An excavation at the Bishop’s House, Stow, Scottish Borders

Adrian Cox,* Piers Dixon** & Michael Parker†
with contributions by Derek Hall, Dennis Gallagher & Dick Grove

ABSTRACT
During late 1984 and 1985, the Border Burghs Archaeology Project (BBAP) carried out an investigation of the ruins of the Bishop’s House at Stow, in the Scottish Borders (formerly Berwickshire), a site with historical associations with the bishops and archbishops of St Andrews and part of a long-established estate centre. The investigation revealed the layout of a 16th-century building, which was altered on at least two occasions. There is evidence of destruction by fire, and the western room of the house was subdivided near the end of its life, probably to accommodate livestock. In front of the house was an enclosed cobbled yard, below which was a broad ditch which may have been the old boundary of the bishop’s estate.

The preparation and publication of this report were sponsored by Historic Scotland.

INTRODUCTION
The village of Stow lies on the south-eastern flank of the Scottish Southern Uplands about seven miles north-west of Galashiels (formerly in the old county of Berwickshire, now Scottish Borders) (illus 1). The village is situated on the east side of Gala Water, which joins the Tweed at Galashiels, and the parish of Stow occupied much of the Gala valley.

Within the nucleus of the village, a concentration of buildings lies adjacent to the ruins of the Church of St Mary. Immediately east of and above the old church and churchyard lies the ruin which has been known for well over a century to the local inhabitants as the Bishop’s House and to the antiquarian writers as the Bishop’s Palace, because of the associations of the site with the bishops and archbishops of St Andrews.

The ruin (NGR: NT 4597 4453) had fallen into a very neglected condition and its walls were reduced in height in 1979 because of fears that the structure was unsafe. These fears proved unfounded, and in 1984 the BBAP identified the site as being potentially interesting for research and excavation, with the intention that it should be landscaped and consolidated as an amenity of interest to local people and visitors. The resulting excavation, funded by the Manpower Services Commission, was accompanied by historical research on the episcopal property, and

* SUAT Ltd, 55 South Methven Street, Perth PH1 5NX
** RCAHMS, John Sinclair House, Bernard Terrace, Edinburgh EH8 9NX
† c/o Piers Dixon, RCAHMS (as above)
ILLUS 1 Location map (Based on the Ordnance Survey map © Crown copyright)
subsequently the site was landscaped. Historic Scotland funded the preparation of the project results for publication.

THE BISHOP’S ESTATE OF STOW

Bishop William Malvoisin of St Andrews acquired the estate of Wedale or Stow in the early 13th century. Stow was both a parish and a lordship. The lordship lay wholly within the sheriffdom of Edinburgh (Midlothian); the parish extended further south into the sheriffdom of Selkirk, reaching the Tweed at Caddonfoot and including the northern end of Ettrick Forest. The parsonage (rectory) and vicarage of Stow formed part of the spirituality of the see of St Andrews, entitling the bishops (archbishops after 1472) to the teinds (tithes) paid by the parishioners. The lordship of Wedale or Stow formed part of their temporalities, held by them from the crown and reverting to the crown whenever the see was vacant. They in turn granted some parts of the lordship to vassals, who held those lands from them as free tenandries. Elys de Obrinkel, one of the ‘tenantz le evesque de Seint Andrew’, who did homage to Edward I in 1296 (CDS, ii, 205), was ancestor of the Hoppringles (Pringles) of that Ilk who held lands in the lordship of Stow in the 16th century (Laing Chrs, no 824). English occupation of southern Scotland in the 1330s coincided with a vacancy in the see, during which some lands in Wedale were in Edward III’s hands because of the minority of one vassal and the forfeiture of two others (CDS, iii, 333–4, 380). Other lands were exploited directly by the bishop. Bishop Lamberton (died 1328) had flocks of sheep in Wedale producing wool for sale as well as mutton (ERS, i, 225).

However, the bishop’s residence itself is rarely mentioned directly in early records. In 1268, the Abbot of Melrose was excommunicated at the synod of Perth, for organizing an armed attack on the houses (domos) of the bishop of St Andrews at Wedale which brought about the death of a cleric and the injury of others (Watt1990, 371). Early in the 14th century Bishop William Lamberton (1298–1328) built several episcopal residences, including his manor house at Stow in Wedale (Watt1995, 401). Beyond this there is little indication of the form which the manor house took.

The teinds payable to the bishop were not confined to cereal crops, but included lambs, wool, cheese and butter (Hannay 1932, lvii). By the 1470s, however, the archbishop had ceased to receive these in kind. Instead, they were leased to tacksmen (farmers) who paid a fixed annual sum to the bishop which they recouped by collecting from the parishioners (ADA, 423). Similarly a case in 1480 shows that the bishop’s lands were also in the hands of tacksmen, some of whom had written leases (ADC, i, 53). Sometime around 1520 Archbishop Forman leased the kirk and lands of Stow to the fifth Lord Borthwick for 19 years (Hay 1954, 213–14, 250–1). Sometime before 1524 his successor, James Beaton, brought an action to annul the lease in the church court at St Andrews, from which Borthwick and the parishioners appealed to the Pope. Meanwhile, James Hoppringle in Galashiels laid claim to the fruits (revenues) of the kirk (Hannay 1932, 211–12, 220–1). By February 1534 the dispute involved five more ‘gentilmen of the Hoppringlis’ who also claimed to have tacks of lands or teinds from the archhishop. As litigation in Rome led to ‘the gret consummying and substance and money of this realme’, James V endeavoured to persuade the parties to submit the matter to arbitration by the Lords of Council (Hannay 1932, 415, 421). Nevertheless, in February 1538 the matter was still undecided and the archbishop had brought a fresh action against Borthwick for violent occupation of the ‘stedis’ of Stow. The dispute was settled by James V at the Pope’s request (Hannay 1932, 465–6). Borthwick agreeing to pay the new archbishop, Cardinal Beaton, a reduced sum for the fermes of Stow for 1537–9 (Hannay 1913, 95–6).
The accounts of the archbishopric for 1538–46 provide a brief glimpse of the management of Cardinal Beaton’s estates and revenues. Stow rendered money payments only, paid over to his chamberlain but partly at least collected locally by the sergeant or officer of the lordship (Hannay 1913, 127, 182). The teinds and fruits of the kirk were leased to farmers for 19 years from Whitsunday 1538 for an annual payment of £133 6s 8d. The lordship itself yielded only £166 8s 3d, £164 4s being rent paid by tenants, the rest the small annual rents paid by vassals. The tenants also paid lump sums as grassums when they were granted new tacks for five years from Whitsunday 1540 (Hannay 1913, 89–91). Some tenants, who were mainly Hopprisingles, held several parcels of lands, which they would let to subtenants. In 1543–4, before these leases expired, Beaton granted feu charters covering most of the lordship, not to the tenants but to three magnates: John, sixth Lord Borthwick, Walter Ker of Cessford and Sir John Campbell of Calder (Hannay 1913, 206–7). While this increased his revenues from the lordship by some £52, it effectively removed these lands from the episcopal estate, leaving future archbishops with only superiority rights and fixed annual feu duties. A later archbishop, Patrick Adamson (1575–92), charged the feu duties with pensions which the beneficiaries collected themselves (RSS, vii, nos 824, 864, 867, 941, 2182, 2493; viii, 1823).

