells disappears. After that point its course is entirely conjectural. Under the name of Dere Street we are supposed to meet it again near Lauder; yet here again we find it

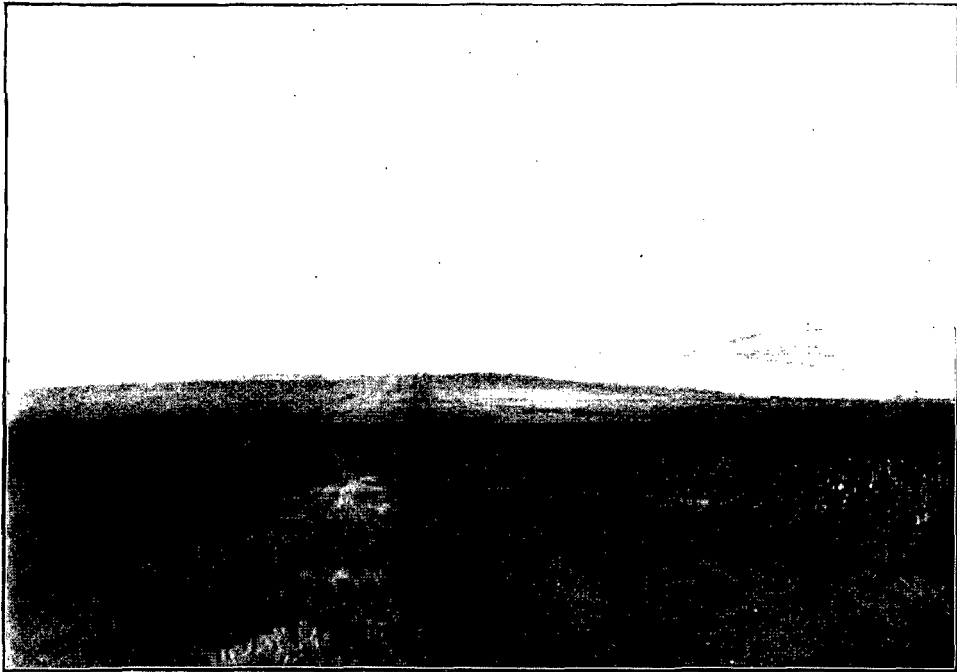


Fig. 4. View looking SE. from Shibden Hill, showing the grass-grown road turning along the ridge to the right, subsequently crossing the border into England behind Woden Law in the central distance.

wending its way over Soutra Hill, following the driest surface, and not in the straight line of a constructed Roman road. After Pathhead we again find a straight line over the hill to Dalkeith, but beyond that its course appears to be lost.

It is rather remarkable that no documentary evidence has so far come to light indicating the position of Dere Street between St Boswells and Lauder—a distance of ten miles.

Turning to the Military Survey of 1755 to find the course of this road, it is distinctly disquieting to discover that while it is shown on the English side of the Cheviots near the Border, its existence beyond, in



its present course, is ignored. Whether this is owing to its having been impracticable from a military point of view, is entirely a matter of speculation; but one would have imagined that if such an important highway between England and Scotland existed, it would have had a place upon this map.

Looking at the course of this road over the Cheviots, one begins

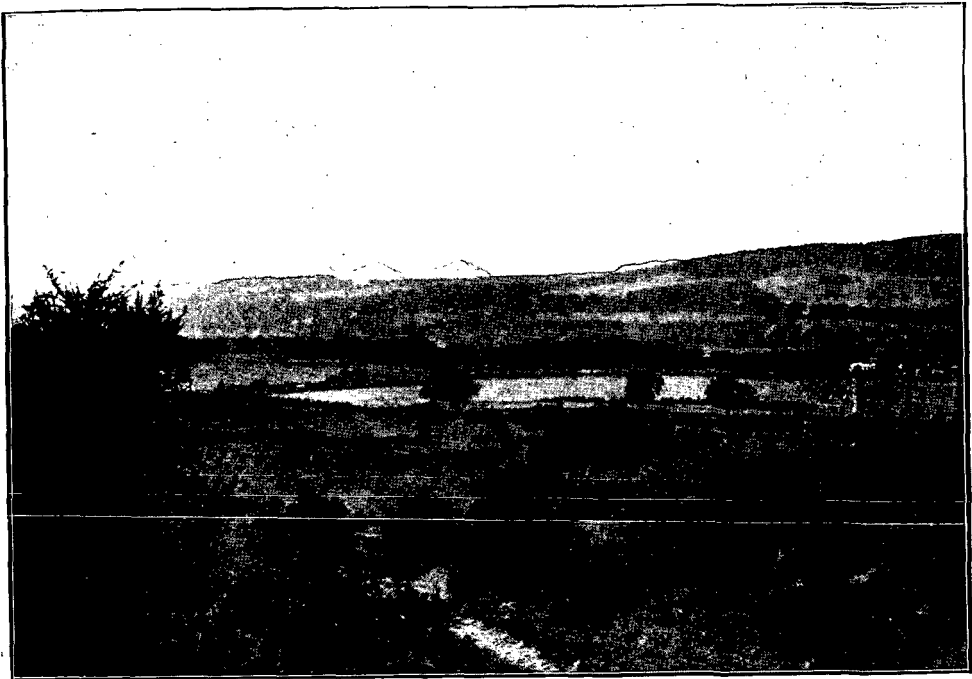


Fig. 5. Looking WNW. from the hill above Jedfoot, showing the road heading straight for the Eildon Hills.

to wonder what authority there is for calling it "Roman." There are many ancient highways in Scotland which follow an almost straight line, yet no one dreams of calling them "Roman." It is therefore desirable to ponder for a moment the pros and cons of this matter. We may take it as certain that the Romans would first of all use the native tracks in their progress, and in the military occupation of the country would place their permanent camps in *close proximity* to the large native centres of population, as a means of overawing them. In this way we may assume that if the Romans constructed a road, it would be close to a native track; and we imagine if the latter was sufficiently direct for

their purpose, they would not trouble to build a special road, provided the foundation was firm and the trend of it otherwise suitable.

