

## MORE OLD ROADS IN THE LAMMERMUIRS

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### INTRODUCTORY

In a paper read to this Society in 1949,<sup>1</sup> I drew attention to vestiges of an ancient road which crossed the Lammermuirs from Long Yester, near Gifford, to the Leader Water at a point about a mile downstream from Carfraemill; and my present purpose is to do the same by certain other roads of a similar type in the country lying between Haddington, Dunbar and Longformacus (fig. 1). The

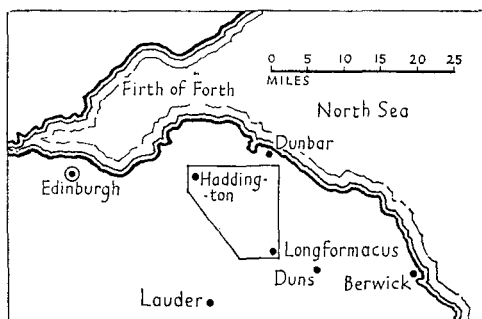


Fig. 1. Location of the area covered by fig. 2

enquiry was prompted by a remarkable assemblage of hollow and terraced tracks on the north-west face of Newlands Hill (5965),<sup>2</sup> which can be seen very well from the Gifford-Duns highway (B6355); but this route could not be dealt with in isolation, and I have accordingly attempted to cover the whole of the rather complicated network of old roads that exists in the area mentioned. This network comprises the following six main routes, which are shown in fig. 2 and identified by their respective serial numbers: 1. from Haddington to Duns, by Longformacus, with branches; 2. from Haddington to the Whiteadder Water, by Johnscleugh; 3. from Dunbar to the Dye Water and beyond, by Johnscleugh; 4. 'The Herring Road'; 5. from the Whiteadder Water to the Dye Water and beyond; 6. Roy's 'Muir Road from Lawder to Dunbar'.

The field-work was done at various times during 1959 and 1960. Much use has been made of air photographs to eke out ground observations, particularly in the case of distant and inaccessible areas, as they show tracks with remarkable clarity except on undrained and peaty moorland. To the factual descriptions have been added some notes on historical records which either mention the roads or imply their existence.

<sup>1</sup> *P.S.A.S.*, LXXXIII (1948-9), 198 ff.

<sup>2</sup> National Grid map-references are all to 100-km. square NT, formerly 36, and will be found on 1-inch O.S. sheet, 7th series, No. 63 (Dunbar). For details, use should be made of the Provisional edition of the 6-inch O.S. map, showing National Grid lines, sheets 55 SW., 55 NE., 56 SE., 56 NE., 57 SW., 57 SE., 65 NW., 65 NE., 66 (the whole), 67 SW., 67 SE.

## THE ROADS

No. 1. *From Haddington to Duns, by Longformacus, with branches*

This route can best be considered in the light of Roy's map of 1747-55, on

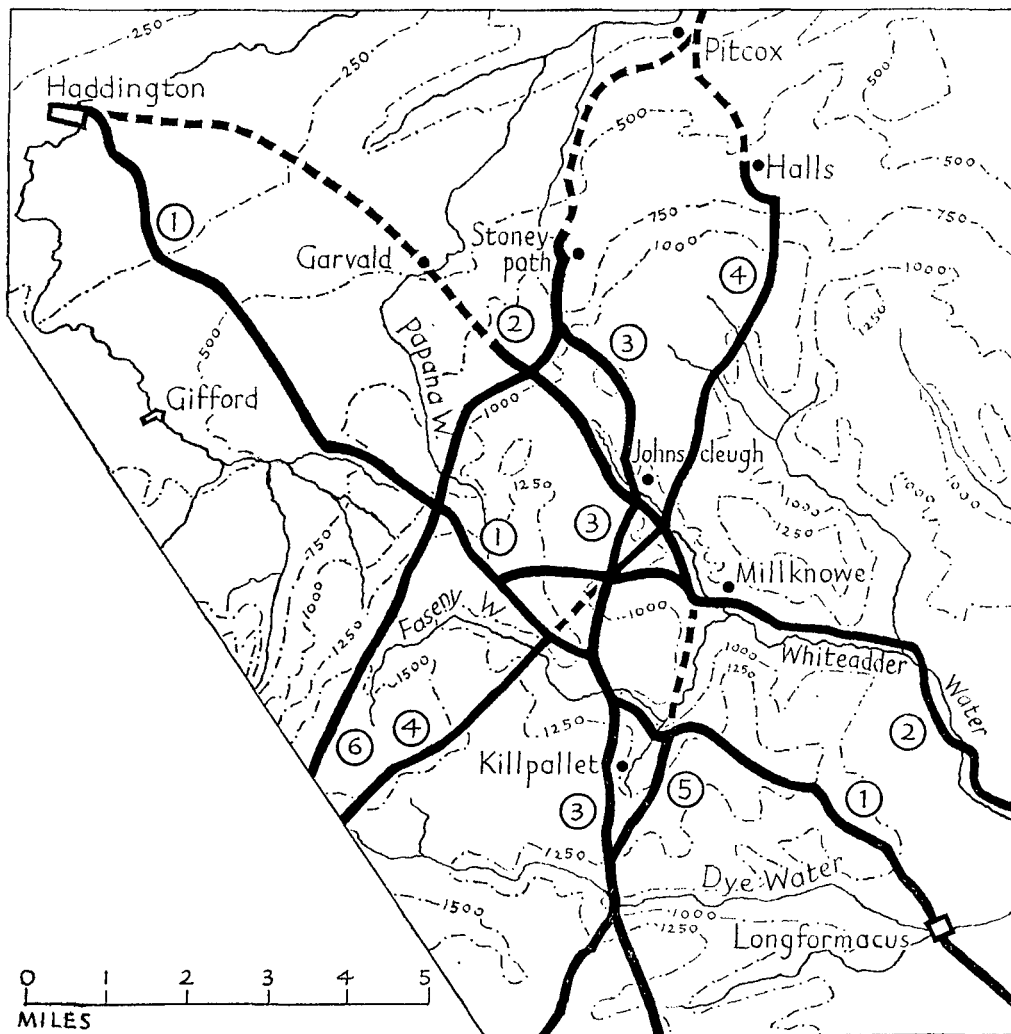


FIG. 2. Sketch map of the area Haddington-Pitcox-Longformacus-Dye Water, showing the routes with their serial numbers

which it is marked with the legend 'Road to Dunse'.<sup>1</sup> As shown by Roy it leaves Haddington by the Nungate Bridge, and thence follows a course represented pretty accurately today by a chain of by-roads which passes Monkkrigg, Cockles, the north-east end of Colstoun Wood, Morham Bank and Linkylee, and, after crossing the Gifford-Dunbar highway (B6370) at the west end of Bara Wood, coalesces with

<sup>1</sup> Another, and certainly erroneous, version of this route (John Ainslie, 1789) is mentioned below on p. 230.

what is now the Gifford-Duns highway (B6355) at 562679, half a mile north-west of Danskine. This last it follows as far as Darned House<sup>1</sup> (587664), and though it then diverges considerably to the north-east of the highway for the ensuing four miles, this diversion is clearly no more than an error occasioned by faults in the basic topography. It is not repeated by Taylor and Skinner,<sup>2</sup> who otherwise confirm Roy's line. Just east of Darned House a branch is shown as joining the main road; this had come up from the direction of Gifford, by Newlands and Black Castle fort. From the point (621629) where the erroneous diversion ends, Roy's version of the route proceeds to Longformacus and Duns by what is virtually today's line; but no road is shown branching off to the Whiteadder valley in square 6064, on the existing line of B6355.

