# TRANSACTIONS OF EAST LOTHIAN ANTIQUARIAN AND FIELD NATURALISTS' SOCIETY

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# TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

# EAST LOTHIAN ANTIQUARIAN AND FIELD NATURALISTS' SOCIETY

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# ANCIENT DOVECOTS OF EAST LOTHIAN: A SURVEY

THIS communication owes its origin to the late Mr Joseph Whitaker, of Rainworth Lodge, Nottinghamshire, a well-known naturalist. Though an Englishman by birth and training, one who spent a long life of more than eighty years south of the Tweed, Mr Whitaker was a frequent visitor to Haddington, with which he had an ancestral connection. During his boyhood he resided with his aunt, Miss Randall, at Elm House and attended Walter Haig's Academy in Paterson Place. A keen fisher, he caught his first trout in the river Tyne in 1859, and within a year of his death landed another at the same spot as that at which he had his first success with the rod.

Mr Whitaker was a Fellow of the Zoological Society and Vice-President of the Selborne Society. Such was his enthusiasm for the pursuits of the naturalist that for many years his home in Nottinghamshire was a natural history museum and the park surrounding Rainworth Lodge a bird sanctuary. His knowledge of bird life was quite exceptional. White birds he made a special study, and collected them in various parts of the world. In all, Mr Whitaker had over 500 varieties of birds and about fifty species of animals. His collection of albinos, in particular, attracted so much attention from naturalists hailing from all parts of the country that he had to reserve certain days for visitors who wished to inspect them. He was also an excellent marksman, and took delight in recounting to Haddington friends his exploits at partridge shooting. But ornithology was his chief study, and as indicative of his deep interest, it may be stated that many of the trees near Rainworth Lodge were provided with nesting boxes.

Besides being a diligent and observant student of natural history, Mr Whitaker contributed extensively to the literature of the subject, and though he had not the literary faculty of his master, Gilbert White of Selborne, he produced several works that were widely read. His publications include *Notes on the Birds of Nottinghamshire, Scribblings of a Hedgerow Naturalist, The Deer Parks of England* (he formed a deer park which was stocked with

Japanese deer), and *Nimrod, Ramrod and Fishing Rod*—an intriguing title.

But perhaps his most popular book was *The Dovecots of Notts*. Anyhow it appealed strongly to some of his Haddington friends, who urged him to compile a companion volume dealing with the rich variety of these structures to be found in East Lothian. The idea commended itself to Mr Whitaker, and though he had reached the advanced age of seventy-eight, he set to work to compile a descriptive list of the ancient dovecots of the county. But declining powers, a serious illness, and the fact that he resided three hundred miles from the scene of his labours, militated against the progress of the work, which for a time was at a complete standstill. Notwithstanding his difficulties, however, he managed to visit personally a large number of the dovecots, and in collecting information, as well as in the work of photographing the buildings, he was greatly assisted by many of the owners. But his chief coadjutors were Mrs Ramsay of Lochside, Tranent; Mr William Ingles of North Berwick, and Mr Thomas T. Bisset, Rosskeen, Dunbar, and in a rough sketch, which apparently was intended to form an introduction to the book, Mr Whitaker singles them out for special acknowledgment.

Unfortunately, Mr Whitaker's lamented death in 1932 put a period to the proposed work. Since then, the materials he collected, together with the correspondence and many fine photographs, have come into the possession of the East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalists' Society, and the question arose as to whether something could not be done to make the result of his researches available to members, more especially as the subject was calculated to arouse much interest locally. Accordingly a careful examination of the materials was made recently, which showed that the survey had practically been completed, and while it was not possible to bring out a work treating of the dovecots of East Lothian on the lines proposed by Mr Whitaker, it was felt that a useful purpose might be served if the information collected were embodied in an article.

In the following pages an attempt has been made to give effect to this idea. Of course it may well be that the descriptive notes of the various dovecots are occasionally incomplete and perhaps not always correct, but it must be borne in mind that the work of transcription and compilation has naturally been done under difficulties, the chief being that the material worked upon had not the benefit of Mr Whitaker's final revision. Still, when every allowance has been made, it may be confidently asserted that in this article there is presented a substantially accurate and, it is hoped, interesting survey of no fewer than 55 ancient dovecots scattered up and down the county.

Saltoun.

In proof of what is here advanced, reference may be made to the thoroughness with which Mr Whitaker prosecuted his labours. That he adopted the best means to obtain accurate and authoritative information, there can hardly be any doubt. He first of all secured what seems to have been a complete list of ancient dovecots in the county. It is noteworthy that while the East Lothian volume of the Ancient Monuments Commission records twenty-five, Mr Whitaker's survey includes more than double that number. The next step was to prepare a questionnaire, which was printed and sent to the owners (or their representatives) to be filled up. The information sought included exact measurements, date of erection, architectural features, the number and size of the nests, and other interesting details. These questionnaires, with the answers, constitute, it need hardly be said, the most valuable portion of the material now in the custody of the Society, since upon the information derived therefrom Mr Whitaker based the descriptive notes relative to the various dovecots. But either the response to his appeal was unsatisfactory, or many of the questionnaires have been lost. Anyhow it is a fact that out of nearly sixty forms sent out only twenty-nine can now be consulted. Mr Whitaker, however, must have taken means to supply the deficiency (assuming there was one), for in the draft of his proposed book he furnishes notes for all dovecots in his list. These have now been diligently compared with the questionnaires that have been filled up and returned, and the result makes clear that the discrepancies are few and of minor importance. In the case of dovecots for which no documentary information is available, the reader must rely on the trustworthiness of Mr Whitaker's data or resort to personal investigation.

As regards this article, the information obtained from the questionnaires and Mr Whitaker's notes has been put in narrative form and placed under the name of the dovecot to which it relates. It may be reasonably urged that there is a certain sameness about the data, but this is inevitable. However, an effort has been made to vary the phraseology as well as the order of the details, in the hope that the descriptive letterpress may be found readable. There has been no attempt to embody all the information contained in the printed forms, several of the questions, as it seems to us, being of little interest. Finally, alphabetical order has been followed in the arrangement of the dovecots.

It was an integral part of Mr Whitaker's scheme that a photographic illustration or water-colour drawing should accompany the descriptive matter. This part of the work was gone about with equal thoroughness. The Society in fact possesses a complete set of illustrations. Unfortunately

the reproduction of even a fair proportion of them in the *Transactions* is of course out of the question, but illustrations have been provided of those dovecots that are interesting architecturally and apart from the types most commonly met with.

The writer of the introduction to the East Lothian volume of the Ancient Monuments Commission notes three early types in the county. Of the first—single chambered, circular on plan, and referable to the sixteenth century—the most striking examples are Congalton, Dirleton, Dolphingstone, Northfield, Nunraw, and Waughton. The second type belongs to the latter part of the sixteenth century, the dovecots of this period being rectangular on plan and occasionally double chambered. To this category he assigns fourteen dovecots. Athelstaneford and Tranent, dated 1583 and 1587 respectively, are specially mentioned. The third type met with in East Lothian is the dovecot that forms a chamber in a house, outbuilding, or church tower. Notable examples are Pencaitland, Redhouse, Stenton and Tranent.

Mr Whitaker seemingly intended to prefix to his work a treatise on dovecots in general, but with special reference to those in East Lothian. It is plain, however, that he had hardly gone beyond the threshold of his investigations. It is proposed therefore, while drawing upon his narrative, to supplement it at various points. Mr Whitaker explains that the Scottish dovecot was in olden times an indication of social status, and that no landed estate, at least in the Lowlands, was complete without a building of this character. In Christian art, as every one knows, the dove was early employed as the symbol of innocence. In the eyes of a Scots laird it was also the hall-mark of material prosperity. The pigeon house of the manor always received an unusual amount of attention. Mr Whitaker says it was because of a hoary legend to the effect that if the pigeon-house were destroyed the lady of the manor would die within a year. But there were more solid reasons prompting the laird to take the dovecot under his special protection.

To understand the importance of the dovecot in those far-distant times one has only to refer to the Acts of the Scots Parliament. When, in the sixteenth century, there was much building of dovecots, stringent laws were passed for their protection, and from 1424 onwards severe punishments were meted out to destroyers or breakers of " dow-houses." Dovecot breakers were, in view of the old Scots law, guilty of theft. Nevertheless the offence was persisted in because of the high prices obtained for pigeons at shooting matches. In an Act passed in 1503 lairds were instructed to erect " dowcots." But this was interpreted more liberally than the legislators

Numraw.

Phantassie.

Amisfield.

Bourhouse.

intended, with the result that in 1617, in the reign of James VI, another statute was necessary because of " the frequent building of dowcottes by all maner of persounes in all the parts " of the kingdom. Accordingly the Act defined the status of those who were entitled to be owners of these structures. It was enacted that no person was to build a dovecot either in town or country unless he or she were possessed of lands or teinds of the yearly value of ten chalders of victual, lying within at least two miles of the dovecot. The statute further declared that no person having such qualification was to build more than one dovecot within the " bounds foresaid." Apparently no restraint was imposed on proprietors possessed of a greater rent beyond limiting them to one dovecot for each portion of ground that yielded ten chalders yearly. It is also to be observed that the statute of James VI did not extend to dovecots already built. If a pigeon-house were taken exception to, proof had to be forthcoming that it had been built subsequent to the date of the statute, otherwise the contrary was presumed.

Another peculiarity was that if an estate were purchased, or otherwise acquired from a person legally entitled to build a dovecot, the structure might be legally retained but could not be rebuilt if it became ruinous. The statute of 1617 anent the qualification necessary for being the owner of a dovecot was for long strictly enforced. So late as the year 1714 there was litigation over the action of the Justices of the Peace for Haddingtonshire in ordering the demolition of certain pigeon-houses in respect that the owners were not possessed of lands or teinds paying ten chalders of victual. Again, in 1741, several persons dared to question the right of the Justices of the Peace for Haddingtonshire to interfere with the building of pigeon-houses, and there was more litigation. Finally, it should be noted that the dovecot pigeon being insufficiently domesticated was not deemed private property. If a bird forsook one dovecot for another, the original owner could not claim it.

The question may well be asked: Did the dovecot in the old days serve any practical object apart from conferring on its owner a social position and ministering perhaps to his vanity? Undoubtedly it did. It was from the dovecot that the lord of the manor furnished his table with fresh meat, and so relieved the monotony and, one may add, the unwholesomeness of eating salted food throughout the winter and early spring. In the days before the cultivation of the turnip and the growing of clover and grasses, which provided abundant food for cattle and sheep, pigeon pie with parsley-sauce, likewise roasted pigeon, was regarded as a delicacy. But pigeon-keeping,

while it might supply appetising food for the laird's table, was not wholly advantageous, for the pigeons made serious depredations on the ripening corn. On the other hand, the pigeons were serviceable by consuming huge quantities of seeds which fall in the autumn and which, if allowed to remain in the soil, would germinate in due course, and take time and expense to destroy.

Mr Whitaker explains that the dovecot was usually built in the shape of a large testudo with a vaulted roof. The nesting holes were arranged in rows from floor to ceiling, thus affording the maximum of accommodation. Each cell was constructed to hold a pair of pigeons, and had an inside diameter of twelve inches. Under each row of nests a shelf, eight inches broad, was attached to the outer wall. This the birds used as a landing and to walk on. Dovecots were frequently painted white, that colour being attractive to pigeons as well as helping to retain them when a new structure was erected, in which there was often found to be not a little difficulty. Moreover, dovecots had to be cleaned at regular intervals, and the fact that this was more honoured in the breach than in the observance may be assigned as the main cause of the desertion of the occupants.

Of the 55 dovecots recorded in Mr Whitaker's survey only a small proportion contain pigeons. Owing to the changed agricultural conditions, dovecots have fallen upon a period of neglect. Some are much dilapidated, many are being used for purposes other than the original one; but a few are (most commendably) being kept in good preservation as quaint relics of the rural life of the Lowland Scotland of lost years. It may be added, that the projecting string courses, which are so prominent an architectural feature of the dovecots, were intended to prevent rats from climbing to the entrance holes.

To his introduction Mr Whitaker has subjoined a note descriptive of the pigeons which inhabited old dovecots of the class to be found in East Lothian, the substance of which is here reproduced. After pointing out that it is from the stock of the wild rock-dove that the varieties of the dovecot pigeon have sprung, he proceeds: The male bird is from twelve to fourteen inches in length. His head and neck are a dark slate blue, glossed all round with green, which shines a steely blue when the bird is held in certain positions and in different lights. The forepart and sides of the neck are richly shot with coppery purple, while the back and lesser wing coverts are a pale dove blue. The lower part of the back just above the tail is white. While the top part of the tail is slate blue, the end is black. The breast, again, is greyish blue, the eyelids reddish, and the legs and toes carmine red. The wings,

which expand from two feet one inch to two feet three inches, have the first feather shorter than the second and third, the latter being about the same length. The fourth, however, is much shorter than the first. Across the wings are two bars of black of unequal length, the shorter being tipped with black. The female pigeon is not only smaller than the male but her plumage is not so bright. The young when hatched are covered with yellow down.

The following are the notes on the various dovecots contained in Mr Whitaker's list:—

## Amisfield.

The old Kitchen Garden at Amisfield covers eight acres, and in shape is almost a square. It is surrounded by a high wall with round towers. One of these (in the north-east corner) contains a cote built of dressed stone with a circular top. Probably no more ornate structure of the kind exists in Scotland, for a pigeon-house with a classical front—a portico upheld by six finely finished pillars—is certainly a rarity. Here is accommodation for 1100 pigeons, the nesting-places being 16 inches deep, while the entrance holes are eight inches high and six inches wide. There are only seven entrance holes in the roof, which strikes one as a small number for so many birds.

## Athelstaneford.

A portion of this cote fell in 1920 and the structure is now in rather a tottering state, the north side being down almost to the ground. The cote adjoins the churchyard and is well seen from the road leading from Haddington to North Berwick. Sixteen feet square, the front wall is about 14 feet high and the back one 25 feet. Built in three stages of freestone, the side walls are crow-stepped, and across the middle of the lean-to roof are eleven entrance holes. The door is four feet six inches high, and above it is cut in bold lettering " C.H. 1583," the initials being those of the probable builder, a member of the Hepburn family. The east side is lined with bricks of the early Georgian period. The nesting places number 600, are twelve inches long, and nine inches high.

## Belton (Dunbar).

The ground plan shows that originally the building was two-chambered. One section has now been filled up with gas plant for lighting the mansion of Belton. The other contains 560 nests, but if allowance be made for a number that have been removed from the south wall, there would at first be accommodation for 687 nests. And if it be assumed that there was the same number in the other portion, the original capacity would be 1374 nesting-places. The structure is of the usual pattern. The front wall is ten feet six inches high, the back one 21 feet six inches. There are crow-stepped gables, two skylights, and a lean-to roof now covered with corrugated iron. The cote measures 35 feet from east to west, and 18 feet 6 inches from north to south. The height of the door is 5 feet, and there are 13 entrance holes, stretching across the roof. The nests go eleven inches into the wall, are eight inches high and nine inches wide. The gables have string courses, these being ten feet six inches from the ground. Pigeons still frequent this cote.

