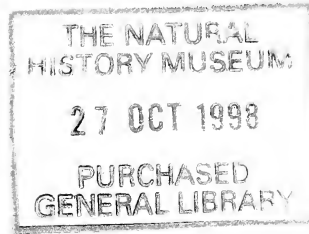


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OF THE  
BERWICKSHIRE  
NATURALISTS' CLUB

INSTITUTED SEPTEMBER 22, 1831

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"MARE ET TELLUS, ET, QUOD TEGIT OMNIA, CÆLUM"

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**1996-97**

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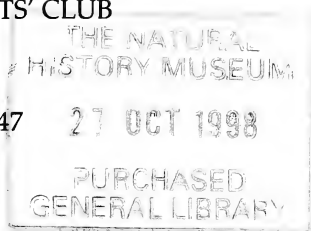
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BERWICKSHIRE NATURALISTS' CLUB

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HISTORY  
OF THE  
BERWICKSHIRE NATURALISTS'  
CLUB

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TWO BORDER FREE-LANCES: 1370 - 1424

*being the Anniversary Address delivered by Major General Sir John Swinton, President of the Club, on 10th October, 1997.*

On 22nd February 1370, or 1371 whichever calendar you choose to use, David II of Scotland died. The male line of Bruce failed and the Stewarts succeeded. The great chronicler, Froissart - who I will much quote in this address - tells us that a truce was established at this time between England and Scotland with a specific provision that Scots might arm and hire themselves for subsidies, taking whichever side they pleased, English or French.<sup>1</sup>

Of this provision, Sir John de Swinton, 12th of that ilk, availed himself and rode South to make his fame and fortune.<sup>2</sup> It is not really surprising that he should choose to do so; his lands at Swinton had been ravaged by the English since the invasion of Edward I, annexed after Halidon Hill in 1333 and further devastated by Edward III's fifth invasion in 1356, known to history as the Burnt Candlemas.

It is not known under whose banner he first took service in England, but he soon became attached to John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster. And remember who John of Gaunt was. In Spain a King, in England not only a Royal Duke, fourth son of Edward III, and the richest and most powerful subject the country had ever known. For twenty years during the minority of Richard II, he held the steps of the throne and the moment he was dead in 1399, his son - less loyal than he was, seized the throne as Henry IV.

When John Swinton joined him the 100 Years War had just begun and though they were still campaigning in France, the best days of Edward III and the Black Prince - John of Gaunt's elder brother, who died in 1376, were past, with Crecy, in 1346, as the high point. Nevertheless, John of Gaunt had in his retinue, 134

peers and knights, of whom John de Swinton was the only Scotsman.

He negotiated with his employer a remarkable contract:

- a. he was not required to fight against his own country;
- b. he was to receive double pay and free transport for himself, his horses and his men;
- c. the Duke was to replace any of his horses lost or taken. In return, the Duke was to have a half share in the ransom of Swinton's prisoners and in his other 'profits of war'.

This unusual contract shows that Sir John - I have no record of when he was knighted or by whom - must have already acquired a solid reputation as a fighting man, possibly in Prussia or in Spain - or even in both - where there were more or less permanent crusades against Pagans in Prussia and Infidels in Spain. And this sometime before 1371 when the contract was made. What is so ironic about this situation is that here we have a man whose lands in the Merse have been constantly despoiled and finally annexed by the English King, taking employment from his son!

He seems to have fully justified the trust placed in him through his conduct in a series of campaigns in France and particularly at Noyon - a town between Amiens and Paris - where he fought his way single-handed into the town.

As Sir Walter Scott was to say in his *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* nearly five centuries later: 'this was the day of romance and fantastic vows, when it was not merely the duty but the pride and delight of a true Knight to perform such exploits as no one but a madman would have undertaken'.<sup>3</sup> What happened at Noyon is a good example. Froissart describes how Sir John Assuenton - he calls him - rode up to the gates of this fortified town accompanied only by his page. Dismounting, he leapt on to the barrier, taunting the French knights who came to meet him. I will spare you what Froissart says he said to them as I am not very proud of my French pronunciation, but he goes on: 'He fought for upwards of an hour, alone against them all, giving many grand strokes with his lance. He wounded one or two of their knights and they had so much pleasure in this combat, they frequently forgot themselves!'

And this went on until his page called to him that he must come out as the English army was moving on. 'With two or three thrusts to clear the way, he sprang across the barrier and on to his horse, shouting to the French: 'Adieu, adieu, seigneurs, grand

mercis'.<sup>4</sup> Stirring Hollywood stuff, I am sure you would agree.

Many years of campaigning in France followed and there is evidence from the Chancery files that Sir John was regularly paid for his services. But life was not all campaigning. When not in France he was at the Duke of Lancaster's Court in London where Chaucer and John Wycliff were frequent and honoured guests. About this time he married a young wife, Joan, who subsequently died without children, whilst he was away in France. Among the ancient petitions in the Record Office in London<sup>5</sup> is one from John Swinton to the King seeking restitution of his dead wife's jewels which the King's infamous mistress, Alice Perrers, had stolen after her death. This was the same Alice Perrers who has gone down in history for stealing the rings off the King's fingers as he lay dying only two years later. Clearly a bad lot! There is no evidence that Joan's jewels, probably the spoil of French campaigning, were ever traced, let alone returned.

In 1376 the Black Prince died, leaving a father, Edward III, who was past all work, and a son too young to undertake it. The position of Lancaster, an ambitious uncle, lay open to suspicion and he became more unpopular by the day. On 20th February 1377 at Wycliffe's trial in St Paul's Cathedral, Lancaster quarreled fiercely with the Bishop of London and the city erupted. The mob howled outside Lancaster's palace of the Savoy, reversed his coat of arms on the gates and killed a monk who took his side. With great difficulty, Lancaster, accompanied by John Swinton, escaped across the Thames to Kennington. For this service Swinton received a special badge<sup>6</sup> from the Duke which, like Joan's jewels, has not come down to his descendants.

Nine months later, no doubt tired of England, bored by garrison life in France, and with his protector discredited, John Swinton turned his face towards his native land. Not long before he had travelled with one man-at-arms and three archers,<sup>7</sup> now we find King Richard II on 31st December 1377 - the year of his succession - issuing a warrant for safe conduct until the last day of April for Johan, Sire de Swynton, with *sixty* men, to pass through Normandy, take ship at Harfleur for Southampton, thence to the King's presence and thence to Scotland.<sup>8</sup>

What did he find when he arrived in the Borders? The Swinton lands had been granted by Edward III to one Edmund of Letham, who had died in 1367 leaving a son in possession.<sup>9</sup> Even

ten years later, in 1378 when John Swinton arrived, England continued to claim all Berwickshire, except the high ground of the Lammermuirs. The official documents state: 'These are the boundes of Goldyngham schire and the Marche which we demand for our lord the King of England. . . . From Colbrandespathe to the River Boune, and from the Boune following the Ledre water running into the Twede.'<sup>10</sup> Goldynghame schire is interesting, Colbrandespath is what we now know as Cockburnspath and the River Boune, I can identify as what is now called the Boundreigh Water, which flows into the Leader just south of Lauder.

But now at last there were signs of restitution. The fortress of Roxburgh was held by the English for another century, but the lands of Swinton, which could never have been called a place of strength, could easily be given up, especially to someone who had fought for the King of England and who could be expected to keep the peace.

Berwickshire must have been a change after the luxurious living of the English court, but he was not always there. He still had dealings in London. A certain William Calle,<sup>11</sup> who owed him £40, was outlawed until he paid up - an early instance of a Scot getting his legal rights against an Englishman in England. He still appears on Lancaster's register. On 2nd November 1379, the Duke writes from Kenilworth that he is to be given £60 which was owing to him; and there is an order from Tuttlebury - another of Lancaster's castles - that 'nostra cher et bien aime bachelor Monsire Johan Swynton'<sup>12</sup> is to be paid his annuity.

But Lancaster was soon in bad trouble. In May 1380 he rode out of his splendid palace at the Savoy on a diplomatic mission to the North - specifically a March Day at Ayton on 12th May. A month later he was at Coldingham on the same day as the Savoy went up in flames. London, Kent and Essex rose against him and the gates of Bamburgh Castle were shut in his face. He took refuge in Edinburgh. At Berwick on 13th July - two days before Wat Tyler was killed - he issued a proclamation in ancient, and almost untranslatable French, which appears to say: 'To all captains of castles and their lieutenants, viscounts, mayors, bailiffs, ministers, loyal subjects and lieges of our Royal Highness the King, ye are requested to pay homage to the following:

As we have taken into our special protection Monsire Johan



Swynton, and his people, servants, belongings, castles and "hernoyes", we demand that no harm, ill or damage should be borne to any of them, or that they are required to do anything against their will. And this to apply for two years hence-forward."<sup>13</sup>

What all this was about is not clear, but perhaps John Swinton was being installed as a peacemaker of the Marches.

Nor was he out of favour with the Scottish King, for two years later, in 1382, Robert II confirmed the transfer to him of church lands at Swinton which had been published in a Papal Bull, signed by Pope Clement VII.<sup>14</sup> These lands had belonged to the Prior of Coldingham and three separate charters regarding this very unusual transfer are now in the Chapter House at Durham.

And Scots money too was forthcoming for on 4th June 1382 King Robert granted him and his heirs a pension of £20 a year 'pro suo fideli servicio nobis impenso et impendendo'<sup>15</sup> - a pension which his son was still claiming in 1417, 35 years later.

Now comes a strange twist to our story. In 1387, Sir John, who had taken to calling himself 'Lord of yat Ilk', married Margaret of Mar, widow of William, first Earl of Douglas. She was Countess of Douglas and Mar in her own right and in accordance with the custom of the time, the courtesy title of Lord of Mar came to him.

If he had any scruples about taking the field against his old English comrades, these were put aside. Lancaster was, after all, away in Portugal. In August 1388 he rode with James, 2nd Earl of Douglas - his step-son - to Melrose, where a charter confirming the church of Cavers to the Abbey bears his name. Douglas calling him 'carissimo patre nostro'<sup>16</sup> on the document. And on they rode over Carter Bar into England.

The story of the Battle of Otterburn is too well known to be included in this address and anyway was well covered by my predecessor, Captain Walter in 1961. Suffice to say that Froissart, who was apt to get in a muddle over Scottish names, puts the Earl of March in command of one of the divisions of the Scots Army. What he should have put was the Earl, or Lord, of Mar.

A contemporary account relates of the battle: 'Swinton, Lord John, Scottish knight, when the Scotch and English began to fight, withdrew to one side, and while both parties attacked with lances, he, raising on high a long red lance, with heavy blows beat down the spear-heads of the English into the ground, with the result, their line penetrated, they were compelled to give way, and

eventually they turned their backs'.<sup>17</sup> With the result that we all know.

When researching this story, I was intrigued to find a history of the period stating 'our chronicles make mention of John Swinton with all honour'.<sup>18</sup> The author: John Major.

James, Earl of Douglas, who died in the hour of victory, left no heir and it was probably feared that John Swinton and his wife might pursue a claim. So on 5th December 1389 a charter was written which said: 'Johne of Swinton, Lord of Mar, and Margaret, his spouse, Countess of Douglas and Mar . . . witt ye us of ane mynd consent and assent, to hef faithfullie promesit to William Douglas, sone to umquhile James Erle of Douglas that we shall nevir in onyways move any questioun or contraversie against him . . . concerning the baronie of Drumlanrig . . .'<sup>19</sup> This document is in the Drumlanrig charter chest and appended to it is the only known impression of John Swinton's seal.

Margaret died around 1392, having borne her husband no children. He married for the third time, another Margaret, even more distinguished than the former one, for she was a granddaughter of King Robert II and, almost more importantly, daughter of the Regent Albany. She it was who gave him an heir - of whom more later.

At last England and Scotland were really at peace. There had been a truce for three years from 1388 and towards the end of 1391 the question of its renewal arose. On 14th November of that year the records show that 'John Swinton of Scotland, chivaler, and 30 persons Descoc'<sup>20</sup> all unarmed, had a safe-conduct into England. They appear to have negotiated terms satisfactory to both countries, as the peace held for the next ten years.

In 1399, Richard II of England died and was succeeded by Henry IV, son of John of Gaunt, our hero's late employer. And in that year we find Sir John Swinton of Scotland, knight, being granted another safe-conduct into England, with 20 attendants, horse and foot 'to come to the King's presence'.<sup>21</sup> The object of this visit was a complicated dispute over marriage rights which I will not weary you with. Suffice to say that John Swinton was not successful and as a result, Henry flew into a rage and marched on Scotland, getting as far as Leith, from where he summoned King Robert III to do homage to him in Edinburgh. Nothing happened, and sparing Holyrood, because it had given refuge to his father, he rode home.

In 1401 the old broils broke out again and Henry once more invaded across the Border and in the following year, attempting retaliation, two disasters befell the Scottish forces.

On 22nd June a small force - 'the flower of the Lothians' - was ambushed and annihilated near Nisbet in the Merse, on what is now Kimmerghame land, which in living memory, but I am afraid no longer, was known as 'slaughter field'. On 14th September of the next year, 1402, came the even worse defeat at Homildon Hill - on the A697, just north of Wooler. The Scots army was drawn up in schiltrons, a hedgehog formation which the ancient Greeks called a phalanx, more or less invulnerable to ordinary infantry, but highly vulnerable to archery - and the English arrows fell like hail.

According to accounts of the battle, Sir John Swinton was exasperated by the Scots inactivity. 'Why stand we here to be slain like deer' he called out; 'Where is our wonted courage? Are we to be still and have our hands nailed to our lances? Follow me, and let us at least sell our lives as dearly as we can'. So saying, he couched his lance and prepared to gallop towards the enemy. Before he could do so, a young man - Adam de Gordon - with whom there had been a deadly feud, jumped from his horse and kneeling solemnly begged forgiveness and the honour of being knighted by so brave a leader. This John Swinton instantly consented to,<sup>22</sup> and the accolade given, they charged together into the English line and together fell to their deaths. The fate of the remainder of the Scots army was little different.

Walter Scott, no great respecter of facts, wrote a play around the story of this battle, and of John Swinton and Adam de Gordon's part in it, which he confusingly called 'Halidon Hill' - a battle which we all know took place above Berwick in 1333, 69 years previously.

So ended a remarkable career, but having entitled my address 'Two Border Freelances', I will conclude by a quick mention of his son, another Sir John who, having only devastated lands in the Merse, also became a mercenary but this time fighting for the French! This was not too unusual, as in the early 1400s the Kings of France maintained a regiment of Scots Guards in whose ranks several Swintons served - shown in the rolls as 'Assuenton', the same spelling as Froissart had used to describe Swinton père. For those who visit the Châteaux of the Loire, there is a memorial to those who fell in this regiment between 1418 and 1444 in the

Chapel of the Château of Chenonceau, that great building which spans the River Cher.

This Sir John, 15th of that ilk, gained prominence at the Battle of Beaugé in 1421, by riding down the unhorsing the Duke of Clarence,<sup>23</sup> brother of King Henry V of England, and incidentally, grandson of his father's old employer, John of Gaunt.

This episode is referred to by Sir Walter Scott in the 'Lay of the last minstrel':

'and Swinton laid the lance in rest  
that tamed of yore the sparkling crest  
of Clarence's Plantagenet'.<sup>24</sup>

Three years later, in 1424, on 17th August, he was killed at the Battle of Verneuil - a crushing English victory - which also claimed the lives of many Scottish nobles, including John, Earl of Buchan, astonishingly at that time Constable of France and commander of the French army, and Sir Alexander Home of Home and Douglas.

Sir John died leaving an infant son, yet another John, who you will be relieved to hear, appears to have led a peaceful life and eventually to have died in his bed at Swinton.

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# DEARTH, SCARCITY & FAMINE IN NORTHUMBERLAND AND THE EASTERN BORDERS

J. W. Bainbridge

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*... and turned our dearth and scarcity  
into cheapness and plenty ...*

'Thanksgiving for Plenty', The Book of Common Prayer<sup>1</sup>

Failure of the monsoon in India and droughts over vast tracts of the African continent still bring untold suffering to people, with extremes of climate being central in such disasters. In contrast to droughts, so vividly portrayed on today's television screens, the former times of dearth and scarcity, that could end in famine, in north-east England and south-east Scotland, usually resulted from excessive precipitation. The lead-up, sometimes of several years, to periods of climatic stress may be crucial in explaining crop failures and food shortages. But the dangers of generalisation are clear. It can be too simplistic to claim that grain shortages stem from a washed-out harvest. Therefore, it is appropriate to view famines and major dearths, chronologically, wherever possible through the contemporary eyes.

## 13th-15th centuries

The great dearth of 1258, the worst of the 13th century, occurred as the population of the British Isles was beginning to increase. But it was less severe than those of the second decade of the 14th century, which spilled over into the 1320s, resulting from harvest failures and livestock epidemics.<sup>2</sup>

The year 1314 appears to have been a forerunner of things to come, with reports<sup>3</sup> of excessive rain having hindered the reaping and storing of grain. When Edward II marched into Scotland on the eve of St Laurence, the 9th August, the scarcity of food forced the King to abandon the incursion and return to London. Earlier in the year, prior to the battle of Bannockburn, Edward's army had already experienced how impossible it was to draw supplies from a country desolated by war and wasted by famine.<sup>4</sup> And yet, Robert Brus, King of Scotland, was not deterred by the famine of

1314. He entered England by the West March, and, after committing the usual ravages, laid siege to Carlisle.<sup>5</sup>

The great famine of 1315 and 1316 was a consequence of incessant wet weather, and these years come ringing down the centuries as the worst agricultural disasters ever to hit Europe.<sup>6</sup> 1315, the year when the grain failed to ripen all across Europe, was probably the worst of the evil sequence which continued until 1322.<sup>7</sup> The cumulative effect produced famine in many parts of the continent so dire that there were deaths from hunger and disease on a scale never before recorded. Incidents of cannibalism were reported in several western European countries. Great numbers of sheep and cattle also died in the epidemics, or murrains, which swept the sodden and often flooded landscape.<sup>8</sup> The European famine of 1315-1322 ended a long period of population growth,<sup>9</sup> and in some parts of Britain, especially the more populous regions, famine conditions had become endemic and persisted until the Black Death of 1348-1350.<sup>10</sup>

In western Europe the remainder of the 14th century seems to have been characterised by marked variations of weather. Some decades, notably the 1360s, continued predominantly wet but the later 1320s, the 1330s and 1380s enjoyed warm dry summers. This variability of climate, which also affected the winters, continued into the 15th century.<sup>11</sup> The importance of trade in the economic life of medieval towns is reflected in attempts by the authorities to manipulate and control terms and processes of trading within their districts. Occasionally, during periods of food shortage, legislation would be relaxed and normal codes of practice suspended to promote rapid inward movement of supplies. The century 1435-1531 was one of price inflation in Scotland, and bread, for example, doubled in price while mutton increased by two and a quarter times. Also, as in the winter of 1509 when Scottish towns were short of basic foodstuffs, authorities allowed traders access to markets to sell food free of all taxes.<sup>12</sup> By 1518, during another time of scarcity, limits were placed on the amount of food an individual could purchase. Each could take only enough for one's self and family.<sup>13</sup>

### **15th-16th centuries overlap**

The English sweat or sweating sickness epidemics occurred in England in 1485, 1508 and 1517, when thousands died. Another

visitation, in the summer of 1528, followed by a wet winter. The rains returned that summer to rot the seed in the ground. Famine stalked over the land to accompany the worst epidemic of sweating sickness experienced in England. The combination of famine and 'the sweat' produced what became known as 'The Great Mortality'. As in previous outbreaks of sweating sickness the disease did not reach Scotland<sup>14</sup> nor, presumably, Northumberland.

## 16th CENTURY

In the Anglican Church the Litany in English, as issued in 1544, was written by Thomas Cranmer, at Henry VIII's request. Torrential August rains had ruined the 1544 harvest in England and a prayer for fair weather was said before the two final prayers of the newly introduced Litany:<sup>15</sup>

*O Lord God, who has justly humbled us by the late plague of immoderate rain and waters, and in thy mercy has relieved and comforted our souls by this seasonable and blessed change of weather...*

*The Book of Common Prayer* also caters for the opposite end of the meteorological scale by including a prayer for rain, also for use in the Litany, as well as a prayer in time of dearth and famine, and as indicated at the start of this paper, a prayer of thanksgiving for relief from a time of dearth and famine.

There were, of course, other 16th century instances of exceptionally heavy rain in Berwick and its hinterland. A report<sup>16</sup> from a Berwick Garrison official, Thomas Petit, to the Lord Protector, of 18th March 1548, told of floods disrupting troop movements. Then, again, in October 1565, Francis Russell, Earl of Bedford, Warden of the English East March and Captain of Berwick,<sup>17</sup> writing<sup>18</sup> to Sir William Cecil, indicated that letters had been delayed because of swollen waters. Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon, Governor of Berwick and a cousin of Elizabeth, one not prone to discussing the state of the weather in official reports did, nonetheless, on 18th February 1572 in one<sup>19</sup> to Cecil, by then Lord Burghley, mention 'bad weather'.

In any review of the sufferings and hardships in the 16th century, those just quoted are insignificant when compared to those experienced in the winter of 1586-1587. In December of that season, when the *Bastard Barrel*, a Danish merchantman, was

making for Rouen, carrying rye, she ran into storms and some of her cargo was thrown overboard. Eventually, after being blown eastwards, she was forced to seek shelter in the Tyne, where the remaining rye was impounded, on the orders of Henry, Earl of Huntingdon, then on state business in Newcastle upon Tyne. The grain, Huntingdon claimed,<sup>20</sup> was sold because of the great scarcity in the north. On 13th April 1587 the Warden of the English Middle March, the celebrated Sir John Forster, reported<sup>21</sup> to Sir Francis Walsingham, Secretary of State (1573-1590), that 'there is a great darthe and scarcitie of corne in this contrie'. There was indeed and that spring the scarcity of grain extended throughout the north. At Durham wheat rose to 16s. 4d. a bushel, five times more than normal.<sup>22</sup> Eleven years later 43 years old Peregrine Bertie, 11th Lord Willoughby d'Eresby, was appointed Governor of Berwick and Warden of the English East March.<sup>23</sup> As commemorated in the ballad, he was of proven military worth:

*The wounded men on both sides fell, most piteous for to see,  
Yet nothing could the courage quell of brave Lord Willoughby.*

But in failing health Willoughby was soon disenchanted with his northern posting and in a letter<sup>24</sup> of 12th December 1600 to Sir Robert Cecil, son of Burghley and by then Elizabeth's Secretary of State (1596-16-8), it would appear that a lack of sunshine in Berwick had become burdensome, if not a personal hell to Peregrine Bertie:

*If I were further from the tempestuous of Cheviot hills, and were once retired from this accursed country, whence the sunn is so removed, I would not change my homlyest hermitage for the highest pallace ther. In the meane season geive me leave to commend and pray for your happiness, that are blessed with the sun of the South, and that one rayon of such brightness may deliver me from the darkness heere: which I protest is no less to me than Hell!*

Eight months later he died at Berwick from, it was said,<sup>25</sup> 'a great cold'. Perhaps happenings in the years prior to Willoughby's arrival at Berwick clouded his outlook. In the 1590s four consecutive bad summers resulted in agricultural disaster throughout Europe. These years were probably in Shakespeare's mind when, in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Titania describes<sup>26</sup> a summer in which:

*The seasons alter: hoary headed frosts  
Fall in the fresh lap of the crimson rose.*



The dearth and scarcity of July 1594 features in a report<sup>27</sup> from John Hardinge, the Customer of Berwick, to Lord Burghley, when principal adviser to the Queen. The implication was that an order had been broken when corn was taken from Berwick without a special licence. Nor had the corn been subject to customs. The Marshall of Berwick, Sir John Carey, when ordered by Burghley to explain the matter, replied,<sup>28</sup> on 29th August 1594, that after the corn ships had supplied the town only 'refuse corn' and unsold beans had been offered to communities in the south of Scotland, 'who in the beginning of the year helped us with such wheat as they could spare, and also daily and weekly serve this market with beef, mutton, & etc., or else we would hardly live'. After 'breeding the darth' in Berwick, it made good sense, contended Carey, to allow good neighbours to have the 'overplus'.

Matters deteriorated rapidly in Berwick in the second half of the 1590s, as borne out by a series of reports<sup>29</sup> from John Carey to Burghley:

8 September 1596

*Weather so unreasonable that it is doubtful if they would have any harvest in Berwick.*

*. . . for everie pfte of wynd, or yll wynters day, puttes us in a ferefull perill of our lives. . . . I do not knowe, yf our lives lye upon it, and where we should get xx<sup>ii</sup> quarters of corne, to serve us one weke, in all this countrey, so scarce and skant it is.*

17 September 1596

*. . . our want of victuals, which will not serve us past Michaelmas, and no prospects of more, whereby we live in great fear of distress.*

21 September 1596

*the great darthe at Berwick . . . the town was suffering famine followed by disease and death. . . . What will become of the Garrison?*

[Victuals received at Michaelmas and in early October].