Of an early road on Roy's line there is now little to show north of Darned House, and this is natural enough seeing that the whole of this stretch of rather over seven miles runs through enclosed ground, where unorganised tracks have inevitably been confined and straightened out. For that matter, all but a short length north-west of Beechhill and another one east of Townhead was already within enclosed land in Roy's own time. The general appearance of the road suggests, however, that it originated in customary use; for example, it maintains a relatively direct line, it favours high ground, and as far as possible avoids the kind of obstacle that calls for cutting or construction. The fact that, unlike the modern road-system, it ignores the village of Gifford may likewise contain a hint of early origin, as this place was still new in 1708.<sup>3</sup> Actually hollow tracks do exist at three places; one just east of the modern by-road in the gully at the west end of Bara Wood (557691), another in a felled plantation about half a mile further south (560683), where enclosure has diverted the same by-road westwards, at right angles, from the line of the earlier route, and a third alongside the highway in the upper part of its steep rise from the bottom of the gully at Danskine Lodge to Danskine farmhouse (566673).

At Darned House the highway comes down to an area of flattish or gently sloping ground, bounded on the north-west by Snawdon Hill and the rise topped by Black Castle fort, and on the south-east by the steep face of Newlands Hill (fig. 3). In the northern part of this area rise two small tributaries of the Papana Water, the main stream of which crosses its north-eastern end; its centre is traversed by the head of the Danskine Burn, which rises in two steep scars on Newlands Hill; and at its south-western end are the headwaters of the Newlands Burn, also fed from Newlands Hill. This ground carries a bewildering number of old tracks, and they are the more difficult to trace out as much as the surface is cloaked in moss or broken up by drains, and some of the rest has been improved; in particular, the fields adjoining Black Castle seem to be under regular cultivation. The following elements may, however, be distinguished. (i) The belt of tracks (A in fig. 3) that is described below under No. 6. (ii) The highway itself (B in fig. 3), with some traces of hollow tracks which appear, within about 150 yards on either side of it, on the south-eastern lip of the

<sup>1</sup> On the older maps this name is attached to a house, now ruined, near the head of the Papana Water (602662).

<sup>2</sup> *Survey and Maps of the Roads of North Britain or Scotland*, 1776, Pl. 36.

<sup>3</sup> R.C.A.M., *Inventory of East Lothian*, p. 145.

shallow gully that crosses it at Darned House. The present course of the highway across the low ground from this point may not be an old one; what seems to be an older alternative skirts the right bank of the Danskine Burn here, and this, with

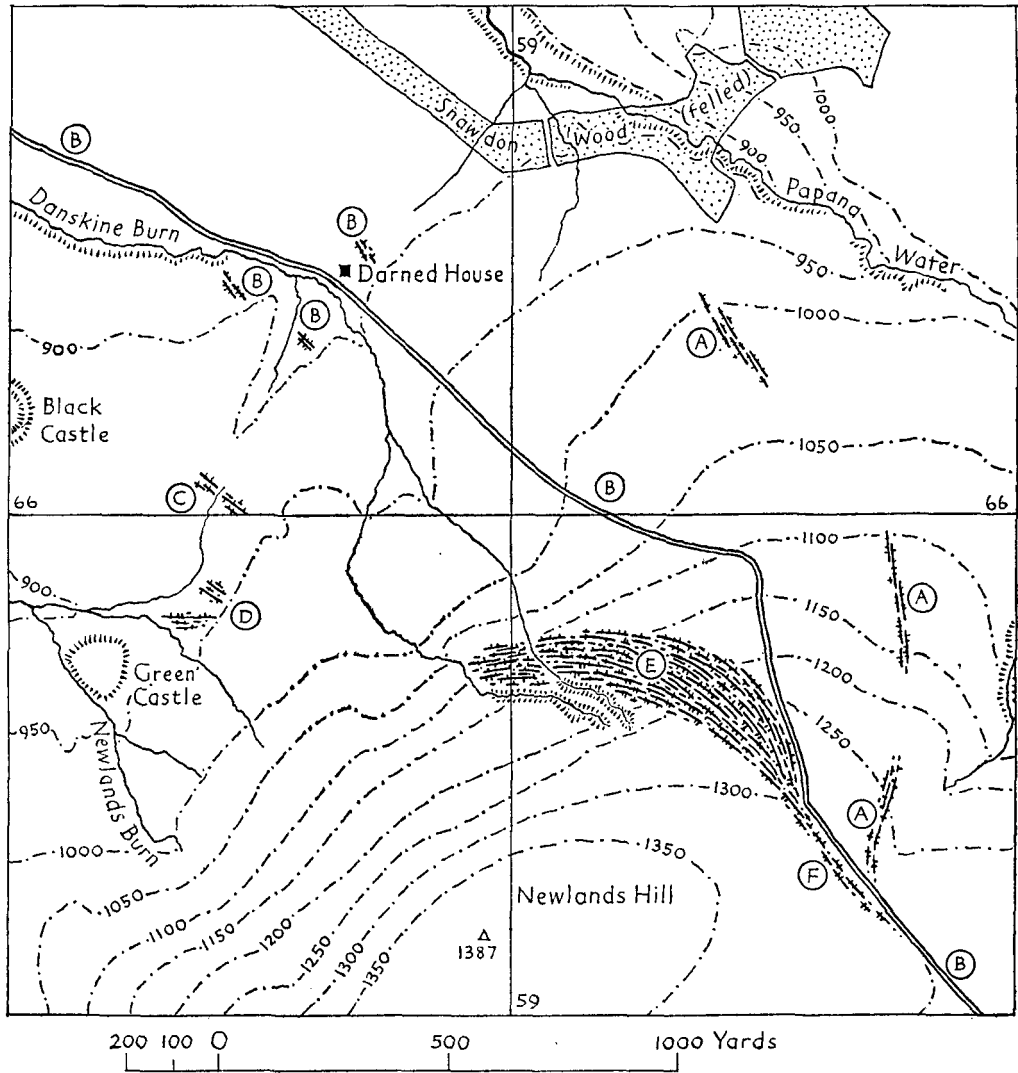


FIG. 3. Sketch map of ground in squares NT 5865, 5866, 5965 and 5966, showing tracks connected with No. 1 and probable branch from No. 6

other hollow tracks which appear out of the burn, may perhaps have joined up with the assemblage of tracks on the face of Newlands Hill (E on fig. 3), mentioned at the beginning of this paper. (iii) Two well-marked hollow tracks (C on fig. 3) which descend from the cultivated fields east-south-east of Black Castle, and cross a gully which rises from Green Castle, some 500 yards distant. On the opposite side of the

gully these tracks appear to have found their way to the face of Newlands Hill and joined the assemblage there, as one of the tracks can be seen continuing in that alignment. (iv) A number of hollow tracks emerging from the headwater streamlets of the Newlands Burn (D on fig. 3) where these coalesce at Green Castle. Their earlier course is uncertain, owing to the improvement of the adjoining ground downstream; but they too are evidently aligned on the assemblage on Newlands Hill, and it may well have been largely their traffic that brought this into existence.

The assemblage itself (E on fig. 3; Pl. XIII, 1) is the next feature to be noted. This is a most impressive example of its type, and may be compared with the one on Threep Law, where the road from Long Yester to Lauderdale climbs up to Lammer Law.<sup>1</sup> Rising obliquely from the low ground, it occupies a large part of the hill-face between the highway and the more westerly of two deep and narrow scars; the other scar, which must be of fairly recent origin as it is not marked on the 1892 revision of the 6-inch O.S. map, cuts through some of the lowermost tracks, which can be seen to continue beyond it. The arc that the tracks describe over the shoulder of the hill, to a point (*c.* 596654) where the belt has thinned down to three tracks (F on fig. 3) immediately flanking the highway, is at least 750 yards in length, while the greatest breadth of the belt appears from the air photograph to be about 150 yards. At approximately its broadest part it was found to contain at least sixteen tracks, terraced or hollowed according to the lie of the slope (Pl. XIII, 2); they are mingled together in the usual confused manner, newer tracks tending to obliterate older ones and hollow ways being sometimes worn in the surface of the terraces. Most of the hollow tracks have a more or less V-shaped section, while others are flat-bottomed, having presumably been made by wheeled vehicles or sledges and not by horses or cattle. Many of the V-sectioned tracks have no doubt been deepened by erosion.