We may also assume that it would only be when a country was well consolidated, and rapid means of transit specially desirable, that great trouble would be incurred in preparing a special highway; therefore the Roman occupation of Scotland being of a precarious nature as compared with the firm holding of England south of the Roman Wall, the chances of any road being made far into Scotland are very problematical, and the termini of the Roman roads as given in the *Antonine Itinerary* may be the farthest points to which they drove their *special* roads. One of the best tests of a true Roman road, that does not seem to have had much attention directed to it hitherto, is that the constructed Roman roads, as far as possible, did not pass *through* the native villages, but pursued a line of their own, pointing to a definite destination. For instance, in Yorkshire and Durham the Leeming Lane, between Borough-bridge and Bishop Auckland, if deleted from the map, reveals the curious fact that most of the villages and parish churches, which we may assume to be very ancient sites, are not on the Roman road, but lie on rising ground some distance away on either side, and are connected with each other by regular roads, so that the natives of the district, passing from one village to another, have no occasion to use this Roman road. In modern times it was for this reason that Leeming Lane, after the discontinuance of the coaches, remained an almost deserted highway until, first, the cyclists, and then the motorists from Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Newcastle, used it on their way to London, and at the present day one meets hardly any other traffic. This conclusively shows that it was constructed for the rapid movement of troops or vehicles of some kind, and not for local traffic between the centres of population. As this road continues northwards, we find it taking an undeviating course to Bishop Auckland, after which it swings round and makes straight for Corbridge; then it makes straight for Rochester, and a few miles beyond that it joins another track, coming from Rothbury, and makes its way along the ridge.

In these circumstances, looking to the marked distinction in the type of road in England and Scotland after the last Roman station of the *Itinerary* is passed, one cannot but think that what we call the "Roman" road into Scotland may have been a far earlier native highway (probably between Rothbury and the Eildons) which the Romans appropriated as sufficiently direct for their purpose. The antiquity of the track coming up from Rothbury, as well as of the "Roman" road joining it, stands almost unquestioned, as in both instances these roads form parish boundaries for long distances; but the manner in which they keep to the

dry surface of the hill—contrary to the fashion of the Roman roads in the rest of England, and even when on similar ground in Northumberland—is a fact which cannot be ignored. We are therefore face to face with the question whether, when in ascribing many roads to the Roman occupation, we are not overlooking the works of the earlier inhabitants and withholding honour where honour is due.

It is quite possible that there may be many lengths of Roman road in Scotland, but many of those now called by that name are probably no more than the beaten tracks of the native population which the Romans made use of, or they are short connections linking up their military system. In fact, they might be called, with justice, semi-Roman roads, or Brito-Roman roads.

It is for this reason that one feels the hopelessness of tracing beyond Newstead the Roman road farther into Scotland, and no doubt explains the absence of what would be called a typical Roman road leading to Lyne Camp. The Roman occupation may have been far less comfortable for the invaders than we imagine, and the Roman camps that have been found may be no more than solidly built outposts holding a very precarious existence in a hostile country.

From Newstead onwards to Lauder one is faced with the interesting problem that as the villages on the Leader Water,—Redpath, Earlston, and Boon,—are all on the east side of the river, it is quite unnatural to expect that the main road would pass up the opposite side of that river, where there are no villages. The military map makes this quite definite, for the road is shown leading round by Melrose to Blainslie and Lauder (fig. 6); and as we read of this same route being used in 1547,<sup>1</sup> in taking back the heavy cannon from an expedition to the south of Scotland, we may take it that this is a very ancient highway. It was, in fact, the earliest road to Selkirk, and explains why Darnick was the meeting-point of two factions in 1526. This ancient road continued over Soutra Hill in the manner previously referred to, with something of the character of a native track; but after Pathhead it resumes a direct course once more, and, passing over by Chester Hill till within a mile of Dalkeith, it then turns aside again and, following a winding course, proceeds past Dalkeith, Sheriffhall, and Little France, on to Edinburgh.

There is, however, one very remarkable feature which I have been unable to comprehend. At the point where the road, hitherto straight, bends off to Dalkeith, the parish boundary, which followed it previously for a short distance, continues straight forward; and, moreover, the Ordnance map seems to indicate portions of an almost straight road

<sup>1</sup> *Lord High Treasurer's Accounts*, vol. ix. p. 93.



Fig. 6. Melrose district—Military Survey of Scotland, 1747-55.  
Reduced to the scale of one inch to a mile.

The bridge shown over the Tweed at Melrose was erected just about the time of the Survey, and was washed away shortly after.

proceeding by Newton Church and Woolmet to Craigmillar Castle, as if there had existed at one time a perfectly straight road the whole way. This road may be that referred to in a charter of the time of David II.,<sup>1</sup> where a way called "the road of the Standing Stone" is alluded to; and this appears to be a point worth investigation.