9 November 1596

*I cannot now say how many days the store in the palace for the horse garrison will last, for 'there is not any at all, neither otes, peases or beanes'. As the men have but 8d. a day, they cannot keep themselves or their horses at present prices - the store failing them.*

27 November 1596

*. . . the Garrison . . . being 'at the mercy of winter winds and storms' and soldiers 'beggared by the dearth'.*

4 March 1597

*. . . the horse garrison this month have neither oats, peas nor beans - and what is worse, they know not when they shall have any. . . We have long eaten nothing but rye bread. . . The palace officers get plenty for themselves, but nothing for the town.*

11 March 1597

*This town, by the absence of victuallers at court, is altogether carelessly neglected. . . .*

1 December 1597

*. . . I have talked this day with the officers of the palace, who tell me they have but 14 days provision of bread corn . . . and for the horse garrison not above 12 days; and they have taken up all they can get either for money or credit in the country and caused lamentable dearth.*

22 December 1597

*. . . the want of victualies . . . which if it be not presentlie releved will breede such troubles as was never before in Barwick. Yesterday I myself went to the palace, requiring to see the corn . . . the last batche they had, was even then in the ooven . . . the town is like to be in more danger than your lordship or we could wish. . . .*

*And the soldiers who have nothinge in the world to sustayne them, save onlie a loaiffe of pallice bread and their allowance of drincke, must either die of famine, or leave the town and go begging.*

*So it is likely we shall keep a brave Crismas, neither meat, nor drinke, nor money, nor good clothes.*

The variability of climate is such that the final decade of the 16th century in Berwick must have been similar to many that had gone before it. Dearth and periods of scarcity led to individuals, faced with famine, experiencing emptiness, despair and misery. The suspicion must also be that prior to the advent of humanitarian relief, the arrival of victuals in the Border fortress in September and early October 1596, as noted above, was done to avoid unrest, maintain a *status quo* and, although less certain, to ease the conscience of a well-nourished and distant authority.

The journals of certain early travellers provide glimpses of contemporary living standards. Had not, for example, Aeneas Sylvius, later to become Pope Pius II, on a visit to Scotland in 1435<sup>30</sup> found the common people so desperately poor and devoid of all refinements that they ate flesh and fish to repletion, and bread only

as a dainty.<sup>31</sup> More than a century and a half later, in 1598, Fynes Moryson described<sup>32</sup> the Scottish diet as 'much red Colewort and Cabbage, but little fresh meate, using to salt their Mutton and Geese . . .' Gentlemen . . . 'living most on Corne and Rootes, not spending any great quantity on flesh', his 'Table being more than halfe furnished with great platters of porredge [that is, pottage or broth], each having a little peace of sodden meate: And when the Table was served, the servants did sit downe with us, but the upper meese in steede of porredge, had a Pullet with some prunes in the broth. . . . They vulgarly eate harth Cakes of Oates, but in Cities have also wheaten bread, which for the most part was brought by Courtiers, Gentlemen, and the best sort of Citizens. When I lived at Barwicke, the Scots, weekly upon the market day, obtained leave in writing of the Governor, to buy Pease and Beanes, whereof, as also of Wheate, their Merchants at this day send great quantity from London into Scotland'.

### 16th-17th centuries overlap

The famines in eastern Scotland in the century and a half, 1550 to 1700, relate directly to periods of the most severe climatic stress (Figure). But caution must be applied when attempting to relate the calendar of harvest failures, and consequent famines in the north, to the Berwick district. This register has been compiled from economic records, annals and chronicles. The situation was generally worse in north Scotland and the poorer Highland districts in the west.<sup>33</sup>

It must, nevertheless, be recognised that in the 16th and 17th centuries, British agriculture has progressed enough to be able to feed its population, while in times of stress corn from continental Europe could be imported more quickly than ever before.<sup>34</sup> But this improved situation did not mean an end to hardship and actual starvation. Food riots, at times directed against profiteers, still caused alarm. And in years of failed harvests people still died for want of food, as in 1586-1587, the 1590s and 1622-1623. Also, upland areas fared worse than corn-growing lowlands and, in the three crises mentioned, Cumberland, for example, was badly affected.<sup>35</sup>

### 17th CENTURY

While the Figure points to two famines having occurred in the first half of the new century it will be appreciated that food

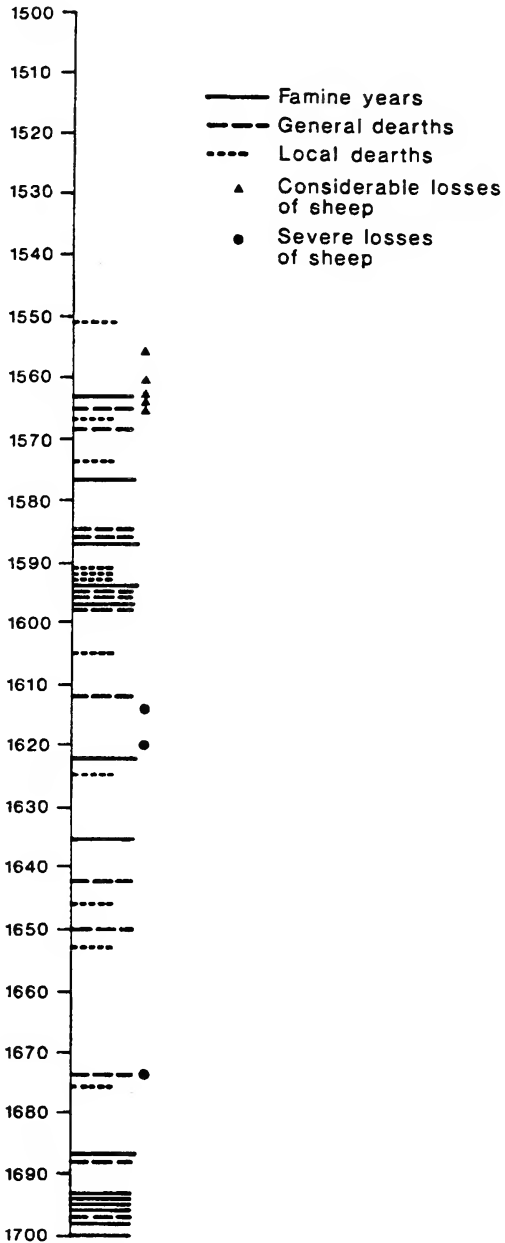


FIGURE 1: Years of reported dearth (broken lines) and famine (full lines) in Scotland, 1500-1700. After Lamb, *op. cit.*, 211.

shortages could exist in those years shown to be free from dearths and famines. This was the case at Berwick in January 1624 when in a report,<sup>36</sup> to Secretary of State Conway, Captain Thomas Jackson of the Garrison would 'not speak of the lamentable complaints of a multitude of distressed and starving poor, as a private man ought, not to consider a public calamity his own'. Another severe winter, when the Borders suffered a general dearth was 1643-1644, during which Alexander Leslie, 1st Earl of Leven, led his Covenanting army into England for the second time on behalf of the Parliamentarians. On the 19th January it crossed the Tweed when frozen, all the heavy baggage being taken over the ice.<sup>37</sup>

The last serious famine to occur on mainland Britain was that of the final decade of the 17th century (Figure 1). Often regarded as the nadir of the Little Ice Age there were, between 1693 and 1700, seven harvest failures, largely of oats, in many parts of Europe. To the Jacobites these were the 'ill years of King William's reign'. But to the rest of the Scottish people they probably made the union with England in 1707 seem inevitable.<sup>38</sup> The dreaded 'green years' of the Seven Years Famine, when grain crops failed to ripen, was a time of poverty and misery in Scotland and elsewhere.

The potato, a native of Peru and Chile, was introduced into Spain in the beginning of the 16th century, and probably into England from Virginia by Raleigh in 1586. Its cultivation spread very slowly, and although encouraged by the Royal Society in about 1633, nearly a century was to pass before it became plentiful and was being grown successfully in Scotland.<sup>39</sup> The potato, a welcome supplement to working-class diet, did not challenge bread as the staple food until prices rose in the 1770s and 1780s.<sup>40</sup> In Ireland the potato was cultivated on a considerable scale in the later part of the 17th century and may have been largely responsible for sparing the Irish the Seven Years Famine which afflicted Scotland so direly in the 1690s. The ravages of the potato disease, which appeared in 1845, resulted in catastrophic famine in Ireland, where potatoes had become staple in the diet of the mass of the population. The potato had several virtues and could:

- be grown in wet conditions when the harvest failed or fell short,
- produce several times as much food on any plot of land as any grain,<sup>41</sup>
- be a profitable cash crop when grown on the edge of towns,
- be grown by labourers in gardens and allotments.<sup>42</sup>

In any run of harvest failures, as in the 1690s, the effect was cumulative. A poor return of grain meant a meagre supply of seed of inferior quality, which resulted in greater shortages in succeeding years.

During the Seven Year Famine the cost of disposing of the dead could be too great an expense for poverty stricken families or parishes to meet, particularly when placed alongside a desperate need for food by the living. Such a case occurred in 1701 . . . the Kirk Session of Chirnside, Berwickshire, unable or unwilling to pay for a common coffin for a poor member of the parish, Alison Tait, and she was carried to her grave on a dale (plank), costing 5s. Scots.<sup>43</sup> The minister of Chirnside from 1690 to 1696, Henry Erskine, a well known Covenanter, was himself extremely poor, as the Session records indicate:

Lent to Mr Henry Areskine, June 11th, the year 1695, upon ticket which lies in the Box (the poor's box), the sum of £20:03:00.

Erskine, who had few equals, was unable to repay the loan, but after his widow had paid £16 in 1711 the outstanding amount was written off.<sup>44</sup> It is appropriate that in the present Chirnside Church, of 1878, there is preserved a reminder of Christian charity from an earlier church which stood on the same site. This, a stone high up in the south wall near to the east gallery, carries a black painted inscription:

**HELPE THE PVR 1573 VE**

There were indeed parishioners in Chirnside who heeded the call in stone in their kirk to 'help the poor' in times of dearth and scarcity. In the village and surrounding parishes a positive form of relief was established where the needy were taken in hand by more prosperous families, who supported them with cash, meal and beans.<sup>45</sup>

## 18th CENTURY

While the closing decade of the 17th century represented Arctic extremes and scarcity, on a continental scale, hardship frequently occurred at other times at a local level, as on Tyneside in the wet summer of 1724, when crops of hay and corn were ruined.<sup>46</sup> Severe winter conditions could also be felt on a countrywide or regional scale, as in 1745-1746 when Hanoverian

forces faced difficulty in engaging the Jacobite advance into England. This is borne out by campaign reports:<sup>47</sup>

**12th November**

*Charles Edward and Sir Thomas Sheridan, lying in wait for Wade near Brampton, breakfasted on a couple of ducks and a hot breast of mutton, different fare to that available to the Highlanders laying siege to Carlisle . . . heavy snowfalls to the east of Brampton making Wade's advance from Newcastle unlikely.*

**14th November**

*A heavy snowstorm and a severe frost left the Highlanders besieging Carlisle in a low state of morale . . . 24 hours guard duties in sub-zero temperatures a frightful ordeal. . . .*

**16th November**

*Wade begrudged every penny spent on bread, fire or straw . . . his men on iron rations . . . facing broken roads, a hard frost and snow 3 feet deep. . . .*

**17th November**

*Wade's troops encountering increasingly deep snowdrifts, struggled as far as Hexham . . . intense frost and continuous falls of snow . . . mounting bitterness towards Wade . . . necessary equipment scantily provided because of his meanness.*

**21st November**

*Lord George Murray and the vanguard moved south to Shap, fighting the elements all the way. A heavy fall of snow made the going between Penrith and Kendal particularly tough.*

**7th December**

*The poor state of the roads, the shortage of daylight hours and the atrocious weather favoured the clansmen more than the regular Hanoverian troops.*

**9th December**

*Cumberland's hopes of getting to Manchester before the enemy dashed by deep snowdrifts through which he had to ride.*

**10th December**

*Cumberland endured another gruelling day in the saddle, riding 23 miles on dreadful roads and in the teeth of the storm. . . .*

The winter of 1745-1746 may have been difficult but conditions throughout the region under review had been worse five years earlier. A riot in Newcastle on 9th June 1740 started because of the 'dearness and scarcity of corn'. The response was to raise the militia and peg grain prices. Twelve days later the poor, on finding corn factors withholding grain, plundered the granaries. A vessel leaving the Tyne, carrying rye, was stopped and its cargo sold to the poor at 5s. per boll. On the 25th June, after the militia had been foolishly disbanded, riots broke out again in the city. One rioter was killed, property damaged and plundering went on until three companies of Howard's regiment was brought from the north. There were also corn riots in June 1740 at Durham and Sunderland.<sup>48</sup> Late 18th century court records and news reports are readily available to provide an insight into the famine conditions of the Black Year 1782-1783. At courts of Quarter Sessions the prices of grain, per Winchester bushel, were announced and those for wheat at Newcastle were:<sup>49</sup>

19th January 1782	4s. 9d.
13th April 1782	4s. 10d.
20th July 1782	5s. 1½d.
12th October 1782	6s. 2½d.
18th January 1783	6s. 9d.

By the end of August 1782 there was no doubting that the harvest would be late,<sup>50</sup> but, in spite of wet weather the grain held promise.<sup>51</sup> Alas, this was not to be, and by 19th October:<sup>52</sup>

*. . . the hills of Yorkshire, Cumberland, and Chiviote were covered with snow, a melancholy appearance at a time when great quantities of oats, & etc. remain in the fields unshorn.*

The severe conditions continued<sup>53</sup> and on the 28th November the Sheriff depute of Berwickshire, facing the high prices of grain, opened the port of Eyemouth until the 1st February 1783, for the importation of barley, oats and oatmeal.<sup>54</sup> By December flour was in short supply and the suffering greatest among the more inadequate in society. On the 23rd December a Bill for allowing the importation of all kinds of grain and flour received the Royal Assent and passed into law.<sup>55</sup> The effect was immediate and by the 11th January 1783 fifteen ships had arrived in the Tyne, laden with various grains and flours.<sup>56</sup> At the same time a report<sup>57</sup> from Stokesley told of a farmer in Bilsdale having cut his corn on



Christmas Eve and gathered it in on the 2nd January. Following the wet summer of 1782 it had been the most disastrous winter farmers had experienced in northern England for three decades. But, unlike the repercussions at times of climatic stress in earlier centuries, much suffering amongst the public had been averted by government intervention. As ships became available they sailed immediately for corn, so that by the 5th April 1783 the price of this basic commodity had fallen in almost every part of the kingdom to levels lower than for several years.<sup>58</sup>

In the final quarter of the 18th century the importance of imported grain was fully realised, and supply could exceed demand. By September 1796 so great had been the flow of grain into the Tyne that warehouse space could not be found to store it. As a temporary measure wooden buildings were erected, in a field behind Newcastle's Sandgate, to hold 120,000 bushels. These premises soon became known as Egypt, as an allusion to those built by Joseph in ancient Egypt. In 1803 the buildings were converted into barracks before being used once more as a depot for corn.<sup>59</sup> This must not of course be allowed to give the impression that ample grain was available to everyone. Potatoes, in general use by 1782-1783, had become a life-saver in many households.<sup>60</sup>

### Edinburgh famine, 1795

In the years 1795 and 1796 there was a greater dearth than has ever since visited the British Islands. On the 4th of March 1795 about eleven thousand persons, being probably about an eighth of the population, were fed by charity in Edinburgh. I have never forgotten that famine, perhaps because it was the first I had seen. A public proclamation specified the exact quantity of bread which each family ought to consume, being a loaf, if I recollect rightly, for each individual weekly. An odd proceeding; but it gave a measure, and a ground for economy, which were useful. Then was the triumph, and the first introduction of public kitchens, Count Rumfords and cooking committees.

*Henry Cockburn*

FIGURE 2: *Famine, 1795.*

The Scottish patriot, Andrew Fletcher, of Salton in East Lothian, of cosmopolitan intellect, argued<sup>61</sup> that the cause of his country's poverty was the mismanagement of its agriculture. A contemporary of Fletcher, William Seaton, of Pitmeeden, pointed<sup>62</sup> to husbandmen being 'the most miserable of all the commons in

Scotland' because of the small size of farms and the prevalence of short leases. Thus, North Britain's widespread poverty could not be explained in simplistic terms, and Fletcher thought<sup>63</sup> the crisis to be as much political as economic, and that the Union of the Crowns had reduced Scotland to a state of provincial dependence within the United Kingdom. It is a view that persists.

## 19th CENTURY

Shortages continued in the 19th century for large numbers of people at times of inclement weather. But an understanding of the causes of poverty and a growing acceptance by central government that the poor could not be left to starve in a civilised society. Thus, caring for one's poor was infinitely easier where there was improved civil order and rising prosperity. Not that greed and thoughtlessness was eliminated at local levels. Hence the lines of Alexander Pope,<sup>64</sup> from his Epistle to Dr Arbuthnot, could still apply in any community two centuries after they had been written:

*But still the Great have kindness in reserve,  
He help'd to bury whom he'd helped to starve.*

Expenditure on poor relief rose considerably in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, as the national population increased. In England the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 replaced a system rooted in Acts of 1597 and 1601, with the establishment of unions of parishes, run by boards of guardians. In Scotland the Poor Law (Scotland) Act of 1845 founded parochial boards to administer poor relief in each parish.<sup>65</sup> In Berwick upon Tweed, and it was in no way exceptional, beyond its guardians the century witnessed the establishment of a Committee for the Relief of the Poor, a new and enlarged poor-house, soup kitchens, a clothing society, and the coldest days could, on occasions, be eased by the provision of breakfasts and coal for the least well-off.

In the eastern marches of England and Scotland set-backs occurred and individual communities suffered. Floods continued to be the most troublesome of the elements, as witnessed<sup>66</sup> in the Tweed Valley in mid-September 1839 when corn in the sheaf and stacks were washed away. There were other notable floods in the district in 1881 and 1890.<sup>67</sup>

John Carey's statement of the 27th November 1596, above, of his soldiers being 'beggared by the dearth' is an early reference to

scarcity creating beggars or mendicants. A hundred years later a series of bad harvests reduced many to destitution and Fletcher of Saltoun estimated<sup>68</sup> that as many as 200,000 Scots, in a population of 1.5 million, were turned into beggars. By the opening decade of the 19th century the first systematic attempt was taken in Scotland to check begging, and to avert charity from supporting it, when the Society for the Supression of Public Begging was founded in Edinburgh. This, it was claimed,<sup>69</sup> came in the wake of a genuine desire to prevent, methodise and relieve destitution and pauperism.

### **Edinburgh distress, 1816**

The year 1816 closed bitterly for the poor. There probably never were so many people destitute at one time in Edinburgh. The distress was less in severity than in 1797; but the population having increased, it was greater in extent. Some permanent good was obtained from the labour of the relieved. Brunfield Links were cleared of whins, and of old quarries: walks were made, for the first time, on the Carlton Hill: and a path was cleared along the base of the perpendicular cliff of Salisbury Crags. Until then these two noble terraces were enjoyable only by the young and the active.

*Henry Cockburn, 1856*

FIGURE 3: *Distress, 1816.*

Late in the 19th century, the disastrous harvest of 1879 saw the wheat crop cut by half. In this year, with a mean summer temperature of 13.7°C in central England and nearly twice the normal rainfall,<sup>70</sup> there were 80 deaths in the metropolitan districts of Britain attributable to starvation.<sup>71</sup> In August 1879 it was clear<sup>72</sup> that exporters in America and Russia would exact a higher price than normal from Britain for their corn. Again, in the autumn of 1888 the retail cost of flour and bread rocketed because of unseasonable weather. This was said<sup>73</sup> to be an unavoidable evil, though it is doubtful if any of the 237 in England and Wales, whose deaths in that year were due to starvation,<sup>74</sup> saw it as such. In spite of such deaths the point must be made that, relative to earlier centuries, the suffering from scarcities in dearths was greatly reduced. But deaths from starvation still occurred and, doubtless, many went unrecorded.

After deep snow and a severe frost, February 1895 proved to be a hard, but not untypical, month in Scotland. In less than a week the domestic water taps and flush toilets of Glasgow froze

solid, forcing householders to get water from street wells hastily provided. Soon there was distress among the poor of the city and the Lord Provost's relief fund raised £8,000 in ten days.<sup>75</sup> This example typifies the nature of distress, of inconvenience/food shortages/irregular fuel supplies/numbness/hunger/actual suffering, as distinct from starvation and famine. It was local in nature and slight in scale.

## EPILOGUE

When reduced to destitution one way of escaping the misery was to move elsewhere, as in 1612 when Scots received lands in Ulster after the native Irish had been evicted.<sup>76</sup> The Scottish mercenary soldier was often another escapee, when poverty was the stimulus to taking up arms, and by 1700 there was hardly an army north of the Mediterranean without Scots in its ranks.<sup>77</sup> Towards the end of the 1620s had not King Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden 20,000 Scotsmen in his army while 10,000 Scots served the French crown, then the leading Catholic protagonist? Not that religious scruples mattered much to Scottish mercenaries.<sup>78</sup>

This paper earlier cautioned against the danger of generalisation and in the past two decades demographic historians have argued<sup>79</sup> that unusual periods of high mortality in England were the result not of failed harvests but of epidemic disease. Uncertainties remain. Did a lack of food lower resistance to infection? Is there a supposed connection between malnutrition and disease? Is the seasonal patterns of burials resulting from famine different from those caused by epidemics? As well as uncertainties there are numerous side issues. For example, through the famines of the Middle Ages and after there may have been a natural selection operating in favour of fat people, who would be better able to survive than their leaner fellows.<sup>80</sup>

It is also two decades since an international gathering of scientists and historians called<sup>81</sup> for more research into the effects of climate on history. Climatologists and, reluctantly, governments recognise the increasing significance of climate not only in shaping the past but also in modifying and even limiting the future. Lamb, whose text of 1982<sup>82</sup> is a standard, suggested that the most valuable period for study might be the Little Ice Age of the 16th and 17th centuries. A wealth of evidence remains locked in historical documents.

In drawing this paper to a close the writer feels coerced by the subject matter into a cynical ending, by quoting the American poet and publisher, Lawrence Ferlinghetti:<sup>83</sup>

*The world is a beautiful place  
to be born into  
if you don't mind some people dying  
all the time  
or maybe only starving  
some of the time  
which isn't half so bad  
if it isn't you.*

### SOURCES AND NOTES

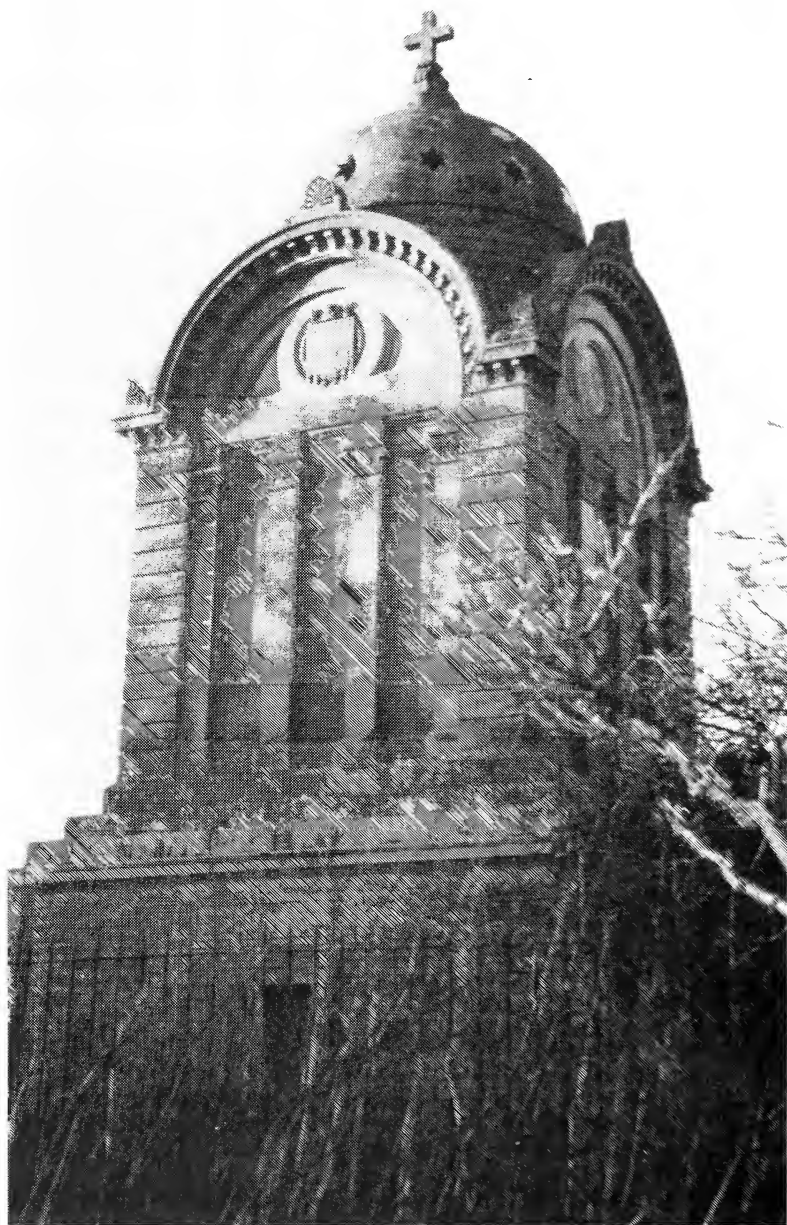
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*The Monteath Mausoleum from the south-east.*

Photograph by John D. Wood



## MONTEATH AND HIS MAUSOLEUM

John D. Wood

Woodside, The Croft, St Boswells TD6 0AE

In a Border landscape abounding with hill-top structures the Monteath Mausoleum on Lilliard's Edge is undoubtedly one of the most fascinating. The mausoleum, or aisle as it was more coyly referred to, stands four hundred metres to the west of the A68 three miles south of St Boswells. Glimpsed from the road the square classical structure with its starlit dome vaguely resembles a sandstone pineapple.