## Bielside (Dunbar).

Though this cote no longer exists, having been pulled down in the summer of 1931, its shape and dimensions are a recent memory. Built of rubble, and harled, it formed a square, the measurement being 15 feet either way. The walls were two feet eight inches thick and the door six feet high. There was a small window. The number of entrance holes was 18. Latterly the nests numbered 513, but originally there must have been more, for the lower portion of the cote in recent years housed a water-wheel, which caused the demolition of the nests up to eight feet from the ground. The nests were one foot deep, six inches high, and nine inches wide. Towards the end this cote was rather dilapidated, large cracks showing in one of the deep crow-stepped gables, a circumstance which no doubt prepared the way for its demolition.

## Bolton.

This cote is not only perfectly round, but, unlike most of the other circular ones, has the same circumference at the roof as at the base—45 feet. Situated by the roadside and adjoining farm buildings, the walls are one foot nine inches thick, and the lean-to slated roof is crowned by a rather handsome dome-shaped glover with eight entrance holes, three feet high and arched, the whole producing a most artistic effect. The height to the top of the glover is 25 feet, but if the weather vane be included, it is three feet more. There are two string courses, one about 12 feet up, and projecting six inches, the other, just under the roof, is even more prominent. The doorway is four feet high. The nests, numbering 710, extend 15 inches into the wall, are eight inches high and seven inches wide. The cote is still in use.

## Bourhouse.

Originally this must have been one of the larger cotes in East Lothian, for although the number of nests is now 946, no fewer than 456 have been built up. Accordingly the structure at one time was capable of accommodating 1402 pigeons —a formidable number. Built of rubble, and harled, this cote is 32 feet long and 16 feet 6 inches broad, with walls two feet six inches thick. The gables are crow-stepped, with lean-to, slated roof. So large a cote requires many entrance holes, and in this case they number 34, which is unusually high. In addition to the holes extending across the roof, the pigeons appear to have got access by four apertures —two in the front wall and one in each of the gables, the latter being arched. The entrances to the nests are nine inches square, and the majority of them extend into the wall as much as 14 inches. The string course is above the holes in the front wall and below those in the gables. The interior has a dividing wall three feet thick. The lower portion is roofed in at eight feet from the ground, and is now used as a stable. This accounts for the two large arched doorways in front. The flat portion at the top of the sloping roof has several stone ornaments, which give the structure a striking effect.

## Chesterhall (Dunbar).

A tower-like structure crowned by a slated roof sloping on four sides, this cote forms the end of a range of farm buildings. From east to west it measures 20 feet and from north to south 14 feet. The height of wall to the square is 19 feet 6 inches, and the door is seven feet high. There are three windows, one in each of the exposed walls; the one on the west is now filled in. The number of

entrance holes is 16, these being situated immediately above the string course and near the roof. The interior contains no nesting-holes, but Mr Whitaker is of opinion that they would be wooden boxes, either fixed to the wall or resting on wooden stands.

## Colstoun.

A circular cote, and like the one at Bolton, has the same outside circumference from base to roof, namely 41 feet 6 inches. Terminating a line of buildings, it is 19 feet high to the top of the stone walls and 27 feet to the top of the glover, which contains 18 entrance holes, in addition to five in the masonry, the latter being 13 feet from the ground. The walls, two feet four inches thick, are crowned by a conical, slated roof, which has been renewed in recent years. The doorway measures four feet eleven inches by two feet ten inches. There are no windows. The cote has accommodation for 466 pigeons. The nests are 11 inches deep and eight inches square. There is one string course at a height of eight feet six inches. The cote, which contains a revolving ladder, is now deserted.

## Congalton.

A quaint, circular dovecot, probably dating from the sixteenth century, with a dome-shaped roof surmounted by a small lantern-like structure of brick and timber, in which there are twelve entrance holes. It has a picturesque site in the garden at Congalton, and its walls, which are twelve feet high, adjoin the roadway leading from Athelstaneford to North Berwick. Measuring fifty feet in circumference at about four feet from the ground, it tapers considerably towards the top. A peculiarity of the roof, which is covered with stone slabs, is that it projects over the walls from eight to ten inches. Light is admitted by a small hole on the south side, and the string course half way up is ten inches wide. The doorway is four feet six inches high. In addition to the twelve entrance holes in the glover, there are six more in the wall, these being placed a short distance below the overhanging roof. This cote is now in disrepair.

## Crocegate (Haddington).

This cote stands in the midst of a large garden, belonging to Crocegate House which adjoins the main street. It conforms to the usual type—crow-stepped gables and steep sloping roof covered with slates. The building is a square, measuring 12 feet 6 inches either way. The front wall is 13 feet high and the back wall 23 feet. The cote no longer serves its original purpose, being used as a garden-house, and the entrance holes for the pigeons are now occupied by a large window containing twelve panes of glass.

## Dirleton.

This must be one of the oldest, if not the oldest cote in East Lothian. Incorporated in a boundary wall, which is modern, it has all the characteristics of a sixteenth century structure. The cote is circular, with four string courses, the first being six feet six inches up and the last just under the roof, which is dome-shaped and covered with thin stone slabs. Measuring 84 feet in outer circumference, it is 25 feet high, while the walls are three feet, six inches thick. The door, which is not original, is five feet high. There are 25 rows of nests. The holes extend 17 inches into the wall and are eight inches high. The entrances are immediately below the roof and seem to be carried all the way round. The landing ledges are

fully three inches wide. The Dirleton cote, despite its great age, is still in fair preservation, and when Mr Whitaker saw it, was inhabited by quite a number of pigeons.

### Dolphingstone (Prestonpans).

A circular cote of large proportions, dating from the latter half of the seventeenth century. There is a considerable amount of dressed-stone work, and in the mortar here and there are imbedded large oyster shells, some of which project. Mr Whitaker mentions that he has never seen oyster shells in the walls of a cote before. The structure is 22 feet high, and has a circumference of 55 feet at four feet from the ground, but tapers towards the top. There are three string courses, and just under the second are two entrance holes about two feet square, one facing south and the other east. The door is small, being only four feet two inches high and two feet wide. The nests are arranged round the walls, but a fair proportion have disappeared, so that it is difficult to say how many there were originally. The nests are eleven inches deep and seven wide. The cone-shaped roof is covered with flat slabs.

### Drylawhill (East Linton).

Occupies rising ground on the left side of the road leading from Haddington to Dunbar. The circumference at four feet from the ground is 56 feet 2 inches, while the wall is four feet thick at the base but higher up lessens to two feet. The door is five feet high. The cote has a circular pointed, slated roof. There are 683 nesting places, and 18 entrance holes, the latter being arranged immediately below the roof. Altogether this is one of the most substantially built cotes in the county, and, by reason of its elevated position, can be seen at a great distance.

### Dunbar *see* Belton, Bielside, Chesterhall, Friar's Croft, Meikle Pinkerton.

### East Fortune.

With the back wall rising 24 feet and the front wall 16 feet, both being joined by a slated roof, this cote is typical of many others in East Lothian. At each end of the high ridge, are stone-ornaments, and in the centre is a weather vane with a stone socket. The walls measure 16 feet from east to west and 19 feet from north to south, and are two feet thick. The door is of unusual height, being six feet three inches. In the south wall is a window 23 inches by 19. The entrance holes number 14 and extend across the roof midway down. There are 342 nests which go into the walls 10 inches. The holes, divided by bricks, are five inches high and three and a half inches wide. In the lower portion are 33 recesses which are 14 inches square. It is conjectured that these were intended, not for pigeons, but for hens. This cote has no string courses, which is rather unusual.

### Elvingston.

Standing in the stableyard, about a hundred yards from the mansion, this cote appears to have been built in the latter half of the seventeenth century. A circular building, battlemented at top, it reminded Mr Whitaker of the one at Haddington, though it is slightly smaller. The circumference at four feet six inches up is 50 feet, and the height to the top of the battlements is 20 feet. There

are two string courses which project four feet six inches, while the undersides of the top stones of the walls form a third string course. Erected on stone pillars on the roof is a glover with six entrance holes. In addition, there are two round holes between the string courses. The door, which seems to be the original one, is four feet six inches high, and has a very large lock. There are 25 rows of nesting places, each having 28 holes, so that the total accommodation is about 700. The nests go 13 inches into the walls, which are three feet four inches thick. The cote is still in use.

## Fountainhall *see* Penkaet.

## Friars Croft (Dunbar).

In á field named Friar's Croft, at the west end of Dunbar and adjoining the old road from Edinburgh to Berwick, stands a singular cote, being all that remains of the building belonging to the Red or Trinity Friars. It seems to have been the tower at the crossing of the choir and nave. On plan, the structure is oblong with its major axis approximately north and south. The exterior measurements are 27 feet 11 inches by 12 feet 1 inch. The east and west walls are skewed to receive the high-pitched roofs of the buildings that have now disappeared, and, some thirty feet above the ground level, terminate in a tower, oblong on plan, and borne on the inside on heavy semi-circular arches with moulded imposts. The walls, two feet ten inches thick, are built of rubble and harled, though the cement is fast disappearing. In this curious structure, once part of a monastery, there is a cote with accommodation for 250 pigeons. In the lower of the two roofs (both slated) are six entrance holes, and in the upper, four. The nests go into the wall about a foot and are nine inches square. There is one string course on the south wall near the top. Pigeons still frequent this cote. The present door is four feet six inches high, but at one time there was a door above, which probably served for access to the cloister.

## Gilmerton.

Close to Gilmerton Home Farm, Athelstaneford, and sheltered by a belt of trees, this cote is one of the most beautiful as it is one of the most singular in East Lothian. It is built of brick covered with cement, is 51 feet in circumference, about 18 feet high, and, by means of three projecting string courses, is divided into four sections. The structure, which gradually narrows from the lowest string course, has an oval roof surmounted by a glover with four arched holes by which the pigeons enter. In addition, there are three large entrance holes between the two top string courses. The door is five feet high, while the floor is now a foot or more below the level of the outside ground. There are 21 rows of nests in which 930 pigeons can be accommodated.

## Haddington.

In the north-east corner of Lady Kitty's Garden at Haddington, opposite Nungate Bridge and hard by St. Mary's Church and the river Tyne, stands a circular tower, massively built and with battlemented top. The upper portion is a cote containing 579 nests, each of which is 13 inches long. Originally these were reached by a potence ladder (i.e., a rack form of ladder), but this has rotted away. The potence ladder usually has only one set of rungs, but that attached

to the Haddington dovecot had two. These were joined by cross-bars, had a wooden upright in the centre, and were fixed both above and below. The whole mechanism worked on a swivel, and any nest could be reached by turning the ladder round. Down to about the middle of the nineteenth century, the tower served a double purpose, the lower portion being in human occupation while the birds were in possession above.

*See* also Amisfield, Crocegate, Kilspindie.

## Harperdean.

An imposing structure measuring 20 feet from east to west and 16 feet 6 inches from north to south. The crow-stepped gables are very noticeable, there being so much as 12 inches between each step. Across the slated roof, now sadly dilapidated, are 12 entrance holes. There is a string course ten feet from the ground. On the lintel above the door (only four feet high) is inscribed in large characters the date 1644, though the cote looks much older. Harperdean is singular in having no nesting-places in the walls; these must have been in wooden boxes which would be fixtures.

## Herdmanston.

A very fine cote, and one of the largest in the county. Oblong in shape, with crow-stepped gables and sloping slate roof, it conforms in general design to the majority of these buildings, though the prominent dormers, each containing 13 entrance holes, are certainly a novelty. The length of stone wall from north to south is 18 feet, from east to west 30 feet 6 inches. The height of the front wall is 16 feet 6 inches, the back one measures 25 feet. There are two doors in front, each five feet high. The thickness of the outer walls is three feet, and there is a partition wall. The nesting places number 2000. These go into the wall one foot and the entrances are eight inches square. Between two projecting string courses, in the front wall, are two windows about a foot square.

## Heugh (North Berwick).

Situated on the east side of North Berwick Law, it is a circular cote, the circumference measuring 48 feet 6 inches. The walls are three feet thick and about 24 feet high. The roof has wooden boards placed over it, but these are modern. About half way from the ground there is a window with grating. The entrance holes number 16; the nests 532. The latter are 13 inches long and 9½ inches high. The doorway is four feet two inches high, and there is a string course about seven feet from the ground. There are no pigeons in this cote now.

## Humbie.

This cote stands at some distance from the mansion, and by the side of a garden. It is somewhat dilapidated, the roof being entirely gone. The building is 25 feet square, and the walls, two feet two inches thick, rise to a height of 20 feet. The doorway measures six feet by two feet ten inches. There are no windows. Originally there was accommodation for at least 1500 pigeons, the nests being twelve inches deep. The stone slabs of which they were composed have now been removed, and have been utilised for facing the walls of the parish church. The slabs, when in the cote, were fastened to oak plugs. The axe-cut woodwork makes clear that this cote dates from the sixteenth or early seventeenth century.

*See* also Johnstounburn.

## Huntington.

For architectural peculiarities this cote rivals the one at Saltoun. It has a most striking appearance, and, looking at it for the first time, one has difficulty in knowing what it is intended for. As matter of fact, the cote is really only the upper part of the building. The lower portion, which is fitted with a fireplace and had windows on its east and west sides (now bricked up), has, it is surmised, been a chapel connected with the nunnery at Haddington. Be that as it may, it is on the cote that the most architectural skill has been lavished. Superimposed on the more broadly based lower structure, it measures 14 feet 7 inches each way, and 25 feet to the top of the wall. In the south wall is an arched window of such a size that it has the appearance of a church window, and at a distance one might well assume that it was filled with stained glass. An ornate vase-shaped chimney is to be seen on the north side, and there are funereal-looking urns at the three corners of the sloping roof. Entrance to the cote is obtained by a door (five feet high) on the east side corresponding to the window on the south side (already referred to) and access, of course, can only be obtained by means of a long ladder, for the door is about ten feet from the ground. The slated and sloping roof has two windows. There are 13 entrance holes, and 262 nests. The latter are 10 inches deep, and the entrances to them nine inches square. The front wall is of dressed stone but the sides and back are of brick with stone facings. The string course which separates the lower structure from the cote is of unusual breadth.

## Ingleholm (or Abbey) North Berwick.

Stands in the grounds of the Abbey, and is perhaps better known by that name. It measures 30 feet 6 inches by 16, and has two projecting string courses, and a slate roof. The entrance holes, numbering 12, extend across the roof, and are nine inches high and eight wide. Like the Tantallon cote and others, it is divided into two sections, and there are nesting places for 1320 birds. The walls are three feet ten inches thick, and there are two doors, each four feet ten inches high and two feet two inches wide. At one time there were small windows over each doorway, but these have now been filled up.

## Johnstounburn (Humbie).

Occupying a conspicuous site in an oval-shaped valley encircled by woods and hills, this cote is reckoned one of the finest in East Lothian, or perhaps anywhere. " This is a doo cote," writes Mr Whitaker, " after my very own heart, in perfect repair and standing in delightful surroundings—a cote for the owners to be proud of and for visitors to admire." It is oblong in shape, two storeys high, with latticed windows in the front wall and two dormers in the steeply pitched roof. When viewed at a distance it has the appearance of a small comfortable country house. From east to west the cote measures 30 feet and from north to south 20 feet. The front wall is 20 feet high, but the back one is 36 feet, which gives one some idea of the slope of the slated roof. The walls are two feet eight inches thick, while the door in the front wall is five feet high. The two windows above are fitted with diamond-shaped panes, and provide excellent light. The dormers are placed half way down the roof, and are finely finished. In each of them are 14 entrance holes, 28 in all, a large number for any cote. The side walls end in a bow-like sweeping top on which are poised leaden pigeons with outstretched wings —a charming idea. There are 1014 nesting places. These go into the walls 12

inches and are nine inches high and eight inches wide. The nests are faced with dressed freestone three inches thick. In this cote which, by the way, has an echo, there are now about 40 pigeons.