After passing the crest of the Newlands Hill shoulder, and having been joined by the branch from No. 6 (p. 232), the highway dips into a depression which contains the source of the Papana Water (fig. 4). It is here flanked by hollow tracks on either side, and in the upper part of the depression there can be seen, below the highway and more or less parallel with it, five terraced tracks which give way, as the ground flattens out, to some fainter hollow ones which in turn fork away eastwards, as the highway itself does a short distance further on (603645), to descend into the Whiteadder valley. The position of the forks has evidently been dictated by the need to turn the head of the Papana Water, as this stream, though still only a trickle, enters a steep-sided gully immediately on leaving the depression.

The route to the valley, B6355,<sup>2</sup> has evidently carried more traffic than the traces on the ground suggest. At present there can be seen a single cart-track just north of B6355 about 300 yards east of the forks, a belt of about seven hollow tracks south of B6355 about 100 yards east of the parish boundary fence, and a few faint traces further down the slope; but air photographs show a good deal more, including a number of tracks flanking the north side of B6355 in square 6364, and forming a

<sup>1</sup> *P.S.A.S.*, LXXXIII (1948-9), 201.

<sup>2</sup> The road that runs straight on from the forks to Longformacus is unnumbered.

V-junction with No. 2 at about 630646, just north-west of the Garvald forks (fig. 5).

At 613636, some 1,400 yards beyond the divergence of B6355 from the Longformacus route, No. 1 is crossed by No. 4; and beyond that point again the most conspicuous remains on the line of No. 1 are as follows. (i) At about the 1,250-foot contour, on the descent to the head of Chapman's Slack, hollow tracks begin to appear on the south-west side of the highway (620629); and as the slope steepens they become very pronounced (Pl. XIII, 3), some of them having evidently been deepened by erosion. Some of the eroded hollows give into the Slack, while others run down its left bank, the latter being now reinforced by those of No. 3 (*infra*) which have joined in from Mayshiel. (ii) As it approached the Killpallet Burn, the road evidently trended downwards towards the fords at the junction of this stream with the

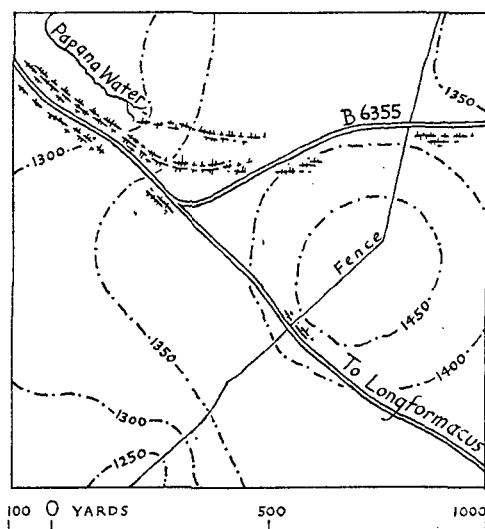


FIG. 4. Sketch map of ground in square NT 6064, showing tracks at the junction of No. 1 and its branch leading to the Whiteadder Water

Faseny Water (637615); improvement of the ground has obscured the record hereabouts, but it is clear that the road, having crossed the one from Penshiel (*infra*) close to the junction, itself crossed the Killpallet Burn and mounted the lower slopes of Duddy Bank as a well-made terrace about 10 feet wide. This joins up with the modern highway at the top of the shoulder (645614), while a few hollow tracks can be seen taking the rise more steeply. (iii) Short stretches of a single hollow roadway appear and disappear under the modern road on the high ground in square 6560. (iv) Within and below the arc formed by the modern road in the southern part of square 6660, at least six distinctive green strips appear in the darker herbage, marking the courses of former hollow tracks. The survey was not carried beyond the junction of the access road to Redpath (682589) on account of the increasing quantity of improved ground in the neighbourhood of Longformacus.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It may be noted here that the 'dyke or track' described under No. 253 in the R.C.A.M. *Inventory of Berwickshire* (revised issue, 1915) is a linear earthwork and not part of the road.

Mention of a road on this line is contained in a Melrose charter datable to the years 1227-31,<sup>1</sup> which cites 'Ricardisrode' as bounding one side of a block of land lying between the Faseny Water and the Killmade Burn. The wording of the charter exactly fits the stretch of No. 1 that traverses squares 6361, 6461 and 6560, and it is interesting to see that this boundary is still perpetuated by the parish and county march. The Richard after whom 'Ricardisrode' was named may or may not have been Richard de Morville, who died in 1189.<sup>2</sup>

No further record of No. 1 has been found until 1612, when Duns was appointed as the place at which dues were to be paid on all cattle passing the eastern Border into England.<sup>3</sup> This suggests that routes leading to Duns, such as Nos. 1 and 2, must have been regularly used by drovers after that date - if, indeed, the order does not itself reflect an established custom of the trade, and thereby point to such use at even earlier periods.

In 1715 the road was probably used for a minor military movement. On 19th October of that year, Mackenzie of Borlum marched from Seton House, near Cockenzie, with a small force to join the Jacobites assembled at Kelso. He reached Longformacus the same evening,<sup>4</sup> and although his route is not specified, and the distance given by Patten, namely 'seventeen long Scots Miles', does not help us to determine it,<sup>5</sup> his obvious course would have been to follow No. 1, at least from Newlands Hill onwards, having perhaps reached that point by Bolton and Gifford. Such a route would certainly have been preferable to the one shown, without quoted authority, on the small-scale map that accompanies Dickson's account of the 1715 campaign,<sup>6</sup> as the latter is longer and rises to higher levels, and in the hills runs through terrain which is roadless and difficult.

#### No. 2. *From Haddington to the Whiteadder Water, by Johnscleugh*

No traces of an early road on this line (cf. fig. 2) can be seen today north-west of the point where it crosses the Little Fen Burn (604690), but this is doubtless due to the general modification of all the superficial features by enclosure and agricultural improvements, and evidence exists, in fact, to show that, in the Middle Ages, it made connection with Haddington (p. 224). The point where it crossed the Papana Water is uncertain, as the right bank of this stream is very steep at the modern bridge in Garvald village while a rather better natural crossing-place

<sup>1</sup> *Liber Sancte Marie de Melros*, Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1837, I, No. 215, p. 193. 'Totam scilicet terram illam que est in orientali parte de Fastenei infra has divisas, a vado scilicet de Fastenei per viam que dicitur Ricardisrode usque ad caput de Kelnemade, et inde per rivulum qui currit in Kelnemade usque in Witedre. . . .' I am indebted for the dating of this charter to Mr G. G. Simpson, Scottish Record Office.

<sup>2</sup> Hardie, R. P., *The Roads of Mediaeval Lauderdale*, 69, makes this suggestion but quotes no evidence in support of it.

<sup>3</sup> Haldane, A. R. B., *The Drove Roads of Scotland*, 16, quoting *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, H.M. General Register House, Edinburgh, 1st series, ix, 394.

<sup>4</sup> Patten, R., *The History of the Rebellion in the Year 1715*, ed. 1745, 13.

<sup>5</sup> If the Scots mile, for information on which I am indebted to Professor W. Croft Dickinson, M.C., D.LITT., LL.D., be taken at its proper length of 1976.5 yards, Patten's figure is nearly a Scots mile shorter than the bee-line distance on the map. It is unnecessary to ask whether he had in mind some customary mile materially longer than 1976.5 yards, though I am informed by Mr D. Murison that other lengths were in occasional and local use, as it is far more likely that he simply made a mistake.