Beneath this structure, and visible only to the visitor on foot, lies a crypt of rougher stone cut into the whinstone side of Gersit Law and buttressed to the east and west by two sweeping walls. Guarding the south facing entrance to the crypt itself and mounted on pedestals are two massive stone lions - one asleep and the other watchful.

The classical façade - consisting simply of four pilasters topped by a pedimented arch, itself surmounted by acanthus leaf ornaments - is repeated on all four sides of the mausoleum. Beneath the southern arch is a finely carved coat of arms, and an inscription panel above the crypt proclaims the whole to be the last resting place of 'General Sir Thomas Monteath Douglas KCB of Stonebyres, Lanarkshire who died 18th October 1868'.

As might be expected from its vast scale (20 metres from crypt to cross), prominent siting and somewhat unusual function, the Monteath Mausoleum has over the years been an object of considerable curiosity and occasional controversy. It has been lauded as 'finely proportioned and well-executed' and dismissed as 'no work of art'. Certainly commentators have been unable to agree on its architectural style - 'Greco-Roman', 'Doric or Tuscan' and 'Byzantine' being just some of the descriptions used. Despite the cross the building was viewed as not quite Christian - indeed as 'barbaric': an example, we could perhaps say with benefit of hindsight, of 'Early Eskdalemuir'.<sup>1</sup>

The occupant of the mausoleum, Sir Thomas Monteath Douglas, was also something of an enigma. Although his career is



*Sir Thomas Monteath Douglas*

From a portrait in the United Services Museum. Permission to reproduce granted by the Trustees of the National Museum of Scotland.

well documented in official sources, including a column-and-a-half in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, unusually for such an eminent Victorian soldier he seems to have published no diaries, memoirs or other autobiographical works which might provide insight to his character and outlook on life. Even his funeral on Lilliard's Edge afforded few revelations. This affair was described by the Hawick News of the 31st October 1868 as 'quite private' the only mourners of note being family - Mr W. Monteath Scott Jnr of Ancrum and Mr Yorke MP - sons-in-law of the deceased. Why then, the question arises, did such a private man opt for such a public building as his last resting place?

In the absence of hard fact, rumours about the General and his mausoleum spread. It wasn't simply that the General had spent most of his life in exotic climes - people were used to the phenomenon of returning Nabobs. The Indian achievements of James Wilson of Hawick and the Earl of Minto, Chancellor and Governor-General of India respectively, and of junior members of the Lothian family, were a source of indigenous pride. The fact was that Monteath, despite the 'Douglas' element of his name, was not a Borderer by birth or residence. In consequence he appears to have been less than popular locally. 'JCG' in a letter to *The Scotsman* declared him to be a veritable 'martinet', the last wig wearer in the army who carried his efficiency 'into the smallest details of dress, home life etc.'. At least some locals regarded his mausoleum as a 'folly' so sited to enable its occupant to 'look down on Ancrum folk'. The fact that the General arranged for his crypt to be locked for all time generated more speculation about its 'luxurious interior'.<sup>2</sup> It was said also that the General, unlike ordinary mortals, had been buried in a vertical position thus giving him 'a good start' on the Judgement Day. A similar lack of modesty could well be read into the notion that he built his memorial on the site of the Earl of Angus's famous charge at the Battle of Ancrum Moor in 1545.<sup>3</sup>

A closer scrutiny of the Monteath Douglas family background and of Sir Thomas's career in India, while no substitute for the General's own testimony, does throw interesting light on the siting and design of his mausoleum while at the same time dispelling some of the wilder speculation surrounding it.

Sir Thomas Monteath Douglas of Douglas Support owed part of his good fortune to the marriage of his Great Aunt Margaret

Douglas of Main to Archibald, First Duke of Douglas in 1758. Margaret persuaded her husband to settle estates (to be known quaintly as Douglas Support) on the offspring of her sister Jean, the wife of Walter Monteath of Kepp.<sup>4</sup> By the 1840s the estate had descended to Sir Thomas's cousin - the somewhat eccentric Major Archibald Douglas and then in 1842 to Archibald's brother James Monteath Douglas, a Glasgow merchant. Combining his own business fortune with that of Douglas Support, James was able to make the coveted leap from trade to landed gentry with the purchase from the Vaux family of the estate and 14th century house of Stonebyres in Lanarkshire. This he proceeded to enlarge and Gothicise to designs by the Glasgow architect John Baird.<sup>5</sup> Thus when James died in 1850 Thomas inherited Stonebyres as well as Douglas Support. Significantly he made few adjustments to the house save the erection of an elaborate crest above the entrance identical to the arms that appear on the Monteath mausoleum. Family pride - particularly in the Ducal connection - was clearly an important factor in the life of Sir Thomas.

A study of the General's will suggests that, while in a material sense he lacked for nothing, his retirement was marred by a series



*Stonebyres, Lesmahagow*

Note the coat-of-arms above the entrance. The house was demolished in 1934. Crown copyright: Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland.

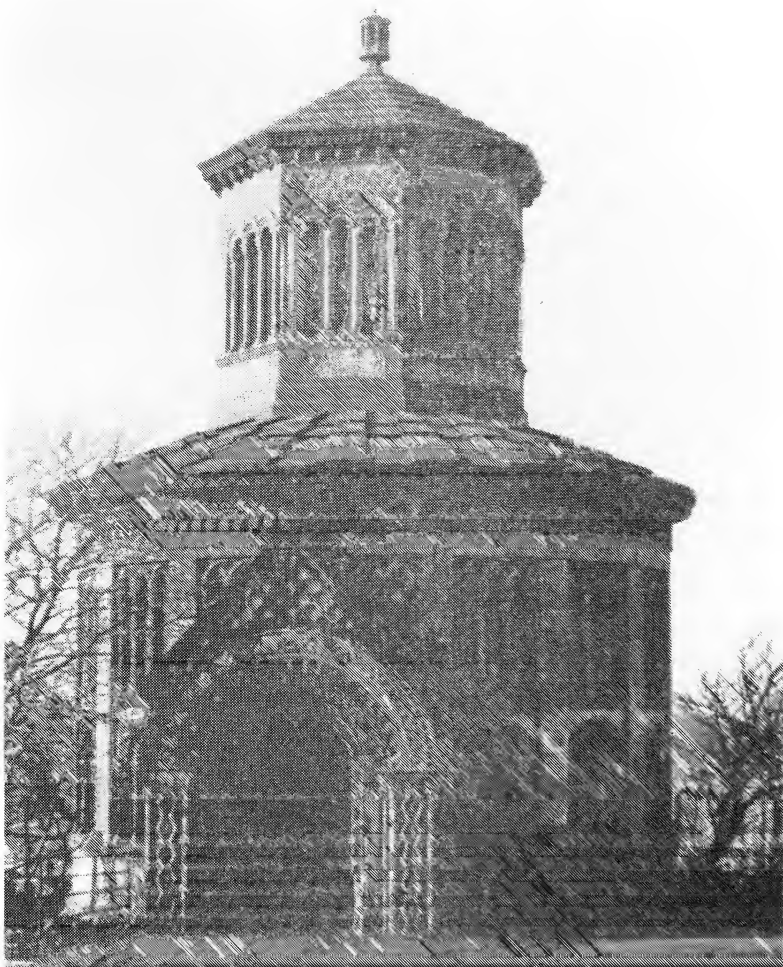
of family tragedies.<sup>6</sup> Some time in the 1950s his only son Lieutenant Archibald Monteath was killed. Concentration on his 'poor motherless daughters' brought further troubles.<sup>7</sup> His eldest daughter Augusta made a 'good' marriage in the early 1860s to Reginald Yorke MP from a well established West Country family. She seems to have acquired feminist views and refused to hand over her dowry. Shamed and horrified by such a procedure, Sir Thomas made over an equivalent principal sum to his son-in-law - the interest to be used in compensation until Augusta came to her senses. An old-fashioned response perhaps but by the standards of the time it hardly made him a martinet. Indeed it might well have given him cause for regret when Augusta died soon after, probably during child-birth.

Meanwhile in 1861, Monteath's second daughter Amelia had married William Scott, son and heir of Sir William Scott of Ancrum - Liberal MP for Roxburghshire. The fact that his new son-in-law was a military man (a Captain in the 79th Regiment) must have been some consolation to the General. After-dinner conversation in the family would have been further stimulated in that William's younger brother had served at the siege of Lucknow during the Indian Mutiny - losing a foot in the process.<sup>8</sup>

By the early 1860s the General had his affairs in order. His one grandson, Augustus Yorke, was set to inherit the estate of Douglas Support and both his daughters were well provided for. Should his manservant, James Clarke, show loyalty to the end he was to receive £500. Not surprisingly the General's thoughts at this juncture turned to the perpetuation of his own memory. His distribution of personal effects gives some idea of his sense of priorities in life. Sword and pistols, uniform and decorations were to go to William Monteath Scott to be 'preserved as heirlooms' and the other son-in-law Reginald Yorke was to receive a gold watch and chain and a 'double gun by Roch with all appurtenances as remembrances of me'.<sup>9</sup> With a personal fortune of £47,000 Sir Thomas could afford to do more for his own reputation and there were two unusual family precedents relating to burial practices which would have suggested to him how this could be done.

This strain of funereal eccentricity seems to have begun with Archibald Douglas, the First Duke of Douglas and provider of the Douglas Support estate. Described by at least one source as 'perhaps a little mad', the Duke, a keen bowler, requested to be

buried in the bowling green at Douglas. The tradition was carried on by Sir Thomas's cousin Major Archibald Douglas, the family wag. Archie, apparently, was the only pupil in his Grammar School class capable of touching his nose with his tongue.<sup>10</sup> Later in life, it was rumoured, he had the good luck while serving in India to capture a Rajah's treasure elephant. Money from this windfall went to buying property in Glasgow. Archie laid £1,000 aside in his will from his considerable fortune for the erection of a



*Archibald Monteath's Mausoleum, The Necropolis, Glasgow.*

Photograph by David King.

mausoleum in the upper Upsilon of the Necropolis - seen in those days as Glasgow's answer to the Père la Chaise cemetery in Paris. Even today this vast Romanesque monument, designed by the Glasgow firm of Cousin and Gale (1843), dominates the 'city of the dead'. In its own time it created a sensation. The faces around the lantern top were considered by many to be 'grotesque' and not at all in harmony with its surroundings.<sup>11</sup>

There is plenty of evidence to show that Thomas looked up to his eccentric cousin. He followed Archibald's footsteps into the Indian Army and it seems probable that Thomas owed his steady promotion partly to Archie's financial support. Thomas even went as far as to name his own son in Archibald's honour. Furthermore, he assigned 125,000 rupees (£12,500) in his will to build up the Monteath Trust Estate as a mark of posthumous respect to the Major.<sup>12</sup> There seems little doubt then that in opting for a mausoleum Thomas was emulating his cousin yet again.

Despite its vast size and ornamentation, what struck most contemporaries about Archibald's mausoleum was the complete absence of inscription or other means of identification. This was certainly out of keeping with the avowed function of the Necropolis which was to create a 'City on a Hill' whereby the dead, through the medium of detailed funerary inscriptions, could inspire the living with their great achievements.<sup>13</sup> Presumably Archibald, and his brother James who was interred alongside him in 1850, felt themselves to be above such posthumous self-publicity. As the bemedalled coat-of-arms and the inscription on his mausoleum attest, Thomas, a more conventional figure than his cousin, compromised on this issue. A study of his military career in India shows clearly, however, that his rank and honours were, unlike some Necropolis 'residents' hard-earned and richly deserved.

Thomas Monteath began his career as an ensign in the 35th Regiment of Bengal (Native) Infantry on 4th December 1806. He seems to have resisted the lure of lucrative 'staff' or political jobs to remain with the same regiment throughout his stay in India.<sup>14</sup> With the British Government steadily, although at times reluctantly, increasing its control over the native states of Central and North-West India, Monteath saw more than his fair share of action taking part in campaigns in Bundelkhand, Nepal and Merwara. One consequence of this as the *Hawick Advertiser* noted

somewhat sensationally, was that 'he was wounded no less than six times having received three gunshot wounds, two sabre cuts, and one spear wound'. Another result was an increase in normally rare promotional opportunities. Thus with money in his background for buying commissions, Monteath had progressed by 1834 to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. For his part in the final humbling of the fortress city of Bhurtpore in 1826 he also received the Indian Medal and Clasp - the first of his six honours. Up to this point Monteath's career had been steady rather than outstanding.<sup>15</sup> It was his involvement in the First Afghan War (1838-42) that established his reputation as an 'eminent' soldier.

The first Afghan War was one of the most futile and disastrous episodes in British Imperial history. It had its origins in a Persian attempt to capture the western Afghan city of Herat. The siege of the city was seen by Palmerston, the Foreign Secretary, and Lord Auckland, the Governor General of India, as an indirect attempt by the Russians to threaten the 'jewel' in Britain's crown. The ruler of Afghanistan, the generally respected Dost Muhammad, was willing, indeed eager, to enlist British support against any Russian encroachments. Despite this, on hearing reports of Russian agents at work in Kabul, Auckland decided British interests would be best served by replacing Dost with the exiled Shah Shuja - at that time enjoying a lengthy retirement at the expense of the East India Company. Having enlisted the help of the Sikh leader Ranjit Singh, Auckland duly announced his intention in the so-called Simla Declaration, and launched the 30,000-strong Army of the Indus across the Bolan Heights into Afghanistan.<sup>16</sup>

Despite extreme logistical problems (one Brigadier alone required 60 camels to transport his personal effects) the expedition achieved its objective with relative ease. The seemingly impregnable fortress of Ghazni fell with the loss of only 17 men. Dost Muhammad was thus forced to submit and Shah Shuja was duly installed in Kabul's Bella Hissar fortress as the new 'friendly' ruler of Afghanistan.

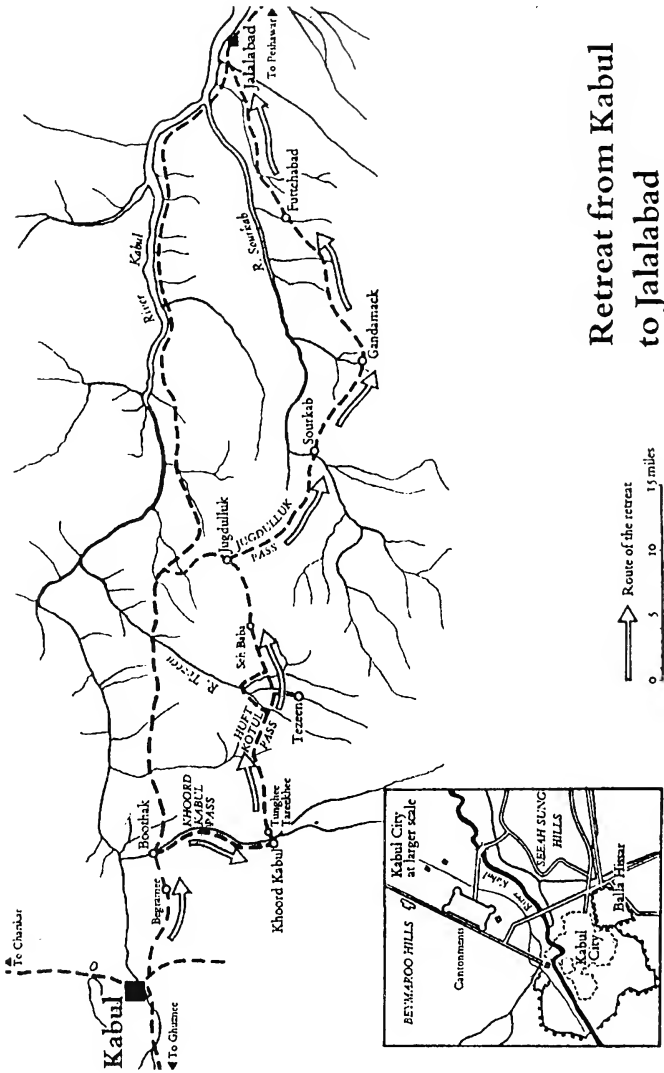
At this point, however, Auckland's scheme began to fall apart. Contrary to his expectations and those of Sir William Macnaghten, the political officer attached to the expedition, there was no enthusiasm amongst the Afghan people for their restored ruler. Indeed Shah Shuja did his cause little good by surrounding himself with bodyguards and demanding excessive prostration



from those Afghan chiefs who were willing to treat with him. Despite British officers, the Shah's local levies were unreliable, and British regiments were required for the collection of taxation. To cap it all Akbar Khan, Dost Muhammad's son, had refused to surrender and posed the constant threat of rebellion. Thus while the bulk of the Army of the Indus marched home, sizeable garrisons were grudgingly maintained at Kabul and Kandahar.

In the autumn of 1841 the Ghilzai tribesmen rose in revolt, thus cutting off the Kabul garrison from its supply base at Peshawar in Northern India. A brigade, commanded by Sir Robert Sale and including Monteath's native regiment, was dispatched from Kabul to India with the task of clearing the Khyber and other passes en route.<sup>17</sup> This 'routine' task proved impossible to accomplish in the face of determined Afghani opposition and Sale had to run for the cover of Jellalabad. Meanwhile in Kabul Sir William Macnaghten, the political head of the British garrison, had been treacherously murdered by Akbar Khan and his body cruelly displayed in the city's Grand Bazaar. The garrison itself under the elderly, gout-ridden and indecisive General Elphinstone, panicked. In return for a number of high ranking officers including Elphinstone himself as hostages Akbar guaranteed safe conduct out of Afghanistan for the rest of the garrison. What happened to this leaderless force was ably described some forty years later by Lieutenant-Colonel William Butler:

'On the morning of the 6th January the retreat from Kabul began. Four thousand five hundred fighting men and three times that number of followers turned their faces towards India, beginning the most disastrous movement recorded in British history. This retreat lasted seven days and measured in distance about fifty-five miles. In those seven days every horror that human misery counts in its catalogue was enacted. The enemy and the elements were alike pitiless. Through driving snow and bitter blast the long column wound its way between stupendous cliffs, from any vantage point of which the juzails of the Afghans poured destruction. The night closed over the fearful scene, but the dark hours did their work more silently, though not less surely, than the daylight. Seven mornings dawned upon masses of men frozen as they lay grim bivouacs of death. At length there were no more to die. Of all those thousands one solitary man passed out from the terrible defile of Jugdullak - he was all that remained of the army of Kabul.'<sup>18</sup>



*The route taken by Sale's Brigade between Kabul and Jellalabad.*



*The Remnants of an Army*

(1879) by Lady Elizabeth 'Roll Call' Butler, The Tate Gallery.

The fate of the Kabul garrison sent shock waves throughout the whole of the Indian Sub-continent. The danger of revolt spreading to British held territories seemed very real. The myth of British invincibility had for the time being at least been well and truly shattered.

In an effort to retrieve the situation the Governor-General, Lord Ellenborough, sent General Pollock through the Khyber Pass to relieve the garrison of Jellalabad.<sup>19</sup> This Pollock duly accomplished and went on to exceed his instructions by defeating Akbar Khan and recapturing Kabul. The British hostages were rescued and in vengeance for Macnaghten's murder Kabul's Grand Bazaar was razed to the ground. The British then withdrew and Dost Muhammad resumed his rule. Virtually nothing had been gained. At least after Pollock's intervention it was once again possible, in the words of Colonel Sutherland, the British Resident at Aymere, 'to look a native in the face'.<sup>20</sup>

Monteath served throughout the Afghan War in command of his 35th Bengal Infantry and for his part in the capture of Ghazni and Kabul he was decorated twice and made a C.B. In the events of the winter of 1841/42 he was in the thick of the action. Indeed as the advance guard in Sale's Brigade, Monteath's detachment was the first to come under rebel fire at Boothak on the 9th of October. From this point onwards, as they forced the passes of the Khoord Kabul, Huft Kotul and Jugdullak and until they reached the

relative safety of Jellalabad some four weeks later, the 35th were under constant fire. The little local difficulty they had been expecting had escalated into full scale insurrection. Not content with the ample natural cover the Ghilzai had erected songas or stone barricades at intervals across the ravines in an effort to halt the British advance completely.<sup>21</sup> The noise of cannon and musketry re-echoing through the passes was, according to one sergeant in Sale's 13th Somerset Regiment 'deafening in the extreme'.<sup>22</sup> In returning fire the British were dependent on old flint and steel muskets. As homeward bound regiments General Elphinstone had not thought fit to equip them with the new 'detonating' models. To make matters worse the unwieldy baggage train attracted much attention from marauders, and even at the end of the day there was no real rest for the troops, the Chapoa, or night attack, being an Afghan speciality. Added to all this were the natural hazards of freezing nights, absence of forage and water so heavily mineralised as to be undrinkable.

In the midst of this chaos Monteath kept his head. Against the wishes of Captain MacGregor, his political aide, he expelled members of the Hazir Bash (Shah Shuja's bodyguard - the words mean 'ever ready') from his camp at Khoord Kabul. It transpired later that these gentlemen had aided and abetted the Ghilzai in their night attacks and had further hampered the British by hamstringing their baggage camels. Again at Tizeen, Monteath showed himself to be an accurate judge of Afghan tactics. A small body of Afghan horse had been spotted inside the curvature of a large rock at the entrance to the Tizeen valley. Monteath was urged by one of his colleagues to send in the cavalry. His response was described as follows:

'Colonel Monteath, however, was too prudent a soldier to throw his people in such a country by driblets out of hand; so he closed up the whole of the advanced guard, and moved forward. It was well that he did so. No sooner were the projecting crags turned than the hills which bounded the valley on all sides were seen to swarm with Afghans, who had manifestly placed this body of horse as a decoy wherewith to entice the British cavalry forward, and to bring them under such a fire as must have emptied every saddle in a moment. Now then was the time to act; and Colonel Monteath did not suffer the fortunate moment to escape him. The guns were immediately ordered up to the front. They came up at a hand-

gallop, the infantry opening up to the right and left in order to let them pass; and unlimbering with all haste, the artillerymen threw some shells with admirable precision among the masses; the effect was very striking. You saw some men fall and the rest, as if terrified at finding themselves in so exposed a situation wavered to and fro, and then broke, and retired in all directions.<sup>23</sup>

More trials awaited Sale's Brigade at Jellalabad. The defences of that city - the winter home of the Kings of Kabul - had been sadly neglected. Repairs to the ramparts were impossible under the direct fire of the 5,000 Afghan besiegers. It once again fell to Monteath, as the garrison's second-in-command, to sally forth with the aim of destroying all cover within range of the city walls. He began this task with a dawn reconnaissance - 'all the various features in the scene, as well as the dispositions which the enemy had made for the purpose of turning them to account, Colonel Monteath took time to examine; and then he proceeded in a soldier-like manner to perform the duty which was required of him'.<sup>24</sup> The operation not only succeeded in its objectives but accounted for 200 of the besiegers at the same time.