## Kilspindie (Haddington).

Situated in a fine old-world garden on the north side of Market Street, Haddington, and dating from about the middle of the seventeenth century, this cote has a striking appearance. The slated roof has been renewed, but otherwise the cote is pretty much in its original state. The structure measures 15 feet 6 inches from north to south and 18 feet from east to west. The front wall is 18 feet high and two feet nine inches thick. As only the upper portion of the building has served as a pigeon-house, the cote door is about ten feet up, and is reached by a ladder. The nesting-places are of wood and are fixed to the stone walls. They are eleven inches deep, eleven high, and ten wide. Altogether 818 birds can be accommodated. There are eleven entrance holes, these stretching across the whole length of the roof, which, by the way, slopes less steeply than in the case of most cotes. The doorway is four feet three inches high. Curiously enough, there are no landing ledges. Outwardly at least this cote is well preserved.

## Letham.

Stands in a field on the town side of Letham House, about a mile from Haddington on the Edinburgh road. An oblong, this cote measures 30 feet 6 inches from east to west and 15 feet from north to south. The front wall is 13 feet high and the back one 22 feet. The latter is surmounted by a flat parapet with a stone ball at each end; the gables are crow-stepped. The two doors are 4 feet 6 inches high. The cote consists of two parts, the dividing wall, which is two feet thick, having nests on each side. These are 12 inches long, and the entrance to them is nine inches high and eight inches wide. On the outside there is a string course 10 feet from the ground and projecting six inches. Over each doorway are two apertures for giving light. These measure two feet six inches high and two feet wide. In each division are 646 nesting places, making 1292 in all. Across the slate roof (partly ruinous) are the entrance holes, 10 in number.

## Lodge (North Berwick).

This seventeenth century building is relatively small. It is a square measuring nine feet six inches. The back wall is 26 feet high and slopes four feet towards the front. It has two deep crow-stepped gables of unusual design. The lower portion of the interior is a storehouse, and the door into the cote is situated high in the eastern wall. It is two feet one inch wide and two feet eleven inches high. There is only one entrance hole, but capacious enough, being two feet ten inches wide by fourteen inches high. This entrance, which is situated just below the roof in the front wall, has a double shutter. Mr Whitaker notes that he has never seen anything like this arrangement. The nesting places number 134, are 12 inches long and seven inches high. The flooring of the nests consists of stone slabs, a piece of which projects, so as to form a landing ledge; the sides are lined with brickwork. The sloping roof is slated, but does not appear to be original.

## Luffness.

This sixteenth century cote has a most charming site. It stands in the grounds of Luffness House, embowered among lofty trees and surrounded by closely mown

grass. It much resembles the cote at Dirleton, though its dimensions are smaller. Circular in shape, it is 18 feet high, with walls three feet thick. There are three string courses. The lowest is about six feet six inches from the ground, the next is equidistant, and the third forms a rim round the flat roof. In the centre of the roof is a small circular lantern, the sides of which are pierced by eight entrance holes. The doorway is about five feet six inches high. The nesting places, numbering 500, are 14 inches long and 7½ inches high.

## Meikle Pinkerton (Dunbar).

This cote, the property of the ducal family of Roxburghe, looks like an immense beehive. It is surmounted by a conical slated roof, immediately below which are 17 entrance holes. The building has a circumference of 67 feet and is 25 feet high. The walls are four feet thick, and the door four feet nine inches high. A window let into the masonry measures 21 inches by 20, and there are two others in the roof, one of which contains glass. Originally there were 762 nests, but 17 have now been filled up. These extend one foot into the wall, are six to seven inches high at the entrance and nine inches at the far end. This variation in size, Mr Whitaker points out, is unusual. There is a string course immediately under the entrance holes. The pigeons that now frequent this cote are few. As the structure existed at the time of the battle of Dunbar in 1650, it has been conjectured that the nests at the bottom were knocked out by Cromwell's army, in order to provide holes for cannon. Anyhow the cote stands on part of the site of the battle, and its advantages for military purposes were not likely to be overlooked.

## Newbyth.

This cote is typical of many others in the county. With corners of red freestone, it measures 24 feet 10 inches from east to west and 17 feet 4 inches from north to south. The height of the south wall to square is 10 feet 6 inches. There is the usual slated, sloping roof, across the middle of which are 16 entrance holes, arranged in pairs. In the front wall are two doorways, each four feet six inches high, and above are two round holes with gratings. The gable walls also contain holes. The number of nests is 797 but fully a hundred of the original number have been built up in order to strengthen the structure. The nests, partly of stone and partly of wood, are arranged along either side of an interior wall. This cote is still in use.

## Newton Hall.

This cote is almost square, measuring 21 feet 4 inches from east to west and 23 feet 8 inches from north to south. The height to the square of the wall is 12 feet 6 inches. The roof slopes both ways and is covered with stone slabs. There are windows at each end and a single roof-light. The walls are three feet two inches thick. The entrance holes number 21. In the inside is a partition wall which is carried up only to the square. The 822 nests are arranged on either side. They go into the wall 15 inches, and the entrances to them are nine inches square. The doorway measures four feet eight inches by two feet five inches. Pigeons still frequent this cote.

North Berwick *see* Heugh, Ingleholm (or Abbey), Lodge.

## Northfield (Prestonpans).

This is a circular cote of massive build situated a short distance from the historic mansion of Northfield. It is a seventeenth century structure, with walls three feet thick, and having a cone-shaped roof covered with stone slabs. The circumference at four feet from the ground is 60 feet, but it narrows considerably between the second and third string courses. The building is now much decayed, the walls in various places showing cracks, a circumstance due no doubt to the extensive mining operations carried on in the neighbourhood. The top is grass-grown, and a tree flourishes in the centre. The nests number about 600, these being nine inches square, and a foot in depth. There are no windows, but a hole 2½ feet high by 2 feet wide seems to have been the means of access for the pigeons.

## Nunraw.

Situated close to the mansion, this sixteenth century cote, so far as architectural details are concerned, is probably unique in East Lothian. It belongs to the circular variety, and is divided by projecting string courses into five tiers. These narrow towards the top. The cote is surmounted by a hexagonal cupola of modern design supported on substantial pillars and carrying a lean-to stone roof, on the apex of which is a stone thistle. The cote is built of rubble up to the fourth string course, but above that (including the glover) is of dressed red stone. The circumference at four feet from the ground is 63 feet. The walls are three feet eight inches thick, and the door four feet four inches high. There is one window, but the frame is out and the hole boarded up. It measures 35 by 27 inches. The nests number 450, are ten inches deep, and ten inches high. Besides the means of access at the top, there are, between the second and third string courses, other 24 entrance holes, a very large number in view of the quite normal accommodation. A curious feature is that the floor is reached by descending five stone steps. There is a revolving ladder, so that all the nests are within easy reach. The lower portion of the cote reveals cracks, but otherwise it seems well preserved.

## Ormiston.

A circular cote 10 feet in diameter at four feet from the ground and 24 feet high. The walls are 14 inches thick, and the door five feet high. There are two windows measuring three feet high and six inches wide. The nesting boxes are of oak and fastened to the walls. They number 168, are 10½ inches square, and a foot deep. On the south side are 13 entrance holes; but the cote, which stands by itself in a field about 300 yards from Ormiston Hall, is now forsaken.

## Pencaitland.

Situated in a grass park, this rectangular cote has been restored. The measurements are 27 feet from east to west and 21 from north to south. The front wall is 18 feet high, the back one about 30 feet. There are the usual crow-stepped gables and lean-to slated roof. Midway down the latter, and stretching from gable to gable, are eight entrance holes. The two string courses project about four inches. The door, four feet six inches high, is plated with iron, and immediately above the lower string course, are two small square holes for light. There is accommodation for 1136 pigeons. The nests are eight inches square and extend 13 inches into the wall. Above the entrance is a tablet, which appears to have borne an inscription.

## Penkaet (Fountainhall).

It is only in recent years that the name of the estate on which this cote stands has been changed from the familiar Fountainhall to Penkaet Castle. The structure belongs to the usual type—crow-stepped lateral walls and a steep pitched roof, though the latter is now gone. The measurements are 20 feet 3 inches from east to west and 18 from north to south. The height of wall to square is ten feet six inches. The door, which has chamfered jambs, is three feet six inches high. There is a window above the doorway. A broad string course is carried round the entire structure. There are 180 nests on the west wall and 220 on the north, but originally the number was in the region of 500. The nests are from ten to twelve inches long, eight inches wide and seven inches high. Unfortunately the stones forming the nesting holes have been stolen from time to time and only those on the west wall are complete. This cote, now alas! ruinous, is situated close to the ancient mansion with which it is said to be contemporaneous. If so, it must have been built about the end of the fifteenth century. Formerly there was a pair of " jougs " fastened to this cote, but they were removed by Sir Thomas Dick Lauder and fixed to the front of the mansion of Fountainhall.

## Phantassie.

Belongs to the circular order, and four feet from the ground has a circumference of 56 feet. It narrows considerably, however, near the top, which is dome-shaped and stone-hooded to the north, slated to the south. In the centre of the slated portion is a large dormer. " Never," writes Mr Whitaker, " have I seen a dovecote with the top built as this one is." And he goes on to say that it was so constructed " so as to shelter the pigeons from the bitter winds." The walls are uncommonly thick—the measurement being four feet six inches. The door is five feet three inches high. The entrance holes, numbering 16, are just above the topmost of three projecting string courses; but there are traces of eight additional holes in the dormer. The nests number about 570, are from ten inches to a foot deep, six inches high and four and a half inches wide. Pigeons still frequent this cote.

## Pilmuir.

This cote, which is in perfect repair, is situated half-way up the drive leading to the manor house of Pilmuir. It is a rectangular structure with a lean-to slate roof, across the middle of which are 15 entrance holes, a number proportionately large, since there are stone boxes for fully 1000 pigeons. The cote measures 19 feet 2 inches by 17 feet 4 inches, and was built at the same time as the mansion —in the year 1624. The walls are about three feet thick, while the doorway is five feet ten inches high. There is a window in one of the gable walls. The view from the cote to the manor house, Mr Whitaker considered charming.

## Preston Mains.

A peculiarity of this high and strongly built cote is that it is conjoined with two single-room cottages, one on each side. These wings (if they may be called so) are not late additions, but must have been built at the same time as the cote, since the broad string course in front of the central structure has been carried up the lateral walls in such a way as not to interfere with the roofs of the cottages. Moreover, the chimneys of the two houses are built on to the highest part of the cote. In a sense, therefore, the three buildings may be regarded as one. The

lower portion of the cote is now a stable, and the actual pigeon house is entered by a door situated ten feet from the ground. This entrance is on the north side and above the stable door. The cote measures 20 feet square. The back wall is 32 feet high, and from it there slopes away a long slated roof; so that the front wall is very much lower. There are two windows in the north and south sides. The 16 entrance holes extend across the middle of the roof. The nests number 512. These are 10½ inches deep, 10½ inches high and nine inches wide. The cote, the walls of which are nearly two feet thick, is still a habitation for pigeons.

## Preston Tower.

Situated at the far end of a market garden and about a hundred yards from Preston Tower, this seventeenth century cote is square-shaped, 16 feet 6 inches each way, and at the back is 30 feet high. The front wall is exactly half this height. There is a long and steeply sloping roof, crow-stepped and slated, and having midway down a series of nine entrance holes. The walls are two feet four inches thick, and above the door (five feet high) in the front wall is an oval-shaped window. At the top of the roof are three stone balls by way of decorative effect. The stone-built nests number about 1000, are one foot deep, twelve inches high and nine inches wide. This cote is now without pigeons.

## Prestonpans (Brewery Cotes).

In the yard of a brewery at Prestonpans and close to the Firth of Forth stand two cotes, similar in shape and size, and only 30 yards apart. Both are very old, and it has been suggested that they may have belonged to the abbeys of Holyrood and Newbattle, which held lands in this district. The buildings are much decayed and one is practically a ruin. They are oblong, with crow-stepped gables. In the best preserved one there is a tiled roof which rises steeply from the front wall to the back. For a time this cote actually was a human habitation, which led to the disappearance of the nests and the introduction of windows and a fireplace. The walls are two feet thick, while the door is three feet ten inches high and one foot six inches wide.

*See* also Dolphingstone, Preston Tower, Northfield.

## Redhouse.

Built of red sandstone, it adjoins the ruined mansion of Redhouse, which is the subject of a paper in this volume. The dovecot was probably erected at the same time as the tower. Measuring 24 feet by 18, the outer walls are three feet six inches thick, and there is a sloping roof, crow-stepped gables, and two string courses. The cote has two compartments divided by a wall with a door in it. Each section has 399 nesting places, making a total of 798. The outer doorway measures four feet six inches high and two feet one inch wide. To the right of this and in the upper portion another doorway can be seen, but it has been built up. In the lower part is a strongly vaulted ceiling.

## Ruchlaw.

A rectangular building with lean-to, slated roof. It measures 26 feet 4 inches from north to south, and 15 feet 9 inches from east to west. The front wall is 20 feet high and the back 30 feet. Built of roughcast stone, the walls are three feet five inches thick, and there is one string course about 12 feet from the ground.

This cote has two doors (four feet eight inches high) and four windows of varying size. The entrance holes extend across the roof half way down and number 19. There are two compartments, one with 668 nests and the other with 726 nests, making 1394 in all—a very large number. The nesting-places are six inches high and extend back 17 inches. The building, which is strongly buttressed on the north side, is probably contemporary with the mansion.

### Saltcoats.

Stands close to the ruined castle and is probably as old. It is much decayed, roofless, and minus the north wall. The cote is rectangular, measuring 17 feet from north to south and 15 feet from east to west. Apparently it had crow-stepped gables, and at the corner of the south-east wall is a strong buttress rising six feet. The door, which is not original, is two feet above the ground, and is five feet high. Over it is a hole about two feet square, presumably for admitting light. There is a string course at seven feet up. The nests on the north wall are gone, but there are 76 on the west wall, 85 on the south, and 42 on the east, a total of 203. But if the ruined north wall corresponded with the south (as is most likely) there would originally be accommodation for 288 pigeons, not, however, a large number, judging by the capacity of most of the cotes in East Lothian. The nests are eight inches square and twelve inches in length. In the south wall are six entrance holes.