#### THE ROAD FROM BERWICK.

As the town of Berwick in mediæval history was occasionally in the hands of the English, occasionally in those of the Scots, and as it was at one time the largest town on the coast, its geographical position caused the use of the roads from it to be a matter which varied with its ownership. For while the chief towns on the road to Edinburgh were Coldingham, Dunbar, and Haddington, the deep defile of the Pease at Cockburnspath created a formidable obstacle to the traffic between Coldingham and Dunbar, and the range of hills that intervened farther south hindered any other route being adopted.

In connection with this part of the road, it has to be recalled that the road over the long stretch of moorland between Cockburnspath and Ayton can have had little local traffic in mediæval times, and must always have been left in a state of nature when traffic from Dunbar to Berwick ceased for any lengthened period. We have to note also that Edward III., flying to England after the battle of Bannockburn in 1314, found it advisable to take a boat from Dunbar to Berwick. Though this points to the road being in a disused state, yet the Abbey at Coldingham must have had some sort of access to it from Dunbar, and therefore one is inclined to think that on this occasion there must have been some undisclosed reason for this step.

There was, however, an alternative way to Edinburgh from Berwick caused by the traffic to Duns and Lauder, and in regard to distance it was only about three miles longer than the road by Dunbar, which, owing to the curve of the coast, is not as direct as imagined. This road does not appear to have had a very marked course between Duns and Lauder, and as the summit at Soutra was 1290 feet above sea-level, its use would be greatly restricted in winter.

When the invading armies of England were working with their supply ships, they seem to have kept by the coast route, and the Somerset expedition of 1547, which led to the battle of Pinkie, and Cromwell's invasion of 1650, both followed the coast road; but, as a matter of fact, in the other invasions, the choice of route seems to have been decided largely by the possession of Berwick, Hume Castle, and

<sup>1</sup> *Reg. Dunfermlyn*, 265-384.

Roxburgh Castle. On the other hand, the Scottish invasions of England almost all seem to have followed the Soutra route in the historic periods of which records are available;<sup>1</sup> prior to that the nebulous statements leave much to conjecture, but the Soutra road seems to have been almost a national highway.

The coast road from Berwick traversed a route almost direct over the hill to Ayton (where it crossed the present main road), thence followed an almost straight line to Cairncross and Old Cambus, and descended close to the water's edge at the mouth of Pease Burn, where there appears to have been a small bridge.<sup>2</sup> In 1617 the Privy Council Records speak of great repairs on this road between Ayton and Cockburnspath, for the King's visit to Edinburgh. The ravine at this point always seems to have been a military obstacle, for both the Somerset expedition of 1547 and Cromwell in 1650 had great difficulty in finding a method of crossing this defile, which was guarded at one side by Cockburnspath Tower, and further away by Dunglass Castle. The road at this point was greatly improved by the opening of Pease Bridge<sup>3</sup> in 1782, which, avoiding the steep descent to the sea coast, brought the road round by Cockburnspath Tower to Dunglass. This in turn became an almost abandoned route by the opening of the present route by Grant's House about 1805.<sup>4</sup>

There are the remains of an old bridge below Cockburnspath Tower which popular tradition attributes to Cromwell, but its history is quite obscure, and it has no features left which would determine its date. The impression one forms is that, as there appears to have been no early road at that point, it must have been a service bridge over the river constructed by the owner of Cockburnspath Tower.

After Cockburnspath the road kept nearer the coast than the present road, and the old bridge over the Dunglass Burn—almost totally remodelled—can still be seen. Thereafter the road does not seem to have changed in any way as far as Dunbar.

After Dunbar, the road followed its present course as far as East Linton; a mile farther on it turned up the hill, past Beanston, and then pursued a fairly straight course, leaving Haddington far below in the valley, onwards to Seton House, which was one of the most prominent houses of the nobility of the sixteenth century. Thereafter it went

<sup>1</sup> In 1496 a curious route by Haddington and Cranshaws was taken. *Lord High Treasurer's Accounts*, vol. i. p. 299.

<sup>2</sup> Blaeu's Atlas, 1649, probably a short-lived wooden affair, as it is not referred to anywhere else.

<sup>3</sup> Begun 1779.

<sup>4</sup> 27 Geo. III. 89, 45 Geo. III. 56. These and the following Acts of Parliament do not, as a rule, refer to specific parts of the road, but create tolls in order to raise money for their necessary repair.

through Preston, and followed a course, not passing through Musselburgh, but halfway between Musselburgh and Inveresk. It then crossed the old bridge at Musselburgh, supposed to have been built by one of the Setons, probably 1520-1530.

One has to remark, in connection with this road between Dunbar and Musselburgh, how the town of Haddington seems to have been avoided, for almost all the early travellers and records mention the river Tyne being crossed at East Linton. One would have thought that the most natural route would have been to keep up the same side of the river, past Traprain Law, and cross the river at Haddington. The present sharp turns in the road at that burgh show how completely the town was off the main line of traffic. The only suggestion one can make is that, such burghs having power of toll, travellers avoided passing *through* them, and thus we have the loop road outside Dunbar, the road avoiding Haddington, and not passing through the main street of Musselburgh.