The garrison of Jellalabad then settled down to the heavy labour of repairing ramparts and digging ditches. Red coats and other regimental clothing were put in store and shirt sleeves became the order of the day. Men and officers alike wielded spades and pickaxes with loaded muskets piled nearby in case of a sudden attack. From the start the European soldiers were on half rations of bread supplemented by eight ounces of corn meal a day. Lieutenant Sinclair of the 13th Light Infantry made a number of hand corn-mills to better utilize local grain. With no tea or alcohol available the men drank Buck-Buck - a coffee substitute made from roasted wheat. In time camel meat made its appearance on the menu. Near the end of the siege the Afghans had taken to grazing large numbers of sheep around the city to deprive the garrison's grass cutting squads of animal fodder. In a lightning raid a small force of British cavalry succeeded in turning the tables on Akbar's men by driving fully 500 sheep into the city. When Sale distributed the spoils Monteath's native troops gifted their share to the 13th Somerset Regiment protesting that the meat was more necessary for the Europeans. Coming only fifteen years before the Indian Mutiny, this little incident showed how loyal and self-sacrificing Sepoy troops, if sympathetically led, could be.



*Jellalabad from a drawing in the London Illustrated News.*  
National Library of Scotland

The siege was not without its more light-hearted moments. To taunt the garrison an Afghan piper used regularly to play and dance on a hill to the south-west of the city - just outside the range of the defenders' Brown Bess muskets. Then one day much to the delight of the garrison and no doubt the surprise of the musician, an officer brought him down with a shot from a hunting rifle.<sup>25</sup> When ammunition ran low, Captain Mayne constructed a wooden puppet which he dressed up in an officer's uniform complete with cocked hat and moving sword. Until the Afghans got wise to the 'general' Captain Mayne was able to collect a good supply of lead!<sup>26</sup>

The arrival on the 13th of January 1842 of Dr William Brydon, the sole survivor of the 4,500-strong Kabul garrison, was a severe psychological blow to Jellalabad's gallant defenders. No help could now be expected from that quarter and all hope of relief now centred on General Pollock's Khyber expedition. Even worse was to follow. Nature, it appeared, was on the side of the Afghans. On February 18th the garrison was shaken by an electric storm which made it impossible for the sentries to handle the metal parts of their muskets. There were reports of 'electric fluid' the size of 'a child's balloon' playing round the tips of bayonets.<sup>27</sup> The following morning the earth began to tremble to an accompanying noise - 'not so much like thunder as of a thousand heavily-laden waggons rolling and jolting over an ill-paved street'. In 18 seconds an earthquake had undone all that it had taken the garrison of Jellalabad three months to accomplish. Fortunately as most men had been working on ditches at some distance from the walls, casualties were comparatively light. The walls of the 35th's hospital collapsed with four fatalities, and Colonel Monteath, the field officer for the day, was thrown from one of the bastions but sustained only 'some bruises'.<sup>28</sup> The miracle was that Akbar, now amassing his forces close to Jellalabad failed to capitalise on the situation. It appears that the greater portion of his men had left camp to repair the damage done to their own homes.

By April the shortage of ammunition and food was becoming critical. One direct attack having failed, Akbar's troops concentrated on strengthening their own earthworks on the Peshawar side of the city. Nothing had been heard of General Pollock and when on the 5th of April Akbar's guns fired a salute, Sale and his colleagues became convinced that the relief

expedition had failed. Rather than starve, preparations were made to break out of Jellalabad. Leaving camp followers to man the walls, almost the entire garrison launched a three-column attack on Akbar's camp. In the battle that followed the flamboyant Colonel Dennie, described by the *Bombay Times* as 'the Diomedes of the British Army', lost his life. All three columns, however, attained their objectives, Monteath's maintaining 'without check the pace at which their advance began'. With the British guns firing into their camp at close range, Akbar's men fled, many drowning in the river in an effort to evade the bayonets of their pursuers. In Glied's words: 'never was victory more complete. Camp baggage, artillery, ammunition, standards, horses, arms of every kind, fell into the hands of the conquerors.'<sup>29</sup>

Not only had the Jellalabad garrison broken the siege themselves - they had survived in style. When General Pollock finally arrived on the 17th of April he found them 'all fat and rosy, in the highest health, scrupulously clean shaven and dressed as neatly as if quartered in the best regulated cantonment in India'. Pollock, the would-be hero of the hour, must have been just a little piqued to enter Jellalabad to the garrison band's rendition of 'Oh! But you're a long time a' Coming'.<sup>30</sup>

Even at this stage there was no rest for Monteath. He was dispatched almost immediately with a force to meet and support some reinforcements from India through the Khyber pass. In June, Monteath, in command of some 2,300 men, set off on a punitive expedition, into the Shinwarree Valley, the main objective of which was to recover a gun and money plundered from General Elphinstone's army. This objective he achieved with customary efficiency, losing only three men in the process. Where resistance was encountered or evidence of plunder clearly established, forts and houses were blown up and trees slashed 'as a mark of just retribution. At one time', Brigadier Monteath wrote later from his camp at Majeena, 'the interiors of forty-five forts were in a blaze along the valley'.<sup>31</sup> By the end of August, Monteath had joined forces with Pollock's main Army of Retribution on the road to Kabul. His immediate superior at this time, General McCaskill, was so much of an invalid that he could only travel in a litter. Monteath, as a result, assumed command of the division for the duration of the campaign, a position which, as Glied puts it, 'both by nature and education he was eminently fitted'.



What a dedicated soldier like Monteath thought of the homecoming festivities organised by Lord Ellenborough at Ferozepore is nowhere recorded. The 'illustrious garrison' of Jellalabad were persuaded to march across the bridge at Sutlej, through a 'most unsightly and grotesque Triumphal Arch, past a line of 250 elephants who, to a beast, refused to salaam or trumpet as instructed, before finally receiving the plaudits of the 25,000-strong Army of Reserve drawn up for the occasion. There then followed 'a period of feasting and dancing and general junketing . . .'. There were fortunately more tangible rewards for Monteath who was promoted Colonel and appointed aide-de-camp to the Queen. These relatively modest rewards were slightly overshadowed by charges that Monteath's troops, amongst others under General Pollock's command, had 'committed excesses' during their victorious march through Afghanistan.<sup>32</sup>

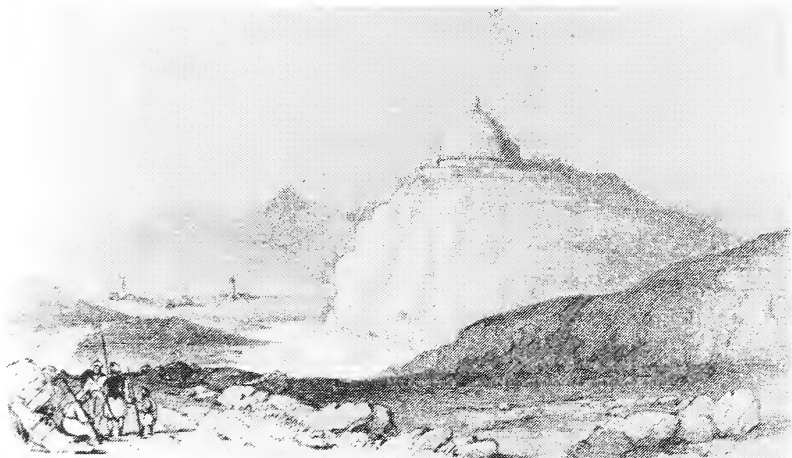
Despite these politically motivated and largely unfounded charges, Monteath emerged from the Afghan débâcle with his reputation enhanced. His unflinching personal bravery and coolness under fire, demonstrated from the outset of his career, proved once again to be invaluable assets. To this could be added outstanding leadership of his native Bengal troops - a quality which, as the Mutiny of 1857 was to show, could no longer be taken for granted in British India. Monteath may well have been a disciplinarian and a stickler for the rule book, but this was exactly what was needed in the chaotic circumstances of the First Afghan War. Moreover, somewhat ahead of his time he understood and evolved an effective response to the guerilla tactics of the Afghan tribesmen. In short, Monteath has a strong claim to be regarded as the unsung hero of the whole affair. Without the status of high command he had shouldered its responsibilities. Both commanders he served under were incapacitated for most of the time - Sale having to be carried round the ramparts of Jellalabad in a chair. As an Indian Army as opposed to a Queen's officer Monteath's reputation was inevitably eclipsed by those of the larger than life 'Fighting Bob' Sale and the dynamic Colonel Dennie. In the innumerable memoirs and military biographies of the time, however, he is invariably mentioned with respect and not a hint of awe as an utterly reliable commander. Family modesty perhaps prevented Monteath from arguing his case for higher honour in print. Further promotion was granted to him

after his return to Britain in 1845, but it was not until 1865, a year after work had started on his mausoleum, that he received his long overdue and richly deserved K.C.B.

While following family precedents might have been one reason behind Monteath's decision to build a mausoleum, his long immersion in Indian culture was in all probability another. Mausolea, as the great tombs of Humayan, Akbar and the Taj Mahal attest, were the archetypal expression of Mughal architecture in north-west India. Indeed the Mughal historian Quandahari was stating a generally accepted view when he wrote that 'the measure of men is assessed by the worth of their building'.<sup>33</sup> Such notions were no doubt foremost in the mind of Pollock's Army of Retribution when they sought to humble the Afghans by carrying off to India the 900-year-old gates of Mahomed of Ghazni's mausoleum.

The style and location of Monteath's Mausoleum possibly also reflect his Indian experiences. The star-studded dome, responsible for the monument's 'barbaric' appearance, might well have been a conscious reference to the great tombs of India. Or to take speculation even further, Monteath might have partly modelled his last resting place on the Grecian tomb (or tope) in the Khyber Pass sketched in 1839 by Lieutenant William Barr of the Bengal Horse Artillery.<sup>34</sup> This would also explain the choice of site. Perhaps when Monteath looked south from Gersit Law to the distant Cheviots, he saw in his mind's eye the Hindu Kush.

Whatever background factors influenced Monteath, by the time work began on his Mausoleum in 1864, he appeared to be part of a national trend away from church or churchyard burials. The 1860s were quite simply the age of Mausolmania - with the leading exponents of the craze being the Royal family themselves. Following the precedent of her brother the Duke of Saxe-Coburg's magnificent mausoleum at Coburg, the Duchess of Kent (Queen Victoria's mother) had one of her own erected in the grounds of Frogmore House in Windsor. The design was commissioned by her nephew Prince Albert the Prince Consort and, when he died tragically only months after his aunt in 1861, his grieving widow, Queen Victoria, ordered the construction of a second mausoleum at Frogmore - this one to be in 13th century Italian style. Prince Albert's remains were placed in this mausoleum in 1868 (coincidentally the year of Monteath's death) and Queen

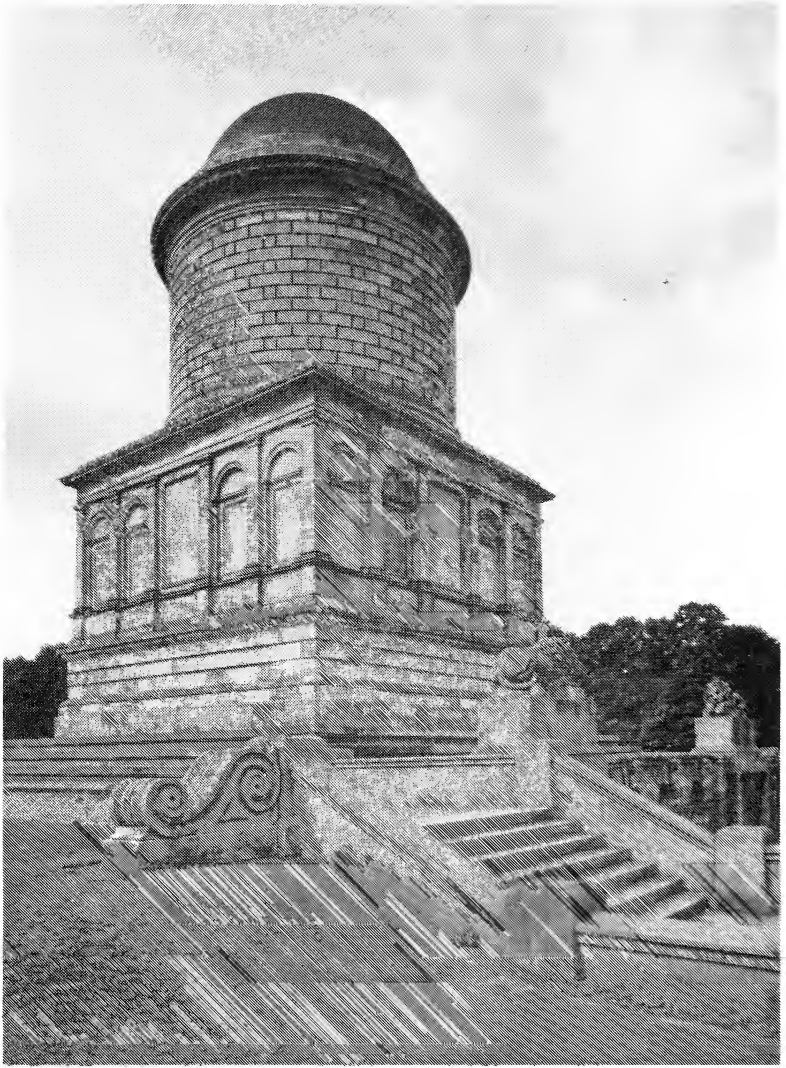


*Grecian tope in the Khyber Pass by Lieutenant William Barr.*

Victoria's laid beside them after her death in 1901.<sup>35</sup>

This national trend was foreshadowed somewhat in Scotland by the colossal mausoleum of Alexander the 10th Duke of Hamilton completed in 1865. There seems little doubt that this structure, erected only 17 kilometres from Stonebyres for a distant but distinguished relative, was in large part the model for Monteath's last resting place. The similarities in the details of these two domed classical buildings are simply too numerous to ignore. Both sport Egyptian style door frames, coats of arms above the crypt and short succinct inscriptions. The rather grand caretaker's villa at Hamilton was echoed at Ancrum with an estate worker's cottage some 20 metres to the north of the monument it protected. Above all the magnificent lions executed at Hamilton by the celebrated Scottish sculptor Alexander Handyside Ritchie, the one on guard symbolising life and the other asleep the symbol of death, are replicated, albeit on a smaller scale, at the entrance to Monteath's crypt.<sup>36</sup>

Not surprisingly, in the relatively narrow world of Scottish architecture there lay a further connection; as the carved 'PK' monogram on the eastern base of the building indicates, Monteath employed the Edinburgh firm of Peddie and Kinnear to design his mausoleum. Charles Kinnear was trained in the office of David Bryce, one of the leading exponents of the neo-baronial style in Scotland and the architect responsible also for the completion of the Hamilton Mausoleum.<sup>37</sup> Although more typically involved in



*The Hamilton Mausoleum*

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country house design (Glenmayne House in Galashiels is a local example of his work) and commercial buildings especially banks, Kinnear, like Bryce and his mentor William Burn, belonged to that class of architects used to incorporating their wealthy clients'

tastes and indeed whims into their work. This lends credence to the idea repeated in several sources that the monument 'was executed in every detail subject to his [the General's] approval'.<sup>38</sup> It was the other partner in the firm John Dick Peddie, however, who seemed to possess some expertise in the monumental line having completed one to his own grandfather in Warriston Cemetery and perhaps also submitting an unexecuted design for the Wallace Monument in Stirling. The only existing work of Peddie's showing some kinship to the Monteath Mausoleum however is the Ebenezer Erskine monument in Stirling completed in 1859.<sup>39</sup>

It is not entirely clear who was responsible for the actual construction of the mausoleum. If the *Southern Reporter* of March 16th 1865 is to be believed it was Mr Harkness of Hawick, while the *Kelso Chronicle* of 29th April 1864 confidently plumped for 'Mr Herbertson; builder of Galashiels'. It is just possible that the ground work was laid by Harkness and Herbertson, who prefabricated and erected the viewing gallery and spire on the nearby Wellington Monument some two years later, called in for specialised work on the dome.<sup>40</sup> No direct evidence at all exists on the craftsmen responsible for the coat of arms, the angels which flank the sarcophagus, or the lions. Peddie and Kinnear were certainly accustomed to using superior craftsmen - employing one Mr Roddin of London on the Royal Bank building in Brechin and John Rhind the sculptor for medallion heads of Sir Walter Scott and other Scottish notables on the cornice of a new Princes Street building in 1864.<sup>41</sup> It is perhaps significant that John Rhind's architect brother David Rhind, with whom he often co-operated, submitted a Gothic design for the Scottish Memorial of the Prince Consort in 1865 which included a base 'surrounded with sculptured figures and couchant lions'.<sup>42</sup> With Landseer around the same time working on the famous lions for Nelson's Column in Trafalgar Square, the beasts, like mausolea it seems, were very much in vogue.

One final somewhat ominous similarity between the Hamilton and Monteath mausolea is that, to varying degrees, both buildings and surviving families suffered decline and ill fortune in the years that followed. The 12th Duke of Hamilton squandered much of the family wealth in profligate living in the South of France, thus necessitating the sale of mineral rights across the Hamilton estate. As a consequence of this mining activity the Palace had to be



*The Ebenezer Erskine Monument, Stirling.*

Crown copyright: Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland.

demolished and the mausoleum was subject to severe subsidence. Cracks appeared in the magnificent coat-of-arms in the crypt, and as if this fraught symbolism was not enough, the remains of 16 Hamilton notables had to be removed to the nearby cemetery to share a common grave.<sup>43</sup>

A similar pattern of landed decline affected Sir Thomas's offspring. His grandson and heir Augustus Yorke died in childhood, and presumably the Monteath fortune passed to the Monteath Scotts of Ancrum. In 1871, Sir William Monteath Scott, the General's son-in-law, became the new laird of Ancrum as well as Stonebyres. Despite his wife's considerable inheritance, Sir William seems to have been beset by financial problems. At Stonebyres his housekeeper Ann Rutherford reported that he refused to pay workmen more than 14/- a week 'so that all who are able to work have left him', and at Ancrum itself servant lay-offs and cut-backs also appeared to be the order of the day. Disaster struck in 1874 with the burning down of Ancrum House and although the sale of Stonebyres after a lengthy period on the market must have redressed the situation somewhat, the family appeared to be in gradual decline.<sup>44</sup> The last descendant in the Ancrum area, a Miss Monteath Scott, died in the 1960s.



*The 'watchful' lion from the western base of the Monteath Mausoleum.*

Photograph by John D. Wood.

The mausoleum itself over time has suffered the ravages of weather, pigeons and vandals. The caretaker's cottage was abandoned some time in the 1880s. The eerie whistle of the steady breeze on the iron railings around the monument, and the isolated situation, made the posting unpopular with estate workers. Recent timber felling at the southern tip of the Mausoleum Strip has exposed the remains of this cottage. In July 1904 lightning shattered the stone cross on top of the dome and broke several of the glass stars. Repairs involved disturbing the General against his expressed wish. Whether this was the first encroachment into the crypt is not clear - but it certainly was not the last. The *Jedburgh Gazette* of September 24th 1943 reported that the crypt door had been broken open and had stood thus 'open to any visitor' for a period of time before being barricaded - a pattern repeated numerous times since then. It is certainly to be hoped that the conservation concern expressed some years ago by Borders Regional Council over the Monteath Mausoleum will be translated into practical action to save and maintain this unique and historically intriguing building.<sup>45</sup>

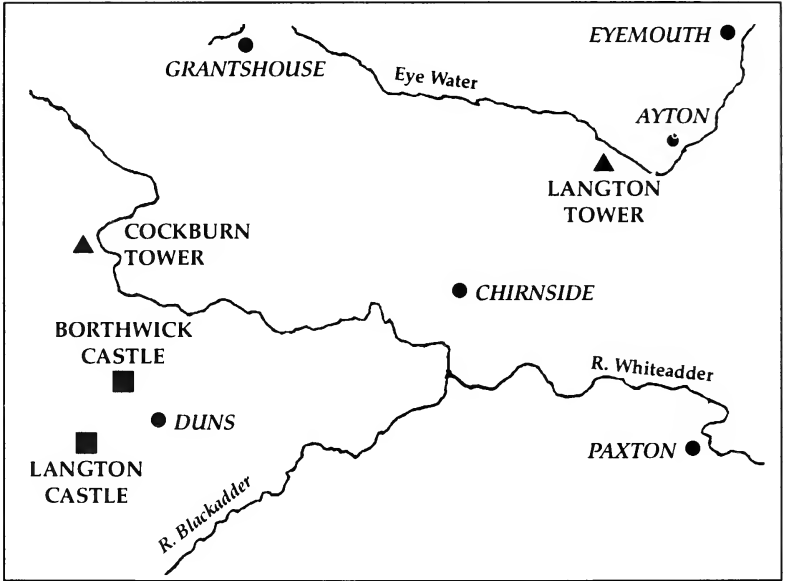
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*I should like to thank Joyce Lockie, the Librarian at Jedburgh Grammar School, for her help with inter-library loans, and Charles Strang for guidance on architectural matters.*



Location of Castles and Towers

## CASTLES OF THE COCKBURNS

L. H. Cleat

Redbrae, Gavinton, Duns

The family of Cockburn, which spread into numerous branches, is thought to have originated at Cockburn, in the parish of Duns, Berwickshire, but no authentic records of its beginnings remain. Another source may have been Kolbrand, a Norse raider, who established himself at Cockburnspath. Whatever their origin the Cockburns eventually owned vast stretches of land lying between Edinburgh and the Borders. Their estates were situated in Berwickshire, East Lothian, Midlothian and Peeblesshire and many of these had large houses or castles.<sup>1</sup>

Three of the fortalices discussed in the following pages stood only a few kilometres from Langton, the principal cradle of many of the branches. The fourth lay within eighteen kilometres of the estate. It is not the intention of the author to trace the family history of the Cockburns who built or occupied these strongholds but to establish their locations and to refer briefly to their owners. The castles and towers described here are no longer in existence.

In more unsettled times the Cockburns who owned the lands of Langton, and much else beyond, lived in **Langton Castle**. This ancient stronghold stood some three kilometres west of Duns and occupied a commanding position in what is known as Little Byres park. The site lies about 330 metres south of Langton Edge, a modern dwelling house, and is marked by the unevenness of the ground indicating the existence of foundations of a substantial building surrounded by some kind of moat. The Club examined the site in 1893 and the report of the visit states that 'a natural moat surrounds the site'.<sup>2</sup>

The date of its construction is not known. During the reign of David I (1124-1153) the lands of Langton were bestowed on Roger de Ow. When Roger granted lands to the monks of St Mary, Kelso, later to become Kelso Abbey, he refers in the charter to 'my estate of Langton'; the earliest mention of the name of Langton. Later the estate passed into the ownership of William de Veteri-Ponte, or



*The grass-covered foundations of Langton Castle.*

Vipont. It is probable that the Castle was built by one of these early owners.

In about 1330, the Castle became the property of Alexander de Cockburne on his marriage to Mariotta de Veteri-Ponte who was the sole heiress of Sir William de Veteri-Ponte, killed at Bannockburn. By this marriage the Cockburns gained possession of the lands which they held for more than four centuries.

The Castle features briefly in the history of Scotland. James IV led an expedition into England in 1496 and sent his artillery to Langton during the foray, later known as the Raid of Ellem.<sup>3</sup> The Castle was severely damaged during the Earl of Hertford's invasions of the Borders in 1544-5. It was rebuilt but sacked again by Sir Henry Percy and Sir George Bowes, Governor of Berwick, during their raid into the Merse in 1556.<sup>4</sup>

In 1566, Mary Queen of Scots, the Earl of Bothwell and, it is said, one thousand horsemen were entertained by Sir James Cockburn for one night at the Castle during their tour of Border castles. The Castle was occupied for a short time in 1575 by the Regent Morton.