### Saltoun.

A most ornate cote situated in a wood close to the river and opposite the elegant mansion of Saltoun Hall. It seems to have been built when that building was extended and modernised, and it is obvious that it was intended to harmonise with the mansion architecturally, being for the most part in the Classic style. Square-shaped externally, the cote is rounded inside. There is an imposing doorway reached by a flight of steps (now much decayed), while the walls have panel decorations and are battlemented at top. Above the squared portion rises an octagon, pierced with oblong windows on every side. But with all its architectural display (looking more like a mausoleum than a pigeon house), this cote is not well placed for attracting pigeons, being surrounded by trees whose branches obstruct the entrance. Built of white stone, in each wall there are pebble-dressed recesses with oval tops and masses of leaves. The building is 15 feet square, the walls two feet five inches thick. There are 16 rows of nests, each having accommodation for 13 pigeons. In addition, there are 12 nests in the cupola, making a total of 220. The holes are recessed 12 inches and measure ten inches by eleven at the entrance. Mr Whitaker notes that the cote at Saltoun Hall is the most elaborate he had seen, but laments its dilapidated state, and the encroachment of the trees, the latter circumstance, as has been pointed out, making it difficult for the pigeons to reach the entrance holes in the octagon.

### Scoughall.

Situated between North Berwick and Dunbar, and at no great distance from the sea, this seventeenth century cote resembles that of Tantallon. It is sixteen feet square, with deep crow-stepped gables and lean-to roof covered with stone slabs. The front wall is 15 feet high, the back 20 feet. The masonry is fully three feet thick, while the door is four feet seven inches high. Above the latter, and near the roof, is a window. There is another with two bars in the west wall. The

entrance holes, as usual in cotes of this shape, are in the roof. The nests number 908, are 14 inches deep and eight inches square. There are two string courses. A cottage has been built on to this cote, which is now without pigeons.

## Spott.

Built of rubble and harled. In shape it is typical of many others, being an oblong with crow-stepped gables and sloping roof covered with slates. The measurements are 29 feet 2 inches from east to west and 18 feet 7 inches from north to south. The back wall rises to a height of 27 feet 6 inches, the front wall to 14 feet 2 inches. The outer walls are two feet nine inches thick. There are two doors, each five feet three inches high, while in the south wall are two windows about one foot five inches square. The entrance holes, 24 in number, are in the usual position—half way down the sloping roof. There are 1422 nests. These are from 12 to 14 inches deep and are nine inches square. There is a single string course extending on three sides, the front being left bare. Pigeons still frequent this cote.

## Stenton Church Tower.

The peculiarity of this cote is, that it is superimposed on the tower of the thirteenth century church of Stenton. It measures 15 feet 8 inches from east to west and 20 feet 4 inches from north to south. The walls are three feet thick and reach a height of 30 feet. The cote has a saddle-back roof, which is slated, and the gables are crow-stepped. The door is five feet high, and there are two windows. Five wooden boxes contain the nests, there being twelve in each. That gives accommodation for only 60 pigeons. There are seven entrance holes, a large number having regard to the capacity of the cote.

## Tantallon.

Situated in the outer court of the Castle of Tantallon, this cote is of unusual size and great strength. Probably it is as old as the Castle itself. Anyhow it has walls over three feet thick, and measures 25 feet one way and 17 feet the other. The dovecot has two doors, one in front and another in the gable. Divided into two sections, there are 598 nesting-places in each, making a total of 1196. The nests, which extend back 17 inches, are arranged on each side of the partition wall. The landing stages are three inches wide. There are two string courses, one ten feet up and projecting six inches, and the other equidistant from the top. The glover is gone, and there is now only an open hole. Long grasses grow on the roof and on the lower string course.

## Thurston.

This cote ranks amongst the largest in East Lothian, since there are 1871 nests, and 18 entrance holes, the latter one foot wide and eight inches high. An interior wall, four feet four inches thick, divides the structure, the length of which is noteworthy. From east to west it measures 37 feet 3 inches, and from north to south 19 feet 9 inches. The front wall is twelve feet high, the back one almost double. Built of rubble and harled, the outer walls are three feet thick, the doorway six feet high. The sloping roof is slated, and has been renewed. There are two oblong apertures in the front wall (one above the doorway), while other two are in the roof. The 18 entrance holes stretch across the middle portion of the latter. The side walls are crow-stepped. At one time there was an arched entrance (five feet two inches high) to the east section, but it has been built up.

## Tranent (Church Wall).

Standing just outside the wall of the churchyard, this cote is a conspicuous landmark. The back wall is 30 feet high as against 20 feet—the measurement of the front wall. The crow-stepped gables display cracks, probably due to undermining. The lean-to roof, in which are ten entrance holes, seems originally to have been covered with stone slabs, but these are now replaced by slate. Above the door (three feet high) is a freestone panel on which is inscribed the date 1587 and under it the name David Sitoun. Another inscribed panel in the same wall is much decayed but the lettering seems to be this :—

De — ME
Issobel
Hamilto
V.N.
I.A.

The walls are fully four feet thick. It is difficult to say how many nests there are in this cote, since the doorway is built up, but from what can be seen through a hole the number probably is in the region of 2000. The nests are about a foot deep and nine inches square. The ladder for reaching the nests consists of an iron chain fastened to a beam in the roof.

Standing in Church Street, in a garden of some size, this cote overlooks Tranent. It rises at one end of a building which is said to have associations with Mary Queen of Scots, and if the pigeonhouse was built at the same time, as probably it was, there can be no doubt that it is one of the oldest in East Lothian. The cote takes the form of a tower, measuring 24 feet 10 inches from north to south and 30 feet 6 inches from east to west. The gables are crow-stepped, and a wheel stair runs up to the cote, which is confined to the upper portion. The nests number about 50, and there are five entrance holes. There is a string course near the roof.

In Church Street, Tranent, there stood until recently another cote, equally quaint, and probably the smallest in East Lothian. It measured eight feet six inches one way, and ten feet six inches the other. The side walls were crow-stepped, and the roof was covered with pantiles. Entering by a door, five feet high, one was surprised to find no nesting-places, but these had been fixed to the wall, access to them being got through six holes. Mr Whitaker had arranged for a photograph of this structure, but before it could be taken, it was demolished. He obtained, however, a water-colour sketch. This rectangular cote was in three tiers, and was built of rubble.

## Waughton.

Much decayed and grass-grown on top, this circular cote probably belongs to the sixteenth century. It is 63 feet in circumference and reaches in three stages to a height of 20 feet. Above the uppermost string course the structure narrows considerably. The walls are three feet six inches thick, the door is four feet eight inches high, and the roof is covered with flat stones. There are no windows. The pigeons entered (it is no longer inhabited) through a hole at the top, measuring about two feet square. There are 700 stone nests. They go into the wall 16 inches and are seven inches square. A flat stone on the floor accommodated at one time a revolving ladder.

## Whittingehame.

Situated on the flat roof of Whittingehame Tower, the massive battlements of which screen this cote. Yet it is of fair size, measuring 25 feet from north to south and 17 feet from east to west. The height of the door is four feet five inches. There are eight entrance holes. The precise number of nests has not been ascertained, but the holes are 16 inches wide, 14 inches high, and go into the wall 10 inches. Pigeons still frequent this cote.

# SOME NOTES ON OLD DUNBAR

THE following notes, dealing with a variety of topics, are supplemental to the writer's article entitled " Dunbar of Old " in Vol. II of the *Transactions*.

On 22nd May, 1795, the heritors of the parish of Dunbar had under consideration an Act of Parliament for raising men for the service of the British Navy, the parish being required to furnish its quota of men. Accordingly it was resolved " to offer and pay a Bounty of twenty guineas to each able-bodied landman " who volunteered and was approved as fit for such service by the receiving officer. On 6th June, at a meeting of heritors, the preses reported " that although the sum fixed to be offered to volunteers had been published by hand-bills stuck up at different places, yet no man had offered to accept the bounty. Therefore the meeting find it necessary that the Heritors do immediately pay their proportion of expense that falls upon the Parish for the quota of men that should have been raised by them, agreeable to the Act of Parliament." That the offer of a generous bounty of twenty guineas to an able-bodied man to accept service in the Navy should have met with no response whatever from the manhood of Dunbar seems hardly credible. Such a state of matters seems almost to justify the existence of the old press-gang with its rough-and-ready methods of making good the serious shortage of men for the Royal Navy.

But to pass to another topic. The Town Council and the heritors were jointly liable for the upkeep of the church and manse of Dunbar. In 1816 the condition of Dunbar's ancient church—founded 1342, in collegiate form, by George, Earl of March—was, by experts, pronounced to be ruinous and incapable of repair. But the Presbytery and the heritors were in disagreement as to the immediate necessity of building a new church. Ultimately, in March 1817, the heritors resolved to take steps for the building of a new and larger parish church, and with this object caused a census of the inhabitants to be taken, " distinguishing the number above twelve years of age, and also the number within and without the Royalty of Dunbar." The total number within the parish was found to be 4499, of whom 1405 were under twelve years of age.

On 15th May, 1817, the heritors, " having taken under their consideration that as the present church is seated for only 636, and as the communicants

never exceed one thousand or thereby, that a new church capable of containing sixteen hundred people will be more than sufficient for the accomodation of the Parish, and even that it will not be necessary to seat the Church at present for more than twelve hundred, leaving room in the plan to be adopted for additional galleries to contain other four hundred people, when found necessary." The Presbytery, however, favoured a building capable of accommodating 1800 people. Ultimately, on 16th April, 1818, the Presbytery and the heritors, at a joint meeting, resolved that the existing church be condemned and appointed that " a new Church capable of containing 1800 people, but which for the present be seated only for 1600, shall be built forthwith at the expense of the Heritors; the Heritors pledging themselves that, when it shall be found necessary, the Church shall be fully seated." Subsequently the heritors advertised " a recompense of £50 to any person who will furnish a plan, as may be approved of, in the course of a month hence; the expense of the building to be confined within £5000, including the old materials." Graham Gillespie of Edinburgh was the successful architect. Six tenders were obtained, and of these the estimate of Messrs Macwatt & Dickson of Haddington, being the lowest and amounting to £4790, was accepted. However this sum did not fully cover the cost of the edifice, by £500, which extra sum was paid to the contractors, " in consideration of the disadvantages and unlooked-for heavy charges in quarrying the stones from Bowerhouses Quarry."

On 23rd June, 1821, the heritors considered " the mode of proceeding with the division of the new Church." It fell to them " to calculate the number of seats falling to each Heritor in proportion to his valued rent; to set aside seats for the accomodation of the poor, to contain not more than 64 persons, in the back seats of the area below;" and " to set aside the usual accomodation for the Minister, Elders and Baptisms." The remainder were to be divided " according to Law," the Sheriff of the county to be adjudicator. Evidently the front seats in the gallery were much coveted, for it was agreed that these " were to be counted double to those Heritors who received them." The general division resulted in the Duke of Roxburghe obtaining 430 seats, the town of Dunbar 279, Sir George Warrender 207, Robert Hay of Spott 124, James Hay of Belton 89, Robert Hay of Linplum 41, John Anderson of Winterfield 34. Lesser allocations were made in the case of others. The schoolmasters of Westbarns and Eastbarns were given five and three seats respectively. In terms of the Town Council's agreement with the heritors, one-fifth of the whole expense of the new Church was met by the burgh, the

remaining four-fifths being defrayed by the landward heritors according to their respective valued rents.

On 11th April, 1822, the heritors had before them a petition from " The Association for Watching the Church Yard," for liberty to build a watch house, at their own expense, which was agreed to. This " Watch House " of solid stone still exists.

The provision of funds for the relief of the poor of the parish fell to the heritors and the Town Council jointly. On 12th February, 1829, the heritors " unanimously agreed that the Landward Heritors should take the opinion of Counsel, whether the Landward poor can be disjoined from the Burgh poor and kept separately in future, or an additional proportion of assessment put upon the Burgh poor." Strengthened by Counsel's opinion, the heritors presented their memorial to the Town Council, who informed the heritors that " the proportion of one sixth was fixed by an agreement between the Magistrates, Heritors and Kirk Session so early as the year 1724 and has been the rule of assessment ever since. Besides the agreement being now fortified by prescription, it was sustained in an action before the Sheriff upwards of fifty years ago . . . . Yet as the Magistrates and Council are anxious to prevent any misunderstanding between the Landed interest and the Burgh, they will undertake to pay one fifth part of the poor rates in time to come, provided the Heritors will relieve the Town of four-fifths of the sum required for providing communion elements and for relieving the itinerant poor, including salaries,—the whole of the elements being at present paid by the Burgh and one half of the expense of itinerant paupers, while both appear to them to be a parochial duty, the same as the poor rates." The heritors, however, rejected the proposals of the Town Council. Litigation ensued, and the heritors were successful in the Court of Session. Thereupon the Magistrates and Council successfully applied to the Convention of Burghs for aid in carrying their case to appeal. Eventually the town succeeded in reversing, in the House of Lords, the decision of the Court of Session.

Well over a hundred years ago, the heritors were wont to assemble in " Lorimer's Inn " and latterly in " Cossar's Inn," Dunbar. Cossar is believed to have succeeded Lorimer, and the inn was none other than the St. George—now the oldest hotel in Dunbar. An excerpt of the minutes of a heritors' meeting of 31st March, 1819, reads:—" The Meeting considering that Mr Lorimer has had a considerable degree of trouble from the frequent Meetings of the Heritors in his House, they request the Committee to have this in their view, and at the end of their business to make Mr Lorimer a reasonable

allowance, as well as something to his waiters, and that the same may be collected from the Heritors in their last instalment."

Dunbar occupies a unique position among the royal burghs of Scotland, inasmuch as its roll of burgesses includes a King of Scotland—James VI. On 31st October, 1600, His Majesty and thirty-eight of his subjects, of various ranks, were admitted burgesses and freemen of Dunbar.

In bygone days, the magistrates and councillors, in the fullest sense, ruled the commonalty. All townspeople, except only those who were sick or absent from the burgh, were required to attend the Kirk on the Sabbath. An excerpt of Council meeting of 4th October, 1598, runs thus:—"Ye qlk day it is statut in cais ony man be fra ye Kirk opoun ye saboth day wt ye same be be seiknes or absens aff ye toun . . . bein tryit be ye sessioun yat ewire Mr sall pay Vs and servant xijd to be uplifted be ye bailzeis fra ye contraveneris." Scots currency, when abolished in 1707, was but one-twelfth of the value of English or sterling, i.e., £1 Scots equalled 1/8 sterling. Therefore the fine of 5/- Scots was equivalent to 5d sterling.

In olden times the burgesses of Dunbar had their Common, which was a considerable area of land, and comprised the extensive Outer Common and the much smaller Inner Common. The Outer, situated on a slope of the Lammermoor Hills, was spread over parts of the parishes of Spott, Stenton and Whittingehame. The Inner adjoined the burgh and included Gallowgate and Kirkhill. Its area was but 50 acres, on which the burgesses had the privilege of pasturing their cows and horses.

An annual event, of much interest to the townspeople, was the perambulating of the Inner Common and burgh bounds by the magistrates, burgesses and community. The Council records of 9th June, 1673, state that,—"Upon the same day the saids baillies and counsell finding the ordinar tyme approaching for perambulating the common of this burghe and marches yr of, they doe heirby appoynt frydaye nixt the threttine daye of Junii instant, at fyve houres in the morning, for perambulating the common of this burghe and doe heirby ordaine all burgesses of the said burghe to be wairned to attend the magistrats and counsell of this burghe for that effect, ilk persone under the pane of v lib. Scottes money." On 16th June, the "baillies reported that the common pasturadge of this burghe was perambulated be them and the haill burgesses of this burghe upon the threttene day of Junii instant." The marches of Dunbar were perambulated yearly to quite a recent date. Latterly the date fixed for the perambulation was the King's birthday, and the function wound up with a supper held in the St George Hotel.