Dealing with the other routes from Berwickshire *via* Lauder, that from Duns to Westruther and Lauder seems to have been a fairly old route, and in the Turnpike Act of Repair 1803<sup>1</sup> it is described as in bad repair and often impassable. The road from Coldstream by Greenlaw was formed into a main route from London to Edinburgh by the completion of Coldstream Bridge in 1766, and the powers of the trustees ended at the Deanburn, at the foot of Soutra Hill (north side).<sup>2</sup> The road which joined in from Kelso at Whiteburn was formed in 1799.<sup>3</sup>

#### THE ROAD FROM KELSO.

As Roxburgh Castle was one of the chief fortresses on the Scottish Border, and a stone bridge leading to it was erected across the Tweed in 1330, there must have been a very ancient road between it and Edinburgh. The old route from Kelso does not appear to have been changed, except for the diversion of the road outside the Floors Castle policies, but from Smailholm to Lauder extensive variations have taken place.

The most ancient road seems to be one which passed almost straight from Smailholm to Legerwood, and going close by Boon, passed up the valley of the Leader, on the east side of Lauder,<sup>4</sup> to Oxton. In the middle of the eighteenth century this route appears to have been mostly

<sup>1</sup> 43 Geo. III. 19.

<sup>2</sup> 33 Geo. II. 56.

<sup>3</sup> 39 Geo. III. 3.

<sup>4</sup> The locality of the Wooden Bridge of Lauder, at which Cochrane was hanged in 1481, is not very clear. The present bridge is of a type common about 1830-40, and superseded an older bridge at the same spot, seemingly erected about 1765. Blaeu's Atlas (1649) shows no bridge over the Leader at Lauder.

abandoned in favour of a later road, which passed by Birkenhead, crossed the Leader at an old bridge<sup>1</sup> near Blainslie, and then made its way up to Lauder; but this would appear only to have been put in order by the Turnpike Trustees, under the Act of 1766.<sup>2</sup> The Military Survey of 1755 indicates that there was also a road straight from Smailholm to Earlston. The present road from Kelso by Nenthorn and West Gordon was constructed about 1799.<sup>3</sup> Judging by the maps, there appears to have been an old service road all the way up the Leader valley on the eastern side, following a higher level than the present road. In all likelihood this would be the road from Dryburgh, yet it is remarkable that no mention appears in any old documents of a road leading to the Abbey.

The main roads from England *via* Berwick, Coldstream, or Kelso seem to have been the only roads in extensive use till about 1830, when the present road was formed over Carter Fell. Previously the old road over Carter Fell from England seems to have been used for little else than local traffic, mostly from the collieries in North Northumberland.

#### THE ROAD FROM JEDBURGH.

According to the Military Survey in 1755, the old road over the Cheviots followed to some extent the Roman road from Rochester, and after Coquethead followed a line, of which scarcely a trace remains, by Middlesknowes and Mossburnford to Jedburgh. From Jedburgh<sup>4</sup> it must have crossed the hill over to Ancrum Bridge, and then followed the present line to Melrose. There it crossed the Tweed at a bridge close to Gattonside House,<sup>5</sup> and then struck up the hill (by what is now a grass road) past Easter Housebyres, thence by Bluecairn and Blainslie to Lauder. Thereafter it went straight to Oxtou, Channelkirk, and Fala, and following Dere Street—referred to in a previous part of the paper—passed on to Dalkeith.

The present line of road from St Boswells, by Kedslie, direct to Lauder, on the west side of the Leader does not appear to have been of very great antiquity, as it is not shown on the military map of 1755,<sup>6</sup> so that the view that it was a Roman road would appear to require more

<sup>1</sup> The upper of the two bridges.

<sup>2</sup> 6 Geo. III. 73.

<sup>3</sup> 39 Geo. III. 3.

<sup>4</sup> There is no road marked as going north out of Jedburgh to St Boswells, though Ancrum Bridge is shown.

<sup>5</sup> This bridge was only erected about 1755, and was washed away a few years afterwards. The grassy mound of the abutment on the north bank of the river is still visible. The military movement southwards in 1745, when Prince Charles sent one section by Peebles and the other by Kelso, was limited by there being no bridge then over the Tweed between Berwick and Peebles. Kelso Bridge, built in 1754, was the first to be constructed after that period.

<sup>6</sup> There is a tradition that the contractor was making this road when his horses were annexed by the Highlanders passing this way in 1745. Thomson's *Parish of Lauder*, 1903, p. 216.



confirmation than the mere assertion that it was so. The bridge at Leaderfoot, constructed in 1776-1780 to replace the ferry known as the "Fly" Boat, gives us some indication of the date when the road came extensively into use; and as the old bridge across the Leader at Earlston was only erected in 1755, and the new one in 1855, it is easy to recognise the date when the road on the west side of the Leader, by Kedslie, was abandoned in favour of the present road by Earlston.<sup>1</sup>

From Lauder onwards over Soutra Hill the present road would appear to date from 1832; the grassy road which comes into view on the ascent of Soutra (from the south) apparently dates from 1793; while the road on the other side of the river, by New Channelkirk, which is seen coming up steeply, and crosses the road at right angles, may date from about 1760, when the Turnpike Act was secured.<sup>2</sup> Neither of the roads over Soutra, by Hunter's Hall, are shown in the Military Survey of 1755.

Considerable speculation has arisen as to the course of the Girthgate, the Sanctuary road from Melrose to Soutra, and it is generally believed to have taken a course past Threepwood and Threeburnford to Soutra. This is the course assigned to it by the oldest inhabitant of Blainslie at the present time (1915), but it seems remarkable that there is no documentary evidence of its course.