The siege of Langton Castle in 1517, which led to the death of Sir Anthony d'Arcy de la Bastie, Warden of the Eastern Marches, is a well-known episode in Border history. The events leading to the slaying of the Warden are simple. After the loss of Sir William Cockburn and his son, Alexander, at Flodden in 1513, the Castle and the lands of Langton were inherited by Alexander's son, James Cockburn, who was only a child at the time. As was the custom, a tutor was appointed to look after the affairs of the estate,

but in this case there were two tutors. The child's uncle, William Cockburn, who had married a Home, was passed over to the great annoyance of the Homes, a powerful family. As a result of this slight, William Cockburn and the Homes of Wedderburn laid siege to Langton Castle which the two guardians were occupying. It was the intervention of Sir Anthony in this quarrel which led to his speedy demise.<sup>5</sup>

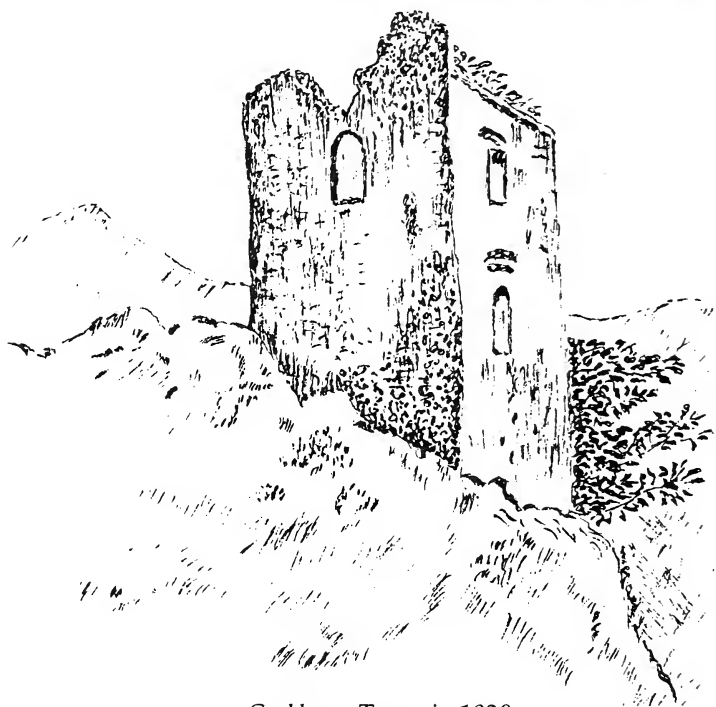
The Castle was still occupied in 1608 when Sir William Cockburn, the owner at that time, signed and dated a document and added the words 'at the Castle of Langton'.<sup>6</sup> It is probable that not long after this the more comfortable Langton House was built on a sheltered site overlooking the Langton Burn and the Tower abandoned.

**Cockburn Tower** stood on a steep-sided spur of the southern slope of Cockburn Law some 360 metres NNW of Cockburn farmhouse. To the south ran the Cock Burn, a small stream from which the Tower derived its name. A survey of the remains of the Tower carried out in 1980 showed that it was almost square, 12.8 metres by 11.6 metres, over walls up to 2.2 metres thick at the base and standing to a maximum height of 1.4 metres.<sup>7</sup> The Club visited the site in 1921 and the members saw the remains of the foundations.<sup>8</sup>

In early times the lands of Cockburn belonged to the Earls of Dunbar.<sup>9</sup> In 1425 Sir David Dunbar bestowed the lands on his daughter, Margaret, presumably as a dowry on her marriage to Alexander Lindsay, fourth Earl of Crawford. The eighth Earl sold them, about 1527, to William Cockburn, second son of the Sir William Cockburn who was slain at Flodden and one of those who had besieged Langton Castle in company with the Homes. By the purchase of these lands William Cockburn became 'of that Ilk'.

Cockburn succeeded Cockburn for five generations. In 1663, on the death of the owner who had no heir, the Tower passed to his brother, Sir James Cockburn of that Ilk who was created a baronet in 1671. He led an adventurous life but unfortunately fell into debt by lending money to his near neighbour and distant kinsman, Sir Archibald Cockburn of Langton. In 1696 Sir James was bankrupt and his creditors forced him to sell the Tower and lands at a public auction. The baronetcy and family of the Cockburns of Cockburn continued but their connection with the

Tower was severed. It fell into disuse and some of the stone was used to build the farmhouse and steading of Cockburn Farm.



*Cockburn Tower in 1820.*

The illustration of the Tower shown here originated in a painting by General Sir William Cockburn, 6th Baronet of that ilk, about 1820. A sketch was made from this painting by John Blair in 1920 and included in the Report of the Meeting in 1921.<sup>10</sup> The present drawing was made from this sketch.

**Borthwick Castle** was built on the lands of East Borthwick and was situated between the Castles of Langton and Duns; only a short distance from the latter. In early times there were two Borthwicks, Easter and Wester, but why the area was so named is not known. From its elevated position on the south-east slope of an outlying hill of the Lammermuirs, Borthwick Castle commanded a view over the major part of the Merse from Home Castle in the south-west to Berwick in the east. It has now been completely demolished by quarrying operations.

Before the 16th century the lands of Easter Borthwick supported a small community but no trace of their houses or crofts survive. An excavation report suggests that there was no fortification of any kind at Borthwick in this early period. In 1584 Patrick Cockburn, a brother of William Cockburn of Langton, received a crown charter of the lands of East Borthwick. This grant was confirmed in 1587. There is little doubt that Patrick built the Castle, probably about 1584-5. Patrick Cockburn was a man of some importance; at one time sheriff-depute of Berwickshire and was later appointed one of the aforementioned guardians of his nephew, William of Langton, who was a minor at the time of his father's death. Patrick appears in the records as 'Tutor of Langton' and was the occupant of Borthwick Castle until his death in 1601. There seems to have been some exchanges of land, including that of Grueldykes, among the various members of the Cockburn family but always with the consent of the Cockburns of Langton. Blaeu's map of the Merse, surveyed by Timothy Pont in the 1590s, shows a symbol for a tower-house on the lands of East Borthwick and confirms that the surveyor saw a fortalice of some kind a few years after its erection.<sup>11</sup>

Excavations were carried out in 1979 by the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland before the remains of the Castle were finally removed and a report was written by Maxwell-Irving.<sup>12</sup> The excavation report states that it had been an L-plan tower-house of the late 16th century. A basement and the remains of two other levels were found. Entrance to the Castle was gained from an enclosed courtyard. It is possible that a general modernisation of the building took place in the late 17th century. It was also noted that a later house was built in the south-west corner of the old courtyard. This dwelling may have been the 'Borthwick House' indicated on old maps of the area. The house was two storeys in height, apparently roofed with stone flags and had a chimney stack on each gable. By 1862 it had also become a ruin. Further details of the excavation of both the Castle and house are given in Maxwell-Irving's report. The remains of the Castle were still visible in 1874 when visited by Dr James Hardy and members of the Club. He recorded that they 'visited an old peel tower at Borthwick in a green field'.<sup>13</sup>

In 1663 the Castle together with the lands of East and West Borthwick plus other lands were 'erected' into the free Barony of

Stevenson held by Sir Robert Sinclair of Stevenson. Sir Archibald Cockburn of Langton had resigned the superiority of the lands in Sir Robert's favour three years earlier.

However, the Cockburns continued to occupy the Castle until the death of John Cockburn, fourth of East Borthwick, after which the ownership passed to his sister, Ann Cockburn, in 1703. The Castle appears to have been abandoned either at this date or on Ann's death a few decades later, the male line having become extinct on the death of John. The lands of East Borthwick then returned to the Cockburns of Langton.

**Langton Tower**, another edifice associated with the Cockburns, but somewhat smaller than a castle, was situated to the east of the former village of East Reston, known as Reston Magna in the distant past. The Tower was known locally as 'The Horn' after the Horn Burn which joins the Eye Water south-west of Ayton. This name is now applied to East Reston Farm which has a large cellar formed from roughly hewn stones. This may have been the foundation of Langton Tower.

The Tower once belonged to the Cockburns of Langton, although it stood some distance from Langton. The history of some branches of this family is often obscure; such is the case when attempting to unravel the Cockburn connection with East Reston. One chronicler records that William Cockburn, baron of Langton, gained possession of the lands about 1460, by his marriage to Helen, daughter and heiress of Reginald de Reston.<sup>14,15</sup> The Tower, subsequently, became known as Langton Tower. However it is probably that the Tower existed long before the Cockburn-de Reston marriage.

No mention of the above details appears in another account of the Cockburn connection with East Reston. According to this source, Alexander Cockburn, eldest son of Sir James Cockburn of Langton, is recorded as a portioner of the lands of East Reston about a century later and, on his death in 1599, passed them on to his son, also called Alexander. This Alexander had no family and on his death the lands passed to his uncle, Robert Cockburn, a younger son of Sir James of Langton. Robert married Helen Craw in 1618. James Cockburn, their third son, eventually inherited the remaining land, 'three husbandlands' (about 31.5 hectares), of East Reston on his father's death in 1632.<sup>16</sup>



Thus there is little agreement amongst the accounts of the history of the Tower itself. It has been suggested that it may have been destroyed as early as the 1540s during one of the English raids of the Borders.<sup>17</sup> But if some of the previous history is correct, it must have been rebuilt and re-occupied.

One historian records that an Archibald Cockburn married Agnes Aldincraw in 1606 and succeeded to the lands of East Reston on the death of his brother, Alexander. There is no record that the Tower was still standing, but it seems likely that Archibald would live in a building of some prominence. Another account states that it became the seat of a branch of the Craw family until it was forfeited in 1716.<sup>18</sup> Robert Craw, the proprietor at that time, and his son, John, had taken part in the Earl of Mar's rebellion in 1715 as a consequence of which Robert was executed and John exiled. No date, therefore, can be given for the destruction of the Tower.

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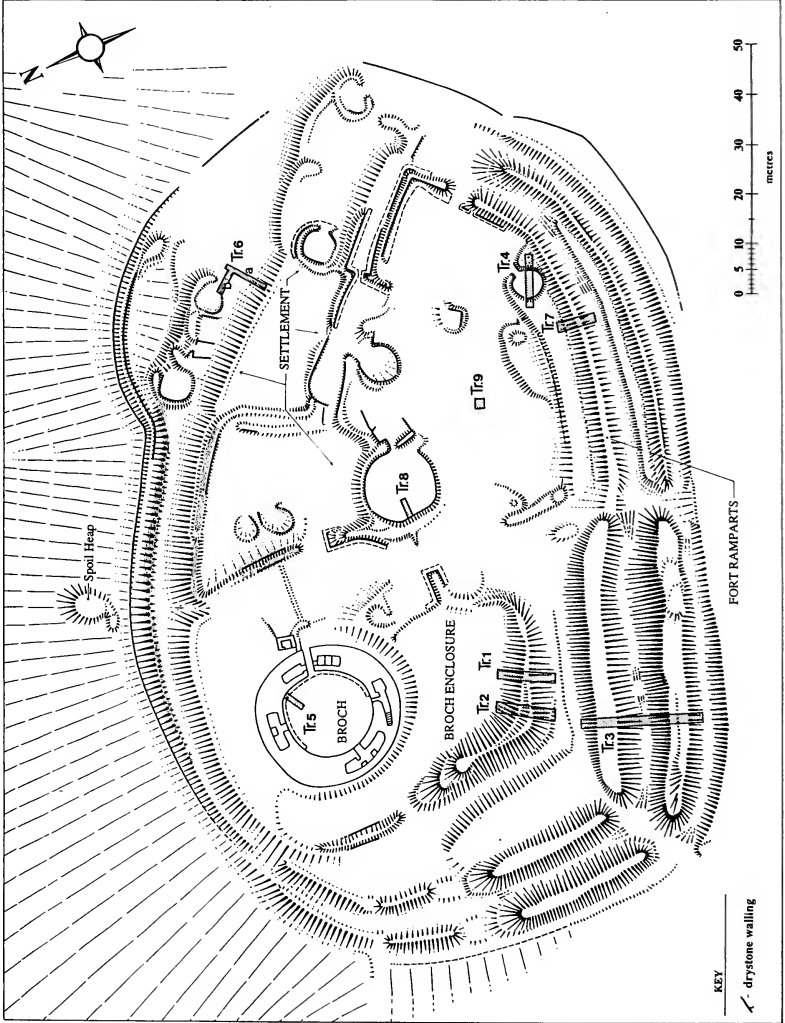


Figure 1 – Topographic plan of Edin's Hall.

## RECENT WORK AT EDIN'S HALL

Andrew Dunwell

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In February 1996 a party of members of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club braved some extremely harsh winter weather to visit the archaeological survey and excavations underway at the fort, broch and settlement of Edin's Hall. This work had been commissioned by Historic Scotland in response to rabbit damage to the earthworks across the site, and represents the first excavations since John Turnbull's investigations in the years around 1870, at which time the broch and several of the roundhouses to the east were cleared out (Turnbull 1881). A basic sequence of construction for the main elements of Edin's Hall had been proposed by previous researchers on the basis of earthwork evidence. The fort has been regarded as the primary construction, with the broch representing a later addition. The settlement has been variously interpreted as contemporary with, or later than, the broch.

In response to the Club's interest in this work and its long-standing concern with the condition of this important monument (reported in this journal as far back as 1850), this note has been submitted to outline the principal results of the 1996 fieldwork, and to propose some new ideas regarding the relationship between the broch and the settlement. A full account of the work will be published elsewhere (Dunwell forthcoming).

### **A new topographic plan of the site (Fig. 1)**

Several previous site plans exist (G. Turnbull 1857; Stuart 1871, plate I; J. Turnbull 1881, plate II; Christison 1895, fig. 25; RCAHMS 1915, figs 58-59; RCAHMS unpublished, 1951-5), but variously contain inconsistencies, inaccuracies or omissions. The new plan has attempted a comprehensive coverage of the structural remains, and includes several features not previously noted. The

positions of the nine new excavation trenches are annotated on it.

### Information on the enclosing works of the fort (Figs 2-3)

The ramparts and ditches defining the fort have long been recognised as representing the earliest visible component of this complex site. However, the interest in the broch and settlement has resulted generally in the fort being overlooked; there have been no previous deliberate attempts to excavate or record any part of its enclosing works.

These earthworks display a range of characteristics around their circuit, and are punctuated by at least seven breaks (Fig. 2, A-G). The southern half of the fort is bounded by two ramparts with external ditches. Between breaks B and D the earthworks are particularly substantial, standing up to c. 4m in relief between crest of rampart and base of ditch. Elsewhere on the south and west sides lower, degraded walls and narrower ditches are present, with a total relief of only around 2m. To the north, two ramparts with a medial ditch can be traced running along the steep slope leading down to the Whiteadder; an outer ditch may here have been considered unnecessary. At the eastern end of the site landscaping associated with the construction of the settlement has removed an arc of the fort earthworks. Of the seven breaks, only C can be confidently considered as an original feature. Break

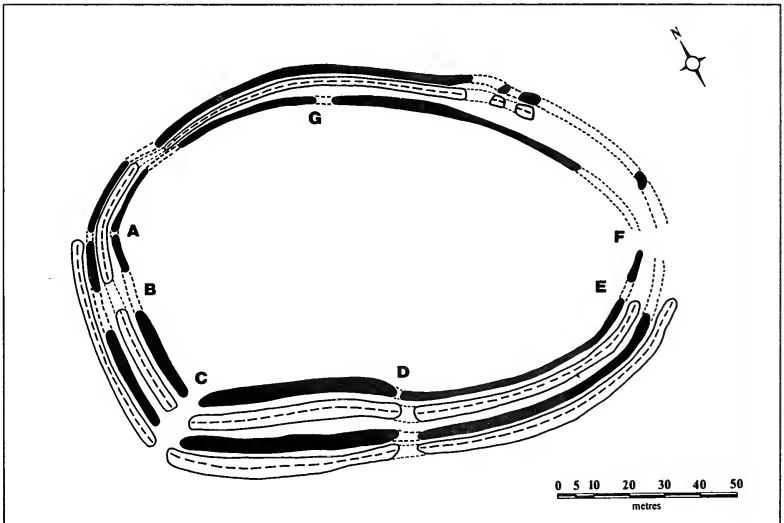


Figure 2 – Schematic plan showing outline of primary fort.

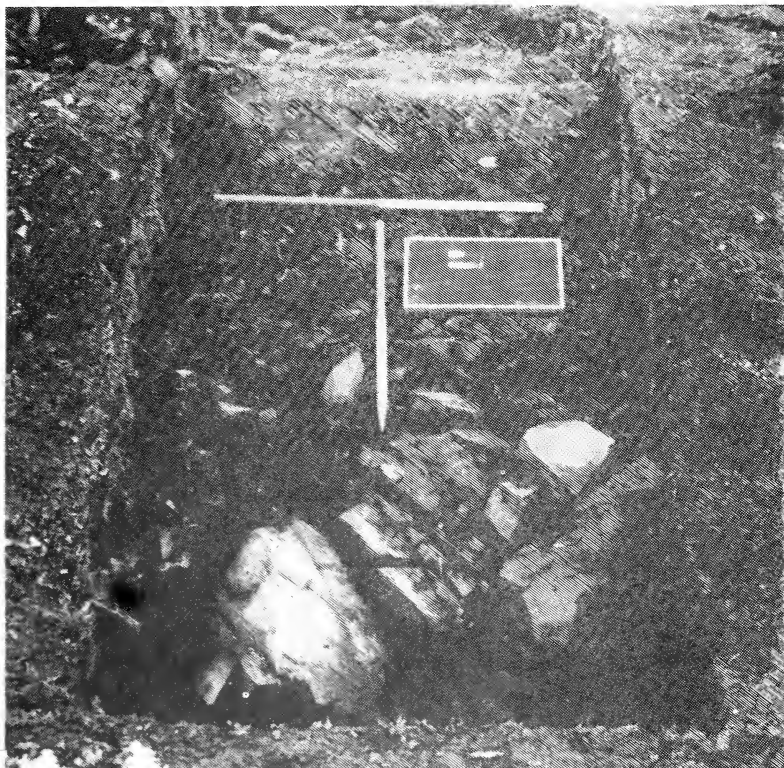


Figure 3 – Trench 7, photograph of rampart and rock-cut ditch.

F marks the position at which the later walled passage leading to the broch crosses the enclosing works of the fort, now no longer visible; this passage could have re-used an earlier entrance, although this could only be confirmed by excavation. Other breaks are more recent, although only G (made by John Turnbull around 1870 in order to facilitate spoil removal from the broch) is definitely modern.

Trenches were opened across the earthworks at two points on the south side of the fort (Fig. 1, Trenches 3, 7). In Trench 3 both ramparts proved to be of dump construction, formed by relatively soft silt, clay and fractured bedrock cast up from the adjacent ditches and with revetment walls set on their outer edges to prevent the upcast material from slipping back into the ditches. The inner rampart was spread to c. 8.45m wide and preserved up to c. 1.45m high. The inner ditch had a surface width of 6.0m, and

was excavated to a maximum depth of 1.9m; assuming the profile of the ditch to be regular beneath this level a total depth of c. 3.1m is suggested. The outer rampart occupied a ledge c. 6.9m wide between the two ditches, and was preserved up to 1.1m high. The outer ditch was only partially examined. In Trench 7, by contrast, the inner rampart was much slighter and degraded, measuring c. 4.8m wide and no more than c. 0.55m high. Its northern edge was defined by the partial remains of a kerb of upright stones. The inner ditch was rock-cut with an irregular, craggy edge (Fig. 3).

The varying scale and composition of the fort earthworks thus reflects the heterogeneity of the material quarried from the ditches for their construction. To the south-west (e.g. Trench 3) thick natural deposits of relatively soft material were excavated from ditches, probably up to 3m deep, to create dump ramparts provided with external stone revetments. Elsewhere across the site (e.g. Trench 7), bedrock occurs for the most part near the surface, and proved much more resistant to removal. This resulted in the excavation of narrower (and presumably shallower) ditches, and the construction of walls with boulder faces and a rubble core. The greater size of the dump ramparts is thus partly a pragmatic response to prevailing ground conditions. However, patterns of survival are probably also important: the poor survival of the walls (e.g. Trench 7) is likely to reflect recycling of stone for use elsewhere, such as in the broch and settlement.

### **The nature of the landscape at the time of the fort's foundation**

A buried turf line and soil were identified beneath both ramparts excavated in Trench 3; these represent the ground surface immediately prior to the construction of the ramparts. These layers were sampled in order to conduct soil pollen analyses, and thus provide information on land use and vegetation cover prior to the building of the fort. These analyses, undertaken by Dr Michael Cressey of CFA, suggest a local landscape dominated by grassland, and probably used for pastoral purposes. Fallow ground may have been present in the vicinity.

### **Survival of remains within the broch**

The architectural characteristics of the broch have been described elsewhere (RCAHMS 1915, 60-4; Dunwell forthcoming), and are not repeated here: fieldwork in 1996 in any case added

only a little to previous observations. The interior of the broch was cleared out by John Turnbull (1881). Figure 4 shows a ground plan of the broch based upon an existing plan by RCAHMS (1915), with additions and amendments, and the limited results of Turnbull's excavations incorporated (including the extent of paving).

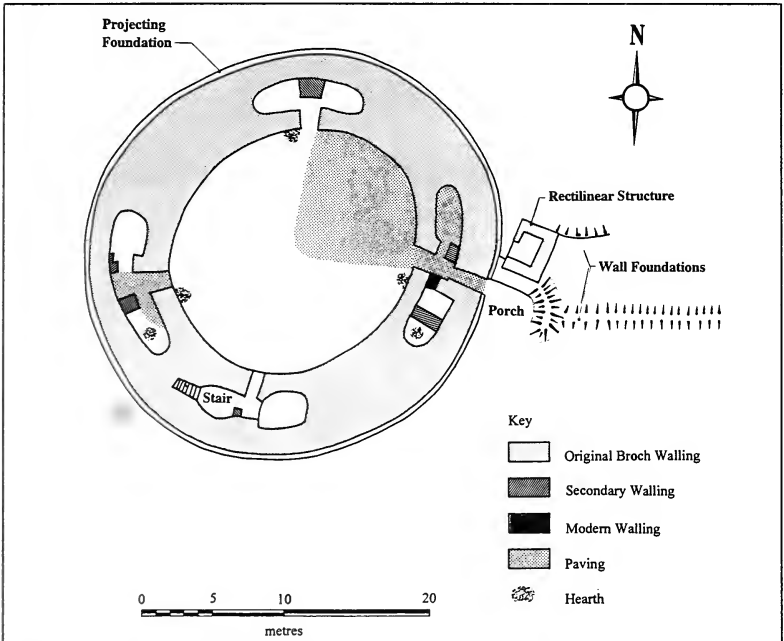


Figure 4 – Plan of broch (based on RCAHMS 1915 with amendments and additions).

A small trench (Fig. 1, Trench 5) was opened in the north-east quadrant of the central court of the broch, where Turnbull had located paving. This was revealed immediately beneath the turf. Beneath it was a layer of cobbles, laid either as a surface or as a foundation for the paving. The cobbles lay directly upon the subsoil surface. It was thus demonstrated that Turnbull had not reached the primary broch deposits within the central court, at least in this area.

### The nature of the broch enclosure boundary (Fig. 5)

The broch lies within a sub-rectangular enclosure in the north-western interior of the fort (Fig. 1). The enclosure boundary is most substantial at its south-west corner, surviving as a bank up to

6m wide and 1.5m high and tapering gradually to the north and east. A ditch is visible outside the bank on the southern half of its west side. Excavation through the bank forming the southern side of the enclosure (Fig. 1, Trench 1) revealed it to contain the remains

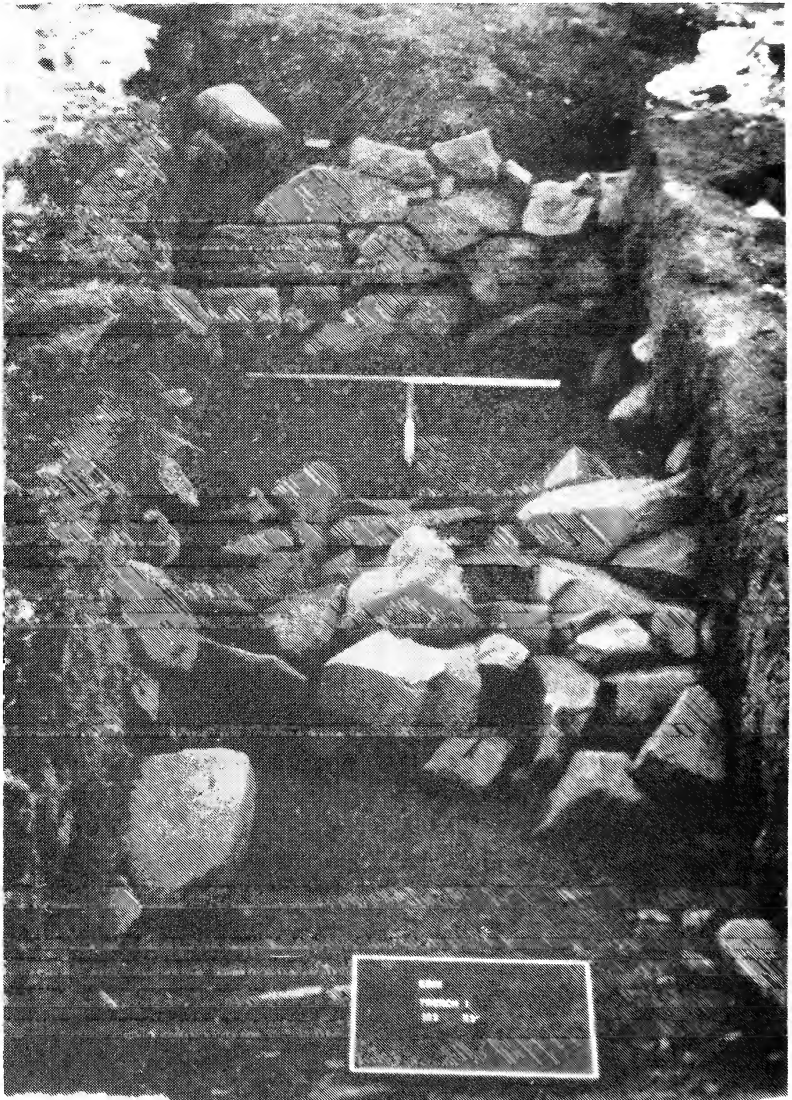


Figure 5 – Photograph showing the outer face of the broch enclosure wall in Trench 1.



of a massive wall c. 3.7m wide and still standing 1.25m high. The wall was composed of an earthen core retained on either side by a stone face. The outer face showed evidence of patching or rebuilding, whereas the inner face appeared to have been substantially robbed and subsequently banked with earth and rubble. Quantities of collapsed stone (e.g. Fig. 5) indicate that the wall had originally been somewhat higher. A ditch, c. 3.5m wide, ran outside the wall, and probably forms part of the same feature still visible on the west side of the broch enclosure; that it was completely infilled to the south might suggest that the ground had here been deliberately levelled. The broch therefore seems to have been set within an enclosure bounded by a monumental wall.