In all these changes there is no direct evidence concerning the so-called Bishop’s House. No archbishop lived at Stow in the 16th and 17th centuries and there would be little need for a resident estate manager once the lands were feued and the teinds let to tacksmen. Apart from repairs to the church, to which Cardinal Beaton gifted a silk chasuble bearing his arms (Hannay 1913, 96, 123, 139), the chamberlain’s accounts show no expenditure on buildings in Stow. The building may have served as a court house; the archbishop’s court at Stow is mentioned in 1480 (ADC, i, 53) and in the 1540s yearly fees were paid to the sergeant and officer attached to it (Hannay 1913, 92, 176). Cardinal Beaton granted the office of bailie of the barony of Stow to Lord Borthwick and his heirs, probably in 1543 at the same time as his feu charter (Donaldson 1944, ii, 217–21). The court was functioning in 1612 (RPC, x, 72) but there is no evidence to show where it was held. Although the lordship of Stow continued to belong to the archbishops of St Andrews until 1689, when episcopacy was abolished and episcopal property vested in the crown, their position as feudal superiors would not require any sort of local base.

The suggestion that the Bishop’s House was used as the minister’s manse in the early 17th century (Wilson 1924, 140) seems improbable. It is more likely that it was feued along with the rest of the lordship. Cardinal Beaton’s feu charter of 14 December 1543 to Lord Borthwick included the town and lands of Stow, the smithylands and the ‘Halyairdis’, ie the ‘yards’ (gardens or enclosures) belonging to a hall or manor house (RMS, iii, no 2985). Between 1598 and 1618 the lands passed through several owners before reverting to the ninth Lord Borthwick (Laing Chr., nos 1362, 1372, 1414, 1671, 1715; RMS, vi, nos 892; viii, no 393). In 1663 the 10th Lord sold all his lands within the lordship to Dr James Borthwick, following which they were formed into the tenandry of Stow (RMS, xi, no 589). In 1669 Parliament granted him the right to hold a weekly market and two yearly fairs at Stow (APS, vii, 568). In 1759 the estate of Stow was acquired by George Innes, remaining with the family of Innes of Stow thereafter. The house is shown on an estate plan of 1780 drawn up for his son Gilbert (NLS, Acc 7172; illus 2). It is annotated 19 on this plan, with the yard (20 on the plan) to the south and another property (18 on the plan) attached to it on the north. There is no legend, and unfortunately a search of the estate papers did not reveal a survey book which explained the annotation (NAS GD113). The last tenant is said to have been a tailor, during whose occupancy it was burnt (Wilson 1924, 14). This must have been prior to the first edition six-inch Ordnance Survey map of Edinburghshire (1854) which shows it as a ruin. In the 20th century the ruin was acquired by Midlothian County
Council, passing on local government reorganization to Ettrick and Lauderdale District Council which was involved in lowering the walls in 1979.

SITE DESCRIPTION

When presented for archaeological investigation, the site appeared somewhat different from its subsequent landscaped state. The remains of the house consisted of two gable ends, along with fragments of the long walls of a structure which appeared to be a large, two-roomed building of the 16th or 17th century (see illus 3). Immediately to the west of its western gable ran the east wall of the village churchyard. To the north, the house was separated from a neighbouring garden by a modern beech hedge, and to the south was an area of open ground, the surface of which was created partly by the dumping and levelling of material taken from the walls in 1979. This area is bounded by the lane known as Church or Kirk Brae.

It was immediately apparent that a great deal of material had been introduced onto the area, particularly within the remains of the house, where an extended rise or mound, lying
between the two gable ends, was composed of recent demolition material and rubble accumulations of the 19th century. Upon excavation, it was found that this mound contained 19th-century pottery throughout, hence the excavators decided to clear the entire accumulation rapidly.

During the removal of this material, the buried front and rear walls of the house were revealed, along with an internal partition wall, a doorway and a doorstep. The character of the western chimney stack and fireplace was also revealed. In the eastern part of the house, removal of late demolition material uncovered the fireplace and stack of the east gable-end, and the windows in the north and south walls. To the east of the house, a gatepost and a wall were revealed.

THE HOUSE

Structural details of the Bishop’s House indicated that the building had been altered and extended several times. Approximate dating has been assigned to the structural phases largely on the basis of architectural style. Most of the structural remains pre-dated the surviving archaeological deposits on the site, hence the archaeological stratigraphy is described separately, below. A brief description of the structural remains is presented here, while more detailed notes have been lodged with the site archive. The house was divided into two rooms, the eastern room labelled Room 1 and the western room labelled Room 2.
WEST ROOM (ROOM 2)

Western gable end

The western gable end (illus 3) is the older of the two. It is composed almost entirely of split greywacke rubble, along with several pieces of sandstone, including two reused quoin fragments. The walls survived to a maximum height of c 5.9 m from the ground surface upon which their foundations rested. Immediately to the east of the gable end the side walls reduced in height to 1 m or less. The main feature of the gable-end was the large fireplace and stack, with its jambs splayed to cast heat into the room. The arch of the ground-floor fireplace had disappeared, and the jambs had been greatly damaged. This appeared to have been a narrow fireplace designed to heat a living room, and contrasted with the eastern stack, which was clearly a kitchen range. Unfortunately the recent ground lowering in the western room meant that no associated ground-level features were identified.