## SOME NOTES ON OLD DUNBAR

A local institution of long-standing was " The Society of Sailors of the Port of Dunbar." Its membership was confined to masters, mates and sailors of the port, who, during sickness and upon retirement from active service, benefited from the funds to which they had contributed. Through mismanagement, the funds of the Society became so far reduced that the shipmasters petitioned the magistracy of Dunbar to intervene and grant them (the petitioners) a charter, and to erect them into a society. This was done by an Act, dated 17th September, 1730, which made adequate provision " for preserving the Society's funds against misapplication and for making their resolves more effective." It was further enacted that " the Magistracy may oblige the whole members of the Society to a due and orderly compliance with the rules and statutes above-mentioned, and for that end may call for and inspect the Society's books, accounts and documents, and judge and determine thereanent to the effect and intent above written, in all time coming." The magistrates' timely intervention resulted in the rehabilitation of the Society of Sailors of Dunbar. In 1843, the vessels belonging to the port of Dunbar numbered 17, the largest ship being the " Sterling " of 203 tons; while the aggregate tonnage was 1177 tons. In March, 1899, Captain William Smith, residing in Dunbar, boxmaster of the Society of Sailors of Dunbar, petitioned the Court of Session to settle a scheme of administration, with the result that the Court appointed a judicial factor to manage the Society's estate. Apparently there was then not a ship belonging to the port, and but one surviving member of the Society. Therefore its continued existence, as originally constituted, could hardly be justified. Accordingly upon the decease of Captain William Smith, a petition was presented to the Treasury, praying for a gift of the Society's estate to be made to the Town Council. Subject to certain conditions, the property, known as The Sailors' Park, of $7\frac{1}{2}$ acres or thereby, was gifted by the Treasury to the burgh. The transfer was effected in 1932-33.

The first printing press in East Lothian, was that set up, in 1795, by George Miller, merchant, Dunbar. One of his earliest productions was Defoe's " The Life and most surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe of York, Mariner. An improved Edition, illustrated with eight Engravings from Original designs," 1801. The writer owns a copy of this publication.

T. WILSON FISH.

# REDHOUSE AND ITS OWNERS

## I

In submitting the following notes on the lands of Red Spittal and the ruined mansion thereon,—now known as the Redhouse—it is necessary in the first place to explain that the name had its origin in a religious institution known as the Red Hospital (*Rubea Hospitalis*), and the lands were evidently part of its endowments. We know that a hospital dedicated to St. Cuthbert existed on the lands of Ballencrieff in the thirteenth century. It is not improbable that it was founded early in that century or late in the preceding one. Chalmers[1] states that it was founded in the twelfth century, but gives no authority for his statement. There can be little doubt that this hospital and the Red Hospital are the same.

On 29th July 1291 Walter, Master of the House of Ballencrieff, swore fealty to Edward I, and on 28th August 1296 William Tornal, warden of the said Hospital, did the same[2]. At a very early period we find the lands of Ballencrieff and Gosford under the sway of the Douglases who were at that time overlords of a great part of the south of Scotland. To quote an old historian " nae man was safe in the country unless he were either a Douglas, or a Douglas man." In 1357 David II granted a charter of the lands of Gosford to Maurice Murray, of the family of Bothwell and Clydesdale. On 20th April 1421 Archibald, fourth Earl of Douglas, and Lord of Galloway, granted to ' our wellbeloved Christian de Ramsay ' — a light-o-love of the Earl — as provision for herself and their children, the lands of Ballencrieff and Gosford. This charter was confirmed by Murdoch, Duke of Albany, Governor of Scotland on 26th October thereafter. Archibald, fifth Earl of Douglas, confirmed his father's charter[3] on 6th March 1423. The Hospital would be situated on the lands conveyed to Christian Ramsay. This seems to mark the period at which the lands were diverted from their original

1 *Caledonia*, vol. IV, 510.
2 Bain, *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, vol. II, 125, 214.
3 *The Douglas Book* vol. III, 54-56, 414.

Redhouse.

*(From a painting by the writer of the article.)*

purpose, and probably the Hospital fell into decay and was dissolved as there is no mention of it on record after the charter of 1423. Part of the lands of Red Spittal (afterwards called Wester Red Spittal) went to endow a prebend in the Collegiate Church of Dunglas. This prebend is not mentioned in the foundation charter, which was granted, *circa* 1443, but it appears in a charter of 1481[1]. It remained part of the patrimony of Dunglas until 1555 when Francis Wilson, prebendary of the said prebend, granted the lands of Red Spittal and Coates to Francis, son of Hew Douglas of Borgue. This was, of course, on the eve of the Reformation when the Scottish clergy feued out their lands in an endeavour to save something from the confiscation which they saw was impending. On 6th July 1607 the lands of Red Spittal were disponed by George Douglas, only son of Sir George Douglas of Red Spittal, to Master John Laing, Keeper of the Signet, and Rebecca Dennistoun his spouse[2]. Sir George was a son of the above Francis who obtained the feu. He is described in the records as of various territorial designations viz. of Borgue, of St. Germains, of Longniddry and of Redhouse. John Laing had an only child, Jeanne, who married Sir Andrew Hamilton, Knight, Senator of the College of Justice, son of Sir Thomas Hamilton of Priestfield, and a half brother of Thomas, first Earl of Haddington. On 27th June 1608 they were infeft by Laing in the lands of Wester Red Spittal and Coates, and in 1621 Sir Andrew was also infeft in the lands held by Robert Trotter, as prebendary of Red Spittal, in the Collegiate Church of Dunglas. These lands were then dissolved from the College[3].

*Easter Red Spittal.* These lands were the property of the Crown and may have fallen into its hands at the dissolution of the Hospital. They are first mentioned on 30th April 1507 when John Lindsay had a Crown charter of the lands of Red Spittal in the lordship of Ballencrieff, in lieu of the lands within the boundaries of Wauchopedale, Eskdale, and Ewisdale, which were forfeited. In July 1607, David Lindsay of Balcarres granted a charter to John Laing and his wife of the said lands, now called Easter Spittal (or Easter Red Spittal), which was confirmed by the King on 18th November 1607.[4] In 1608 Sir Andrew Hamilton and his wife were infeft in them by Laing at the same time as they were infeft in the lands of Wester Red Spittal. The lands of Easter and Wester Red Spittal were erected into a barony in 1621, and in 1667 Thomas Hamilton, third of Redhouse, disponed them to Sir

1 *Register House Charters*, No. 496.
2 *Part. Reg. Sas. Edinburgh and Haddington*, vol. viii. fol. 365.
3 *Reg. of Great Seal*, vol. viii. No. 180. *Laing Charters*, Nos. 1866-1868.
4 *Reg. of Great Seal*, vol. vi. No. 1990.

Patrick Wedderburn of Gosford[1]. He retained the mansion, mains, and policies, however, which remained with the family until 1755[2]. A good description of the Red Spittal estate at the time above mentioned is contained in the following Deed, in the Register of Ratifications kept by the City of Edinburgh (now in the Register House) (Vol. IV, folio 239).

EDINBURGH, 6TH JULY 1667.

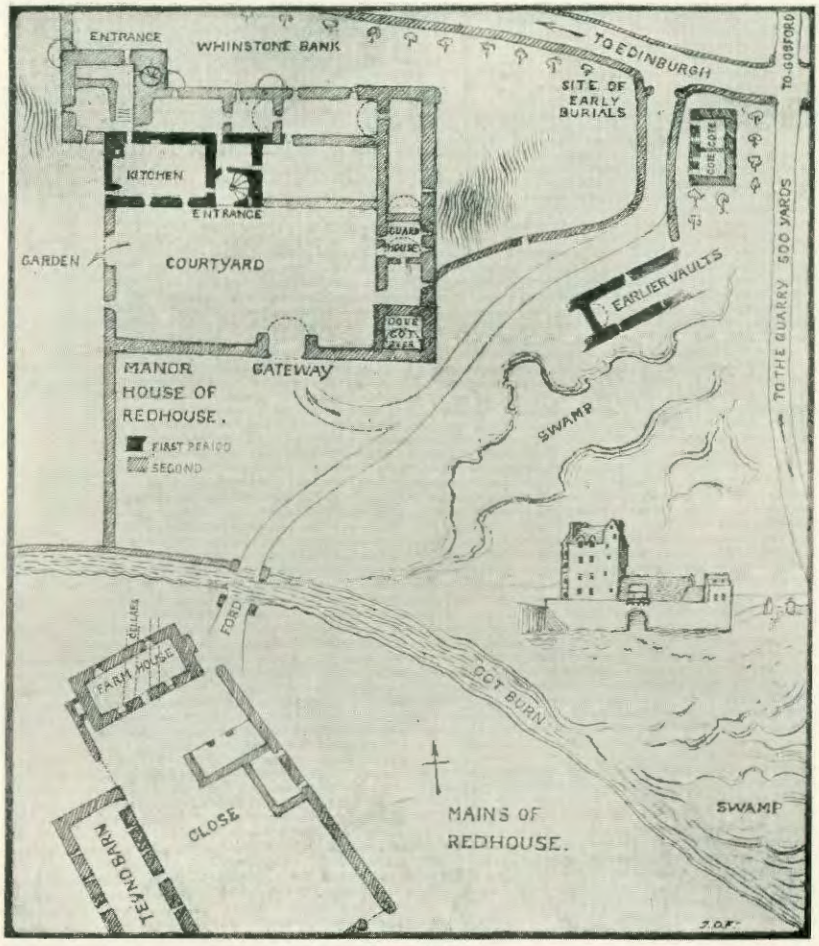
Ratifications by married women.

Which day in presence of Walter Borthwick, baillie, compeared Dame Magdalen Stewart, spouse to Thomas Hamilton of Reidhouse, and produced a Disposition of the date of these presents, made and granted by them to Sir Patrick Wedderburn of Gosford, Knight, Advocate, and clerk to His Majesties Privy Council; by which Disposition the said Thomas Hamilton and his said spouse, with concent of Dame Helen Richardsone his mother, for the sum of 62,000m. Scots, sold to the said Sir Patrick Wedderburne and his heirs. All and Haill the lands of Easter Spittell, *alias* Easter Reid Spittell, with howses, biggings, yairds, orcheards, tofts, crofts, meadows, owtsetts, pairts, pendicles, and pertinents thairoff quhatsumevir; All and Haill the lands of Ballincrieff, commonlie called Wester Bizetleyis; All and Sindrie the lands of Reid Spittell *alias* Wester Spittell, with howses, biggings, yairds, meadows, parts, pendicles, and pertinents thereoff; All and Haill the lands of Cottis, with parts, pendicles, annexes, connexes, and haill pertinents of the same quhatsumevir, as the same are presentlie possessed by the tenants and cottars thereoff, and as they are meithed, marched, and divided from the Wester Maynes of Reidhouse, which holds of the Earl of Winton in manner expressed in the infeftments thereoff, granted by the deceased Sir Andrew Hamilton, guidschyre to the said Thomas, and his authors; all lying within the Constabularie of Haddington and Sheriffdom of Edinburgh; togedder with the whole planting lyme, lymestone, coalls, coallhewghs of the whole lands, and others above disponed, togedder also with the heritable office of Bailzerie of all and sundrie the samen haill lands and others, with haill liberties, privileges, and casualties, pertaining to the said office in so far as the same may be extendit to the said lands and others allanerlie; excepting always from this Disposition, to the said Thomas Hamilton, and Dame Magdalen Stewart his spouse, in liferent, and to James Hamilton, their eldest lawful son, and apparent heir in fee, the messuage and dwelling-house called Reidhouse, with the yaird, orchard park, and office-houses, and close, belonging thereto, which are now in the possession of the said Thomas Hamilton, and are enclosed about with ane stone wall, with the teynd barnes; as also the milne and milllands of Wester Spittell with the multures, sequels, houssis, [and] biggings of the samen milne, except always, the multures of the lands, and others above disponed, and the cottar howses bewest the said milne, wherein the tenants of the lands and others above disponed, have had no interest, nor any service furth thereoff.

This Deed is ratified by Dame Magdalen Stewart in the usual form.

In 1755 all that had remained to the Hamiltons, viz. the mansion-house, mains, and policies passed to Patrick, fifth Lord Elibank[3] with whom they

1 *Reg. of Great Seal*, vol. viii. No. 204; xi No. 1083.
2 *Reg. of Great Seal*, vol. ciii. No. 4.
3 *Reg. of Great Seal*, vol. ciii. No. 4.




Ground Plan of Redhouse.

*(From a drawing by the writer of the article.)*

Gateway in South Boundary Wall.

*(From photograph by Geo. S. McLaren, Edinburgh.)*

remained until 1825 when they were acquired by Francis, Earl of Wemyss. About 1781 there was a judicial sale of the lands of the Wedderburn family in order to pay debts and the lands of Easter and Wester Reid Spittell were acquired by Alex. (?) Farquharson, Accountant, Edinburgh, who sold them in 1784 to the above Earl of Wemyss. The Hospital lands, as defined in the Charter to Christian Ramsay, covered a large area of ground, which is now intersected by the road from Drem to Longniddry. It extended from Mungoswells Bridge on the east to Chance-inn Bridge on the west, with a breadth of one mile or over, on each side of the highway. The lands were erected into two baronies eventually, which were divided in the neighbourhood of the Haddington-Aberlady road, viz., Red Spittal, as already stated, in 1621, and Ballencrieff in 1617. It was on the lands of the latter that the Red Hospital had existed. There is still near the ruins of the Elibank mansion a structure, L shaped in plan, attributed to the sixteenth century. This is believed to have been a building in connection with the Hospital.[1]

## II

The ruins of The Redhouse still remain. It is about one and a half miles east from Longniddry station, on the south side of the mid-road, and in the parish of Aberlady. It is situated upon a ridge of whin-stone rock to the north-east of its park or garden, and forms the boundary line of a quadrangular courtyard that is bounded on the east by a range of outbuildings, and on the south and west by walls. The building is computed to be of the late sixteenth century. It was evidently built at two distinct but not far distant periods. The earliest portion has its front facing the south, into the courtyard, and the later portion to the north, facing north. The earlier portion consists of a tower 22 feet from north to south, 45 feet from east to west, and from 70 to 80 feet in height. This seems to have been the manor-house pertaining to the lands of Red Spittal when they were acquired by John Laing in 1607 from the Douglases. Laing seems to have built the later or northern portion, as his initials are displayed on the skewputs and on the pediment of the west dormer windows. Both portions were erected within such a short time of each other, that together they formed the completed mansion, with its turrets and string-courses, as known at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The building is composed of red sandstone which was

1 *Inventory of Ancient Monuments for East Lothian*, p. 5, No. 6.

procured from the quarry in Redhouse Dean 500 yards distant to the south.[1] The whole area covered by the house and courtyard measures 106 feet from north to south and 100 feet from east to west.