<sup>6</sup> Johnston, T. B., and Robertson, J. A., *Historical Geography of the Clans of Scotland*, ed. Dickson, W. K., 1899, opp. p. 96.

exists some 220 yards downstream, opposite the church, and the terrain is again more favourable about three quarters of a mile upstream, at the inflow of the Sounding Burn (580700). In neither locality, however, have any traces survived the cultivation of the adjoining ground.

The remains at the Little Fen Burn consist of undoubted hollow tracks on either bank, while some 700 yards further on, where the route rises from the improved land to the neck by White Castle fort, a well-marked belt of deeply-hollowed, twisty tracks comes into being and passes the fort well above the modern road. From here onwards the old route can be identified in many places until it is lost in improved land south-east of Kingside Hill; like its counterparts elsewhere it appears most clearly on steep slopes and on the banks of burns, fading out on flatter, and especially on mossy, ground. In addition to hollow tracks, mostly of a V-section, there is one with a flat bottom which may have been used until a relatively recent date. The old road parallels the modern one, generally at a rather higher level; both keep to the right bank of the Whiteadder Water, which is less steep than the left. Traces of the old road can best be seen at the crossings of tributary burns (cf. fig. 5) as follows: at Rangeley Burn (619676) and on the rising ground to the north-west; on the north bank of Tavers Cleugh (624669), where there are at least eleven tracks; at Hazelly Cleugh (626664); at Kingside Burn (637656), which becomes impassable at only a short distance above its mouth; at an unmarked burn (c. 640648); and between the highway and the Whiteadder Water on the descent to the crossing at Kingside School (645640). In addition to these showings, many clear marks of hollow tracks appear on air photographs between White Castle and Rangeley Burn, between Tavers Cleugh and Rough Cleugh, between Kingside Burn and the unnamed burn just mentioned, and at about 640646, where they coalesce with similar marks representing the branch from No. 1. No. 2 crosses No. 3 opposite Johnsleugh, and No. 4 opposite Writerspath Burn.

The survey was not carried further down the valley than Millknowe as the lower ground is or has been largely under cultivation.

The existence of a road on this line, or possibly providing a connection with No. 5, is implied by another early Melrose charter. Dating from the reign of Alexander II (1214-49), this alludes to a ford on the Kell Burn between Penshiel and Kingside.<sup>1</sup> Some tracks which rise from the right bank of the Kell Burn are noted below.

From the fifteenth century a more positive record is forthcoming. On 16th September 1496, James IV's artillery marched from Haddington to take part in a raid on England, and spent the night at Johnsleugh;<sup>2</sup> this movement points to a road down the valley of the Whiteadder Water, and proves its connection with Haddington. It is worth noting that at Johnsleugh the haugh, which is narrower higher up, has widened sufficiently to accommodate a park of guns. For what distance below Johnsleugh this force kept to the valley on its next day's march is

<sup>1</sup> *Melrose*, I, No. 209, p. 189. '... terram in australi parte de Caleburne a vado quod est inter Pannesscellis et Kingissete usque ad. . .'

<sup>2</sup> *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, H.M. General Register House, Edinburgh, 1877-1916, I (1473-98), p. 299.



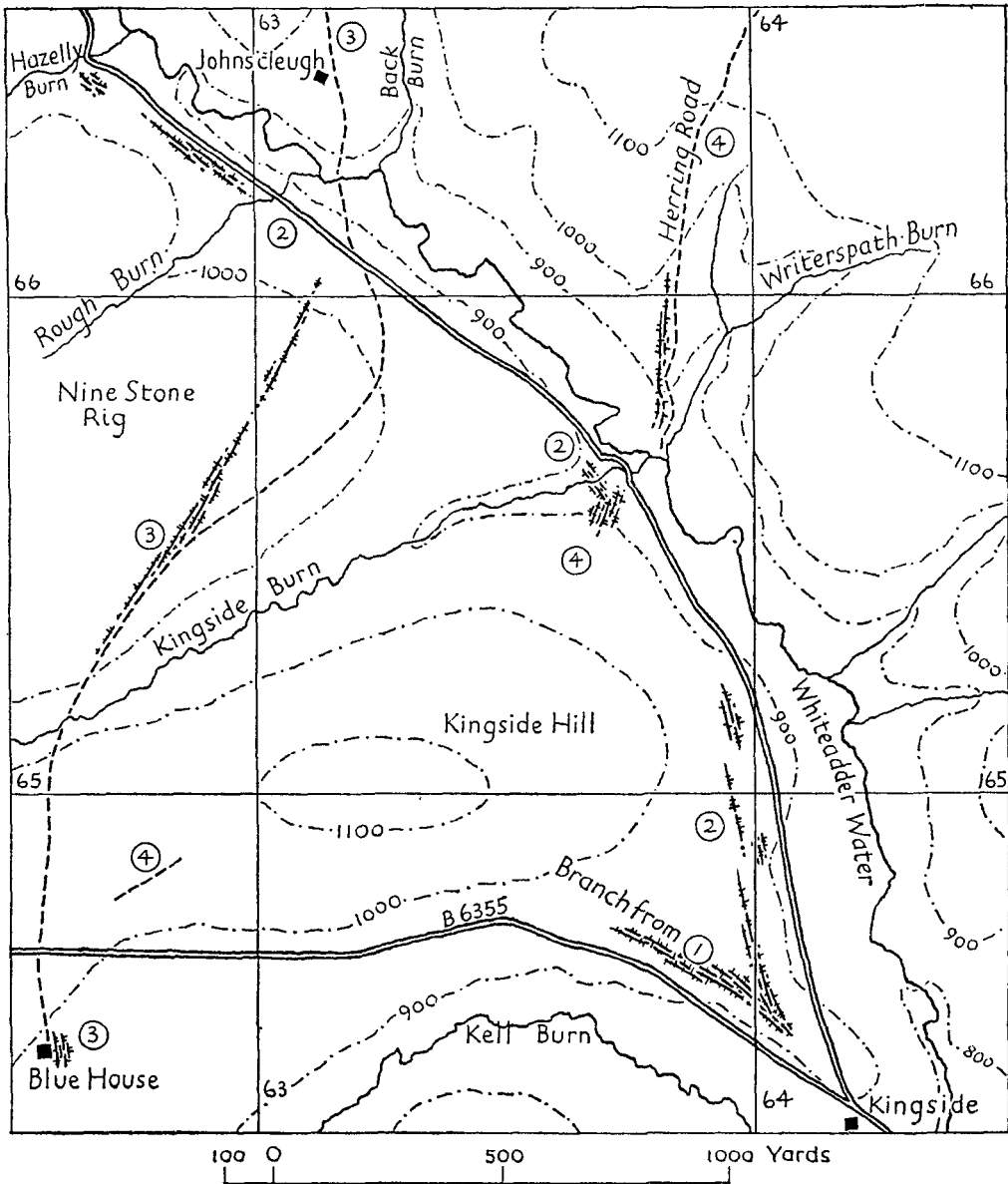


FIG. 5. Sketch map of area Johnscleugh-Blue House-Kingside, showing branch from No. 1 and parts of Nos. 2, 3 and 4

unfortunately not made clear; that night, the 17th, it passed at Langton (762525), and as this place is two miles south-west of Duns the shortest way from Johnsleugh would have been by Longformacus – which in turn could presumably have been reached by routes corresponding with Nos. 5 and 1, or alternatively, perhaps by Cranshaws. No direct road from Cranshaws to Longformacus exists today, but one is marked both by Roy (1747-55) and Ainslie (1789). To have continued down the Whiteadder as far as Ellem (727601), where the king had his headquarters, would have entailed a considerable detour; and the fact that payments were made to certain gunners at Ellem two days later<sup>1</sup> does not affect the question.