North of the chimney stack several features were noted, including a ledge, c 2.42 m above the natural ground surface, which must have carried a floor, and a broader ledge for a window, c 3.24 m above the ground surface. Geoffrey Stell examined the stack and concluded that the surviving part appeared to have been built in two phases. In the initial phase, there was a fireplace on the first floor. In the second phase, the main first-floor fireplace was covered over and this covering continued downwards to form the stack face for a new, ground-floor fireplace. Stell observed that the structural evidence indicates that the living quarters of the house were, at an early date, on the first floor, while the ground floor formed an undercroft, but that some time later the stack was modified to create a fireplace suitable for the main living quarters on the ground floor.

By contrast, the whole eastern gable end appears to be of one build (see below), and at least one building phase later than the western gable end.

Foundations of the west room

Clearance of modern topsoil from immediately outside the house revealed the foundations of the west room. A short length of narrow foundation trench was observed inside the building on the north side of its south wall, but no other foundation trenches were noted.

On the inside, the structure rested on natural orange silt and clay subsoils. Outside, the foundations of the building were marked by irregular rows of large whinstone rubble blocks, present along the entire length of the west wall and along two thirds of the south wall. These blocks, upon which the walls were built, were thought to have lain in trenches or been sunken into the ground, relative to a surface which had since been entirely lost, either by deliberate ground-lowering or by erosion. Similar foundations can be observed in cottages built on the steep streets of Stow village.

The foundation stones provided evidence of the ground level at the date of the earliest phase of the west room. It appeared from the recorded levels of the stones that late disturbance penetrated deeply, and that up to 0.5 m of medieval stratigraphy had been lost in some areas.

South wall of the west room

The thickness of this wall was 0.9–1.0 m. Its two principal features were two recesses, roughly rectangular in plan and c 1 m in length. These probably contained cupboards, or seat recesses
ILLUS 4  Bishop’s House: principal structural features
and/or windows. Both must have belonged to a period when the ground floor rooms of the house were occupied as living accommodation.

The south door was clearly the main entrance to the building in its later phases of occupation. The surviving part of the doorway features parts of two jambs, with decorated sandstone responds, a rebate for the door behind, and a doorstep beneath. The responds are approximately triangular and measure 0.26 m by 0.5 m by 0.28 m. They incorporate a series of mouldings, including hollow chamfers, a rebate and a roll mould.

It is clear that this doorway was an insertion into the walls. This conclusion was reached for two reasons. First, the west room appears to have initially been an undercroft, and a door into an undercroft would not be expected. Second, when the house was built, its south wall would seem to have been immediately adjacent to a broad boundary ditch (see below): hence the doorway would appear to have been constructed after this feature was filled. On the basis of clay pipe evidence from the fill, this did not occur before the second quarter of the 17th century.

North wall of the west room

This wall had large external foundation stones, as described above, and the width of the wall at its base was 0.81–0.9 m. It incorporated two recesses, with some plaster surviving within one of these.

The area of the north door of the house was the least well-preserved part of the structure. The flanking walls of the entrance were entirely lost on the west side and partly so on the east. Both jambs were carved to form bold roll-mouldings, although on the west side only two small fragments of the jamb remained. There was no stop to the chamfer at ground level on either side, indicating that these stones may have been re-used. The style of the mouldings indicated a late 17th- or 18th-century date, and it is possible that the stones may have come from other buildings of the episcopal manor complex, which was probably demolished around this date.

EAST ROOM (ROOM 1)

Eastern gable end

The eastern gable end is entirely taken up with a complex stack structure of several fireplaces, chimneys and recesses. The ground floor is dominated by a large range with slightly splayed jambs (illus 5). Several phases of fireplace construction are evident. At the top of the range, jambs survive as fragments on either side, and there are settings for stones which formed a segmental arch over the whole structure.

At first-floor level the remains of the main breast of a chimney were recorded, although collapse had left the flue open at this level. To the north of this is a plain rectangular recess containing a gable-end window. The third floor of this gable-end has a large fireplace with a stone lintel. The entire gable end structure appears to be of a single plan and date, in contrast to the western gable end.

North wall of the east room

This wall survived up to 2 m in height. Its internal face was almost entirely plastered, and the wall incorporated two (or possibly three) windows.
DIVIDING WALL

The central dividing wall of the house was revealed by the investigation to be the oldest structural component, probably in existence in the 16th century, and it may once have extended outside the surviving building. It is possible that the house once formed a wing attached to a larger building or hall, but if so, this larger structure must have been demolished in the 17th century.

The wall consisted of a core of *in situ* natural clay with a facing of stone and plaster. The nature of the wall core indicated that the ground level inside the house had been lowered by 0.8 m or more, at a later date. There were two doorways in this dividing wall, both of which were in existence by the time of the wooden floor phase in the east room (see below).

ARCHAEOLOGICAL STRATIGRAPHY

The earliest stratified feature encountered on the site was a large, cobble-lined ditch (illus 10a), over 2.5 m in width, running parallel to the walls of the house on its southern side. Only a short length of this ditch was investigated, but it is possible that a road to the east of the site, in existence by the 17th century, follows the line of the earlier ditch. This ditch may have enclosed a large manorial complex including the church. The date of its cutting is unknown, but clay pipe evidence from the fill indicates a mid 17th-century date for its backfilling.

Archaeological deposits within the house itself mostly related to the later phases of its occupation. The earliest evidence identified in the eastern part of the house (Room 1) was a series
of narrow, parallel trenches (maximum depth 0.15 m), running north/south (illus 4 & 5). Six trenches ran across the full width of the room, while the two doorways into the room were crossed by similar but shorter trenches. These trenches were interpreted as cuts for joists to support a wooden floor.

Overlying these trenches was another floor, represented by a fragmentary clay surface. Remains of another clay surface were also identified; probably a repair made to the floor when the hearth in Room 1 was modified. Both the clay floor and the earlier wooden floor dated from the period when the building was occupied as a house. Overlying the clay floor was a fragmentary stone floor, which, in contrast, was interpreted as a floor for a probable animal shelter.

Little archaeological information relating to the early occupation of the house was found in the western room (Room 2/3), as the ground had been lowered, possibly as part of an operation to create a dry floor for animals in the final stages of the building’s use. One early feature was identified, in the form of the heavily truncated remains of a drainage trench, which cut the natural subsoils. This trench had been almost completely removed by the ground-lowering operation but, from the evidence of several stones found lining its sides, may once have been fully stone lined and probably also stone capped. There was no clear dating evidence for this trench, but it is not thought to pre-date the house itself.