Entering the courtyard by the gateway in the south boundary wall, we have, on our right, a range of vaulted buildings, partly in ruin, which, along with the dovecot, are built of rubble and harled. The arch of the gateway with its semi-circular head has a roll-and-hollow moulding which continues down the jambs. Over the arch is a broad stone table supported by corbels, which is believed to have been surmounted by a gatehouse, or some such defensive arrangement. Crossing to the north of the courtyard, we come to the main, or earlier portion of the house, which is five stories in height. There also existed two additional apartments above the wheel-stair, which is situated in the south-east corner of the tower, but has long ago gone to ruin. The windows of this block and of the lower portion of the later addition have plain dressed jambs and lintels, all being grooved for the insertion of glass and protected by iron stanchions.

The main feature of the ruin is the fine Renaissance entrance doorway on the south front of the building. It gives entry at the foot of the wheel stair, and in style seems to have been coeval with the later addition. It has a moulded lintel and jambs and on the former is carved in raised letters NISI-DOMINUS-FRUSTRA; flanked by the initials M.I.L. and R.D., signifying Master John Laing, and Rebecca Dennistoun. Under the letters R.D. there is a cinquefoil. Over the lintel is a cornice with finials at either end, and above the cornice there is an oblong frame supported by trusses containing a panel which at one time had been broken. The broken parts were built in again, but unfortunately they had not been restored by one who understood heraldry. In the tympanum above the panel, a monogram is composed of the letters M.I.L. and is flanked by the letters R.D. The arms of the surname of Laing are, argent, three piles conjoined in point, sable; and John Laing carried those quartered with argent, a pale sable. In the panel above the door all that can be made out is the dexter side of the shield with the three piles in evidence, built in upside down, but what they are quartered with it is now impossible to say. On the other hand, the complete arms are displayed on the pediment of the two-light dormer window in the

1 The quarry above referred to supplied building stone for many houses, farm steadings, and dykes in the neighbourhood. The last time it was worked was during the building of Gosford House, (*c.*1887) when the stone for the foundations of that building were taken from it. Ironstone was mined for some time a little to the south of the sandstone quarry, but apparently with little success.

west wing, and on John Laing's tombstone in Greyfriars Churchyard, Edinburgh, to which reference will be made later. Alex. Nisbet, the Heraldist, writing early in the seventeenth century, states that he saw the arms of the surname of Laing, surrounded by a garland, painted on the walls of the mansion-house of Redhouse, but all traces of painting have long ago disappeared.

Entering the earlier portion of the building by this doorway, we find the remains of the wheel-stair, and immediately behind it a series of small chambers, while on our left is the kitchen with large fireplace, and almery recess in the north jamb. Above the kitchen are the remains of what had been the hall; it seems to have been panelled in wood or hung with tapestry. All the other walls had been plastered on the hard. Passing by way of the kitchen through a door in the north-west corner, we enter the newer part of the building which constitutes the north-west wing, the foundations of which are eight feet higher than the original elevation. Here the ground floor has been vaulted, while a scale-stair joined the north entrance doorway. Above the vaulted chamber and stair, all the apartments have double-lighted windows looking west, and single ones looking south and north. One of the double-light windows, having the inner arch supported by corbels, is considered unusual: it is similar to another found in Hamilton House, Preston. On the triangular pediment of the double-light dormer window is a shield displaying the arms of John Laing with the initials M.I.L. and R.D., already alluded to. This is now much weathered. Immediately within the north entrance, and at the top of what had been the scale stair, a door leads to a wheel-stair communicating with the north-east addition, which consists of a narrow range of apartments built against the back of the original tower. The three lower floors are barrel-vaulted, the lowest extending to meet the offices forming the east boundary wall. The upper storeys had been floored with wood, well lighted, and commanded a fine view to the north. On the east side of the house existed a low wing with steeply-pitched roof, which formed an attic. The vaulted buildings which form the eastern boundary include the guard-room or porter's lodge. The presence of some modern brick work may be explained by the fact that during the construction of the North British Railway from Edinburgh to Berwick, and the branch line from Longniddry to Haddington, in the forties of last century, the porter's lodge was used partly as a police office and partly as a cell. Over the southern termination of the vaulting is the dove-cot. It consists of two separate vaulted chambers, each with 382 nests. Each chamber was entered from the outside by a movable

ladder. According to this arrangement one compartment could be harried at a time. A door on the ground floor of the dove-cot facing south is a later incision, and has no connection with the original plan. The dove-cot still remains, but the roof, the construction of which is unusual, has suffered much. The ruins of a vaulted chamber, which stood to the east of the courtyard, were taken down about the year 1830, and cottages built on the site. As to whether this had any connection with the existing ruin or not, there is no information.

The Garden, or Orchard Park, which lies directly to the west of the ruin, had an access from the courtyard. It is sheltered from the north and east by rising ground, and is surrounded by a stone wall, with turrets pierced with spy-holes on the north side. When the house was in occupation a shelter belt of ash and plane trees surrounded the garden. Shortly after the Orchard Park passed into the hands of Lord Elibank, it was let as a market-garden, the produce being conveyed to Edinburgh and sold in the fruit and vegetable market then held in the vicinity of the Tron Kirk. What the Garden may have been like in its earlier days can only be imagined. One solitary remnant of the orchard still remains, in the shape of a "Lemon Pear" tree which must have borne the storm and stress of well-nigh three hundred years. As evidencing the regard the earlier lairds had for the orchard, an old document states that—"the yearly rent of the wester-riggs be spent in the upkeep of the garden wall."

## III

There is little to be gathered with regard to the early lairds. George Douglas, the Younger, is frequently found in brawls and cases of assault, and seems to have been put to the horn in 1607.[1] Possibly this brought about the change of ownership in that year when John Laing bought the property. It was to Laing the credit was due, for the enlarging of the mansion-house and laying out of the policies. He belonged to a family, whose armorial bearings are the only clue to its identity. The earliest outstanding personality was Bishop John Laing, who was preferred to the office of High Treasurer in 1465. He was Bishop of Glasgow in 1474 and Lord High Chancellor of Scotland in 1482. The Bishop's connection with Edinburgh is preserved in a charter, dated 15th June 1478, in which the King confirms a grant by John, Bishop of Glasgow, of a tenement in Edinburgh for the use of the altar of St. Duthac

1 *Reg. of Privy Council*, vol. ii, p. 444.

in St. Giles' Kirk. In 1522 James Laing, burgess of Edinburgh, made another grant to the Collegiate Church of St. Mary-in-the-Fields, which was confirmed by the Crown in 1530. A personage named John Laing was Dean of the College of Glasgow from 1552 to 1555.[1] Sir William Laing was a royal chaplain about the same time. John Laing of Redhouse had a son John, who was prebendary of the pensionary and vicarage of Panbride in Brechin Cathedral from 1566 to 1612, a post held by his father from the Crown. Again, one Nigel Laing, figures as witness to a charter in 1549. He was uncle (or cousin) to John Laing, and the two are associated in the signing of a document in 1579, as ' Nigel Laing, Keeper of His Majestie's Signet, and John Laing his servant.'

Although a qualified Writer to the Signet, John continued to be called servant to his uncle until the latter's death in 1585 when he succeeded to his post as Depute Secretary Keeper of the Signet. James VI granted him special powers in 1597. With the consent of the Privy Council and Exchequer, the King granted to 'Master Johnne Layng,' " all and haill that pairt of the office of the secretarie sa far as may be extendit to the keiping and custodie of His Majestie's Signetis great and small (exceptand the Court Signet ordinarlie useit to all such thingis whilk pas the counsaill tabill) togidder with all and sindrie feis " and all other privileges. This grant was duly confirmed by Parliament in 1609. The frequent occurrence of John Laing's name in charters in the Register of the Great Seal leaves no doubt as to the lucrative nature of his appointment. His importance, and that of his office, is specially noticed in the Records of the Privy Council, and he was a moving spirit in all the affairs of the Writers to the Signet. Nigel Laing married Elizabeth Dennistoun. He died in 1585, and in 1588 John Laing bought on behalf of the widow, the lands of Kirkhill in Linlithgowshire with remainder to himself and his spouse, also a Dennistoun. This later lady was sister to Sir Robert Dennistoun, Conservator at Campvere in Holland. Mr John Laing died in 1612, about the age of 60, and was buried in Greyfriars Churchyard, Edinburgh, where, at the back of the Candlemakers' Hall, may be seen his tombstone, classic in design, and freely treated with ornament. No central panel exists, but a flat stone on the ground had at one time recorded the burials; it is now indecipherable. On the pediment of the monument there are the initials M.I.L. (Master Johnne Layng) 1614—probably the date of the erection of the tomb, and below a Latin inscription surrounded by the emblems of mortality, the translation of which, from Monteith's *Theater of*

1 Coutts's *History of the University of Glasgow.*

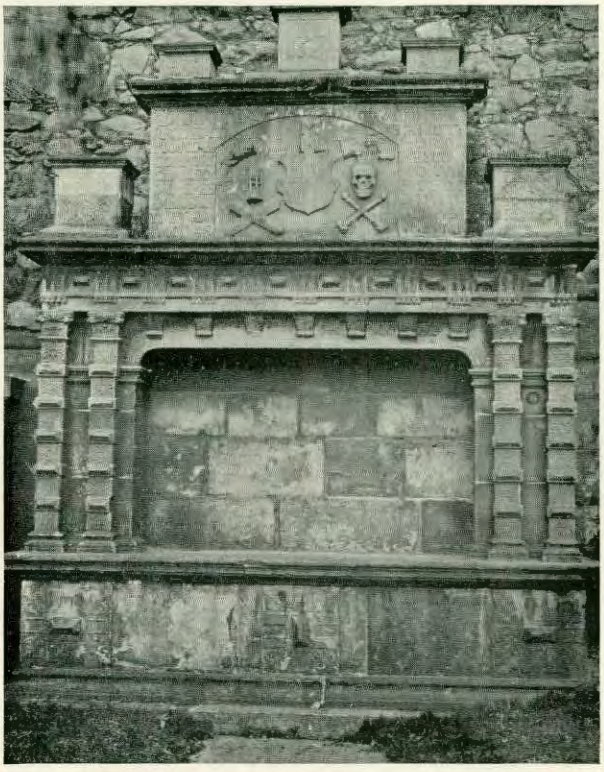
*Mortality, is*

> The life me nature gave, while pent in clay,
> Hopes of escape supporting the delay,
> It was not life: death, ignorant of death,
> To me a life far better did bequeath.

On a shield are his armorial bearings. In this tomb are also interred David Laing, Vicar of Canonbie, and Janet Landel, his second wife, both in 1692.

The marriage of John Laing's daughter, Jeanne, to Sir Andrew Hamilton, brought the estate into a branch of the ducal family of Hamilton. Sir Andrew's grandfather was Thomas Hamilton of Orchardfield, Bathgate, and Ballencrieff in Linlithgowshire, eldest son of Thomas Hamilton, first of Orchardfield. He was a burgess of Edinburgh and was killed at Pinkie in 1547, leaving two sons, Thomas and John. John was a regent in St. Andrews University, and about 1576 entered the Roman Church. Thomas the elder was knighted before 1597 and admitted a Lord of Session in 1607, with the title of Lord Priestfield. Lord Priestfield's eldest son was made Earl of Haddington in 1627: he was familiarly known as "Tam o' the Cowgate." Lord Priestfield resigned his seat as a Senator of the College of Justice to his second son Sir Andrew Hamilton of Redhouse, who was raised to the Bench in 1608, under the judicial title of Lord Redhouse. A member of the Privy Council of James VI, he died in 1634, and was buried in the Laing tomb already referred to. His younger brothers were all more or less men of note. Sir John Hamilton of Magdalens, Linlithgow, was a Senator of the College of Justice. Sir Patrick of Little Preston was Under Secretary of State to his eldest brother; while Col. Alexander served with distinction under Gustavus Adolphus, and was present at the siege of Magdeburg. Returning to Scotland, he threw in his lot with the Covenanters.

Lord Redhouse was succeeded by his son, Sir John Hamilton, who, choosing the army as a profession, joined the Scots troops sent to assist Gustavus Adolphus in Sweden in 1631. On his return he served under General Leslie during the Scots rebellion. On the advance into England, Leslie left cannon behind him at Dunse, and these were conveyed by the Earl of Haddington to the headquarters at Dunglas Castle, where, after the company had dined, an explosion in the powder vaults completely wrecked the castle. In that disaster the family of Hamilton suffered severely. There were among the killed, the Earl of Haddington, and his brothers, Robert Hamilton of Binning and Patrick Hamilton; Sir John Hamilton of Redhouse,



Laing Tomb in Greyfriars Churchyard.

*(From photograph by John Smith, Edinburgh.)*

his cousin, Sir Alexander Hamilton of Innerwick and his son Alexander, also his brother-in-law Colonel Alexander Erskine. Sir John was succeeded by his son Thomas, who married Magdalene Stewart, youngest daughter of the Earl of Traquair. His lordship was hampered with financial troubles, but whilst admitting this, and the disturbed state of the country, there is no proof that any effort on Thomas's part had been made to keep the estate together. Occasionally we find him in the debtors' court, and in 1676 lying in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, awaiting trial for the slaughter of Cuthbert Armour in Leith. On the failure of certain witnesses to appear, he was eventually freed from ward.[1] Twelve years later, on 15th October 1688, he was buried in the family tomb in Greyfriars Churchyard. Of his son, Captain Thomas, and grandson James there is little to be gleaned. In the *Diary* of the Rev. George Turnbull, minister of the parish of Tyninghame, at the close of the seventeenth century, there is frequent reference to Turnbull visiting Redhouse. Turnbull's brother-in-law, Adam Glas, was ordained minister of Aberlady in 1697, and married Helen, daughter of Capt. Thomas Hamilton. In an extract from Hew Scott's *Fasti,* quoted in a footnote to the *Diary* (p. 387), we read:—" During his ministry at Aberlady he seems to have resided at Redhouse. From extravagant living he became involved in debt and had to take shelter from his creditors in the sanctuary of Holyrood. After fruitless admonitions from his brethern, he at last deserted his charge, which was declared vacant by the Presbytery on 4th December 1711. He subsequently joined the Church of England, and being re-ordained a deacon and priest by Henry, Bishop of London, was instituted to the Rectory of Lofthouse in 1712, which, however, he did not retain long. He died about 1741."

Colonel Geo: Hamilton, the last of the lairds of Redhouse, inherited a legacy of debt from his father, from which he could not free himself, and was often forced to remain in hiding, or seek sanctuary. In the first volume of the *Transactions* of the East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalists' Society (p. 88) will be found an interesting account by Hugh Hannah of this East Lothian laird while in the sanctuary of Holyrood. On the outbreak of the rebellion of 1745 the Prince had a ready supporter in George Hamilton, who served as Deputy Quartermaster-General to the Highland army. It is recorded that the Prince, after holding a council of war at Duddingston, sent out Roy Stewart and Hamilton to reconnoitre the ground and report. On reaching Chrystall's Inn, Musselburgh, they saw through an open window two of the Royalist pickets, Francis Garden (afterwards Lord Gardenstone) and

1 *Reg. of Privy Council,* 1676.

Robert Cunningham (afterwards General Cunningham) regaling themselves with white wine and oysters. Stewart and Hamilton made them prisoners, and after threatening to hang them, conveyed them to the Prince's headquarters. The prisoners were, according to Home's *History of The Rebellion,* carried along with the forces to be placed in the front, and exposed to the fire of their friends, but they were ultimately allowed to escape. After the disaster which ended the campaign, Hamilton was taken prisoner and, along with seventy others, condemned to death at the York Assizes. Robert Chambers, in his *History of the Rebellion* says "not long before the high-sheriff's chaplain had preached a sermon upon a very significant text—' And Moses said unto the judges of Israel, Slay ye every one his men that were joined unto Baal-peor (Numbers xxv, 5)'." On 1st November 1746 Colonel George Hamilton was hanged " with all the circumstances of barbarity which attended these executions."