Further use of the route along the Whiteadder Water for early military movements is implied by the fact that Ellem was appointed as the mustering-place of the levies both on this occasion<sup>2</sup> and again in 1513, in preparation for the Flodden campaign<sup>3</sup>; though in 1513 the guns began their march from Edinburgh, passed through Dalkeith, and most probably carried on to the Tweed by way of Soutra and Greenlaw.

What must have been either this route or No. 1 is mentioned in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century in connection with the badness of the roads that served East Lothian. Sir Robert Sibbald notes that, from one end of the country to the other, 'there is no passage for Draughts except on three [routes], viz. at Cockburnspath on the East, at Myln know in the middle, and at Soutray on the West, and all thir three passages very uneasy'.<sup>4</sup> 'Myln know', the modern Millknowe, being on the left bank of the Whiteadder Water at the inflow of the Fасыn Water (650639), this record would seem to apply to No. 2; but it is equally possible that Sibbald's 'uneasy passage' may, in fact, have followed the same line as the modern B6355 – starting out by No. 1 and its branch, and only joining No. 2 when it reached the valley at Kingside. Roy's map throws no light on this point, as it marks no road in the valley higher up than Cranshaws and, as has been said, omits the branch that joins Nos. 1 and 2.

### No. 3. *From Dunbar to the Dye Water and beyond, by Johnsleugh*

This road emerges (cf. fig. 2) from the enclosed ground of Stoneypath at a point (615697) a quarter of a mile south of Moorcock Hall, the farm roadway by which it is represented within the enclosures connecting, north of the steading, with modern by-roads which lead towards Dunbar by way of Stenton and Pitcox. This northern part of its course it shares with No. 6 (q.v.), the track of which branches off it south-westwards, just outside the enclosures. The signs of heavy use that appear very clearly as soon as the moorland is reached indicate the importance of the route; and interest is added by the evidence given below (pp. 227f.) for its long history.

The road consists, on its ascent from the edge of the farm-land, of a cart-track,

<sup>1</sup> *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, H.M. General Register House, Edinburgh, 1877-1916, I (1473-98), p. 299.

<sup>2</sup> Ellis, H., *Original Letters, etc.*, 1st series (1824), I, 25.

<sup>3</sup> *Acts. L.H.T.*, IV (1507-13), p. 416. Pitscottie seems to have been wrong in placing this muster on the Burgh Muir of Edinburgh (*The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, xxiv, 121).

<sup>4</sup> Macfarlane, W., *Geographical Collections relating to Scotland*, Scottish History Society, III, 114.

which appears to be still in intermittent use, accompanied by a belt of disused hollow tracks. The former has been improved, and at one point crosses a small bog on a causeway-mound 12 feet wide over all. The latter vary, as usual, in numbers and appearance; up to seven may be counted in places, both V-shaped and flat-bottomed, and some are so nearly filled up as to suggest very long disuse. When the crest of the slope is reached, at about the 1,150-foot contour, further hollow tracks can be seen to the north-east, above Bother Cleugh, but these, like others descending towards Stoneypath through squares 6270 and 6370, probably belong to a drove-road; until 1914 sheep were regularly driven from Abbey St Bathans to Haddington by a route which passes the crest of Deuchrie Edge at about 630707.<sup>1</sup> At this same elevation (*c.* 620692) what is probably another drove-road leaves No. 3 in a westerly direction, descends the valley separating Mid Hill and Clints Law and fades out near the probable line of No. 4 (q.v.) at about 613690.

Beyond the crest of the slope, the road runs on, as marked by a double dotted line on the 6-inch O.S. map, over Eachil Rig and Rook Law to come down to the Whiteadder Water at Johnsleugh. A great deal of traffic has evidently passed along it, as the air photographs show plentiful traces of a belt of hollow tracks from place to place throughout its length. At Johnsleugh the hollow tracks have been obliterated and only the cart-track remains; but after passing the Whiteadder Water the combined hollows and cart-track again appear on the air photographs as they pass over Nine Stone Rig and Kingside Burn (fig. 5), the former taking a rather more direct route than the latter, though the hollow tracks could not be identified on the ground in the readily accessible areas. Beyond Blue House, near Mayshiel, all indications are interrupted by the large block of improved land centring on the latter place (6264); but south of Mayshiel the hollow tracks again begin to appear,<sup>2</sup> run on below the west side of Dod Law, coalesce with the belt of tracks belonging to No. 1 that flanks the left bank of Chapman's Slack, and descend with it to the Faseny Water. No particular traces mark the crossing of this stream, but immediately east of Priest Cleugh, on its right bank, a belt of tracks can be seen starting to mount Priest Cleugh Rig from just above No. 1, while others, less well defined, rise on the same alignment slightly further west, near Priest Bridge. Air photographs show that the continuation of these tracks skirts the head of the Killpallet valley, on the line shown on the older editions of the 6-inch map; and this route is further shown on the map as proceeding by the Mutiny Stones to Byrecleugh, on the Dye Water, whence two routes are marked as leading, respectively, to Westruther, by Cralaw and Wedderlie, and to Lauder, by Braidshawrig, on the Blythe Water.<sup>3</sup> Information that this route was formerly in use throughout its whole length, from Stoneypath to Westruther, was obtained from Mr Tom Elliot, for many years shepherd at Killpallet; he also regarded it as the 'true' Herring Road, the local tradition regarding this latter being evidently not quite clear (*cf.* p. 230).

This route seems to be one of considerable antiquity. An estate called 'Stane-

<sup>1</sup> Information from Mr J. Jeffrey, Deuchrie.

<sup>2</sup> The cart-track in this section is marked only on the earlier editions of the 6-inch O.S. map, not on the Provisional edition.

<sup>3</sup> The latter is marked 'Bridle Road' on the first edition of the 6-inch O.S. map.

peth', the forerunner of the modern 'Stoneypath', is mentioned in a charter of 1458,<sup>1</sup> which purports to confirm an earlier one of 1359, and there is thus little reason to doubt that a 'stony' track existed somewhere near by at the later if not at the earlier of these two dates. The fact that Stonypath<sup>2</sup> and Hardgatehead, near West Linton, are both close to a Roman road<sup>3</sup> might be taken as suggesting that the 'stony' character of No. 3 was due to metalling; but this suggestion is not supported by conditions at another Stonypath, near Dunsyre,<sup>4</sup> as the stone-built road that crosses the Pentlands here, though long disused, is clearly not medieval, and no metalling was seen on any of the older hill-tracks associated with it. Neither the 'Stanipeth' of 1345, apparently near Craiglockhart,<sup>5</sup> nor the 'Hardway' of 1506, in Ewesdale,<sup>6</sup> can be cited one way or the other, as they have not been located. In any case, no metalling was identified on No. 3, apart from the causewaying which might belong to any period; it is true that stones are rather plentiful on the surface of the cart-track, but they seem to have worked out of the subsoil and underlying rock and not to have been set artificially.

Blaeu's map, published in 1654,<sup>7</sup> marks Stoneypath in two positions, corresponding respectively with the ruined Stoneypath Tower and the modern farm. Further evidence for the existence of the farm in the seventeenth century is provided by a tombstone of 1699 in the parish churchyard of Morham, which commemorates a certain Alexander Manderson described as 'fermer in Stonipath'.