Outside the house, to the south, the backfilled ditch was overlain by a yard surface. The yard was enclosed by a wall and had an entrance, flanked by a surviving gatepost, on the east side. Later this entrance was replaced by another at the west end, approached by a well-made, cobbled road. White Gritty pottery, including a base sherd from a jug (Pottery catalogue, no 2) was recovered from deposits immediately below the yard surface, although this material is probably residual. A copper-alloy stud (Artefacts catalogue, no 6) was found lying on the yard surface.

Overlying the stone floor in Room 1 was a charcoal-rich deposit, covering almost the entire ground plan of the room, derived from the destruction of the building, or part of it, in a fire. Much of the charcoal was in the form of very small fragments, but in the eastern half of the room it was composed overwhelmingly of barley seeds, along with a smaller quantity of charred wood.

The maximum depth of this charcoal-rich deposit was c 0.50 m, in the north-eastern corner of the room. Here it lay against wall plaster, which showed no evidence of having been affected by the heat of a fire. Likewise, the underlying, fragmentary stone floor showed no evidence of burning. This led the excavators to conclude that the charcoal-rich deposit had not formed in situ, but had resulted from a fire on the first floor which had caused a partial or total collapse of the ground floor ceiling. It appeared that, in the usual custom of farmers, the barley had been stored on the first floor of the building to preserve it from vermin and that, during the fire, some ceiling joists had burned through, and the already carbonized barley had fallen through to the floor below. The associated remains of sacking may have represented sacks in which the barley was stored. Several factors, including the selective survival of timbers, indicated that there had been a salvage operation directly after the fire.

Several artefacts were recovered from the charcoal-rich deposit. These include domestic items such as copper-alloy pins and a thimble (Artefacts catalogue nos 3, 5 & 7), the function of which may lend support to the anecdotal evidence of occupation of the house by a tailor at the time of its destruction by fire (see above). Also present were structural components such as an iron hinge pivot (no 12), two lead-alloy window-came fragments (eg no 8), and part of an iron corn or flax comb (no 11) which may have been associated with the suggested agricultural store on the first floor. The artefact assemblage appears to date from the late 18th century. The burned deposit also contained numbers of sheep and cattle bone fragments.
Small deposits of burned material were also identified in Room 2/3 (below), although the surviving evidence indicated that this part of the house had been spared from the worst effects of the fire. Some charcoal may have been introduced into this area during subsequent salvage operations.

ROOM 3

The latest structural feature within the house was a rubble-built partition wall across the west room, creating a small partitioned area (measuring c 4.4 m by 1.6 m) at its western end (referred to as Room 3). The wall survived to a height of between 0.65 m (northern end) and 0.5 m (southern end) and measured 0.5 m in thickness. It clearly post-dated the domestic occupation of this area, and the west end of the house may have been semi-derelict when the partitioned area was in use. Finds evidence indicates a date in the late 18th or early 19th century, shortly after the fire. The partitioned area was interpreted as a stall for an animal or animals, although no tethering arrangements were identified. The ground appears to have been lowered by the removal of up to 0.8 m of earlier deposits, and a deposit of mixed rubble was subsequently introduced to form the floor. This would have improved drainage without any loss of ceiling height. The need to create a dry floor for animals and the corresponding ground-lowering cut may explain why little earlier archaeological information was forthcoming in Room 2/3.

Overlying the above deposits in both parts of the house was a layer of demolition rubble.

POTTERY

Derek W Hall

The excavation yielded 367 sherds of pottery. The vast bulk of this material is post-medieval and there are only 37 sherds which pre-date the 16th century (10%). Included among these are seven sherds of White Gritty Ware from contexts 001 and 179. All the contexts are very mixed and there would appear to be a very high degree of residuality.

CATALOGUE (ILLUS 6)

White Gritty Ware

1 Base sherd from open vessel form with internal green glaze and external smoke blackening (context 001).
2 Base sherd from jug with external green glaze and remains of single fingermark (context 179).

Reduced Gritty Ware

3 Body sherd and strap handle junction from jug with external green glaze (context 001).

Oxidized Redware

4 Splayed base and side walls of large jug glazed brown internally and externally (context 001).
5 Rim sherd from large storage vessel internally glazed green-brown with external purple wash (context 056).
6 Body sherd and rod handle junction from single-handled jar externally glazed green on a purple wash (context 001).
7 Body sherds from small vessel glazed green-brown internally and externally with white slipped wavy line (context 001).
8 Pedestal base sherd from small vessel glazed brown internally and externally (context 001).
9 Pedestal base sherd from open vessel glazed green internally and externally (context 056).
10 Splayed base sherd from small vessel internally glazed brown (context 001).

**Stoneware**

11 Base sherds from small jug externally glazed grey-brown (context 001).
12 Base sherd from small vessel externally glazed grey-brown (context 150).

**Delftware**

13 Rim sherd from small jar glazed white internally and externally with external blue decoration (context 270).

**Tin Glazed Polychrome**

14 Rim sherd from cup (?) with external blue glaze and internal blue-and-white decoration (context 254).
ARTEFACTS
Adrian Cox
with a contribution on the clay pipes by Dennis Gallagher

The artefact assemblage from the excavation is described and discussed briefly below. The artefacts are described within material categories, and a select catalogue is presented. Many of the finds relate to the later stages of occupation on the site, especially during the late 17th and 18th centuries, although some residual material appears to pre-date the surviving archaeology within the house. A quantification and listing of the artefacts by context has been lodged with the archive of the project records.

COPPER-ALLOY OBJECTS (ILLUS 7)

The single button recovered from the excavation (cat no 1) has a slightly convex face bearing machine-turned decoration. It was found in the fabric of a short section of wall attached to the south-eastern corner of the house and probably dates from the 18th century. Finely incised, machine-turned designs on metal buttons are known from the early part of that century, as illustrated by Peacock (1978, 33).

1. **Button**  Diameter 24 mm; thickness 9 mm. Button with a slightly concavo-convex, circular face and a slightly asymmetrical eye. The face bears incised decoration and part is missing. Fine machine-turning marks are visible on the rear. Context 2; find no 48.