### Surface evidence for sequence within the settlement (Fig. 6)

To the east of the broch enclosure lies a series of stone-walled roundhouses with associated yards and enclosures, which together form a settlement. The settlement lies within the 'Votadinian' tradition (after Hill 1982a, 8-12), a form common in south-east Scotland and Northumberland. The internal widths of

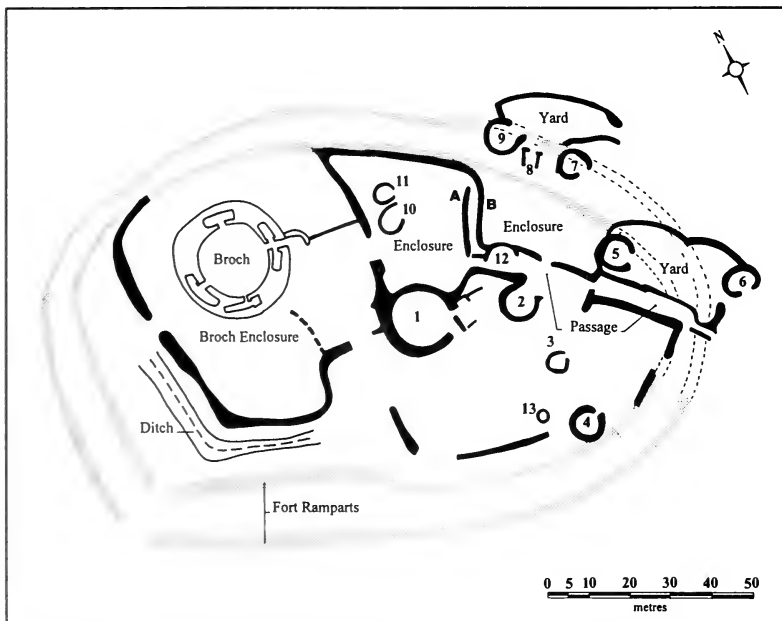


Figure 6 – Schematic plan of broch, broch enclosure, and settlement.

the majority of the structures fall between 5m and 7.5m, although that of Structure 1 exceeds 14m. Four of these roundhouses (1-4) occupy platforms scooped into the hillside within the fort. The close similarities in the structural characteristics of the various buildings, both visible and previously excavated, do not suggest substantially different dates for their construction.

Evidence of sequence and development within the settlement can be demonstrated from surface remains. In spatial terms three units are recognisable:

- a) A scatter of structures stand within the fort; these are associated with two rectilinear enclosures to the north, and possibly the remnants of a third to the south. This spread of remains is bisected by a walled passage leading from the eastern edge of the fort to the broch enclosure. The character of the walling varies along its length, and demonstrates that the passage is a composite feature.
- b) Two structures (5, 6) stand at opposite ends of a rectilinear yard entered from the east, independently of the walled passage. The creation of this yard required the levelling of a sector of the fort earthworks. The effort involved in its construction suggests that the enclosed ground within the fort was already occupied, and this that this element of the settlement represents an expansion.
- c) Three structures (7-9) lie over the northern enclosing works of the fort. Structures 8 and 9 are entered by way of a yard set downslope from them, whereas Structure 7 is entered independently of the yard, from the east. The peripheral position of these structures may also reflect their origin as an expansion of the settlement.

In addition, evidence of stratification is detectable in the core area of the settlement (a). Whilst insufficient to allow its sequence to be fully understood, the evolution of the settlement is more complex than has previously been realised. Of particular importance, Structure 1 is abutted by the walls of the broch enclosure and other enclosures, which thus appear to be secondary to it. Combined with its central location within the fort, there is good reason to regard Structure 1 as one of the primary features of the settlement. The passage through the settlement appears to truncate Structure 12, with its surviving walling

incorporated within the passage. This indicates that at least part of the passage was not primary to the settlement.

### **Excavated evidence for sequence within the stone-walled houses (Fig. 7)**

John Turnbull cleared out Structures 1-9 as part of his excavations (Turnbull 1881). Within these buildings he identified areas of paving, in most cases covering either a quadrant or half of the floor space adjacent to the entrance, although in Structure 1 covering the entire floor. No evidence was recorded for features such as hearths, internal partitions, or post rings supporting the roofs of the buildings. Furthermore, Turnbull appears not to have examined the walls of the structures.

Explanatory excavations were carried out on three of the structures in 1996 (Fig. 1, Trenches 4, 6, 8). A trench opened across the east wall of Structure 7 (Fig. 1, Trench 6) did little more than confirm that Turnbull had removed any deposits which had been formerly present within it.

Structure 4 (Fig. 1, Trench 4) was subject to the most extensive excavation, with a trench 1.5m wide opened across its walls and the centre of its interior. This structure occupies a distinct scooped platform in the south-east corner of the fort. Turnbull (1881, 94) had recorded only paving in the entrance and a quadrant of the interior adjacent to this. The walls of the structure proved to be of complex character (Fig. 7). Two boulder inner wall faces were present, one running along the base of the scoop and the second on its crest. Running concentrically behind these faces was a slot, probably a construction trench for a timber feature, which was sealed by rubble backing the stone faces. These features probably relate to a sequence of buildings which occupied the platform, in much the same way as was proposed by Hill (1982b, 173-5) for House 4 at Broxmouth, Dunbar, rather than being elements of a single complex wall. Very little had survived Turnbull's attentions within the structure: a residual deposit of occupation material was identified above the bedrock surface of the scooped platform. No paving was identified.

A small trench was opened in Structure 1 (Fig. 1, Trench 8), which also occupied a scooped platform, and where Turnbull (1881, 94) had recorded continuous paving. Here the bedrock surface of the platform was exposed immediately beneath the

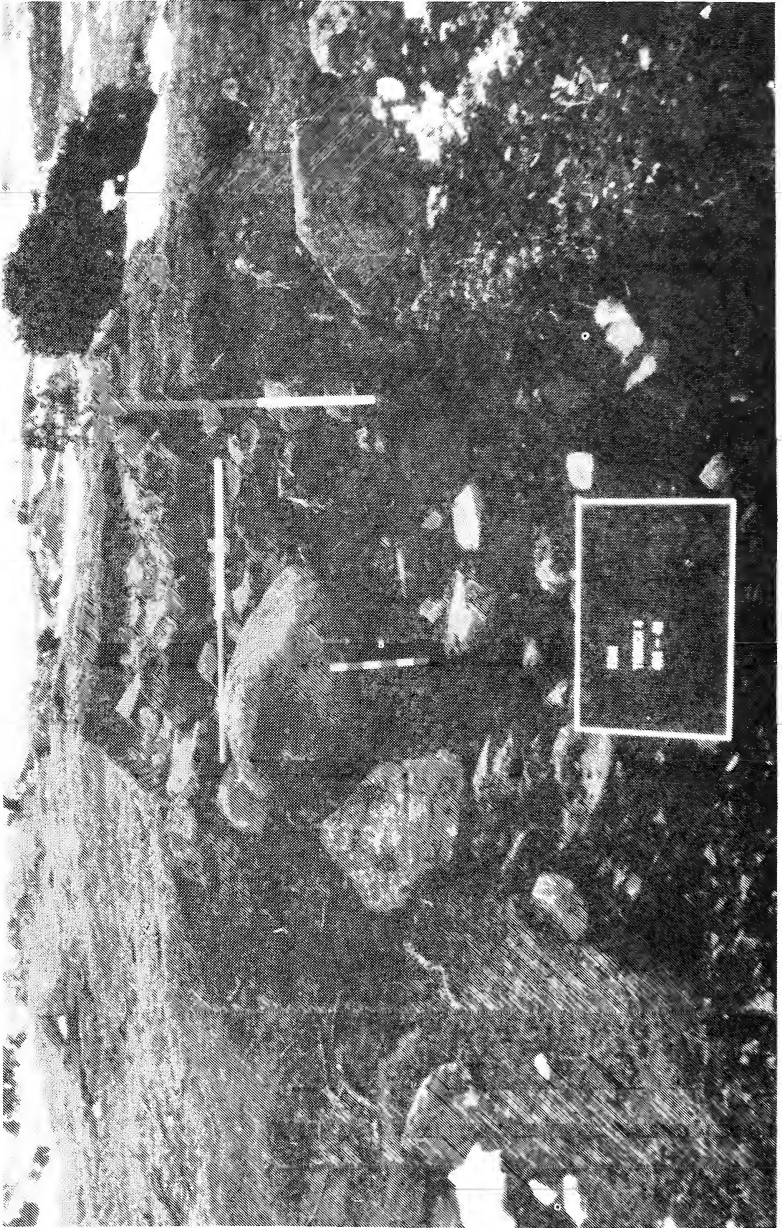


Figure 7 – Photograph showing the excavated section of the west wall of Structure 4. The two stone faces are visible, backed by rubble which sealed a construction trench for a timber feature.

topsoil, indicating that nothing had survived previous investigations. The wall of the structure was found to comprise a rough face revetting a rubble core, and to have been constructed over an earlier, rubble-filled, rock-cut feature. The nature of this rock-cut feature could not be established in the limited area trenched, although its exposed edge ran parallel to, and slightly inside, the inner wall face of Structure 1, allowing for the possibility that it might be related to a precursor building.

### **The chronological relationship between broch and settlement**

The broch and settlement can be broadly dated to the Iron Age, although little greater precision than this is currently possible. A fragment of glass bangle was recovered by Turnbull from an unknown context: this points to activity at the site in the first two centuries AD but sheds little light on its overall chronology. Although the 1996 fieldwork has provided no new evidence relating to the absolute chronology of Edin's Hall, three important conclusions can be drawn with regard to the relative chronology of the structures present:

- a) the settlement of stone-walled roundhouses developed over time, with the early structures probably being those occupying scooped platforms within the fort earthworks;
- b) the stone-walled roundhouses visible today occupying the platforms may only represent the latest of a sequence of buildings at these locations; the use of the platforms could originate with the construction of the fort;
- c) Structures 1 and 12 pre-date elements of the broch enclosure and walled passage.

As the settlement was in existence prior to the construction of certain monumental aspects of the broch complex (enclosure and passage), can the argument that the broch is entirely primary to the settlement be maintained? An alternative trajectory, in which the broch was constructed as part of the development of the settlement, may be countenanced. In this regard the presence of Structure 1 is crucial. With an internal diameter of over 14m, it is by far the largest roundhouse within the settlement, and its internal floor area is to this author's knowledge unparalleled in stone-built roundhouses in south-east Scotland, apart from the small group of brochs and duns. Its size, central location within

the fort, and its early position within the settlement sequence, demonstrate that Structure 1 was a building of considerable importance.

Could Structure 1 represent a focal point within the settlement, which was subsequently superseded by the broch? That the walled passage leading to the broch bypasses, and appears to isolate it, tends to indicate that Structure 1 no longer retained the same focal status after the construction of the broch.

### **The significance of the copper ingots from Edin's Hall**

The monumentality of the broch at Edin's Hall can reasonably be regarded as a reflection of its construction representing a physical manifestation of the wealth and power of its builders and occupants (cf Macinnes 1985; Hingley 1992). What was the source of this wealth? Fresh information from the finder indicates that the two large copper ingots, recorded previously as having been discovered in the immediate vicinity of the site in 1976, were in fact found within the broch. Recent analysis by Fraser Hunter of the one ingot held by the National Museums of Scotland (the location of the second is not known) suggests that it represents the product of primary smelting, with no alloying ingredients added. The nearest copper source to Edin's Hall lies nearby beside the Whiteadder at Hoardwheel, close to Elba Bridge. Although a direct link between the ingots and this source has yet to be proven by comparison of trace element patterns of ore and ingot, it seems highly likely that the occupants of Edin's Hall broch had control of access to this precious copper resource. Ingots such as these would presumably have been used for alloying and the subsequent manufacture of bronze items (such as rich 'Early Celtic' metalwork) – there is no evidence that such processes took place at Edin's Hall. It is therefore highly probable that the access to a valuable mineral resource contributed largely to the wealth of the settlement at Edin's Hall, which at some stage was translated into monumental architecture.

In this perspective the abnormal size of Structure 1 should be noted – does the scale of this structure also reflect access to the mineral source, before the broch was constructed? This interpretation of sequence between Structure 1 and broch can remain only a suggestion until secure information is obtained on the respective foundation dates of the two buildings. However,

this suggestion does emphasise the point that, even after two campaigns of excavation at Edin's Hall, there is still much to learn from its remains.

### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

CFA is grateful to Dr G. A. C. Binnie and other members of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club for their advice and information. CFA would also like to thank Mike and John Pringle for their voluntary assistance during the excavation, in often dreadful weather conditions. Vehicular access to the site was permitted by Mr Fullerton of Cockburn Farm. The illustrations for the report were prepared by Kevin Hicks (1) and George Mudie (2, 4, 6). Earlier drafts of this report were commented upon by Ian Armit, Bill Finlayson, Doreen Grove, Fraser Hunter, Ian Ralston. Any remaining errors are the responsibility of the author and CFA.

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## PORTRAITS OF DR GEORGE JOHNSTON

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**WILLIAM BONNAR RSA**

**1800-1855**

*Portrait of Dr George Johnston*

inscribed on reverse W Bonnar

Pinxt, 1849

oil on board

18 x 14 inches

*Picture courtesy of Bourne Fine Art,  
6 Dundas Street, Edinburgh EH3 6HZ.*

Bourne Fine Art of Dundas Street, Edinburgh recently sold an oil painting of the Club's founder, Dr George Johnston, to the Scottish National Portrait Gallery for £2,250. It had been acquired at auction in Godalming in 1997. It measures about 18 by 14 inches (46 by 36 centimetres) and on the reverse is written 'Wm Bonnar Pinxt, 1849'. William Bonnar RSA (1800-1855) was an Edinburgh artist.

Two or possibly three different portraits of Johnston are mentioned in the Club's publications. In 1858 a daguerrotype (an early type of photograph) was published in connection with the announcement of Johnston's death, with the words 'Robt Hicks Sculp' and 'London: John Van Voorst, Paternoster Row, 1857'.<sup>1</sup> A very similar but not identical daguerrotype was published as the frontispiece to the volume of Johnston's correspondence with the note in the preface 'The portrait prefixed to this volume has been engraved by Messes (*sic*) T. & T. Annan and Sons, Glasgow, from a



daguerrotype taken in 1851 by Claudet, London'.<sup>2</sup> It might be that the differences arise from the different engravers of the two copies, but the appearance is of two different pictures taken on the same occasion. A further copy of the former may be seen on the cover of *Medicine in Northumbria*.<sup>3</sup> A larger fuller copy was given to the Club Library by the artist, Elizabeth M. Lazenby, in 1993 on the occasion of a visit to Berwick by the Pybus Society, following in the wake of Johnston's footsteps.

In reports of meetings in 1931 a note was made of 'a fine portrait of Dr George Johnston which Colonel Menzies of Kames has very kindly presented to the Club',<sup>4</sup> and at the Annual Meeting it was reported that 'hanging on the wall of the room was a portrait of Dr Johnston painted by the celebrated Berwick artist T. S. Good (a former member of the Club) and also the fine engraving from it which had been presented to the Club by Colonel Menzies of Kames'.<sup>5</sup> The Centenary volume records that 'The portrait of Dr Johnston which forms the frontispiece is reproduced from the mezzotint of the portrait by T. S. Good, one of the early members of the Club. The mezzotint was presented to the Club in the Centenary year by Colonel Menzies of Kames'.<sup>6</sup> The mezzotint in the Centenary Index is obviously a copy of Bonnar's portrait in oils. The attribution to T. S. Good must have been an aberration by the usually meticulous J. H. Craw, the compiler of all three reports.

In the Club Library is an etched portrait of Johnston, identical with Bonnar's oil painting and which must be that presented to the Club in 1931. It is inscribed 'Painted by William Bonnar' and 'Engraved by William and Thomas Bonnar'. It is the same size as the original oil painting, and is in a large, dark frame.

Finally, in the correspondence there is a letter from Johnston to James Hardy dated 9th December 1848 which states that 'a yellow Water Wagtail – a great beauty; beauty, yes, and that again reminds me of the important fact that I have had (now, is not the connection of ideas here very natural?) my likeness painted by a very skilful artist, Mr Bonnar from Edinburgh, and he made so good a picture of me that my wife resolved to be done also, and so there is a pair that may please the bairns when . . .'.<sup>7</sup> The portrait of Catherine Johnston was sold at auction with that of her husband, but is still unsold by Bourne Fine Art.

Associated with Bonnar's portrait and bought by Bourne Fine

Art were three books, two being beautifully bound copies of the 1847 edition of Johnston's *History of British Zoophytes*. The first single volume edition was published in 1838, and a second enlarged and improved edition in two volumes in 1847. One of these volumes appears to be shown in the portrait with the sitter's elbow resting on it. 'British', 'Zoophytes' and 'Johnston' are in three lines on the spine and this seems to be shown on the portrait. The third book is loosely bound, with 'Memorials' inscribed on the front cover and 'G J' on the rear cover. The contents are detailed below. All three books have the bookplate of Johnston's daughter, Mrs Jane Barwell Carter, who died in 1903. Colonel Menzies of Kames became a member of the Club in 1905, and it seems a reasonable assumption that he acquired the portrait in oils at about that date. He died in 1942, and the portrait was not at Kames in 1953. Unfortunately the Godalming auctioneers have not replied to a request for information regarding its whereabouts in the intervening years.

### Contents of Memorial

The 'Memorial' starts with a three-page poem in manuscript by Dr George Henderson of Chirnside. There is a succession of copies of obituaries of Johnston: from the *Berwick Warder* by H. G. C. Clark; from the *Edinburgh Medical Journal* of September 1855; from an unnamed newspaper; from the *Annals of the Magazine of Natural History*, number 93 of September 1855, pages 199-202; from *The Literary Gazette* of August 4th, 1855; and from the *Kelso Chronicle* of October 18th, 1878. There is a copy in print of Johnston's letter of December 27th 1854 to Lord Palmerston in support of his application for a Chair of Natural History in Edinburgh University, together with a list of his printed works. There are eight manuscript letters on various subjects and another concerning the Johnston prize at Berwick Grammar School which gives the names of the first prizewinners in 1859. The final item is a manuscript letter to Mrs Barwell Carter from Arthur Giles of Grant's bookshop, Edinburgh, with a list of scientific books bought at auction, none of which are by Johnston. The memorial volume is available for inspection at the Scottish National Portrait Gallery.

I wish to acknowledge with thanks that the sale of this oil painting was brought to my attention by Mr David Long.

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## EELS

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Over more than 200 million years, evolution has produced a species of fish which allows it to change from a salt water to fresh water creature; to detect subtle changes in water pressure, temperature and salinity; to survive for up to 48 hours out of water, to burrow in mud and with great accuracy to navigate at great depth a passage of 3,000 miles. The creature is the *Anguilla anguilla*, the common eel.

The common eel is discussed in this addition to the Part: there are up to a hundred species of eels spread round the Pacific Islands, in the East Indies, Madagascar, East Africa and Australasia; another of them is the conger eel.

Just before the turn of this century European inshore fishermen often found strange creatures in their nets which looked like willow leaves, were completely transparent apart from large black eyes and razor sharp teeth. They had previously been catalogued as a distinct type of fish – *Leptocephalus* or thin head. Samples were examined over a period in an aquarium and quite soon scientists saw the thin heads' internal organs begin to rearrange themselves, the thin transparent bodies became cylindrical and opaque transforming *Leptocephalus* into a young eel – in this case a Conger eel. So, *Leptocephalus* was the larval form of an eel.

In 1904 Johannes Schmidt aboard a Danish Government sponsored ship sailed for the rich fishing grounds off Newfoundland. During the voyage he kept taking samples of larvae; he captured in his nets a specimen of *Leptocephalus* in mid-ocean 1,500 miles from land, and noted the death and direction of the current.

On returning to Copenhagen he persuaded the Government to give him a grant to find the source of the larvae. In the *Thor* he sailed round the Atlantic, from where the Gulf Stream leaves the Continental shelf off Cape Hatteras to the east of the Grand Banks.

He then sailed the North Atlantic current towards the Azores. Thousands of thin heads were caught, measured and logged.

This process took many years of effort. Trawler fleets and even passenger ships were persuaded to assist in taking samples adding data to Schmidt's research.

Then, after 17 years at sea and meticulous interpretations of its findings – 23 years' work in total – Schmidt's moment came. The smallest of thinheads of all, one-sixth of an inch long, were caught. The last mark on the chart was made to reveal the movements of all eel larvae everywhere in the Atlantic converging in the position 25°N/69°W.

The secret was out. This is the huge whirlpool of the North Atlantic, the Sargasso Sea. Six hundred miles south-east of Bermuda. Schmidt had achieved his goal. There were eel spawn in the spring between 100 and 200 metres deep at 20°C. By early summer the fertile eggs rise to pre-determined level. Buoyed by their oily content where the temperature is correct for hatching and development. They then float along the Gulf Stream at depths between 60 and 150 feet below the surface and take three years to reach our coasts, feeding on the way on planktonic animals as they drift. They grow in size and become elvers measuring 2.5 inches long.

Changing from salt to fresh water brings a great physiological change; the elvers stop feeding until this rearrangement is complete. It begins as the elvers exhibit two trophic reactions towards specific stimuli. Firstly, they swim against currents they meet (different from floating along the Gulf Stream). They turn to the slightest current which in time leads them to a river estuary. Secondly, they react positively to fresh rather than salt water.

The elvers, now six inches long, proceed into the rivers and streams with great determination, usually at night time and near the banks to avoid detection. They proceed in their millions and come obstructed by weirs and waterfalls. They persevere, wriggling up the obstruction one on top of the other, equally many failing altogether. Others by the ability to coat their bodies with mucus climb the banks and wriggle their way through the grass assisted by dew or rain and find the river or stream beyond. They can live out of water for up to 48 hours; they breathe by retaining a certain amount of water in their gills. Thus they find their way to hill lakes, lochs and lochans and even into Lake Geneva via the Rhône.

Eels feed at night and spend daylight in mud in the banks or under stones and rocks. they eat insects, crustaceans, small fish and rarely birds, voles, shrews and frogs.

They are predated upon by a host of mammals, birds, fish and man. As they grow, males up to 18 inches, females can reach four-and-a-half feet.

They remain in fresh water for about seven years. When the urge to migrate comes upon them and reserves of fat are sure; about 20% migrate annually. the whole hormonal system of the animal makes a major readjustment, as the immature reproduction organs grow and ripen at the expense of the gut which reduces in size. the eyes develop and change in structure, ready to see in the darkness of the forthcoming ocean depths on their return to the Sargasso Sea against the current of the Gulf Stream 3,000 miles away taking them a year to complete as they pass the millions of elvers going the other way. Their reproductive organs are now mature ready to start the life cycle of the *Anguilla anguilla* all over again.

Cuckoos and Ospreys migrate to North Africa, swallows and terns to South Africa. Discussion arises how they find their way back to the right place. This mystery applies itself to eels also. It is smell in the water or something we don't understand that attracts them back to their breeding ground in the Sargasso Sea?