#### No. 4. 'The Herring Road'

This traditional name is recorded and explained in the parish Name Books compiled by the Ordnance Survey in the middle of the nineteenth century. Typical entries state 'It was formerly used by the inhabitants of Lauderdale and others for the conveyance of Herring &c from Dunbar'<sup>8</sup>; or again 'A track leading from Dunbar to Lauder across the moors, mostly frequented by Drovers taking herds of Cattle and Sheep to fairs, &c; formerly it was much used by Fish Hawkers, particularly during the Herring Season, hence its name.'<sup>9</sup> Similar details are given by entries in the Lauder parish Name Book<sup>10</sup>; though the first of them states that the road ran 'till within a few miles of Lauder', not to the town itself, no doubt implying that it lost its particular identity on emerging from the moorlands. A further entry mentions the use of pack-horses for the transport of the herrings.<sup>11</sup>

This road (figs. 2 and 5) appears on the 6-inch O.S. map in the form of three separate stretches with fairly wide gaps between them, but there can be no real doubt, as will appear below, that we are in fact dealing with a single route through-

<sup>1</sup> *The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland*, H.M. General Register House, Edinburgh (1882-1914), 1424-1513, No. 610.

<sup>2</sup> 'Stanypethe' in 1411 (*ibid.*, 1306-1424, No. 932).

<sup>3</sup> Glasgow Archaeological Society, *The Roman Occupation of South-western Scotland*, 1952, 40.

<sup>4</sup> 'Stanepeth' in *R.M.S.*, 1424-1513, No. 557, of 1452, confirming a charter of 1444.

<sup>5</sup> *ibid.*, 1306-1424, App. 2, No. 1002.

<sup>6</sup> *ibid.*, 1424-1513, No. 2962.

<sup>7</sup> *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, v, 'Lothian and Linlitquo'.

<sup>8</sup> Book 4, p. 28, Stenton parish, 1853 (?). I am indebted for this and the other quotations from the Name Books to Mr A. L. F. Rivet, F.S.A., of the Ordnance Survey Archaeology Division.

<sup>9</sup> Book 26, p. 35, Longformacus parish, 1857.

<sup>10</sup> pp. 55, 75, 93.

<sup>11</sup> Book 48, p. 24, Spott parish, 1853 (?).

out. The northernmost stretch (*a*) extends from Common House (658716), south of Halls, across Dunbar Common to the Whiteadder Water, which it reaches on the upstream side of the inflow of the Writerspath Burn (638657). The next stretch (*b*) begins some four miles south-west of the last-named point, on Little Says Law (597610), and ends between North Hart Law and Hunt Law (567587) after a course of rather over two miles. The third (*c*), which is outside the area of fig. 2, begins a mile and a half further to the south-south-west, on Wedder Law (558567), and runs along the heights east of the Whalplaw Burn to reach Lauderdale at Burncastle. If allowance is made for the imprecision of Roy's topography, this last stretch can safely be equated with the corresponding stretch of his 'Muir Road from Lawder to Dunbar', described below under No. 6.

The northern end of section (*a*), like that of No. 3, leads out of the system of existing by-roads that gives a connection with Dunbar, and traces of ancient use become clear as soon as it leaves the enclosed and improved fields above Common House. Here a belt of at least sixteen V-shaped hollow tracks and three flat-bottomed ones ascends the steep slope, together with a cart-track which seems to be more or less maintained, and to be in present-day use. The mossy terrain that it traverses further on does not tend to preserve hollow tracks, and in general the air photographs show little apart from the cart-track and a short section of hollow tracks centred on point 654700,<sup>1</sup> the contrast in this respect with the corresponding stretch of No. 3 being marked; but at least three hollow ways, in addition to the cart-track, come down to the Whiteadder haughs by the mouth of the Writerspath Burn. Marks of traffic heavier than that on No. 4 itself also appear on the air photographs on a route branching off to the Bothwell Water, by Watch Law and Friardykes Dod; this branch was not visited, but it is marked on the map as ultimately reaching the Whiteadder Water at Millknowe.

From the right bank of the Whiteadder Water opposite the Writerspath Burn, some faint hollow tracks strike south-westwards up Kingside Hill, while a single track of more recent appearance, in a similar alignment, descends the other side of this hill to join up with No. 3 at a point (625646) near Blue House (see fig. 5). These tracks may well represent part of the vanished link between sections (*a*) and (*b*), the remainder of this link running through the improved ground of Mayshiel, partly perhaps on the same line as No. 3 (q.v.), and crossing the Faseny Water at Faseny Cottage. This is the course assigned to the Herring Road by a recent writer who seems to have walked its length,<sup>2</sup> and, although nothing but a modern cart-track was seen on the Mayshiel ground, in the valley of the Faseny Water unmistakable traces are preserved. Thus the track that is used today for access to Faseny Cottage (609633) is superimposed upon an older one, antedating the house<sup>3</sup> and marked 'Foot Path' on the first edition of the 6-inch O.S. map; this leads to an easy ford at the junction of the Lamb Burn with the Faseny Water, and from the opposite side of this a terraced track rises obliquely, in a direction from north-

<sup>1</sup> Not visited, but confirmed by Mr J. Jeffrey, Deuchrie.

<sup>2</sup> McConachie, Rev. W., *The Glamour of the Glen*, 1930, 22.

<sup>3</sup> No building is shown at the site of Faseny Cottage on the first edition of the 6-inch O.S. map, surveyed in 1853.

west to south-east, across the face of Little Collar Law. Its lower end, by the ford, has been carried away by the flooding of a large hill-drain, but above the wash-out its remains are pretty clearly visible, its overall breadth being about 18 feet. The track was not followed further, but air photographs show that it crosses the lower slopes of Little Collar Law on a line which would bring it to Cow Cleugh at about 611626, which point is virtually in alignment with section (b) as marked on the O.S. map and less than a mile and a half distant from its end on Little Says Law. The photographs show no traces of the road in this gap, but the terrain on the east and south slopes of Collar Law is evidently easy and a connection may be inferred with confidence.

This confirmation of the record in the O.S. Name Books, as quoted above, is corroborated by the recognition of the Herring Road by the late Mr J. H. Craw, a knowledgeable local antiquary<sup>1</sup>; while the fact that the ruin at Shiel (587590), near the head of the Dye Water, is identified as that of an inn<sup>2</sup> strongly suggests that a road ran somewhere nearby. On the other hand, some confusion appears to have crept into the Herring Road tradition; this is seen in the fact that the name is sometimes attached to No. 3 (p. 227), and in a statement made by the R.C.A.M.<sup>3</sup> which hardly accords with the topography. However, this apparent mistake may perhaps be explained by confusion with a branch road locally reported<sup>4</sup> to connect No. 4(b), on Little Says Law, with No. 3 a short distance south-east of the Mutiny Stones (c. 624589). Nor is it impossible that the name 'Herring Road' may sometimes have been applied to other routes in addition to No. 4, if these were used, as no doubt they were used on occasion, by 'fish-caddies' making for destinations other than Lauder.

It may be mentioned here in passing that John Ainslie, in his county map of 1789, marks the road from Haddington to Duns as going by Long Yester, Hopes and the right bank of the Faseny Water, and not by No. 1 as shown by Roy. In this he was certainly in error, but he may have been misled by two tracks which appear to cross Newlands Hill, one on either side of the summit, descend through square 5964 to the Faseny Water and, after coalescing, continue down the stream to connect, at the mouth of the Lamb Burn, with the stretch of No. 4 on Little Collar Law.

Illustrations of the Herring Road's function can be quoted from at least the middle of the seventeenth century. An account of the Dunbar herring-fishery in 1656<sup>5</sup> states that the town was 'famous for the herring fishing, which are caught thereabout and brought thither, and afterwards cured and barrell'd up, either for merchandise or sale to the country people, who come thither, far and near, at the season . . .'. Five years earlier the 'confluence of people at Dunbar to the herring fishery' had been said to amount, on occasion, to 20,000 persons.<sup>6</sup> The same practice

<sup>1</sup> *History of the Berwickshire Naturalists Club*, xxvii, 45.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Inventory of Berwickshire* (revised issue, 1915), No. 252. ' . . . the road crosses Byrecleugh a little west of White Well Heads, going in a direction south-west towards North Hart Law.'