A small group of pins with heads of coiled wire (including nos 2–4) was recovered from deposits within the house. This type appears to have had a long currency. Among the earliest published examples are those from London (Egan & Pritchard 1991, 299–301), while examples from post-medieval contexts have been found on numerous urban and rural sites across Scotland (eg Cox 1996, 57; Goodall 1993, 192). Number 5 is a shaft fragment, probably from a pin of this type. Three of the pins recovered, including nos 3 and 5, came from the charcoal-rich deposits in the east room.

2. **Pin**  Length 30 mm; width of head 2 mm; diameter of shaft 0.7 mm. Complete pin with a pinched, wire-wound head and a circular cross-sectioned shaft. Traces of white metal plating (probably tin) survive on the shaft. Context 94; find no 61.

3. **Pin**  Length 25 mm; width of head 1 mm; diameter of shaft 0.6 mm. Complete pin with a pinched, wire-wound head and a circular cross-sectioned shaft (not illus). Context 75; find no 31.

4. **Pin**  Length, if straightened, 46 mm; width of head 3 mm; diameter of shaft 0.9 mm. Complete pin with a pinched, wire-wound head and a circular cross-sectioned shaft which is slightly bent. Wire-drawing marks are visible on the shaft. Context 158; find no 80.

5. **Pin shaft**  Length 16 mm; diameter 0.8 mm. Pin shaft fragment, including the point, in two conjoining pieces (not illus). Context 75; find no 35.

Recovered from the yard surface to the south of the house, no 6 is a stud with a domed, circular head. Numbers of these items probably served a decorative purpose, possibly on wooden furniture or on a door.
ILLUS 7  Artefacts: nos 1, 2, 4, 6 & 7 (scale 1:1); nos 9, 10 & 11 (scale 1:2)
6 **Stud**  Length 14 mm; diameter of shaft 12 mm. Stud with a plain, concavo-convex, circular head and a tapering, square cross-sectioned shaft. Context 176; find no 71.

A small thimble (no 7) was among the finds from the charcoal-rich deposits in the east room of the house. This example bears closely spaced, machine-knurled indentations. The mechanical knurling of indentations under pressure was first practised in the Netherlands in about 1620 (Holmes 1988, 3).

7 **Thimble**  Height 17 mm; diameter across base 13 mm. Thimble of gently tapering form with a domed apex. Most of the surface area bears regular, machine-knurled indentations apart from a band, 4 mm in depth, around the base. The indentations at the apex are of a slightly larger size than the remainder. Part of the thimble wall is missing. Context 75; find no 27.

**LEAD-ALLOY OBJECTS (ILLUS 7)**

Number 8 is the larger of two came fragments from the charcoal-rich deposit in the east room of the house. The function of came was to join and hold pieces of glass together within a window. The fragments, although crushed, exhibit the characteristic H-shaped cross-section, into which a pane could be inserted at either side. Fragments of window glass bearing staining and differential weathering resulting from insertion into lead-alloy came were also recovered (see below).

A tapering, circular cross-sectioned object from a mortar-rich deposit in the east room (no 9) probably represents a ferrule, used to terminate a wooden cane or rod. Also recovered from this deposit was part of a handle from an item of pewter cutlery (no 10). Both these objects are heavily corroded.

8 **Came**  Length 49 mm; width 11 mm; thickness 4 mm. Came fragment, originally of H-shaped cross-section, now crushed flat. Broken at both ends (not illus). Context 75; find no 108.

9 **Ferrule?**  Length 46 mm; diameter at open end 13 mm. Probable ferrule, of hollow form and tapering, circular cross-section. The open end is slightly expanded and has three parallel ridges on its interior surface. Both this end and the closed end are broken. Context 56; find no 105.

10 **Handle**  Length 99 mm; max width 22 mm; max thickness 5 mm. Handle with a broad, pointed terminal, tapering in width but increasing in thickness towards the broken end of the shaft. A stamped or moulded mark near the top of the shaft may represent a bust within an oval border. Context 56; find no 104.

**IRON OBJECTS (ILLUS 7 & 8)**

Number 11 represents the head of a flax or corn comb, including part of its handle or tang. There appear to have been eight teeth on each side of the tooth plate originally, their former positions indicated by sockets. Flax was hacked by passing the bundles through a series of combs to remove any remaining straw, to align the long fibres and to remove any short fibres. The long fibres are used to produce the finest yarn, the shorter ones to produce coarser material. Long fibres are encouraged from the moment the crop is planted, the seeds being sown close together so that the stems will grow straight and produce as few branches as possible (Baines 1985, 3–4). This comb was found in the charcoal-rich deposits in the east room of the house.

11 **Comb**  Surviving length 124 mm; surviving width 127 mm; surviving length of handle 60 mm. Head of a corn or flax comb, with the remains of five teeth surviving on one side and four on the other. Each of
the teeth has a slightly inward-curving terminal. The broken handle, which probably once incorporated a tang, is attached (welded or brazed) to the top of tooth plate and forms a 90-degree angle with it. Context 75; find no 111.

Hinge pivots were used to hang doors and shutters. Judging from its size, no 12 probably supported a shutter (possibly a window shutter) rather than a door. This example was found in charcoal-rich deposits in the east room.

12 **Hinge pivot**  
Length 87 mm; height 47 mm; max thickness 11 mm. Hinge pivot in heavily corroded condition (not illus). Context 75; find no 109.

A door key with a decorated shaft and an oval bow (no 13) was recovered from a deposit thought to immediately post-date the fire damage in the east room. It is heavily corroded but additional details have been revealed by X-radiography. The bit is of a very simple form, although the shaft bears decorative encircling ridges. This key dates probably from the second half of the 18th century.

An incomplete key (no 14) came from the charcoal-rich deposits in the east room, directly associated with the fire damage. This key is a larger example than no 13 and must also be a door key. It is very heavily corroded, and an X-ray image of this object reveals little additional detail.

13 **Key**  
Length 89 mm; max width of bow 34 mm; depth of bit 16 mm. Key with a solid, circular cross-sectioned shaft and an oval bow set centrally upon it. The rectangular bit has a single, horizontal ward cut, revealed by X-radiography. This also reveals that the shaft is decorated by two encircling ridges, 16 mm below its junction with the bow. Heavily corroded. Context 56; find no 106.

14 **Key**  
Length c 168 mm; max width of bow c 60 mm; depth of bit not measurable. Incomplete key in several fragments, including the shaft and most of the bow. The shaft is of circular or oval cross-section and is of approximately constant thickness along its length. The circular bow is set centrally upon the shaft. Only a remnant of the bit survives (not illus). Context 75; find no 107.