In the charters of both Dryburgh and Melrose there are references to "Malcolm's Rode"<sup>3</sup> in a locality not identified, but presumably near Lauder. It is generally understood from the context that this means a road of some kind, but whether it was another name for Dere Street or the Girthgate, is not yet clear. This is probably the only road in early Scottish history of which the maker's name is known.

#### THE ROAD FROM HAWICK AND SELKIRK.

The road between Hawick and Selkirk followed in its ancient course a comparatively straight line over the hill by Ashkirk—the first Turnpike Acts altering its course being those of 1768 and 1771. From Selkirk onwards to Galashiels the present road dates from 1832, but from Galashiels onwards, up the Gala Water, the road by Stow, Heriot, and Fushie-bridge to Eskbank was laid out in 1818. Let it be recalled that Galashiels, about 1750, was a place of so little account that when the "new" turnpike road to Edinburgh from Selkirk was laid out about 1755, the route chosen was by Fernielea, Clovenfords, and the *west* bank of the Gala

<sup>1</sup> The road from Lauder to *Nether* Blainslie led to Kelso; to *Upper* Blainslie led to Melrose.

<sup>2</sup> 33 Geo. II. 56.

<sup>3</sup> *Liber de Dryburgh*, p. 83 (*circ.* 1230), "inde per Malcolms rode." On the other hand, the words may mean Malcolm's rood or cross; but the "per" of the text seems to favour the other reading, as does that of *Liber de Melrose*, vol. i, p. 230.

Water, leaving out both Stow and Galashiels altogether. Prior to that date the main highway from Selkirk to Edinburgh was by Darnick<sup>1</sup> to Lauder, and as this route was used for transporting cannon in July 1547, it was evidently the only alternative main route to Edinburgh, other than by Peebles.<sup>2</sup> It is rather interesting to note that on the same occasion some cannon, brought from Peebles, were not taken direct to Selkirk, by Minchmoor, which was the usual way, and, in fact, a turnpike road as late as 1772, but were brought round by Darnick. The river Tweed was evidently forded there, as it is unlikely the wooden bridge at Bridgend would bear the weight.

#### THE PEBBLES ROAD.

The present road from Peebles is the original road up the Eddleston Water; but at Eddleston the earliest road crossed the river, and, keeping up on the hill (above the railway), crossed the present road at Craighburn, and passed a little east of Leadburn on to Howgate, thence by Auchendinny on the line of the present road, to Edinburgh. A branch turned off at Howgate, leading to Penicuik, but was not used as a through road.

The present road by Penicuik to Leadburn dates from 1812, and the continuation to Eddleston from about the same time, with the exception of the later improvements which cut out the curves about a mile south of Leadburn.

#### THE BIGGAR ROAD.

As this was the chief road from Lanark, Dumfriesshire, and the south-west of Scotland, it is probably almost as ancient as the one by Lauder. The towns on it were few, but it appears in history continually, and in the Covenanting times was used when the prisoners were marched to Edinburgh. Its course up the Enterkin in Dumfries-

<sup>1</sup> The position of the wooden drawbridge over the Tweed at Bridgend near Darnick, which has long since disappeared, presents some interesting problems, rather negative in character. Being two miles away from Melrose Abbey, it was plainly not for the convenience of the Abbot, and this also makes the popular supposition, that the Girthgate led from it, extremely doubtful. Its erection is attributed to the Pringles of Galashiels, who in the fifteenth century for long periods held in their family the office of "Ward, or Ranger, of Tweed." It would therefore appear that the bridge dues would be taken on traffic to Selkirk, Hawick, and Jedburgh, which would all come from Lauder by this route. As the ferry was in use in 1590, it is very probable that the bridge was destroyed in 1544, when Melrose Abbey was burned by the English.

<sup>2</sup> There was a road of some kind from Bridgend (Darnick) straight over the hill to Stow, after which the track proceeded up the Gala Water, crossing and re-crossing the stream as convenient, until it reached the summit, when it descended to Borthwick and passed Stobhill on the hill above Gorebridge. It is not referred to by any of the early travellers, or in early documents, but its course is clearly marked. I expect the roads from both Lauder and Peebles were causewayed in parts, while this one would be a grass road.

shire is clearly shown on the Military Survey, but it follows the east side of the glen, while the present footpath follows the west. Its use was considerably assisted by the construction of Clyde's Bridge, near Abington, about 1661—the only point between Dumfries and Edinburgh where a large river had to be crossed. After Dolphinton, it appears on the earliest maps to have followed a course some distance west of the present road, made in 1831. It can still be followed past Lynedale,<sup>1</sup> about half a mile higher up than West Linton, and its great width testifies to its antiquity. At Carlops a very small bridge shows its old course, and the Nine Mile Burn Inn—a little off the present road—shows its course in 1755. A little farther on it merges into the present road, but if we read rightly the route marked out on Blaeu's Atlas, there was an earlier road which passed Rullion Green<sup>2</sup> close beside the Covenanters' Memorial, and kept considerably to the west of the present road, and higher up the hill at Hillend. At Bow Bridge one of the early little bridges is still visible at the side of the present structure, beyond which the road kept up the hill behind the present Police Station and thence made its way past the Buckstane at Morton Hall Golf Course, and following Morningside Road came to Edinburgh at the West Port.

#### THE ROAD FROM LANARK.

On account of the comparatively uninhabited character of the district between Carnwath and Balerno, the road by Dolphinton appears to have been the usual highway in early times, but there seems always to have been a way of some kind across the moor by Harburn and Cairns Castle. This route has hardly varied in any respect from its original line, and continues to be in its present state the original moor-road to Carnwath. In Adair's Map (1680) it is not marked.