<sup>4</sup> Information from Mr Tom Elliot, Killpallet.

<sup>5</sup> Quoted by Martine, J., *Reminiscences and Notices of Ten Parishes in the County of Haddington* (1894), 120.

<sup>6</sup> Hume Brown, P., *Early Travellers in Scotland*, 232, quoting Ray's *Itinerary*.

still persisted in the eighteenth century, at dates before the introduction of potatoes, when the people of Westruther 'used to provide a sort of seasoning to their bread by laying in a stock of herrings. The time for doing this was Lammas, at which season they were in the habit of going in bands to Dunbar, and making the purchase of as many fish as would serve their families during winter.'<sup>1</sup> No doubt an expedition of this kind is behind the Lauder Kirk Session record of a parishioner 'going to the herring upon Sabbath day'.<sup>2</sup> Evidence for a regular inland trade in herrings in the middle of the eighteenth century is given by a minute of the Town Council of Lauder, of 1755, which put a customs charge of eightpence on 'ilk load of herrings sold, or set down' in the town.<sup>3</sup> Half a century later this inland fish-trade is noticed in the following terms, in respect of Berwickshire: 'Fish-carriers, called *cadgers*, purchase from the fishers and distribute the [fish] into the inland country, and often to Edinburgh'<sup>4</sup>; herrings are not specifically mentioned in this passage, as supplies were short at the time, but the fishery was flourishing again in 1819,<sup>5</sup> and the *cadgers'* trade no doubt continued in its time-honoured way.

No. 5. *From the Whiteadder Water to the Dye Water and beyond*

Under this heading are grouped the tracks that run, or may safely be assumed to have run, from the valley of the Whiteadder Water, in the neighbourhood of Kingside and Priestlaw, southwards past Penshiel to the line of No. 1 and, beyond this, to points on the Dye Water (see fig. 2). Such tracks could have served traffic which reached the Whiteadder valley by Nos. 2, 3 or 4. So much of the lower valley of the Faseny Water has been under the plough, and so much of the remainder is now obscured by bracken, that few traces can be seen in the northern part of this area apart from three tracks which rise from the Kell Burn at about 640642 and, after mounting the shoulder obliquely, disappear in enclosed ground south-west of Kingside School. These tracks call to mind the thirteenth-century ford on the Kell Burn, mentioned above (p. 224); but today no evidence can be seen, on either the air photographs or the ground, to connect them, as might be expected, with No. 2 – or, for that matter, with the branch from No. 1. Otherwise, the more recent traffic, at any rate, in this part of the Faseny Water valley seems to have been forced by the cultivation of the adjoining ground to follow an improved cart-track; this is marked on the 6-inch O.S. map and is still in use.

On the other hand, the traces that are visible south of the improved area show that other routes have been in use at one time or another, and the following may be distinguished. (a) The cart-track just mentioned which, after holding a course well up from the left bank of the Faseny Water, crosses it by the ford at 637615 and keeps up the left bank of the Killpallet Burn to the modern highway crossing. (b) From this crossing, and continuing the same line as the last, a well-marked track, shown on the 6-inch O.S. map, which runs up the eastern side of the Killpallet

<sup>1</sup> *The New Statistical Account of Scotland*, Edinburgh (1845), II (Berwickshire), 77.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by McConachie, *Rev. W.*, op. cit., 212.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted by Romanes, R., *Lauder* (1902), 127.

<sup>4</sup> Kerr, R., *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Berwick* (1809), 459.

<sup>5</sup> *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, XXIX, 25.

valley and crosses Lamb Hill to Trottingshaw on the Dye Water. (c) Two hollow tracks somewhat to the east of the last, but following a generally similar course west of Duddy Bank. (d) A single broadish but rather faint track still further to the east, which fades out just before coalescing with the last near the 1,200-foot contour. The routes represented by (c) and (d) have presumably come up from the Faseney Water in squares 6461 or 6361, but the ground seems to have been improved and the traces are consequently slight. (e) What seems to be a disused cart-road, unaccompanied by hollow tracks, which crosses No. 1 at 651609. It has come from Priestlaw over Priestlaw Hill, the older editions of the 6-inch O.S. map indicating two lines which coalesce slightly north of No. 1, and continues over Wether Law to Horseupcleugh on the Dye Water.

The O.S. map suggests that all these routes may ultimately have reached Westruther, by way of a track from Dye Cottage which joins No. 3 at 640545, but this ground was not investigated.

#### No. 6. '*Muir Road from Lawder to Dunbar*'

A road which appears on Roy's map with the foregoing title evidently formed yet another link between the port of Dunbar and Lauderdale, in addition to Nos. 3 and 4 which Roy ignores; Roy actually shows it, however, presumably through a draughtsman's error, as having no connection with Dunbar but as beginning 'in the air' about 1,000 yards south-south-west of Moorcock Hall (c. 613694). In fact it most probably shared the course of No. 3 (q.v.) as far as the point where this latter emerges from the Stoneypath fields (615697), and then branched off south-westwards; at any rate a cart-track, which seems to have been in fairly recent use, does branch off in this manner and runs in the correct alignment round the face of Clint Law, just above the enclosed ground, to disappear in a bog at approximately the point where Roy's road is shown as beginning. The course of the road from this point is uncertain, as neither the improved fields nor the adjoining unenclosed ground, which is wet and under heavy vegetation, is suitable for preserving traces. The only place where the Thorter Burn could have been crossed without great difficulty is at about 610688, and some small gullies on the left bank here may possibly have originated as hollow tracks, but no positive evidence for a crossing could be seen either here or further downstream.

From its supposed starting-point at 613694 Roy marks the road as running south-west for about two miles, then south to cross the Papana Water, and then south-south-west to rise obliquely across the face of Newlands Hill (fig. 2). Much of the ground south-west of the Garvald-Whiteadder road has been under the plough, and no remains of tracks have been found in it; but on Newlands Hill the line is marked faintly by grass which shows up clearly against the darker background of the heather. Traces of the crossing-place on the Papana Water might have been expected to survive, but in fact none could be identified with any confidence; it is possible, however, that this was located just above the inflow of two smaller burns at 590668, as a belt of tracks which seems to represent a branch-route (A in fig. 3) joining No. 6 to No. 1 is evidently aligned on this point. Another possible crossing-



place, and one which agrees more nearly with Roy's rather vague indications, is at 595666, but this would not have served the supposed branch-route just mentioned.

This latter, whether in fact a branch from No. 6 or an independent route from the lower Papana Water, can be followed intermittently through squares 5965 and 5966. At about 598658 the tracks traverse a dilapidated turf-dyke, partly by a wide gap which seems to have been provided purposely and partly by smaller gaps broken by individual tracks. The impression given is that of a drove-road over-running the head-dyke of land formerly enclosed. This branch joins No. 1 beyond the shoulder of Newlands Hill, at about 596653, after skirting the head of an awkward gully, impassable lower down.

No. 6 was not followed beyond the face of Newlands Hill, but Roy's line continues over Bleak Law and Harestone Hill, and between the sources of the Dye Water and the Whalplaw Burn. It presumably coalesced with No. 4 (q.v.) in square 5658 or 5557.

#### OBSERVATIONS

To the foregoing descriptions of the individual roads may now be added some general observations which will serve to bring the details into a kind of focus and may also assist in the study of similar remains elsewhere.