**BONE OBJECT (ILLUS 8)**

Found in topsoil to the south of the house, no 15 is part of a collar stud. These were used on dress shirts in the 19th century and continued in use until recent times. This example may be associated with the latest period of human occupation of the house. Species identification is by Catherine Smith.

15 **Collar stud**  
Diameter of head 11 mm; surviving length 6 mm. Derived from a large ungulate long bone shaft. Fragment of a lathe-turned collar stud with a plain, circular head and a broken, circular cross-sectioned shank. Context 150; find no 110.

**BOTTLE GLASS (ILLUS 8)**

A total of only 11 fragments of bottle glass was retained from the excavation. The predominance of neck and base fragments indicates that these were retained selectively by the excavators. The surviving fragments came mainly from within Room 3 and from yard and topsoil deposits south of the house. The condition of the glass varies; in general, the earlier pieces exhibit a moderate
degree of surface deterioration whereas some of the later fragments appear relatively unaffected by burial.

Probably the earliest piece among this group, no 16 is a neck and shoulder fragment from a type of wine bottle commonly referred to as an onion bottle. Number 16 exhibits the short, tapering neck typical of the type, and has a pronounced 'string rim', a narrow band encircling the top of the neck serving to anchor a string or wire used to secure a closure in position. The bevelled form of string rim on this example is a feature that began to appear between 1690 and 1700, replacing the earlier coiled forms. The shaping of this bevelled form was achieved using callipers or finishing irons, applied both above and below the rim. Evidence of the use of these survives on
no 16 as a shallow groove immediately below the string rim. A slight flaring of the neck above the string rim both secured the latter in place and assisted with pouring. Both the neck form and the squat body form indicated by the angle of the shoulder point to a date in the early part of the 18th century for the manufacture of this piece.

In contrast, no 17 dates from the late 18th or early 19th century. This neck fragment is from a cylindrical bottle and represents a much more upright form than no 16. Cylindrical wine bottles are known from as early as 1734–5 (Dumbrell 1983, 91) but are very rare at this date and the early forms were relatively squat.

Two of the surviving base fragments, of which no 18 is the more complete, are from squat rather than cylindrical bottle forms. Too little of no 18 survives to indicate the precise body profile, but it is either from an onion-type bottle or from a straighter-sided ‘mallet’ form, commonplace by c 1730–40. Number 19 is a base fragment from a later, cylindrical bottle.

16 Bottle neck. Surviving depth 75 mm; external diameter at rim 30 mm; internal diameter at rim 22 mm; max surviving diameter 67 mm. Neck and part of shoulder, in green glass, with a string rim of bevelled form. A slight constriction and shallow groove immediately below the string rim may have been produced by callipers. The neck is short and tapers smoothly. There is a moderate amount of surface deterioration. Context 158; find no 100.

17 Bottle neck. Surviving depth 97 mm; external diameter at rim 34 mm; internal diameter at rim 22 mm; max surviving diameter 46 mm. Neck fragment in green glass, with a slightly irregular rim of conical form and a string rim below this. The neck is broken where it begins to broaden towards the shoulder. There is slight surface deterioration on the interior. Context 58; find no 102.

18 Bottle base. Surviving depth 41 mm; surviving diameter 96 mm; footprint diameter not measurable. Base fragment in green glass, with a broad kick-up and a roughly circular pontil scar (max width c 36 mm). There is a moderate degree of surface deterioration. Context 158; find no 103.

19 Bottle base. Surviving depth 36 mm; surviving diameter 82 mm; footprint diameter c 70 mm. Base fragment from a cylindrical bottle in green glass, with a domed kick-up and a roughly circular pontil scar (max width c 32 mm). There is little surface deterioration. The base exhibits moderate pre-depositional wear. Context 58; find no 101.

WINDOW GLASS (NOT ILLUS)

A total of 133 small fragments of window glass was recovered during the excavation. A few fragments are from small, diamond-shaped or ‘quarry’-shaped pieces, which characterise domestic glazing in the 16th and 17th centuries. Triangular pieces of glass, fragments of which are also represented here, were used at the edges of window frames. A lattice of lead-alloy came was used to join pieces of glass together within a window, and at least two pieces of glass exhibit characteristic staining and differential weathering resulting from insertion into such came. Crushed came fragments were found among burnt materials within the house (eg no 8, above). The diamond lattice construction was generally replaced by paneled sash windows in the 18th century.

On several fragments, evidence survives of manufacturing methods. Panes were cut to size by scoring the surface and then breaking the glass, the broken edges sometimes being finished by paring with grozing tongs. This technique produced a series of tiny conchoidal fractures along the edges of the panes. Both scoring marks and evidence of grozing are present on some of the fragments from the Bishop’s House.

There appears to be a quite high degree of residuality among the glass assemblage. The main concentrations of fragments were recovered from demolition deposits and from topsoil deposits adjacent to the north and south walls of the house.
CLAY PIPES

Dennis Gallagher

This report deals with 316 clay pipe fragments recovered from 51 contexts. The bulk of the material is of 17th- or early 18th-century date; the remainder is of 19th- and 20th-century date associated with dumping on the site.

The date range of the early material indicated use of clay pipes from c 1640 to 1700. The lack of early 17th-century pipes does not necessarily mean there was no occupation at that date but may only indicate that the smoking habit had not then penetrated to Stow.

The material of a post-1800 date was recovered from only four contexts. It was in a much less fragmented state than the early pipes and is consistent with bulk dumping. It can be divided chronologically into two main groups; first, small bowls of an approximate 1800–50 date and, second, thick cutty pipes of a post c 1800 type.

Discussion

The material from the period 1640–1750 reflects to a great extent the patterns of pipe distribution noted in other assemblages from the Borders. The main market for pipes was Edinburgh; between 1640–60 this was dominated by William Banks, here represented by three bowls of varying quality. The later 17th-century bowls include one by Patrick Crawford, a maker with a large market in southern Scotland, but two previously unrecorded maker’s initials, I/M and I/T, make this group of particular interest. The I/T initials are associated with two different stamps, one debased form of the portcullis stamp common in Edinburgh and Glasgow during this period, and the other the impression of a milled circle.