#### THE ROAD FROM HAMILTON.

We must never forget that the rise of Glasgow as a city, and the consequent overshadowing of its early rivals, has tended to confuse our ideas of the relative importance of the different roads from the west, but the road by Mid-Calder would appear from its type to have been one of the very ancient roads leading to Edinburgh. From Hamilton, the road which at first went round by Bothwell was changed by the construction of Hamilton Bridge over the Clyde in 1780, and subsequently

<sup>1</sup> The small bridge over the West Water, on the old road a mile south of Lynedale, has two dates on it, the older of which appears to be an anachronism.

<sup>2</sup> I consider this extremely doubtful, but place the fact of its possibility on record.

it was much altered near Shotts, but after Mid-Calder it is evidently an old native track following the ridge of the land the whole way to Edinburgh. At only one point—at the quarry, near East Calder—has it been diverted, otherwise it remains in its original state. We do not hear much of it in history, but it must have been a track formed in very early times.

#### THE ROADS FROM GLASGOW.

Although the usual highway between Glasgow and Edinburgh from the earliest times was by Kirkintilloch, Falkirk, and Linlithgow, there has always been some kind of road *via* Shotts or Bathgate. After Bathgate it followed a course considerably higher up the hill than the present main road, but kept through Uphall to Newbridge. Although the present Newbridge is dated 1794, the same name appears in Pont's Maps of 1609, from which we presume that it was the second bridge over the Almond, built subsequent to Cramond Bridge. From this point into Edinburgh the road does not seem to have varied in any way from its original course, and as it forms a part of the Kirkliston parish boundary, we may take it that it is of great antiquity.

The road from Glasgow by Kirkintilloch, Kilsyth, and Falkirk<sup>1</sup> being the same as that from Stirling after Camelon, is probably the most historic of the roads leading to Edinburgh, and from Falkirk to Linlithgow practically follows its original course. Between Linlithgow and Edinburgh one important change seems to have occurred between Winchburgh and Kirkliston, where the present road (*circ.* 1810) keeps about half a mile to the north of the original road, which passed near Overton<sup>2</sup> and through Kirkliston. A mile beyond Kirkliston the river Almond had to be crossed, and it is a remarkable fact that this important road had a ferry boat until Carlowrie (or Boathouse) Bridge was built about 1760. It is rather curious that the farm of Brigs is close by, for, according to the *Diurnal of Occurrents*,<sup>3</sup> which was written in the time of Mary Queen of Scots, it was at this point that Bothwell met her on the way to Edinburgh, and carried her off to Dunbar. Buchanan says the meeting took place at the "Bridge of Almon," and Birrel's *Diary*, also contemporaneous, says it was at the bridge of Cramont.<sup>4</sup> When two contemporaneous documents each state that this event occurred at different points, it is very difficult to decide which of the two is the more likely to be accurate, but one is inclined to think that it was at Brigs. From Boathouse Bridge the old road

<sup>1</sup> The Macfarlane Manuscript (*circ.* 1680) in one part mentions this as being the proper road to Glasgow.

<sup>2</sup> The small bridge in Ross's Plantation seems to belong to this road.

<sup>3</sup> *A Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 109.

<sup>4</sup> *Birrel's Diary*, 1532-1605, p. 8.

followed its present line, but a little beyond Turnhouse Station it kept straight over the hill between East and West Crags and rejoined the road at Corstorphine. This village does not appear at any time to have been upon the main road, but lay a little to the south.

#### THE ROADS OUT OF EDINBURGH.

The principal gates of Old Edinburgh (fig. 7) were the Netherbow, between the High Street and the Canongate (at the end of St Mary Street); the Cowgate Port, at the Pleasance; Bristo Port, at Bristo; and the West Port, at the west end of the Grassmarket. Outside the Netherbow the street called the Canongate led down to Holyrood, where roads branched off again. At the Netherbow, the road to Leith turned off through what is now the Regent Arch, and a road parallel to it led from Holyrood, and was called the Easter Road to Leith. From Holyrood what is called "The Fishwives' Causeway" led through the open meadows to the shore, where the road from Leith joined in, and crossing the Figgate Burn,<sup>1</sup> made its way to Magdalen Bridge and Fisherrow. At Jock's Lodge an alternative road to Musselburgh turned off through Easter Duddingston and met the other road at Magdalen Bridge, a mile short of Fisherrow. A road to Duddingston village also struck off at Jock's Lodge over the east side of Arthur Seat, just outside the Park wall. It is quite uncertain whether there was anything more than a path through the King's Park round by Duddingston Loch before 1700, as the descriptions are rather contradictory in this respect.

From the Cowgate Port a very ancient road led by the Pleasance and the Dalkeith Road to Bridgend, thence followed the line of the present road nearly to Dalkeith, where it passed through the village of Lugton—the road is still in use,—descending steeply to the bridge.

The road to Dalkeith by Gilmerton does not seem to have been in use as a through road before the building of Elginhaugh Bridge, below Eskbank, in 1797. Gilmerton was a village to be avoided, on account of the clannish nature of the colliers, and even up to the end of the eighteenth century its reputation was not good. The road to it seems to have branched off Causewayside at the Powburn (fig. 8), thence it crossed to Nether Liberton and Greenend; another road seems to have passed from Liberton Dams, past Liberton Church to Stenhouse,<sup>2</sup> and straight on to Gilmerton.