An excellent summary of the features of roads of this class is contained in a work on Berwickshire, published in 1809. 'Roads', says the author,<sup>1</sup> 'were originally mere tracts, appropriated for passage, often much at random, before the general inclosure, and before funds were established for making and repairing them. They were neither made nor mended, except perhaps some of the worst sloughs, which were occasionally a little filled up, by means of statute labour. In this predicament, the higher grounds, as drier and harder, were certainly preferable to the more easy levels, in deep soft soil.' Earlier this same author had said that there were virtually no 'concave' roads or hollow ways in Berwickshire, 'unless so far as some few roads of communication across moors, and in a few other places, which have never been formed, made or repaired, and have worn hollow or concave by the friction of carts and horses, and the operation of heavy rains washing away the soil'.<sup>2</sup> All these points have come out in the descriptions of these Lammermuir roads. 'Tracts appropriated for passage' are well exemplified on Newlands Hill or alongside Chapman's Slack; and the effects of enclosure are particularly plain on No. 3, above Moorcock Hall, where the hollow tracks can be seen fading out very quickly in the uppermost of the arable fields. The preference shown by traffic for the 'higher grounds, as drier and harder', is a common feature of all moorland roads, and with this preference is combined an aversion to localities which called for works of improvement. The nature of the going expected in the later Middle Ages may be judged from the attachment to the artillery in 1496 of seventy-six men with spades, shovels and pick-mattocks 'to draw the gunnis in peththis<sup>3</sup> and myris', and from the provision of two cart-loads of pioneers' tools by the 'Burneledaris' of Edinburgh when a similar need

<sup>1</sup> Kerr, R., *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Berwick*, 435.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*, 432 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Peth*: a steep and narrow way (Jamieson, J., *Dictionary of the Scottish Language*, ed. 1885, s.v.).

arose in 1513.<sup>1</sup> Nor is it to be supposed that in later days statute labour was normally available in wild and desolate regions.<sup>2</sup>

Again, that tracks are hollowed by the passage of traffic is certainly true here. This is shown by the way in which the tracks tend to multiply on difficult slopes, where each horseman, carter or leader of a string of ponies evidently picked his way from one to another, or diverged to a side to try his luck on fresh ground. The process is shown in action by a diarist of 1547, who describes the sides of the Pease Burn, in Berwickshire, as so steep 'that who goeth straight doune salbe in daunger of tumbling, and the cummer up so, sure of puffing and payne: for remedie wherof, trauailers that way haue vsed to pas it, not by going directly, but by paths and foot ways leading sloopewise, of the number of which paths, they call it (somewhat nicely in dede) Ye Peaths'.<sup>3</sup> The distinction between carts and pack-horses, too, is borne out by the occurrence of both V-shaped and flat-bottomed tracks; pack-horses were no doubt always the mainstay of itinerant traders, as they were even of farmers for the transport of produce to market until the later eighteenth century.<sup>4</sup>

The contribution made by droved animals is difficult to estimate, for although certain of the tracks are known to have been used for droving, as for example some on Dunbar Common (p. 227), it must also be remembered that some sections of much-used drove-roads show comparatively little in the way of hollow tracks,<sup>5</sup> and that the passage of animals sometimes rather gives rise, on grass, to belts of comb-like markings, and on heather to lines and spots of intrusive grass.<sup>6</sup> The carting of peat commonly hollows out roadways, and it may be noted that much peat is said locally to have been cut on the Mayshiel and Killpallet moors and taken to Haddington for sale – presumably along No. 1. Great damage, too, could no doubt have been quickly done by the passage of an army with a heavily loaded train. For example, the corps of artillery that marched to Flodden (p. 226) included 17 guns varying in weight, without their carriages, from 1,100 lb. to 4,000 lb.,<sup>7</sup> with 356 oxen in the teams and 216 drivers, 80 additional oxen and 26 pack-horses, besides stores, ammunition and a crane. A body of this strength, vigorously serviced by pioneers as in 1496 (p. 233), might well have left scars on a landscape which would last for centuries.

All these effects, again, have no doubt been enhanced by erosion. This is shown by the way in which the tracks persist on slopes, and particularly on the banks of burns, where surface-water runs down them, while they tend to fill up and dis-

<sup>1</sup> *Acts. L.H.T.*, iv (1507-13), p. 519.

<sup>2</sup> 'The roads leading through this district have, till of late, been very little attended to. At present [1803] those from Dantskin to Kil-pallet Burn, and from Garvald to Dunsce, are in tolerable repair. Few of the rest have ever got a shilling laid out on them . . .' (*The Farmer's Magazine*, iv, 510).

<sup>3</sup> Patten, W., 'The Expedition into Scotlände', 32, in Dalryell, Sir J. G., *Fragments of Scottish History* (1798). No remains of these tracks survive today.

<sup>4</sup> Buchan-Hepburn, G., *General View of the Agriculture and Rural Economy of East Lothian* (1794), 151 f.; Kerr, R., *op. cit.*, 435.

<sup>5</sup> The Cauldstane Slap in the Pentlands is a case in point. See also R.C.A.M., *Inventory of Roxburghshire*, 1, 51.

<sup>6</sup> This latter effect appears very clearly on the near-by Threep Law and Lammer Law (*P.S.A.S.*, lxxxiii (1948-9), 202).

<sup>7</sup> These weights can be inferred with some confidence from the figures given by Mackenzie, W. M., *The Secret of Flodden*, 59.

appear on flatter and ill-drained ground which favours the formation of peat. Attention has been drawn to these points in more than one instance above (cf. in particular Pl. XIII, 3), while the easternmost scar on the face of Newlands Hill (p. 221) bears every appearance of resulting from a violent wash-out.

A final point suggested by the study of these roads relates to the amount of traffic that must once have been moving in a region now largely uninhabited. The inland trade in fish has been dealt with above (pp. 230f.), and itinerant traders of all sorts, such as the eponym of 'Chapman's Slack' in square 6262, must have made much use of all the moorland roads on their rounds among the farms and hamlets and on their visits to the numerous fairs. This traffic may be supposed to have passed its heyday by about 1750, as a decrease in the numbers of packmen, and also of the fairs, is said to have set in after that date, when the improvement of highways led to a general increase in local shops and craftsmen.<sup>1</sup> Another wayfaring trade of the eighteenth century was that of the smuggler,<sup>2</sup> and Danskine Inn, now believed to be incorporated in the farmhouse of that name beside No. 1,<sup>3</sup> was frequented by men running brandy and gin from the Berwickshire and Northumberland coasts.<sup>4</sup> Such names, again, as 'Thief's Road', 'Salters' Road' or 'Cadgers' Road', which occur elsewhere,<sup>5</sup> or 'Peatman's Road', recorded in a Lammermuir setting,<sup>6</sup> suggest still further activities on the ancient routes. Thus even when allowance is made for a long history, as it evidently has to be made in the case of 'Ricardisrode', a surprising contrast with modern conditions remains, and throws light on a bygone pattern of life in the valleys, foothills and coast-land.

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<sup>1</sup> *The Third Statistical Account of Scotland: East Lothian*, 42.      <sup>2</sup> *ibid.*, 43.

<sup>3</sup> This information was given by the proprietor, Mr G. Gibson. The original inn may, however, be represented by the storehouse now forming the south-western portion of the steading; this building, which has been much altered, was evidently once in domestic use and bears, at the top of its south-eastern angle, a projecting gutter-end inscribed A S / 1737.

<sup>4</sup> Martine, J., *Reminiscences and Notices of Fourteen Parishes in the County of Haddington*, 1890, 101 f.

<sup>5</sup> For examples, see *P.S.A.S.*, I (1915-16), 20 nn. 2, 3; R.C.A.M., *Inventory of Roxburghshire*, Nos. 761, 889 n. 4; *Inventory of Selkirkshire*, No. 105 n. 2; *Inventory of Stirlingshire* (forthcoming), No. 512.

<sup>6</sup> McConachie, *Rev. W.*, op. cit., 212.



1. Newlands Hill from the North-West, showing the belt of hollow and terraced tracks



3. Hollow tracks, some deepened by erosion, at the head of Chapman's Slack.



2. Terraced tracks on Newlands Hill