*Reference and thanks are due to the Lloyds Register of Shipping, Christopher Moriarty in his book Eels, a natural and unnatural history, to Dr R. Foster-Smith and to Miss Lucy C. Middleton*

## THE ASSOCIATION FOR THE PROTECTION OF RURAL SCOTLAND

Study Weekend – 22/23 February 1997 – Dumfries

Isobel McLelland  
Benachie, Gavinton, Duns TD11 3QT

Having first been advised to bring Wellingtons and then recommended to bring leggings after the February floods, I knew it would be an interesting weekend. The second annual study weekend of APRS was highly successful. With its red sandstone or painted buildings and its paved traffic-free centre, Dumfries proved a suitable and interesting venue for an Association, the aim of which is to enhance Scotland's landscape for future generations.

Amongst matters raised at the Business Meeting, the Chairman, Mr R. S. Salvesen, sought the views of members as to his response to an invitation to attend a meeting of the Countryside Business Group. Having weighed the varying opinions expressed, he decided to decline.

Gratitude was expressed for the continuing financial support, £7,500 from the Royal Bank of Scotland for the Award Scheme. Arrangements are in hand to display Award entries and past winners in Royal Bank branches.

Shortly, there will be an opportunity locally for Berwickshire Naturalists' Club members to see the display in Paxton House during April.

On an enjoyable visit to Dalswinton, Sir David Landale explained, on site, the problems which face an estate village. These came as no surprise to a Gavintonian (me), e.g. the closure of the village school, the difficulty of maintaining a village store; the importance of insisting on street lighting appropriate to a conservation area.

ICI, which sponsored dinner on Saturday evening, contributed two excellent speakers for the late Saturday session: Dr Robson from the London Headquarters and Dr O'Donoghue from the

Dumfriesshire Melinex factory. Dr Robson explained ICI's strategy for dealing with EB – the Environmental Burden – of waste and pollution.

On Sunday Mr Gordon Mann, Chief Planning Officer at Dumfries & Galloway Council, outlined local environmental issues. Wind farms, in particular, are causing considerable public debate, it seems. Background Paper (No. 5) on wind farm strategy is available from me, should any member wish it.

Donations for the work of the Association are always appreciated.



## REV. JOHN C. LUSK

It was with genuine sorrow that I read the announcement of John Lusk's death, and surprise that he must have been in his eighties when last we conversed.

Born in Innellan where his father was a minister, the family moved to Oxford a few months later when his father became the Presbyterian chaplain to the University. John attended school in England and went on to obtain the BA degree at Balliol College in 1936. For a couple of years he was a civil servant in the Scottish Office in London and at St Andrew's House. One suspects he would have made a better 'mandarin' than some of his peers there.

New College and the ministry of the Church of Scotland were his next step, gaining his BD degree in 1941 and going on to spend the next four years from 1941 to 1945 as an Army chaplain in Britain, Iceland and Canada. He was a travelling secretary for the Student Christian Movement for a couple of years before entering the parish ministry at Uphall in 1947. He came to the united parishes of Foulden and Mordington in 1968, where he is remembered as a competent organist and for his diligence in visiting his parishioners.

There, he joined the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club in 1970 and ended his year as President in 1975 with a competently researched and presented address on a subject from his own parish, 'Marriages at Lamberton Toll'. He played his full part in the Club and even after his retiral to Dunblane in 1978 he continued to attend Field meetings during the season. He did not rest on his laurels in Dunblane, and participated as a vice-president of the Friends of the Cathedral, and editor of the *Friends' Journal* for 13 years.

It is surprising that his only written contribution of any size to the *History* was his address to the Club, although his wife's article on John Wilke of Foulden in the 1992 *History* reminded us of his time in Foulden.

John Lusk will be missed and remembered as a gentleman in both meanings of the word, and we commiserate with his wife, Isabel, in her loss.

G. A. C. Binnie

## MISS E. T. (BETTY) BUGLASS

Miss Betty Buglass, who died suddenly on December 17th 1997 at the age of 74 years, was for many years a former Librarian and Member of Council of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club

In her years of health she enjoyed greatly the field meetings of the Club and embodied the spirit of good fellowship and a desire to please which mark the ethos of the Club. An enthusiast for nature and wildlife, she was for a time local group leader of the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds.



She was for many years a prominent member of Berwick and District Camera Club. As programme secretary she was responsible for arranging many notable meetings and her work was recognised by being made a Life Member.

Although she photographed many subjects, her most memorable pictures were of landscapes, birds, flowers and people. An LRPS, she did professional work for some years, excelling in portraits of children and domestic pets. She enjoyed greatly the social activities of the club and often composed amusing quizzes for the annual dinner.

She had a talent for writing and contributed for a time helpful notes on photography to *The Berwick Advertiser*. Occasionally, especially at Christmas time, one of her short stories would appear in it. Her article on The Hermitage at Warkworth in *The Northumbrian* attracted considerable attention. In her last years, she wrote for private circulation, a history of the firm of J. P. Simpson & Company, Maltsters, with which her father, J. T. Buglass, had a long and distinguished career.

She was born in Alnwick but came of Berwick parentage. Her father was a son of Henry Buglass, fish merchant, of Castlegate,

while her mother, Jane Darling (Jean) Buglass, nee Fisackerly, sprang from a long line of Berwick Freemen. She was educated by the Sisters of Mercy at Our Lady's Convent School in Alnwick, for which she retained a lifelong respect and love. She received there a sound grounding in Christian faith and morals and was given a lasting taste for good literature and drama. The activities of the Old Girls' Association were a great joy to her. In the years of her early maturity she took part in several highly acclaimed productions of the Alnwick Theatre Club.

She followed her mother into the Church of England, being confirmed by Bishop Bilborough of Newcastle. For many years she was an active and devoted churchwoman, serving for a time as a member of the Parochial Church Councils of St Michael's, Alnwick and Holy Trinity, Berwick. A convinced traditionalist in matters of religion, she regretted deeply that she found herself unable to accept modern developments in liturgy and discipline. The flame of her private piety burned with undiminished brightness to the end. Of a romantic disposition, she felt great sympathy for the Jacobite movement and delighted in the old Gaelic culture of the Western Islands of Scotland.

She bore with great fortitude and admirable cheerfulness the infirmities of her last years. She had a kind heart and a merry one and did much good unobtrusively. She will be greatly missed by her family and many friends.

J. W. Blench

## FIELD NOTES AND RECORDS – 1997

### BOTANICAL RECORDS

D. G. Long  
Royal Botanic Garden, Edinburgh EH3 5LR

#### Bryophytes

All records were made during 1997. Botanical nomenclature follows Blockeel & Long, *Check-list and Census Catalogue of British and Irish Bryophytes* (1998); common names follow Edwards, *English Names for British Bryophytes* (1997).

#### Mosses

*Sphagnum flexuosum*. FLEXUOUS BOG-MOSS. Damp hummocky birch woodland, Brotherstone Moss NT6136, 26 May, D. G. Long and P. Lusby. Second record for vc81.

*Aulacomnium androgynum*. BUD-HEADED GROOVE-MOSS. Stump on heathy ground, near Spottiswoode Loch NT6149, 6 November, D. G. Long.

*Didymodon sinuosus*. WAVY BEARD-MOSS. On concrete in burn, S. Grange Burn near Press Castle NT8765, 29 December, D. G. Long and R. J. D. McBeath.

#### Liverworts

*Jungermannia exsertifolia* ssp. *cordifolia*. CORDATE FLAPWORT. Silty stones, Boondreigh Water below Boon NT6546, 10 April, D. G. Long.

#### Vascular Plants

Nomenclature follows Kent, *List of Vascular Plants of the British Isles* (1992). All are field records made during 1997 except where otherwise indicated; \* refers to an introduction. The status of introductions is classified as Established, Surviving, Casual or Planted.

\**Abies alba*. EUROPEAN SILVER-FIR. Plantation edge, Woodhead, Lauder NT5346, 16 November 1996 and Blinkbonny Hill NT5639, 23 November 1996, M. E. Braithwaite. Regenerating freely. First and second records for vc81, as regenerating.

- Apium inundatum*. LESSER MARSHWORT. Burn in fen, Lauder Burn NT5145, 12 July, M. E. and P. F. Braithwaite. Large colony.
- \**Aster novi-belgii*. CONFUSED MICHAELMAS-DAISY. Road verge, Lauder Barns NT5446, 20 September, M. E. Braithwaite. Second extant record for vc81.
- \**Aubretia deltoidea*. AUBRETIA. Walls, Lauder NT5347, 5 June, M. E. Braithwaite. Naturalised. First record for vc81.
- Carex divulsa* ssp. *leersii*. LEER'S GREY-SEDGE. Under beech, The Lees NT8439, 3 May, M. E. and P. F. Braithwaite. Second extant record for vc81. Possibly native, equally possibly introduced.
- \**Centaurea montana*. PERENNIAL CORNFLOWER. Railway cutting, Oxtou NT4953, 19 July, M. E. and P. F. Braithwaite. First record for vc81.
- \**Chamaecyparis lawsoniana*. LAWSON'S CYPRESS. Plantation edge, Blinkbonny Hill NT5639, 23 November 1996, M. E. Braithwaite. First record for vc81 as regenerating.
- \**Crepis biennis*. ROUGH HAWKSBEARD. Road verge, Threepwood Bridge NT5144, 6 and 11 August, L. Gaskell. First record for vc81, also on vc80 side of bridge.
- \**Cymbalaria pallida*. ITALIAN TOADFLAX. Walls, Lauder NT5247, 5 June, M. E. Braithwaite. First record for vc81.
- Epilobium montanum* × *E. ciliatum*. A HYBRID WILLOWHERB. Waste ground, Lauder NT5247, 20 September, M. E. Braithwaite. First record for vc81.
- \**Euphorbia cyparissias*. CYPRESS SPURGE. Walls, Lauder NT5247, 20 September, M. E. Braithwaite. 2m up wall, well established. Second record for vc81.
- \**Geranium endressii*. FRENCH CRANESBILL. Damp grassland near Lauder NT5248, 5 June, M. E. Braithwaite. First localised record for vc81.
- \**Helianthus* × *lactiflorus*. PERENNIAL SUNFLOWER. Wall, Lauder NT5247, 20 September, M. E. Braithwaite. Established 2m up wall and spreading for 4m. First record for vc81.
- \**Hyacinthoides italica*. ITALIAN BLUEBELL. Northfield, St Abbs NT9167, 12 April, M. E. Braithwaite and D. A. Pearman. Surviving on site of former garden.
- Juniperus communis*. JUNIPER. Crag, Raughy Burn NT4654, 2 August, M. E. Braithwaite. An excellent stand.
- \**Kniphofia uvaria*. RED-HOT POKER. Rough ground, Burnmouth NR9561, 10 June, J. Muscott. First record for vc81.

- \**Larix × marschlinsii*. HYBRID LARCH. Plantation edges, Mellerstain NT6439 and 6440, 22 February, M. E. Braithwaite. Regenerates rather freely despite hybrid origin. First record for vc81 as regenerating.
- Lathraea squamaria*. TOOTHWORT. Dam of old pond, The Lees NT8439, 3 May, M. E. and P. F. Braithwaite. On *Populus alba*, WHITE POPLAR.
- \**Leucanthemum × superbum*. SHASTA DAISY. Road verge, A697 near Fireburnmill NT8239, 9 July, M. E. Braithwaite. First record for vc81.
- \**Luzula luzuloides*. WHITE WOOD-RUSH. Open woodland, Castle Hill, Thirlestane Castle NT5347, 10 May, M. E. and P. F. Braithwaite. Naturalised. Only extant record for vc81.
- \**Medicago arabica*. SPOTTED MEDICK. Sandy bank, The Lees NT8439, 3 May, M. E. and P. F. Braithwaite. Second extant record for vc81.
- \**Mentha × gracilis*. BUSHY MINT. Burnside by Airhouse Wood NT4854 and burnside by A68 near Annfield NT4954, 2 August, M. E. Braithwaite. Confirms presence of this taxon in vc81. Former records from Paxton 1834, 1960 and Bemersyde 1978 had been doubted.
- Myosoton aquaticum*. WATER CHICKWEED. Sandy bank, R. Tweed between Fireburnmill and The Lees NT8338, 11 October, M. E. Braithwaite. One plant in flower. First record for vc81. This species was found across the river at Carham vc68 in 1985 by G. A. Swan.
- \**Nuphar advena*. SPATTER-DOCK. Artificial loch, Spottiswoode Loch NT6049, August 1996, D. G. Long. This plant had previously been recorded here as *N. lutea*, YELLOW WATER-LILY, by A. G. and D. G. Long in 1964. Naturalised. First record for vc81.
- \**Papaver dubium* ssp. *lecoqii*. YELLOW-JUICED LONG-HEADED POPPY. Soil heap, housing estate, Oxtou NT4953, 19 July, M. E. Braithwaite. Well established around village. Recorded here as casual 1960. First record for vc81 as naturalised.
- \**Papaver orientale*. ORIENTAL POPPY. Road verge, Longformacus road end A6105 NT7753, 5 May (but known here for many years); on and under walls, Coldstream NT8439, 3 May, M. E. and P. F. Braithwaite. First and second records for vc81.
- \**Pinus mugo*. DWARF MOUNTAIN-PINE. Heather bank, A68, Soutra NT4757, 2 August, M. E. Braithwaite. Regenerating rather

freely, one self-sown tree bearing cones. First record for vc81 as naturalised.

- \**Poa chaixii*. BROAD-LEAVED MEADOW-GRASS. Open woodland, The Lees NT8439, 3 May, M. E. and P. F. Braithwaite. Well naturalised.
- \**Polygonum rurivagum*. CORNFIELD KNOTGRASS. Field near Coldstream Hospital NT8339, 12 August, M. E. Braithwaite. 1.5 km from first record 1992, now appears established.
- Potamogeton alpinus*. RED PONDWEED. Burn in fen, Lauder Burn NT5145, 12 July, M. E. and P. F. Braithwaite. Second extant record for vc81. Large colony.
- \**Potentilla recta*. SULPHUR CINQUEFOIL. Bank, A697 at Fireburnmill NT8239, 9 July, M. E. Braithwaite. One plant.
- \**Pseudotsuga menziesii*. DOUGLAS FIR. Bank, A68 near Chapel-on-Leader NT6541, 23 November 1996, M. E. Braithwaite. Regenerating freely. First record for vc81 as regenerating.
- \**Senecio cineraria*. SILVER RAGWORT. Field edge, Burnmouth NT9561, 10 June, J. Muscott. First record for vc81.
- \**Senecio squalidus*. OXFORD RAGWORT. Joiner's yard, Lauder NT5347, 5 June, M. E. Braithwaite. First record from west of vc81.
- \**Spiraea douglasii* ssp. *douglasii*. STEEPLEBUSH. Blythe road end NT5948, 20 September, M. E. Braithwaite. A planting that has become established by suckering. First record for vc81.
- \**Taxus baccata*. YEW. Cliffs, Newton Don NT7137, 20 May 1995, M. E. Braithwaite. Several. First record as naturalised for vc81.
- Viburnum opulus*. GUELDER ROSE. Woodland, lower Boondreigh Water NT5646, 10 April, D. G. Long. One plant. This rare native is now being planted for amenity as at Greenlaw NT7145, 2 September, M. E. Braithwaite.

### Wildflower Walk at Ford Moss on Thursday, 26th June 1997

Jill and Neil Robertson

Ford Moss is a Site of Special Scientific Interest (SSSI) held under licence from the owner, Lord Joicey, by the Northumberland Wildlife Trust.

Location: 1½ miles east of Ford Village in Northumberland (Map Reference: OS 50,000 Sheet 75, Grid Reference: NT 970 375).

The Moss is a lowland raised or domed peat bog. It formed in one of the many ill-drained post-glacial depressions, most of which have been drained and farmed. The water-filled depression was slowly colonised by plant life from the periphery towards the centre which was raised by accumulation over thousands of years. This process was modified by grazing, drainage, burning and, exceptionally in this case, by coal mining. The remains of the old Ford Colliery include the foundations of a mining hamlet, a fine brick chimney on a stone foundation, a stone-built engine house and numerous spoil heaps, now widely colonised by rabbits. The colliery was developed by the Delaval family in the late eighteenth century and closed about 1917. Seams in the Scremerston Coal Group were worked and stone for the buildings was obtained from the Fell Sandstone quarry on the site.

List of Wild Flowers, most in flower, some identified from foliage or seed heads:

- |                                  |  |
|----------------------------------|--|
| 1. <i>Achillea millefolium</i>   | Yarrow                                   |
| 2. <i>Arctium pubens</i>         | Burdock                                  |
| 3. <i>Bellis perennis</i>        | Daisy                                    |
| 4. <i>Calluna vulgaris</i>       | Ling, heather                            |
| 5. <i>Cardamine pratensis</i>    | Lady's smock                             |
| 6. <i>Cerastium glomeratum</i>   | Mouse ear                                |
| 7. <i>Cirsium arvense</i>        | Creeping thistle                         |
| 8. <i>Cirsium vulgare</i>        | Spear thistle                            |
| 9. <i>Conopodium majus</i>       | Pignut                                   |
| 10. <i>Erica tetralix</i>        | Cross-leaved heath                       |
| 11. <i>Erica vulgaris</i>        | Purple heather, fine leaved heath        |
| 12. <i>Eriophorum vaginatum</i>  | Hare-tail cotton grass                   |
| 13. <i>Euphrasia confusa</i>     | Eyebright                                |
| 14. <i>Fragaria vesca</i>        | Wild strawberry (ripe)                   |
| 15. <i>Galium aparine</i>        | Goosegrass, cleavers, Robin-run-the-dyke |
| 16. <i>Galium cruciata</i>       | Crosswort                                |
| 17. <i>Galium saxatile</i>       | Heath bedstraw                           |
| 18. <i>Geranium molle</i>        | Soft cranesbill                          |
| 19. <i>Heracleum sphondylium</i> | Hogweed                                  |
| 20. <i>Hieracium vulgatum</i>    | Common hawkweed                          |
| 21. <i>Juncus filiformis</i>     | Rush                                     |
| 22. <i>Lotus conniculatus</i>    | Bird's foot trefoil                      |
| 23. <i>Myosotis arvensis</i>     | Forget-me-not                            |



24. <i>Myrica gale</i>	Bog myrtle
25. <i>Petasites hybridus</i>	Butter burr
26. <i>Pilosella officinarum</i>	Mouse-ear hawkweed
27. <i>Plantago lanceolata</i>	Ribwort plantain
28. <i>Potentilla erecta</i>	Tormentil
29. <i>Potentilla reptans</i>	Creeping cinquefoil
30. <i>Potentilla sterilis</i>	Barren strawberry
31. <i>Prunella vulgaris</i>	Self heal
32. <i>Ranunculus acris</i>	Buttercup
33. <i>Rosa canina</i>	Dog rose
34. <i>Rumex acetosa</i>	Sorrel
35. <i>Rumex obtusifolius</i>	Dock
36. <i>Rumex scutatus</i>	Buckler leaf sorrel
37. <i>Salix repens</i> (?)	A small willow
38. <i>Sambucus nigra</i>	Elder
39. <i>Senecio jacobaea</i>	Ragwort
40. <i>Silene alba</i>	White campion
41. <i>Stellaria holostea</i>	Stitchwort
42. <i>Trifolium campestre</i>	Hop trefoil
43. <i>Trifolium pratense</i>	Red clover
44. <i>Trifolium repens</i>	White clover
45. <i>Ulex europaeus</i>	Common gorse, furze, whin
46. <i>Urtica dioica</i>	Stinging nettle
47. <i>Vaccinium myrtillus</i>	Blaeberry
48. <i>Vaccinium oxycoccus</i>	Cranberry
49. <i>Veronica officinalis</i>	Common speedwell
50. <i>Veronica persica</i>	Persian speedwell
51. <i>Viola palustris</i>	Bog violet

We did not find Sundew (*drosera rotundifolia*) which is mentioned on the information board at the entrance to the Moss. We did note plentiful sphagnum moss and clumps of sedge in the wetter areas. There was the straggling remains of an old hawthorn (*cratageus monogyna*) hedge at the edge of the bog. We noted with interest the number of seedling trees beginning to colonise the bog, including Scots pine, birch and oak.

**Acknowledgement:** We are indebted to the Northumberland Wildlife Trust for permission to enter the Moss and for much of the background information.

## REFERENCES

1. W. Keble Martin, *The Concise British Flora in Colour*.
2. George A. Swan, *Flora of Northumberland*.

### Walk to view the Rock Carvings at Goatscrag (166m) Rock Shelters on Thursday, 26th June 1997

Jill and Neil Robertson

Location: Approximately  $\frac{3}{4}$  mile ESE of Ford Moss

After the visit to Ford Moss, members walked along the Fell Sandstone Ridge to Goatscrag. Heath Milkwort (*Polygala serpyllifolia*) and Sheep's sorrel (*Rumex acetellosa*) were noted on the open heath land along the top of the ridge, and Climbing corydalis (*Corydalis claviculata*) growing in the thick bracken below the crag. The carvings were found at the east end of one of a series of rock shelters under the southerly edge of Goatscrag.

Early inhabitants would be sheltered from the north and the north-east and would have enjoyed whatever sunshine there was as well as fine views to the south and west over low hills towards the Milfield Plain and the Cheviot range of hills beyond. The carvings were on an almost vertical, west-facing rock surface, divided by natural cracks and pock-marked by erosion. Van Hoek and Smith described them as follows:

'The four carvings are at eye level and occupy a space about 0.5m by 0.4m. They have been made by battering the surface of the rock, probably with a pointed stone to form a series of conjoined depressions. As such the effect is quite like the natural weathering noted elsewhere on the rock face and there is a distinct possibility that some parts of the carvings may have originated as natural depressions which were extended and developed in accordance with the requirements of the design. Each carving consists of a series of horizontal and vertical elements arranged so as to leave little doubt that they are representations of quadrupeds seen in profile. In each case the head appears to be indicated at the left end of the figure which gives the impression that they are all moving or facing the same way, that is into the rock shelter. They are arranged in a single line of three with a fourth solitary figure above and a little to the right beyond a natural fissure.'

They found it difficult to date them but suggested acceptance within the corpus of North British animal art 'which is at present dated to the period between the 1st century BC and the 4th

century AD'. They conclude that 'an earlier dating for some or all of these carvings cannot be completely ruled out'.

**Acknowledgement:** We are indebted to an article by A. M. van Hoek and Christopher Smith entitled 'Rock Carvings at Goatscrag Rock Shelter, Northumberland', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 5 XVI, pp. 29-35, for much of our information.

### **Birds at St Abbs Head – the highlights of 1997**

K. J. Rideout

Ranger's Cottage, St Abbs, Eyemouth, Berwickshire TD14 5QF

#### **Breeding**

LITTLE GREBE, *Tachybaptus ruficollis*. Two pairs were present but only one was successful, raising a brood of 4.

FULMAR, *Fulmarus glacialis*. The population count was 308 nest sites, a decrease on last year.

SHAG, *Phalacrocorax aristotelis*. There were 160 nests which is similar to last year but well down compared to numbers in the early 1990s.

MOORHEN, *Gallinula chloropus*. Two pairs were present but only one was successful, raising two young.

COOT, *Fulica atra*. At Mire Loch, five pairs attempted to nest but all failed due to heavy rain and high water levels.

KITTIWAKE, *Rissa tridactyla*. The count in June showed 13,393 nests, about the same as last year.

PUFFIN, *Fratercula arctica*. The peak count was 63 ashore on 24th June. It's always best to look for them in the evening.

SEDGE WARBLER, *Acrocephalus schoenobaenus*. Twelve breeding territories around Mire Loch.

REED WARBLER, *Acrocephalus scirpaceus*. One pair bred, the first breeding record for the Borders.

LINNET, *Carduelis cannabina*. Twelve breeding territories, with a peak count of 90 in August.

YELLOWHAMMER, *Emberiza citrinella*. Seven breeding territories with a peak count of 60 in October.

REED BUNTING, *Emberiza schoeniclus*. Two breeding territories.

## Migrants

SOOTY SHEARWATER, *Puffinus griseus*. 52 were recorded between 3rd September and 12th October.

HEN HARRIER, *Circus cyaneus*. Two singles were seen in September and December.

OSPREY, *Pandion haliaetus*. One flew over on 31st August.

QUAIL, *Coturnix coturnix*. Two were heard in May.

POMARINE SKUA, *Stercorarius pomarinus*. Two singles were seen in September and October.

ARCTIC SKUA, *Stercorarius parasiticus*. A total of 63 were recorded between late June and October.

GREAT SKUA, *Stercorarius skua*. A total of 27 were recorded between late May and October.

SANDWICH TERN, *Sterna sandvicensis*. First one on 15th April then regular through summer until early October.

ROSEATE TERN, *Sterna dougalii*. Two flew over on 17th June, the first record for the Reserve.

BLACK REDSTART, *Phoenicurus ochruros*. In May one was present from 18th to 19th.