The road from the Bristo Port proceeded along the Causewayside to Liberton Dams.<sup>3</sup> In its earliest course it does not appear to have gone

<sup>1</sup> Portobello was only in existence after 1760.

<sup>2</sup> Now a right-of-way.

<sup>3</sup> South Bridge, Nicolson Street, Newington, and Craigmillar Park route was only opened in 1813.

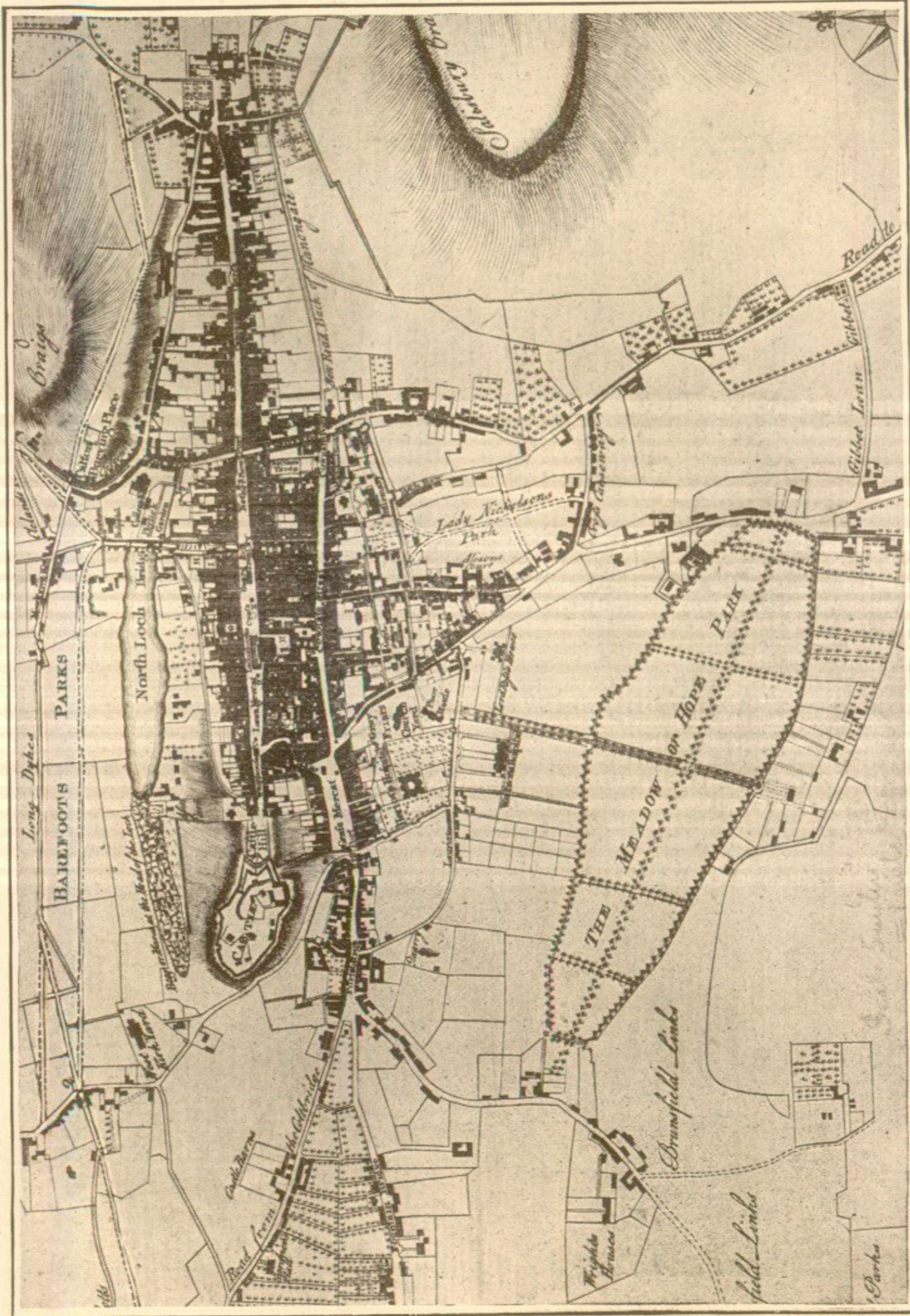


Fig. 7. Plan of Edinburgh, circ. 1765-70. Scale 4.4 inches to one mile.