The material from the period 1800–50 consists of three fine-walled bowls with spurs and fragments of two others. Two have the mark of Thomas White, the main pipe manufacturer in Edinburgh during the period 1825–67. One of these bears a mould-imparted TW on the back of the bowl; White was possibly the originator of this marking which was common on Scottish pipes of a 19th- and 20th-century date (Lawson 1976, 225).

Finally, examples from 1850 to 1950 consist of ‘cutties’, typified by their thick walls and short stems. This form of pipe was very popular in the late 19th and early 20th century and was much favoured by labourers. The pipes were short enough to be transported in a waistcoat pocket, the normal dress of labourers, and thick walls gave added strength. At least one of the Stow pipes was produced by William Christie of Leith, whose factory was active 1895–1958. Christie advertised his pipes as ‘practically unbreakable’ (pipe catalogue, HH4283/447/80, Huntly House Museum, Edinburgh), a claim which is substantiated by the large fragments of cutties in the Stow assemblage. There is also a fragment bearing the name of another Leith maker, William Swaney, who is recorded active 1876–87.

Selected catalogue (illus 9)

20 Burnished bowl with mould-imparted B/W, fine milling and castle basal stamp; 7/64; William Banks of Edinburgh; 1640–60. Context 242.
21 Burnished bowl with mould-imparted W/B, milled rim, and basal stamp; 7/64; maker and date as no 20. Context 228/9. (The pipe is of a poorer quality than no 20. The stamp lacks interior detail through the use of a worn die.)
22 Badly made bowl with clay surface cracked prior to firing, mould-impacted W/B and milled rim. The W shows signs of recurring but the worn mould has caused lack of detail in the lettering; 7/64; maker and date as no 20 (not illus). Context 275.

23 Bowl with mould-impacted W/Y, heavily bottered but not milled, no basal stamp; 7/64; probably a product of William Young of Edinburgh; 1640–70 (not illus). Context 347.

24 Burnished bowl with PC/E basal stamp and milled rim; 7/64; Patrick Crawford of Edinburgh; 1660–90 (not illus). Context 228/9.

25 Bowl with mould-impacted I/M and partial milling; 6/64; 1660–90. The form of initial I with a central bar is unusual on Scottish pipes, an example found in Aberdeen (Davey 1982, 217, illus 125: 215) may be from the same maker. Context 341.
26 Large upright bowl with circular basal stamp; 7/64; Scottish, 1690–1730 (not illus). Context 169.
27 Base of bowl with fragment of stem, mould-imparted I/T and stamp as no 26; 6/64; Scottish, 1690–1730 (not illus). Context 75.
28 Basal fragment with mould-imparted I/T and faint basal stamp of derived portcullis type (Gallagher forthcoming); 7/64; Scottish, 1670–1730 (not illus). Context 75.
29 Bowl with fluting in relief, G/C on spur; 5/64; probably Scottish, 1800–50 (not illus). Context 1.
30 Spurred bowl with cordon near rim and leaf decoration on seams, polished; 4/64; probably Scottish, 1800–50 (not illus). Context 1.
31 Spurred bowl, thicker walled than nos. 10 and 11, with TW in oval on back of bowl and THO.../..GH on stem; 4/64; Thomas White of Edinburgh, 1825–67. Context 1.

COIN

A bawbee of Charles II was found in a disturbed, mortar-rich deposit in the east room of the house. It appears to be a residual find, but is an indicator of late 17th-century or early 18th-century activity.


ANIMAL REMAINS

Dick Grove

A total of 684 animal and bird bones was recovered during the excavation. The majority of these were scattered in over 60 contexts in small numbers. With such a small sample much of the discussion below is necessarily descriptive.

No attempt was made to identify ribs and vertebral fragments to species with the exception of the atlas and axis. The ageing of domestic animals is based upon the fusion of epiphyses (Silver 1971) and the eruption and wear of teeth (Grant 1982). The measurements of bones are those suggested by von den Driesch (1976). Supporting data are lodged in the archive of the project records.

A total of 311 bones (46%) could be identified to species and skeletal part; 40% of those unidentified are rib or vertebral fragments and 31% are long bone fragments. The most common species identified is sheep/goat (Table 1) which produced 52.8% (164 fragments) of the total. The sample was too small to enable any distinction to be made between sheep and goat but it is assumed that the majority of animals are sheep which will be the term used hereafter. The second most common animal in terms of identified fragments is that of horse (54) followed by cattle (37) and pig (2). The relatively large number of horse bones is due to the presence of two broken skulls.

It is perhaps surprising that no goose bones were identified among the relatively large number of bird bones. The majority are from domestic fowl; two were identified as partridge and one as sparrow.

As mentioned above, the bones are scattered throughout a number of contexts. Only five out of a total of 68 contexts produced more than five bones identified to sheep. Only one context (context 75: the charcoal-rich deposit in the east room) had the numbers and characteristics which one might expect to find in a deliberate deposit of rubbish. This contained the greatest number of sheep and cattle bones (51 and seven respectively), a large proportion of rib and vertebral
Table 1
Numbers of bones identified to species

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Species</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sheep/Goat</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>52.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horse</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>17.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cattle</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>11.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pig</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dog</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fowl</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>15.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partridge</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sparrow</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>311</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

fragments and 68 unidentified pieces. This context also produced one of the two pig bones (an incisor); the other bone — the proximal shaft of a right tibia — is from a topsoil deposit. Context 75 also produced five sheep mandibles. Four are from immature animals as the deciduous teeth, or their sockets only, are still present. The fifth mandible is from a mature animal with a mandibular wear stage of 40 (Grant 1982) (details of tooth wear are given in the archive). Three other mandibles were also recovered. One, from the fill of the early boundary ditch, was from an immature animal, as the deciduous teeth were still in situ. Another example from this fill, and one from a topsoil layer had mandible wear stages of 42 and 36 respectively. All but two epiphyseal fragments from all contexts had fused. The two exceptions are from those bones which fuse quite late (a proximal femur and distal radius) and so the data does not reflect that of the teeth.

Only two loose cattle teeth were recovered. One, a mandibular first molar is heavily worn (tooth wear stage 1). One immature animal is represented by a fragment of an unfused distal humerus. The remaining eight epiphyseal fragments are all fused. The two dog bones recovered are the shaft of a left femur and the neck of a left scapula.