With the passing of the lairds, passed also the occupation of the mansion-house. It remained empty from the time of its purchase in 1755 by Lord Elibank, and all endeavours to let or use it profitably having failed, it was eventually used as a source of building material for the erection and repair of farm-houses and steadings on the estate. Thereafter it became a roofless ruin.

The lands fared better, for by this time they were benefiting by the agricultural revolution which was in progress. Field drainage, improved tillage, and a more judicious system of crop rotation, were occupying the tenants' minds. Of these tenants it may be noted in passing, that some of them occupied their farms as tenants for a period of from two to three hundred years continuously, and throughout the changing fortunes of the lairds. The farm of Standalane is now united to Loch-hill (formerly Kougishill or Easter Red Spittal Mains). Borthwick's Mill lands were joined to Ballencrieff Mains, while the farm of Wheatrigg was formed from the Mains of Reidhouse, under rather peculiar circumstances described in the *New Statistical Account* (page 181 note) and in the two volumes of Martine's *Reminiscences of the County of Haddington* where also may be found information concerning the inhabitants of the now defunct barony. All the mills have gone—Clinkie, Standalane, Borthwick's Mill, Spittal, Gosford, and Chance-inn; also the cottar town of Spittal which was swept away to make room for the railway, and Wester Red Spittal, which, with its inn, stood in the vicinity of the bridge known as Chance-inn. On the farm of Coates (Cottis), at one time within the barony, stands the houses known as Gate-foot or Bangly Brae-foot, once

a hostelry, which has an association with "Jupiter" Carlyle[1] and with the Duke of Cumberland.[2]

During the closing years of the eighteenth century, smuggling was carried on with some success, in the parish of Aberlady. A body of local stalwarts were wont to steal forth at nightfall, bound under an oath of secrecy, the tenant of Redhouse Mains being one of their number. Kegs of contraband brought ashore at Kilspindie were conveyed under cover of darkness, and stored in cellars under the farm house at Redhouse. Local tradition is silent regarding these early devotees of "free trade," and their place of concealment was not discovered until many years after the suppression of the illicit traffic. The cellars still exist but are now sealed up.

1 *Autobiography* of Dr Alexander Carlyle of Inveresk, New ed. 1910, p. 139.
2 *Lamp of Lothian*, New ed. p. 138.

J. D. FINLAYSON.

# FAST CASTLE: ITS ROMANTIC STORY *

PERCHED on its bold promontory and surrounded with precipitous rocks which descend sheer down into the ocean, Fast Castle, the Wolf's Crag of Scott's *Bride of Lammermoor,* once looked over the North Sea, a seemingly impregnable fortress. It is now an irreparable ruin and only the fragments of a few walls are left to remind us of its long and stirring history. "A veil of dark mystery," writes Carr in his *History of Coldingham,* "hangs over its early history corresponding well with the gloomy solitude of its situation."

The original builder is not known save for the illuminating remark of James VI that he must have been a knave at heart. During the constant wars between England and Scotland Fast Castle frequently changed hands, being usually held for Scotland but frequently captured by England. It first comes into notice, and seemingly as a national fortress, early in the fourteenth century, when it was captured by an English force under a brave Norfolk knight, Sir John Benhale, reputed to have slain the gigantic Scottish champion, Turnbull (and the furious mastiff by which he was accompanied), a few days earlier in presence of the hostile armies on Halidon Hill in 1333.[1]

Before the end of the fourteenth century Fast Castle had once again fallen to the Scots, but, in 1402, after their defeat at Homildon Hill, it was recaptured for England by the Earl of March, who had renounced his allegiance and sworn fealty to Henry IV owing to the affront put upon his daughter Elizabeth by the repudiation of her contract of marriage with the unfortunate Duke of Rothesay. The strategic value of the Castle would seem to have been somewhat important, for two years later, in 1404, it was entrusted to the care of John, a younger brother of Henry V, the hero of Agincourt, who later, as the great Duke of Bedford, rose to be the most famous warrior of his age.[2] In a letter of Bedford's we read of himself and his garrison in constant jeopardy from the Scots, who laboured to cut off his

* Notes of an address delivered to members of the Society on 4th September 1937.

1 A. Carr, *History of Coldingham Priory*, pp. 85-6.
2 J. Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. VIII, p. 370.

supplies, for no regular assault on the Castle was possible, as what is now a causeway approach four or five feet wide built up with rocks from a lower level, was then a chasm 20 feet wide, over which a drawbridge swung. The Castle seems to have been held for some years for the English, by one Thomas Holden, a kind of free-booter governor who varied his work of guarding supplies from attacks by the Scots by making far-stretching raids in the neighbourhood, to which those of Caleb Balderstone were mild indeed. These raids would seem to have extended into the fat plains of East Lothian and so exasperated Patrick Dunbar of Biel, (then, as now, a notable place in the county), that with " a hundred hardie followers " he took Holden unawares and by some means seized the Castle in the night-time and made the notorious free-booter captive.[1]

In 1488, Sir Patrick Home, the fourth son of the first Lord Home, was designated as of Fast Castle.[2] How he came to possess it is not known. His father had a charter of Dunglass in 1450, and this may have included the lands and castle of Fast. To Sir Patrick and his lady, Isobel Forman of Hutton, was accorded the distinction of lodging the Princess Margaret Tudor for one night in the Castle,[3] when, in 1503, as a girl of thirteen, she, with unprecedented pomp, made her progress from Lamberton Kirk to Holyrood to be married to the gallant King James IV. With true Scottish caution the marriage treaty stipulated that the Princess should be delivered to the King's Commissioner at Lamberton Kirk, the boundary of the two kingdoms, " without any expense to the bridegroom." The Castle was by this time furnished with artillery, and on the gay young Princess' departure on the following morning, " they schott much ordanounce " from the Castle, and one can imagine the tremendous echoes from the surrounding cliffs.

After the death of Sir Patrick Home, in 1510, his son Cuthbert succeeded as owner of Fast Castle. He was a great traveller, a kind of Scots Marco Polo. Holinshed in his Scottish Chronicle gives an account of Cuthbert and of his return to Scotland after many adventures in the East, where he rose to distinction in the service of the Grand Turk or Mameluke Sultan at Cairo. There tidings reached him that eight of his kinsmen, one after another, had died, leaving him the nearest heir to the gloomy fortress and wild domain of their family. Had there been rates of insurance they probably would have been higher on the Scottish Border than in the so-called "Turkie" of Cuthbert Home's adventures. His wish to return was shared, if it had not been

1 Fordun, *Scotichronicon*, vol. II, p. 444. Lesley, *History of Scotland*, p. 229.
2 *Register of the Great Seal*, vol. II, p. 372.
3 John Leland, *Collectanea.*

prompted, by his friends in Scotland, but before he could do so, he had to pay a heavy ransom, and "47 sacks of the wool of the Lammermoors," each weighing about 640 lbs., were shipped by his father at Leith to be exchanged on the Continent for gold to pay the ransom of his son.[1] The price at which the sacks sold does not appear, but it must have been considerable, since even the customs duty on their export amounted to £62 13s 4d Scots. This sum was remitted by King James IV out of regard to the object of the sale. In no long time afterwards, but too late to see his father alive, the heir of Fast Castle arrived in Scotland in the train of the brilliant and youthful Archbishop of St. Andrews, along with whom and eighty of his class, he was fated three years later, to fall

" In the stern strife and carnage drear
Of Flodden's fatal field."

When Cuthbert Home set out for Flodden he left behind him, in the dungeons of Fast Castle, as prisoners of the King, a number of English Borderers, among them Sir William Heron, the Governor of Ford Castle, and husband of the famous lady, to whose siren charms, Scott in *Marmion* imputes, though falsely, the delays which led to the disaster of Flodden. Heron had been accessory to the murder of Sir Robert Ker of Cessford, Warden of the Middle Marches, though the murder was really committed by Heron's brother and some accomplices. None the less Sir William was seized in place of his brother, and handed over by Henry VIII to James IV, along with several other Englishmen. All of them were imprisoned in Fast Castle, where they died of neglect and starvation.

After Cuthbert Home's death, Alexander, third Lord Home, he who played so equivocal a part at Flodden, appears to have been in control of the Castle, probably either as guardian of Cuthbert Home's family, or as Warden of the East and Middle Marches. Although one of the nobles who invited the Duke of Albany to return from France and become Regent, he soon quarrelled with him, and the dispute ended in Home's losing the Castle to Albany (1515). He was beheaded in the following year. But the Homes soon recaptured Fast Castle, and immediately demolished it, to prevent it again falling into Albany's hands. In 1521, however, it was rebuilt by George, the fourth Lord Home, who fortified the Castle against the Regent.

Cuthbert Home left two daughters who were co-heiresses to his property —Elizabeth the elder, who in 1532, after the death of his lady mother, who had been widowed at Flodden field, married Sir Robert Logan, the fifth baron

1 R. Holinshed, *Chronicles* 1808, vol. v, p. 470.

of that name of Restalrig, now one of the new Edinburgh housing areas. The other daughter, Alison, married Sir Robert Ogilvy of Dunlugas in Banffshire. By Sir Robert Logan's marriage with Elizabeth Home the extensive barony of Fast Castle and other domains of the Homes became possessions of the Restalrig family, (who were already Berwickshire landowners). They were held by them for three generations—from 1532 to 1606.

The Logans of Restalrig were an ancient and honourable family, but, as Andrew Lang remarks in his *James VI and the Gowrie Mystery*, their glory was in their ancestors, Sir Robert and Sir Walter Logan, who fell where the Good Lord James Douglas died charging the Saracens on a field of Spain, and following the heart of Bruce. So Barbour sings, and to be named by Barbour for a deed and a death so chivalrous is honour enough. Whether it was owing to the mingling of the wild blood of the Homes with that of the Logans or not, certain it is that from this time some evil genius seemed to influence the family fortunes, and the malign fate that appeared to pursue Edgar Ravenswood, Scott's imaginary owner of " Wolf's Crag," is only an exaggerated picture of the evil fortune that followed the Logans after the marriage with the heiress of Fast Castle.

Lady Elizabeth Home died in 1540, and her husband, Sir Robert Logan, in 1543. They were succeeded in their lands of Fast Castle by their eldest son, another Sir Robert, the sixth Baron of Restalrig who, John Knox tells us, was a man neither prudent nor fortunate,[1] and we know from other sources that this estimate of his character was even more kindly worded than it might have been. In 1547 he was appointed to have " the care and keeping of the baile (or beacon) on Dowlaw aboon Fast Castell,"[2] Dowlaw being one of the six beacons between Berwick and Edinburgh that were to be kept in readiness and fired in the event of an English invasion.

After Hertford's defeat of the Scots at Pinkie, Fast Castle again fell into English hands. Holinshed relates that about this time (December 1547) " they (the English) got also a strong fortresse called Fast Castell standing neere to the sea side, and placed a garrison within it." But Hertford seems to have suggested that " Faws castell " should be destroyed, as it was impossible there to keep the garrison at war strength owing to the insanitary state of the fortress. It was during this occupation by the English that the earliest plan or "platte of ffawscastle" was made, the work being directed by Henry, second Earl of Rutland, Lord Warden of the East and Middle

1 *Knox's Works*, ed. by D. Laing, vol. 1, pp. 426-7.
2 *Register of Privy Council of Scotland*, vol. 1, p. 73.

Marches. This plan, which is preserved at Belvoir Castle, is perhaps the earliest of any castle or mansion in Scotland, and now that the buildings of Fast Castle are reduced to fragments, is of the utmost importance as a clue to the layout in the days of its strength.

In 1550, under the leadership of Lord Home and his henchman, John Robertson, the Scots recovered Fast Castle by the simple but clever stratagem of blocking the gateway with the food supplies, which, as Holinshed, tells us, had been commandeered from the farmers of the district. The next notable incident in the history of the Castle is connected with Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, who visited Scotland on behalf of Queen Elizabeth after the surrender of Mary Queen of Scots at Carberry in 1567. The meeting between the English ambassador and a deputation from the Confederate Lords took place in Fast Castle on 11th July, when there were present Queen Mary's secretary, (Maitland of Lethington), Sir James Melville, and Lord Home. Lethington had written to Throckmorton on 8th July to the effect that he would meet him near Coldingham and lead him to Fast Castle " wheare although you can have no good cheare, yet I dare well assure you you shall be welcome." Three days later, Throckmorton wrote to Cecil from Berwick stating that he had accepted the hospitality of Fast Castle "wher I was intretyd very well accordinge to the state of the place, which is fitter to lodge prisoners than folks at lybertye, as yt is very little so yt is very stronge."

Sir Robert Logan, sixth baron of Restalrig, was married in his ninth year to Margaret, daughter of George, sixth Lord Seton, and half-sister of Mary Seton, perhaps the best known of the " four Marys " of Mary Queen of Scots. Margaret Seton and her husband separated in 1550 for some reason not known, unless it be surmised from the fact, as the *History of the House of Seton* tells us, that "she died without bairnies." Sir Robert married again in 1553, his second wife being Agnes, a daughter of the fourth Lord Gray. To them, two years later, was born Robert, who became the seventh and last of the Logan barons of Restalrig. He is best known through his suspected share in the Gowrie Conspiracy, though nothing has ever been proved connecting him with it.

In 1567 and for the next four years Lord Home was occupying Fast Castle as his own. The explanation is that he had married Logan's widow, Dame Agnes Gray, and was therefore step-father and guardian to young Logan (of Gowrie Conspiracy notoriety) through his long minority of fifteen years. Lord Home was the Warden of the Eastern Marches, and a brave and distinguished soldier. He was however anathema to Queen Elizabeth for

having given asylum to the Earl and Countess of Northumberland and "divers others of the principal rebels" who had sought refuge in Scotland after the rising of the northern English lords in 1568-69. Their object was to free Queen Mary and restore the Catholic faith, and Queen Elizabeth rightly suspected them of being sheltered by Lord Home until they could escape from Fast Castle by sea. Lord Home, so unlike those in authority at this time, had declared that he would rather lose his head than betray those seeking the shelter of his roof.

Young Logan belonged to the Catholic party of Queen Mary, and with the Protestants of that time it was a principle that popery and treason went together. Therefore we look with suspicion on Calderwood's characterisation of Logan as "ane godles, drunkin and deboshit man" which has been copied and recopied to the present day. The story of the Gowrie Conspiracy, when James VI was to be kidnapped at Perth and conducted by sea to Fast Castle,[1] there to await his disposal by Elizabeth or the conspirators, rests mainly on the authority of the King himself. His credit had to be supported no matter who was maligned, and Logan's asserted share in the plot, only discovered three years after his death in 1606, proved the ruin of his family. Logan died a wealthy man, having disposed of all his estates in his lifetime—Restalrig to Lord Balmerino in the year 1605[2] and the lands of Fast Castle to the Earl of Dunbar in 1606.[3] His estate at the time of his death, according to his will still preserved in the Register House, was £29,042 6s 8d Scots. But his children received no share of this fortune for, by a decree of Parliament, they were forfeited and outlawed, while the money went to the King.[4] Seven years later, however, the sentence of outlawry against the family was reversed, but the property was never restored.