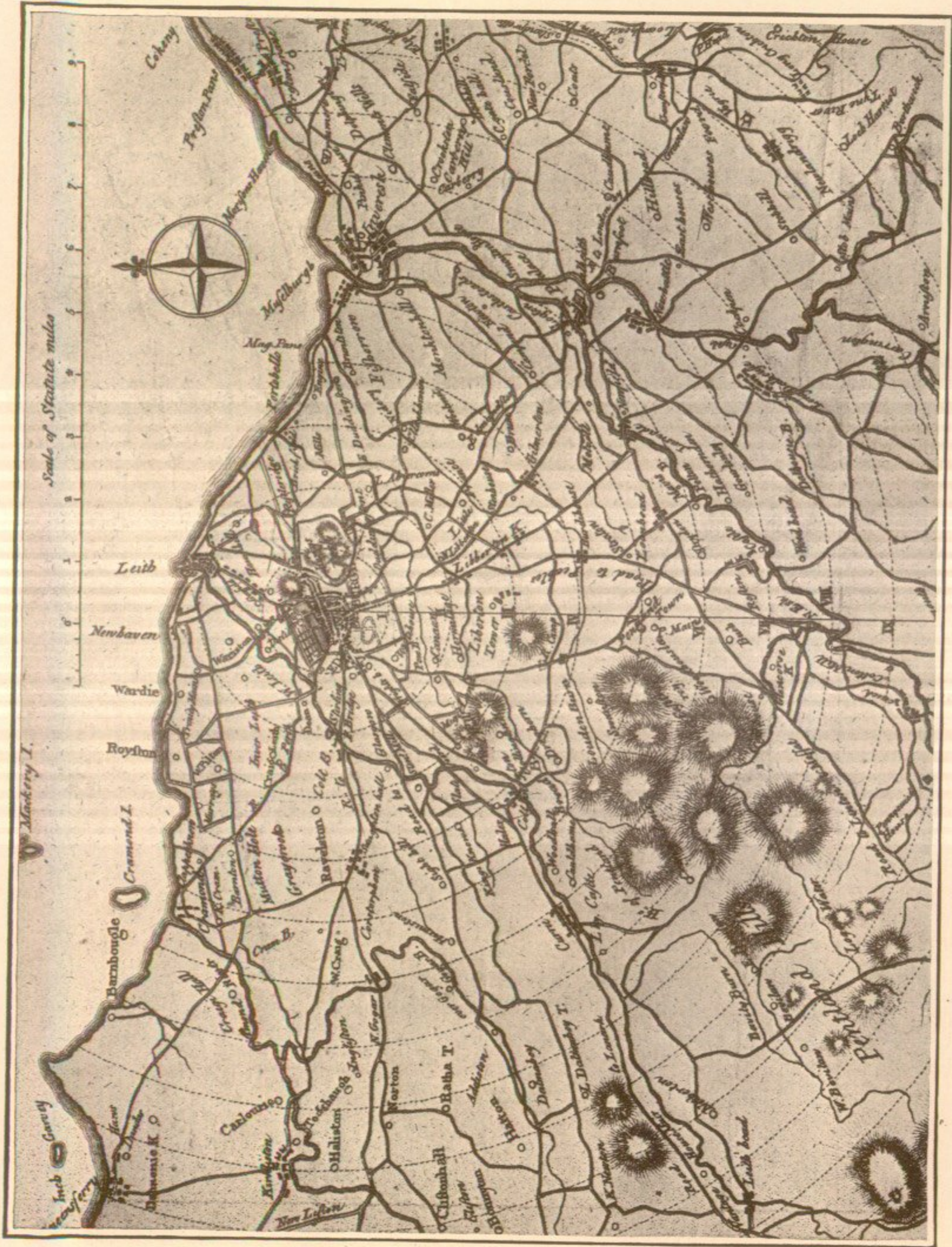


Fig. 8. Map of the Environs of Edinburgh (reduced). Engraved by A. Kincaid, *circa* 1770. The mile circles radiate from the old Post Office or Tron Church. Scale  $\frac{3}{8}$  inch to 1 mile.

through the present village of Liberton, but passed through at the back of what is now Alnwickhill Reservoir, past St Catherine's, where it seems to have divided, one road going to Lasswade, the other to Burdiehouse, Roslin, Peebles, and Penicuik.<sup>1</sup> At what date the road by Liberton Church and Broken Brigs to Lasswade was formed to supersede that by St Catherine's is uncertain, but the latter only is shown in Blaeu's Atlas of 1649, while both are shown in Adair's Map of 1680.

Onwards from Lasswade it is extremely doubtful whether this road was much used beyond Dalhousie Castle, as the road over the hill past Middleton only appears to date from 1755. It is, however, quite likely that this road led to Borthwick Castle,<sup>2</sup> and then found its way over to the Gala Water and on by Stow, where it crossed the hill to Bridgend near Darnick.

#### THE WEST PORT.

Two distinct roads diverged at this Port. The one to the right led past the foot of the Castle Rock to Bell's Mills and thence to Cramond or Queensferry. The other road proceeded about half a mile along the suburb of Portsburgh to where it divided into three, the left-hand branch going by Merchiston to Carlops, Dolphinton, Lanark, or Dumfries; the centre road going to Mid-Calder; the right-hand road going to Linlithgow, Stirling, or Glasgow. The first of these routes has not undergone much change, but the Queensferry Road has been greatly altered.

All these routes out of Edinburgh on the east, west, and north were completely altered by the building of the New Town on the north side of the old city, which commenced about 1766. At first, the volume of traffic was of insufficient consequence to render approach roads necessary, and the London Road was the chief exit eastwards from the New Town, until the Regent Arch was opened in 1821. Westwards it was only necessary to join up the west end of Princes Street with Haymarket; while the Lothian Road to Tollcross completed the necessary connecting lines when the New Town superseded the old as the centre of the city.

<sup>1</sup> Penicuik was not on the main road to Peebles until the road by Glencorse Barracks was made in 1812.

<sup>2</sup> It is remarkable that there seem to have been no castles on the road from Soutra Hill between Lauder and Dalkeith. Borthwick, Dalhousie, and Crichton Castles, which were the only fortalices of any strength outside Dalkeith, were in sequestered spots away from the main lines of traffic. The Berwick road was well guarded by Dunglass Castle, Dunbar Castle, Hailes Castle, and Haddington; and this route also, by the three mentioned already. Why the Soutra route was not protected about Pathhead would almost require some explanation.