The greatest number of horse bones come from the yard area to the south of the house. Twenty-seven of the fragments are probably part of one skull and the remainder, with the exception of a maxillary premolar, are presumably its associated loose teeth. The height of these — five maxillary molars and three premolars — suggests an age at death of approximately seven to nine years. The odd tooth is much more worn and therefore from an older animal. The remains of another skull were recovered from topsoil. The fragments included part of the right mandible and maxilla but only three teeth. Two molar teeth are fragmentary; the height of the third, the left maxillary second premolar, suggests an age of 12–13 years. All the remaining bones which are scattered in eight contexts would appear to come from mature animals.

A total of 52 bird bones was identified to species. In addition there are 22 fragments of long bone shafts which probably belong to the most common species present which is domestic fowl (49). Five of these are from immature birds. Two bones, both humeral fragments, probably came from partridge.

DISCUSSION

The earliest archaeological features encountered on the site provided new evidence for the nature of the manorial complex at the heart of Stow village. The date of the possible manorial enclosure ditch is not known, nor is its precise course, but it would appear to define the southern limit of an area of land bounded on the north by the Pennywhiggam Burn (illus 10a).
ILLUS 10  Development of the area of Stow manorial estate since the medieval period
The evidence of the documentary records outlined above suggests that a number of buildings might be expected to form components of a manorial complex here. The proximity of the Bishop’s House to the church suggests that the former was part of, or attached to, the estate centre, although the forms of the other buildings involved can only be conjectured. Apart from chambers maintained for the archbishops, a building to house the officials would be expected, and a safe building for the security of money. There would be a tithe barn for tithes of hay and corn, and a stockyard or foldyard for the assembling of tithe lambs and calves, and for rents paid in animal kind. The church would have acted as chapel to the manor, and the vicar or chaplain would also have had a residence. All these buildings could have lain in the area of the Bishop’s House, and their number begs the question of what exactly was the Bishop’s House. Clearly it could have been, or been built on the site of, any of the residential structures mentioned above and the name Bishop’s House, even if it reflects an accurate tradition that the manorial site was here, need mean only that this building was the one survivor from the later phases of that site. What specifically the building had been within the complex might have been no more known to the people who called it the Bishop’s House than it is today.

In the surviving structure itself, the nature of the dividing wall indicated that it may originally have been part of a larger building, and that the earlier (western) part of the house may have formed a wing of a larger hall. The form of the western gable end, with its modified stack arrangement, indicates that the fireplace was initially on the first floor, with the ground floor forming an undercroft.

A second phase of building is evident in the western gable, in which the main first-floor fireplace was covered over and a new, ground-floor fireplace was constructed. This made the ground floor of the western end of the house into living accommodation for the first time. Around the same time, the eastern room was constructed, with its single phase stack. This large stack was clearly designed to provide a kitchen-type fireplace on the ground floor. The new fireplace in the western room was smaller and had splayed jambs, designed to direct heat into the room, indicating that this was the living room or ‘best’ room.

Later, probably in the 18th century, the fireplace in the eastern room was modified. A smaller fireplace was created, less suitable for cooking, with highly splayed jambs. Only at this late stage is there associated stratigraphic evidence to accompany the structural evidence. The surviving floor joist trenches indicate that a wooden floor was inserted, and the walls were re-plastered, as part of the same programme of modifications. It appears likely that these structural alterations mark an exchange of roles between the two rooms of the house, with the western room becoming the kitchen and the eastern room becoming the living accommodation at this point. The western room probably had an earth or stone floor at this time, but no trace of it has survived due to late 18th- or 19th-century ground-lowering work, which took place after a fire had damaged the eastern end of the house.

After suffering the fire damage, the house became derelict and part of its west room was used as accommodation for livestock. Pottery evidence indicates that the ruins of the house were used as a rubbish dump from around 1850 onwards.

CONCLUSIONS

The now ruined church of Stow, and its immediate surrounding area, is clearly a site of great archaeological potential. The place-name evidence may carry the evidence for Stow’s ecclesiastical importance back to the period of Northumbrian supremacy. The investigation of the Bishop’s House has enabled a detailed sequence of post-medieval structural episodes to be reconstructed
from the surviving remains, although, unfortunately, almost all of the associated archaeological deposits proved to be missing as a consequence of later work. The surviving deposits and associated finds provide a window on the 17th- to late 18th-century occupation of the area.

The discovery of a broad, cobble-lined ditch to the south of the house, possibly representing part of the boundary of a large manorial complex, must be one of the most valuable pieces of evidence to have arisen from the excavation. Although the ditch remains undated, its size is perhaps an indicator of the importance of the manorial complex here, and its discovery may help to define the spatial limits of the complex. Evidence for precisely what function the Bishop’s House may have performed within the estate remains elusive, but this investigation has enabled the detailed interpretation of the surviving remains and provided the impetus for detailed historical research on the episcopal property.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Border Burghs Archaeology Project was sponsored by the Borders Architects Group and funded by the Manpower Services Commission. The excavation was supervised by Michael Parker, under the direction of Piers Dixon. Geoffrey Stell commented upon the dating and sequence of the structural remains. Post-excavation analyses of the pottery and artefacts assemblages, and preparation of this report for publication, were carried out by SUAT Ltd and funded by Historic Scotland.

Adrian Cox would like to thank Ian Brown of Scottish Borders Museums for allowing access to the finds assemblage, and Debbie Forkes for providing X-ray images of the iron artefacts. Thanks are also due to David Perry for his comments on the historical evidence and to Olwyn Owen for support throughout the post-excavation work.

Dick Grove would like to thank the staff of the Royal Museum of Scotland for their assistance in the identification of some animal bone fragments. The animal remains report was edited for publication by Catherine Smith.

The illustrations in this report are by Dave Munro, apart from illus 6, which is by Frank Moran; illus 4 and 10 are based on the earlier work of Rupert Cavanagh. The photographs are by Border Burghs Archaeology Project. The authors would like to thank the Trustees of the National Library of Scotland for permission to reproduce illus 2.

REFERENCES

Donaldson, G (ed) 1944 *St Andrews Formulare*. Edinburgh.
Hay, D 1954 *The Letters of James V*. Edinburgh..
NLS Acc 7172 ‘Survey of the lands of Stow and Stagehall, situate in the Parish of Stow and County of Midlothian. Gilbert Innes Esq, Proprietor, taken May 1780 by William Hall.’ National Library of Scotland [maps].
Wilson, T 1924 *The Stow of Wedale (Gala Water)*. Aberdeen.

*This paper is published with the aid of a grant from Historic Scotland*