REDSTART, *Phoenicurus phoenicurus*. Occasional birds in late April, May, August and September.

WHINCHAT, *Saxicola rubetra*. Regularly seen in May, August and September with a peak of 4 on 1st September.

WHEATEAR, *Oenanthe oenanthe*. First one on 30th March then frequent to early June with a peak of 60 on 4th May and again from late July to early October.

RING OUZEL, *Turdus torquatus*. One or two on a few dates in May and October.

GRASSHOPPER WARBLER, *Locustella naevia*. Singles from 26th April to 4th May and 11th to 14th May.

LESSER WHITETHROAT, *Sylvia curruca*. Occasionally seen in May, June and August.

WHITETHROAT, *Sylvia communis*. Small numbers seen in April, July, August and September.

GARDEN WARBLER, *Sylvia borin*. Occasional in May, August and September.

BLACKCAP, *Sylvia atricapilla*. Seen in small numbers between April and October.

- WOOD WARBLER, *Phylloscopus sibilatrix*. In August, 1 on 10th and 2 on 11th.
- CHIFFCHAFF, *Phylloscopus collybita*. Regular sightings from late March to early November.
- WILLOW WARBLER, *Phylloscopus trochilus*. Four breeding territories. The peak spring count was 40 on 28th April with an autumn peak of 20 on 28th August.
- SPOTTED FLYCATCHER, *Muscicapa striata*. Small numbers seen in May, June and August.
- PIED FLYCATCHER, *Ficedula hypoleuca*. Seen in May, August and September with a peak count of 5 on 21st May.
- CROSSBILL, *Loxia curvirostra*. A flock of up to 14 present from October to December.

### Rarities

- SURF SCOTER, *Melanitta perspicillata*. One flew north on 11th October, the first record for the Reserve.
- SABINE'S GULL, *Larus sabini*. Singles were seen on 21st September and 5th October.
- WRYNECK, *Jynx torquilla*. Two were seen on 29th August.
- BLUETHROAT, *Luscinia svecica*. A 'white spotted' male was seen on 4th May, the first Reserve record of this race.
- GREAT REED WARBLER, *Acrocephalus arundinaceus*. One from 1st to 5th June, the second record for the Reserve.
- ICTERINE WARBLER, *Hippolais icterina*. One on 1st September.
- GREENISH WARBLER, *Phylloscopus trochiloides*. One from 30th August to 1st September.
- PALLAS'S WARBLER, *Phylloscopus proregulus*. An exceptional year with at least 5 birds between 20th October and 11th November.
- YELLOW BROWED WARBLER, *Phylloscopus inornatus*. In September, 3 on 28th and 1 on 29th and another on 20th November.
- FIRECREST, *Regulus ignicapillus*. One from 4th to 7th November.
- RUSTIC BUNTING, *Emberiza rustica*. One on 21st May.
- ORTOLAN BUNTING, *Emberiza hortulana*. 1 on 15th October.

## ARCHAEOLOGICAL NOTES – 1997

### SCOTTISH BORDERS

J. Dent

Principal Officer (Archaeology and Countryside)  
Scottish Borders Council, Newtown St Boswells TD6 0SA

#### **Dryburgh Abbey Hotel**

Proposals for an extension to the hotel required an archaeological site assessment. The hotel, once known as Mantle House, stands in the former abbey precinct and is built around an earlier stone vaulted building. A series of test pits were carried out by Headland Archaeology Ltd but, with the exception of a number of stone voussoirs which had come from an arch in the abbey, these encountered nothing earlier than the 19th century.

#### **St Abbs Head**

Headland Archaeology Ltd carried out a survey of archaeological sites at the behest of the National Trust for Scotland. Although these sites were already known, additional information was recovered and the survey provides an improved basis for long-term management.

#### **Murray Place, Peebles**

A watching brief was carried out by Headland Archaeology Ltd during building works adjacent to the churchyard of the Cross Kirk. No archaeological remains were observed.

#### **Clints Hill Cairn, Channelkirk**

A watching brief was carried out by Firat Archaeological Services on ground adjacent to a cairn at Clints Hill during works related to the installation of a telecommunications mast. There was no disturbance to the cairn and no archaeological features were uncovered.

#### **Bridge Street, Kelso**

Proposals for redevelopment of a large town site immediately

opposite the west end of the Abbey Church led to an extensive site evaluation by Headland Archaeology Ltd. This revealed a complex of well-preserved medieval and later features of some chronological complexity. Wall footings and robber trenches indicated a building complex on the same orientation as the Abbey Church. Floor surfaces were recovered as well as environmental and industrial and other finds.

The site lies on the western approach to the abbey from the river, a location where a guest house might be expected to lie. Quantities of burnt grain may indicate that a granary existed on part of the site, and a substantial stone footing could represent the base of the precinct wall.

The proposed development design was modified so that as much of the archaeology as possible is still preserved, and lies beneath car parking areas, rafted foundations or made-up ground.

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## NORTH NORTHUMBERLAND

Elizabeth Williams

Sites & Monuments Records Officer,  
County Hall, Morpeth, Northumberland NE61 2EF

### **Love Lane, Berwick upon Tweed (NT 997 528)**

An evaluation was carried out on the north side of Love Lane by Northern Archaeological Associates ahead of an application for building development. Documentary evidence suggests this may have been the site of the Chapel of Ravendale, associated with a Trinitarian monastery, although it has also been suggested it may have been a house of the Dominicans or Augustinians. Three trenches were opened in 1997: one revealed the remains of a mortared stone wall running east-west lying just over 0.1m below existing ground surface; and the second revealed human burials on a similar alignment at a depth of 0.6m. The wall and the burials appear to be associated with finds dating between the 13th and 17th centuries. After work on the site was completed, an unofficial monitoring exercise came to light which had taken place in 1973 when a drain had been cut across the site; ten human skulls had been found along with a range of medieval pottery. In addition,

work at an adjacent building has produced at least four fragments of sculptured stone, including window tracery. These fragments of information and the recent evaluation suggest that a medieval religious house existed in the immediate area.

### **Quay Walls, Berwick upon Tweed (NT 998 525)**

An evaluation was carried out by The Archaeological Practice, University of Newcastle ahead of a proposal for refurbishment works at Berwick Quay. Ten trenches were excavated revealing deep deposits of sand, dumped as ballast, in all but one trench. The bottom of the ballast deposits was not reached in the majority of trenches despite being excavated to a depth of up to 5m below ground level. However, two trenches revealed layers of humic gravel and sand containing medieval pottery, animal bone and shell, beneath the ballast sand; these deposits represent medieval dumps. Two trenches contained evidence of post-medieval structures on the quayside and believed to be associated with the ballast shore.

### **Wark Castle, Wark-on-Tweed, Carham (NT 824 387)**

Recording was carried out by the former Newcastle City Archaeology Unit of conservation and consolidation works. The recording comprised rectified and oblique photography and hand measuring of exposed elevations of The Ring (an artillery fortification of 1543 encircling the motte) and the north and south curtain walls. Examination of the corework of The Ring showed no apparent differences in construction between the standing elevations on the north and west sides and the smaller fragments lying on the slope of the motte on the south and south-east sides. These fragments are considered original parts of The Ring and to have broken into sections and fallen down the mound, possibly after stone robbing had removed the facework. The south curtain wall appears to be of a different phase of construction to The Ring. The original extent of the castle has been reassessed using 16th century plans and a recent Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England survey.

### **Wooperton Quarry, near Powburn (NU 048204)**

A long-term watching brief was begun by Headland Archaeology in 1997 at Wooperton Quarry, between Wooler and



Powburn. Previous work at the site had identified a series of cropmarks, an isolated ditch and a hearth. Two principle discoveries have been made during the current watching brief: the course of the Devil's Causeway Roman road and pit alignment. The Roman road survives as a pair of parallel ditches 20m apart and roughly 25m east of its mapped position. To the west of the Roman road a pit alignment was discovered comprising at least 33 pits, but it continues into unexcavated areas at both ends. Pit alignments generally range in date from the Neolithic to the Iron Age and are interpreted as boundaries. This example is unusual in that an assemblage of Roman pottery was recovered from pits on and adjacent to the alignment. The pottery is of Flavian date, fitting in with Roman activity in this part of Northumberland, but the assemblage is not typical of a native rural site and therefore does not fit easily with a pit alignment.

#### **Maxway Production Facility, Milfield (NT 943 331)**

An evaluation was carried out by GeoQuest Associates in 1997 prior to a proposed development at the site. This revealed evidence of past activity on the site in the form of a ditch and a criss-cross pattern of cultivation marks made by an ard (a prehistoric antecedent of the mould board plough). Further investigations took place and revealed two main concentrations of ardmarks as well as more scattered ones, all lying to the west of the ditch. A charcoal sample from the ditch was dated to AD 990-1165 and was thus not contemporary with the ardmarks which are assigned a broad prehistoric date.

## FIELD SECRETARIES' REPORT - 1997

The field meetings were arranged by a sub-committee consisting of the President (Major General Sir John Swinton), the Vice-President (Mr Peter Johnson), Mrs Isobel McLelland, the Rev. A. C. D. Cartwright and Lt Col. Simon Furness, with Dr G. A. C. Binnie acting as convener.

The thanks of the Club are due to Mr Neil Robertson, who retired from the sub-committee this year, and to Miss R. I. Curry for her invaluable help with arranging the coach transport. Press reports were produced by the members who arranged each meeting.

### 13th May, Thursday. BLAGDON and BRINKBURN

On a particularly lovely warm day some 120 members assembled at Blagdon for the first meeting of the season. In introducing Lord Ridley, the President reminded those present that the Club had last visited Blagdon in 1911, when 18 members had travelled by train from Berwick and walked to and from the station.

After a few words about Blagdon and its extensive tree plantings, Lord Ridley led the party through his spectacular quarry garden and along the Dene which is planted with national collections of *Acers*, *Alnus* and *Sorbus*, as well as many rhododendrons, azalias and other flowering shrubs, many at their best. A picnic lunch was taken in the Clock Room or in the sun in the stable yard.

From Blagdon the party, reduced to about 80, went on to Brinkburn Priory, where we had the good fortune to have the services of Dr Angus Armstrong who gave a most interesting talk from the pulpit within the Priory. A local GP and related to the Fenwick family which used to own the Priory, his knowledge of the history of the site, as well as its architecture, was very much appreciated. He was followed by Mr John Steel, who spoke about the colony of Daumentan Bats which inhabit the Priory roof.

John Swinton

21st June, Wednesday. MERTOUN and DRYBURGH

For its second meeting of the 1997 year, the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club visited Mertoun and Dryburgh. Although the weather was not at its best the day was very interesting and informative and was enjoyed by all as it had something for everyone – an old kirk, lovely paintings, beautiful gardens, a great statue, an old folly and one of the beautiful Border abbeys.

At Mertoun Church the minister, Rev. Bruce Neil, gave a short address on the history of the parish and the kirk.

Mertoun House is not normally open to the public, but by kind permission of the Duke and Duchess of Sutherland some of the Club were able to see the beautiful picture gallery. Afterwards the head gardener of Mertoun, Mr Alfred Breed, guided the party around the beautiful garden, giving people an opportunity to not only look around the extensive gardens, but also to view a circular dovecote dated 1567, thought to be the oldest in the country.

Sadly, the rain which had been on and off all morning then really began to fall and so there were fewer Club members than normal who walked to the statue of William Wallace, the great Scottish patriot, above the River Tweed. There Mr Mark Douglas, the Conservation Officer for the Scottish Borders Council, talked about the statue, and then led us down through Dryburgh village to the 'Temple of the Muses'.

Finally at Dryburgh Abbey, despite the torrential rain, Mrs Doreen Grove, an Inspector with Historic Scotland, gave a very informative and helpful talk to the Club about the abbey's history and architecture.

The Club then retired, wet but exhilarated, to the Dryburgh Abbey hotel for a lovely afternoon tea.

A. C. D. Cartwright

16th July. BREAMISH VALLEY

The third meeting of the 1997 series was held on 16th July, when the Club visited the Breamish Valley. Despite an unfavourable weather forecast, more than 80 members and one or two guests gathered at the Ingram Information Centre and then moved to the village hall, where Mr Shaun Hackett, the Northern Area Ranger on the staff of the Northumberland National Park Authority, spoke about National Parks (an institution not at present found in Scotland), their purpose and administration,

before focusing on the area for which he is responsible, in relation to which he enthusiastically and humorously described landscapes, flora and fauna, together with the activities of both residents and visitors.

In the event, the weather was warm and sunny, and members then enjoyed a picnic lunch on the haugh-land beside the river, after which they divided into three groups, according to their interests.

Mr Hackett led a party up Turf Knowe to one of the archaeological excavations, while his colleague, Mr Tony Lummis, escorted another group along the valley bottom, giving a commentary on the main features. A third group, containing some of the less energetic attenders, proceeded further along the river by car, aided by the car trail leaflet produced by the National Park Authority.

The archaeological group had the benefit of a talk on site by Dr Max Adams, the Director of the excavation, which was being carried out by Durham University. Dr Adams explained that this centred on an old boundary wall, long considered to be probably of 19th century origin, which had a cairn situated on each side of it, one of which had been regarded as merely a field clearance stone pile. The present excavations had changed thinking on many aspects of the site. The boundary wall had revealed several earlier structures either under or close to it, possibly going back as much as 6,000 years. The stone heap was in fact a burial cairn which contained a cist, which had been disturbed at some earlier date, but which contained some funeral items. The second cairn contained 2 cists, one of which held the cremated remains of six children.

Dr Adams suggested that the boundary was an important and very ancient one, recognised and accepted by two adjacent tribes, and 'overseen' by their religious institutions, but not defended by force. There were also several other unexpected and unusual features turned up by the excavation.

The very fine series of cultivation terraces in the landscape were discussed, the scale of which suggested to Dr Adams that the area had been an important grain producer for the Roman armies.

Those who made the fairly strenuous walk to the site thought it had been well worth the effort, and were grateful to our guides.

Some of the valley walkers had an unexpected insight into an

agricultural matter as well. A team of New Zealand sheep shearers were working in the area, and their skills were greatly admired.

To close the meeting many members retired once more to the village hall, where afternoon tea was enjoyed before the journey home.

Peter Johnson

20th August, Wednesday. TYNINGHAME and NUNRAW

In glorious warm weather, over 100 members of The Berwickshire Naturalists' Club assembled at Tynninghame on Wednesday 20th August. After a brief introductory talk by the Factor, Mr Donald Vass, the members dispersed to view the gardens. The late Lady Haddington's 'secret garden', and the magnificent walled gardens were most admired, while members enjoyed the arboretum and the benefit of the shade in the woodland. Before lunch members gathered in the ruins of St Baldred's Church, where Colonel Furness regaled them with extracts from Pevaner's account of the building. A picnic lunch was then taken on the lawns of Tynninghame House.

After lunch the convoy of vehicles, and Mr Swan's redoubtable bus, moved to Nunraw Abbey where the Guestmaster, Father Raymond, addressed us in the beautiful Chapel of the New Abbey. He gave a moving account of the history of the Cistercian Order, and of life at the Abbey, and answered the members' many questions. We were all greatly moved by his address and by the atmosphere of the Chapel.

To end a most successful and enjoyable day in glorious weather we then moved to the Old Abbey Guest House to view the public rooms and small Chapel, and to partake of a very welcome cup of tea.

Simon J. Furness

18th September, Thursday. CULROSS

The warm September sunshine slanted down from across the Forth on members of the Club as they assembled in front of Culross town house, ready to enjoy the delights of this 16th century Royal Burgh.

In the forenoon, they concentrated their attention on visits to three buildings: the Bishop's study where they admired the restored painted ceiling; the Court rooms above the Town House;

and the Palace, furnished delightfully and practically in 17th and 18th century style.

They were fortunate in meeting Mr Nick Hoskins, gardener of the model period-garden. His short talk increased the members' interest in the vegetable and herb beds and orchard, laid out and stocked in the manner of the 17th century.

In the afternoon, Dr Richard Fawcett, Principal Inspector of ancient Monuments, Historic Scotland, conveyed an understanding of the daily life of a past monastic community by interpreting evidence in the stonework of the present Church and the Abbey remains.

The Bessie Bar Restaurant provided a delicious tea to complete a delightful day in this historic setting.

Isobel D. M. McLelland

### Extra Meetings

29th May, Thursday. BURNMOUTH

A small but select band of members met at Burnmouth Harbour in glorious weather on Thursday 29th May. Mr Norman Butcher gave us an explanation of the geology of the foreshore and cliffs of the Berwickshire and North Northumberland coast, with particular reference to the rock formations viewed on site. His clarity and enthusiasm made the afternoon both informative and enjoyable. It was particularly appropriate that a geological meeting should take place in this the 200th anniversary of the birth of James Hunter, 'the father of geology', who farmed in Berwickshire and made many of his observations in the county.

Simon J. Furness

October 10th, Friday.

On the morning of the Annual Meeting and the Anniversary Address, the premises of William Leith, Tent Maker, in Pier Road, Berwick, was the subject of a visit for about 50 members by kind permission of Mr Leith. In the unavoidable absence of Mr Leith, his deputy, Mrs Carol Biggin, conducted members around the building.

The building was built in the 1840s and from Pier Road it seems long and narrow, but it started life as two buildings side by side parallel to the road, and now gives some 26,000 square feet of

space in total. It extends back to the foot of a buttress of the Elizabethan Walls, some of the stones of which have been pointed to form an interesting feature of an office in the building. Formerly a malthouse, the oast houses are still to be seen and the long low galleries for storing and maturing the grain have proved invaluable for the manufacture, storage and processing of the marquees and accessories which have been the main part of the business since the firm took over the building in 1934.

The building immediately to the east was once a store for whale blubber, and the flat bottomed whaling boats were beached side by side on the shore opposite. Pieces of whale bone are still to be found in the ground behind the building. The present owner's great, great, great uncle served as a sailmaker in the *Norfolk*, the last whaler to sail from Berwick. He was George Leith, one of those crew members who perished in the ice of the David Straits in the winter of 1836/37. The flag of the *Norfolk* is still preserved by William Leith.

The morning finished with most sumptuous refreshments provided by Mr Leith, for which members were most appreciative.

G. A. C. Binnie

### 31st October, Friday. ANNUAL EVENING LECTURE

An audience of around 40 members met for the Annual Evening Lecture, this year delivered by Dr Chris Tabraham, HM Principal Inspector of Ancient Monuments with Historic Scotland, and the author of a recently-published book, *Scotland's Castles*, which was also the theme of his talk.

Dr Tabraham traced the history of castle-building over the 12th and 13th centuries, both locally and across the whole country, and explained the extent of their status symbol, rather than military, value to their owners. In many instances their occupants had only defended them for a matter of a day or two when besieged. The architecture was lucidly explained, and related to the governmental functions of the owners.

The story was illustrated with many fine slides and told with enthusiasm and humour, and gave great pleasure to the audience.

Peter Johnson

## LIBRARIAN'S REPORT – 1997

The Library continues to be consulted by members and other researchers. Members' tickets are available from the Librarian and give access to the Clock Block in the Berwick Barracks complex. Access to other parts of the Barracks is by payment of the appropriate charge. Tickets are not transferable to other persons.

Acquisitions this year include the following gifts:

- Blunt, W. (1971), *The Compleat Naturalist, A Life of Linnaeus*, gifted by Mr David Souter, Club member.
- Davis, P. (1995), *George Johnston (1797-1855) of Berwick on Tweed and the Pioneers of Marine Biology in North East England*, gift of the author.
- Gaddes, D. R. (1996), *One of Zion's Gates*, given by the author, a Club member.
- Lomas, R. (1996), *Northumberland from the Conquest to the Civil War*, given by the publisher, the Tuckwell Press.

Purchases have continued to be made, including:

- Barrow, T. (ed) (1995), *Walks around the Old Grain Ports of Northumberland, Alnmouth, Seahouses and Berwick*.
- Brenchley, D. (1997), *A Place by Itself*.
- Clark, P. (1995), *Where the Hills Meet the Sky*.
- Kirke, R. (1871), *A Sermon Preached in Hutton Church*.
- Langmack, H. D. (1974), *Coldstream Cottage Hospital*.
- Mackie, A. O. and Robson, M. J. H. (1980s), *The Parish of Linton*.
- Porteous, Katrina (1990), *Beadnell, a History in Photos*.
- Trainer, J. (1997), *Kelso Old and Sprouston Parish Church, a History; Kelso, Kelso Old and Sprouston Parish Church*.

### LIBRARIAN'S FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 30th JUNE, 1997

INCOME	£	EXPENDITURE	£
Opening balance .....	240.35	Books & Postage .....	84.66
Sales of Histories .....	102.11	Bookbinding .....	68.00
		Closing Balance .....	189.80
	<u>342.46</u>		<u>342.46</u>

G. A. C. Binnie



# FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 30th JUNE 1997 – PREMIUM ACCOUNT

INCOME		EXPENDITURE	
Balance at 1/7/96.....	£5,732.52	Printing and Postage.....	£3,200.24
<i>Subscriptions</i>		Library Insurance.....	328.80
Annual and Libraries		Liability Insurance.....	205.00
(including subs overpaid) .....	3,353.00	Hire of Hall.....	30.00
		Subscriptions Paid.....	50.00
<i>Sundry Credits</i>			
Donation.....	457.50	<i>Expenses</i>	
Tax Refund.....	382.55	President.....	35.61
Bank Interest.....	87.62	Corresponding Secretary.....	43.73
		Dr Binnie.....	169.83
		Miss Curry.....	100.00
		Treasurer.....	19.30
		Sundry .....	82.20
			<u>£4,264.71</u>
		Balance at 1/7/97 .....	5,748.48
			<u>£10,013.19</u>
		Balance in Natural History Publication Fund at 1/7/97 .....	<u>£3,158.67</u>

I have examined the books of The Berwickshire Naturalists' Club and from the information and vouchers presented have found them to be correct.

19th November 1997.

E. J. Kellie, Hon. Auditor, Royal Bank of Scotland, Ayton.



## ADVICE TO CONTRIBUTORS

The History of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club has now run continuously for 166 years. It has recorded a huge amount of information about every aspect of life in the Borders: archaeology, genealogy, history, sociology, topography, and all branches of natural history. It is an invaluable repository for such primary information.

Many people with special knowledge of Border affairs and happenings may, perhaps, be inhibited from contributing to the *History* by being unfamiliar with how to put an article together. The following notes are designed to assist, reassure and encourage such people; but also to be a general guide to all contributors. The requirements are simple; but the more closely the notes are followed, the speedier will be publication, the easier the lot of the Editing Secretary; and the greater the likelihood that the Club will be able to attract Editing Secretaries in the future!

Manuscripts are best typed, double-spaced, and two copies sent; but even handwritten documents, if clearly legible, can be considered. References in the text to other publications are most simply done by author name(s) and date and then listed in alphabetical/chronological order at the end of the manuscript, giving the title of the document and, for papers in journals, the volume and page number, for books, the place of publication and the publisher. In this style:

- Baxter, E. V., Rintoul, L. J. (1953). The birds of Scotland, Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd.  
Boyd, H., Ogilvie, M. (1969) Changes in the British wintering population of the pinkfooted goose from 1950-1975. *Wildfowl*, 20, 33-46.  
Taylor, G. (1937) List of fungi observed in the neighbourhood of Cockburnspath. *History of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club*, 29, 303-313.

Titles of periodicals should be written in full, as above, not abbreviated.

Sometimes text references to other publications, documents, etc., in the text are more conveniently done by superscript numbers, e.g.: "the house of Netherbyres"<sup>5</sup>

and then related to a numbered entry in a list of references/notes at the end of the paper, as e.g.:

"5. Scottish Record Office TD 78/7."

When other publications have been consulted but are not specifically cited, it may still be useful to guide readers following up the subject, to give a "Bibliography", citing the publications in the same way as for references above.

Illustrations should be numbered consecutively and provided with short descriptive legends.

Contributions may be sent direct to the Editing Secretary, or handed to any Council Member.

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HISTORY  
OF THE  
BERWICKSHIRE  
NATURALISTS' CLUB

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The Centenary Volume, published 1933, provides an index to the *History* from Volumes 1 to 27, (1831-1931)

Price £20.00

The Sesquicentenary Volume, published 1987, provides an index to the *History* from Volumes 28 to 41, (1932-1980)

Price £15.00

For purchase apply to:

The Librarian, Berwickshire Naturalists' Club,  
Borough Museum, The Barracks,  
Berwick upon Tweed TD15 1DQ, U.K.

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The Club Library is held in its own room in Berwick Borough Museum. Access for members is available at no cost on presentation of a Club Library ticket at the entrance to the Barracks. Tickets are available from the Librarian, and visits should be made by appointment with the museum curator, telephone 01289 330933.

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