A curious story has come down to us of Logan's later years in Fast Castle. In 1594 he would seem to have been bitten with the hidden-treasure mania, so common yet so secretly pursued, in older days, as Scott's *Antiquary* shows us. Logan believed that there was hidden treasure in Fast Castle, an idea perhaps suggested to him by the 2000 merks in bags, which, according to a local tradition, were being carried to Henry V in 1419, when Prior Drax of Coldingham and Alexander Home of Wedderburn pounced upon the bearers, relieved them of their burden, and safely lodged it in Fast Castle. Logan called in John Napier of Merchiston, the celebrated mathematician and

1 J. H. Burton, *History of Scotland*, 1905, vol. v, p. 348.
2 Douglas's *Peerage*, p. 65.
3 *Historical MSS. Commission*, Stirling of Renton, p. 648.
4 R. Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials*, vol. II, p. 291.

astrologer, to search by divination for a hoard of treasure, which, he asserted, was buried beneath the Castle. A contract was drawn up between them, which is now in the possession of Professor Glaisher of Trinity College, Cambridge. Napier, with his familiar, a jet black cock, and other weird mediums used by astrologers, was more than suspected of dealing in the black arts. One of the clauses in the contract provided for its being destroyed when its conditions were fulfilled, but, as it is still in existence, this raises a doubt as to whether the search ever took place.[1]

With the death of the last of the Logan barons of Restalrig the story of Fast Castle practically comes to an end. Though it did not fall into ruins for another hundred years, what occurred during that time is of little importance. It is uncertain when it was last used as a residence. There is no record later than Logan's time. In *Blaeu's Atlas* of 1645 there is a map on which the Castle is represented by a conventional four-sided building. This is interesting as an indication that it was in occupation at that time. In 1788 Fast Castle is noted on a map of " The Great North Road " as being then in ruins.

The Earl of Dunbar, to whom Logan sold Fast Castle, died in 1611, and in 1615 his heirs disposed of it to James Arnot, a son of Sir John Arnot, Provost of Edinburgh. From Arnot the Castle passed to the Earl of Home, and in 1682 to Sir John Hall of Dunglass in whose family it remained till 1919, when it was acquired by Mr Frank Usher along with the Dunglass property.

What still remains of Fast Castle may best be seen from the narrow causeway which now fills up the chasm once spanned by the drawbridge—the only means of reaching it from the mainland. The platform on which the buildings stood rises from 100 feet above sea-level at its seaward end to 153 feet at its highest point, and measures 266 feet by 88 feet. This platform was cut off from the mainland by a chasm some 20 feet wide which, as already stated, was spanned by a drawbridge. The foundations of practically all the buildings shown on the Belvoir Castle plan can still be traced—" the Halle " with a " cowrtte " to the west and a " brewe-howse " to the north, a larger " cowrtte " farther north at a much lower level, with a range of buildings on its west side, and a crane and bucket swinging 100 feet above the little cove leading to the large cave beneath the Castle. Extending some 80 yards into the rock, the cave, according to tradition, had a secret passage which led by means of steps cut in the heart of the rock to the Castle above.

1 M. Napier, *Memoirs of John Napier*, p. 221.

Unluckily this tradition was disproved by Mr William Douglas in 1920.[1] That the garrison maintained communication with the sea is shown by the crane on the summit of the cliff.

Portions of the curtain wall, that had been strengthened at intervals by circular bastions, may still be seen here and there far down the cliff face. A fragment of this wall, about twelve feet long, with stair-case for access to the parapet walk, stands at the north end, while a portion of the round tower that once defended the gateway is still to the fore. The shot-hole window that commanded the approach is still entire. Within the curtain wall part of the north-east corner of " the Halle " remains as high as the corbelling, with two corbels *in-situ*. A recess in the wall of the first floor is still surmounted by a portion of a rudely-cut old Gothic arch head, which was complete when Mr Macgibbon sketched it in 1880, while immediately adjacent are the remains of a shallow stone basin and drain. A large mass of masonry, which was thrown to the ground from the parapet of the Castle during a thunderstorm in 1871, may also be seen, likewise two red sandstone steps at the west side of "the Halle." When excavating, in 1925, six steps of red sandstone on the north-west side of " the brewe-howse," and a number of stone slates, 18 inches by 12 inches, were found.

There is no trace of a spring or well within the Castle, nor is one indicated on the 1549 plan; but on the mainland, near the entrance to the Castle, a circular well, some 5½ feet in diameter, exists. It is lined with the red sandstone used for the Castle, but the coping is of dressed gray sandstone. This well would have been a dangerous one from which to obtain water in time of siege, so that the problem of the Castle's water-supply is one not easily solved. Other castles, such as those of Roxburgh, Dunnottar, and Broughty, had no well within the fort, while at Edinburgh the well sometimes went dry, as in the siege of 1573. But the water-supply in a mediaeval castle was much less important that it seems to us to-day. Their need in this respect was not ours. In Fast Castle, as everywhere else in those times, people did not drink water, but wine and ale. As for personal cleanliness, it was not, except among the higher classes, the daily duty it is with us. It is hardly matter for wonder, in view of what has been said, that the " brewe-howse " has an important place in the 1549 plan of Fast Castle. The English commander of Broughty Castle, in a request for supplies in 1548, wrote:—" If I have good store of drynke " (meaning thereby not water, be it noted) " I shall do

1 The writer desires to acknowledge his indebtedness, so far as the Castle buildings are concerned, to the article on Fast Castle contributed by the late William Douglas to the *Proceedings* of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. LV., pp. 56-83.

ryght well." Besides, the passive strength of such strongholds as Fast Castle enabled them to be held by small garrisons. Except in time of invasion, of which they had always timely warning, the garrison in Fast Castle seldom exceeded a dozen men.

Few Scottish strongholds have had a more stirring and romantic history than Fast Castle. Its wild and isolated situation, with the waters of the North Sea ever surging round it, naturally inspires awe, and suggests tales of tragedy and sorrow. This aspect of its situation so impressed Sir Walter Scott, as he passed it by sea, that he wove around it the most tragic of his stories. It is the Wolf's Crag, on which stands the bare and solitary tower of Edgar Ravenswood, the melancholy hero of the *Bride of Lammermoor*. The fictitious interest with which Scott has invested Fast Castle has completely overshadowed its historic interest. And as Anne Hepple finely remarks, "We must not forget that it was after its day was seemingly over that the 'Wizard of the North,' with a wave of his wand, raised up its towers and battlements and gave it a new and enchanting history which stretches into the far unfathomed future, and in which its battlements will never fall, nor its walls decay."

JOHN RUSSELL.

# JOHN KNOX AND EAST LOTHIAN

THE above title admittedly is vague, but it is difficult to select one which will cover the varied material comprehended in this article, the aim of which is to shed fresh light wherever possible upon those portions of the external career of Knox that are bound up with East Lothian, and regarding some of which there has been hitherto a certain amount of dubiety. The Reformer's ancestry; the vexed question as to where he was born; his relations with George Wishart during the latter's sojourn in the county; his connection with the East Lothian lairds and others who were favourable to the Reformation; his detailed and vivid account of incidents in the siege of Haddington in 1548-9; and the pension which he received from Haddington Church, are among the topics dealt with.

## I

The most noteworthy family in Scotland bearing the name of Knox was that of Ranfurly in Renfrewshire, and as far back as the seventeenth century statements were made that the Reformer had his descent from that family. So far as can be ascertained, the earliest printed statement to this effect is that of the Church historian, David Buchanan, who writes " His father was a brother's son of the House of Ranferlie, which is an ancient Family of Gentlemen in the West." [1] Buchanan quotes no authority and supplies no evidence: he merely makes the statement. Dr Thomas M'Crie, the well known nineteenth-century biographer of Knox, accepted Buchanan's assertion, but added " At what particular period his (Knox's) paternal ancestors removed from their original seat and settled in Lothian I have not been able exactly to ascertain." [2]

Dr Charles Rogers, the genealogist of Knox's descendants, is not more

1 *Life of John Knox* prefixed to *Historie of the Reformation of the Church of Scotland*, London 1644, by D.B. (David Buchanan).
2 *Life of John Knox*, by Thomas M'Crie, D.D., 2nd ed., 2 vols., 1813.

helpful. He writes, " Of that branch of the Knox family which settled in Haddingtonshire we have no particulars prior to the time of the Reformer." [1] Rogers also refers to the first person as being a certain " William Knox in Moreham," who was infeft in 1598 in lands in Nungate. But, as will be shown later, there is evidence of the name of Knox in the county long before that date. Then there is William Crawford, who added fresh material to the genealogy of the Knox descendants. He makes this statement:— " Sometime before the Reformation, a brother of the family (of Knox of Ranfurlie) being laird of Gifford, near Haddington, had two sons—William, merchant in Preston; and John, the Reformer "; but is careful to add in a footnote, " In recent times the relationship of the Knoxes to the Ranfurlie family has been disputed by high authorities." [2] One of these authorities is Dr P. Hume Brown (sometime Historiographer Royal for Scotland and a native of East Lothian), who, in reviewing the evidence in connection with Knox's parentage, writes: " The most distinguished family bearing the name of Knox was that of Ranfurly in Renfrewshire, and certain of his biographers have claimed for John Knox a lineal connection with that family. For such a claim no evidence has been produced that deserves serious consideration." [3]

It is difficult to understand this assertion in regard to Knox's parentage, for it is absolutely unsupported by evidence. It is based on the assumption that all the Knoxes of Scotland had their origin in one stock, *i.e.*, the family of Ranfurly; that at some time previous to the Reformation a member of that family (Buchanan says " a brother's son ") settled in East Lothian; and that William Knox, " laird of Gifford," as Crawford calls him, was the father of the Reformer.

No one can positively assert how the Knoxes found in various parts of Scotland derived their name, any more than one can affirm that the Knoxes of Renfrewshire and East Lothian had not a common origin; but in view of the absence of any reasonable evidence to establish a connection near enough to Knox's time to form a family relationship, such a claim can hardly be maintained. The name of Knox is by no means uncommon in Scotland. Whether derived from the Gaelic " cnoc," meaning a knoll or rounded hill, or from some other source, the place name of " Knocke " is found in various parts of Scotland, sometimes alone but in many cases

1 *Genealogical Memoirs of John Knox and the Family of Knox* by Charles Rogers, LL.D., Grampian Club, 1879, p. 58.

2 *Knox Genealogy: Descendants of William Knox and John Knox, the Reformer*, by a Lineal Descendant. Edinburgh, 1896.

3 *John Knox, A Biography*, by Dr P. Hume Brown, 2 vols., 1895. Vol. I, pp. 4-5.

as a prefix. Dr John Milne, in his study of place names of East Lothian, mentions "Knock," "Knockhill," and "Knockenhair," all in the county.[1] Where several hills were together, the transition to "Knockes" would be quite simple, and by another transition, "William of Knockes" would easily become "William Knockes or Knox."

The name may have been imported into East Lothian, but it is just as likely that the Knoxes of the county acquired their name locally. At all events, the name of Knox can be traced back to 1441, for in a charter, dated Haddington, 6th July of that year, granted by John of Lachis to Edmund of Haya of Lynplum, three of the witnesses are William of Morhame, John of Nesbyt and *William of Knox*.[2] The first two were residents in the county, Morham being quite near to Lynplum, while Nesbyt is in the parish of Pencaitland; and there seems no reason to doubt that although "Knox" does not appear as a place name on the modern map of the county, William of Knox was, like the other two witnesses, a near neighbour. In considering this matter, it has to be kept in view that in rural districts many old place names have passed out of recollection owing to the amalgamation of small holdings to form larger ones. A study of the history of the county brings out the fact that there were Knoxes in various parts. There was a family (or families) of Knox in Morham in the seventeenth century, and other parishes contained inhabitants bearing the same name. In Stenton in 1659 we hear of a certain Bessie Knox being convicted of witchcraft.[3] Again in the eighteenth century there were Knoxes at Mayshiel in Whittingehame parish, and in the nineteenth at Sunnyside in Prestonkirk, likewise in Nungate, Giffordgate and Haddington.

But apart from the above considerations, the evidence establishes the important fact that Knox, so far from belonging to any distinguished family, was of lowly descent. Knox is his own witness on this point, for he describes himself as "a man of base estate and condition."[4] And Knox's testimony is confirmed by two contemporaries who knew him well—Archibald Hamilton, an adherent of the old religion and a severe critic of Knox, and John Davidson, a follower of the Reformed faith. Hamilton, we are told by Smeton,[5] was brought up a Protestant and educated at St. Andrews University, where for five years he disputed against the authority of the Pope. Later, however, he reverted to Catholicism, and engaged in

1 *Gaelic Place Names of East Lothian*, by John Milne, LL.D., Edin. n.d., p. 25.
2 *Calendar of Writs preserved at Yester House*, 1166-1625. Ed. by John Macleod, Scottish Record Society, 1928, p. 51.
3 *Spottiswoode Miscellany*, 1 March 1659.
4 *John Knox*, by D. Macmillan, 2nd ed., 1905, p. 14.
5 *Responses ad Hamiltonii Dialogum*, by Thomas Smeton. Edin. 1579.

public discussion with Knox. Hamilton had, therefore, opportunities of knowing the history of his opponent. In his "*Dialogus,*" [1] a work criticising the Scottish Reformers, Hamilton refers to Knox as "*obscuris natus parentibus.*" His trustworthiness, however, is suspect when he declares that Knox was illiterate.

John Davidson, the notable minister of Prestonpans, and one of the Reformers, also speaks of Knox's humble origin, but in very different terms. In one of his poems containing a cordial appreciation of Knox, occur these lines: —

> "First he descendit bot of linage small,
> As commounly God usis for to call
> The sempil sort his summoundis til express." [2]

Here Davidson clearly indicates that God had called Knox out of humble life to a great work.

Our final witness of Knox's undistinguished parentage is George Mackenzie, who contradicts the statement of the Reformer's descent from the Ranfurly family: "His father was not a brother's son of the house of Ranfurlie, as Mr David Buchanan has told us in the life of Mr Knox, but the son of a poor Country Man, as we are informed by those who knew him very well. His parents though in a mean condition, put their son to the Grammar School of Haddington." [3]

The only relative in East Lothian whom Knox mentions is his brother William, who for some time was a merchant at Preston, but afterwards for many years minister of Cockpen. In September 1552 the English Council, in consideration of William Knox's connection with the Reformer, granted him liberty to trade to any port of England in a vessel of one hundred tons burden. When Knox was in England, and his brother as well, he writes to a friend: —"My brother, Williame Knox, is presentlie with me. What ye wald haif frome Scotland, let me knaw this monunday at nicht; for hie must depart (for Scotland) on Tyisday."[4] In August 1559 Alexander Whitelaw, who acted as intermediary between the Lords of the Congregation and Queen Elizabeth's ministers, called on William Knox at Preston. While walking together they encountered Lord Seton, who, mistaking Whitelaw for the Reformer, pursued him as an enemy. Knox referring to the incident writes

1 *De Confusione Calvinianae Sectae apud Scotos*, by Archibald Hamilton, Paris, 1577, p. 64.
2 *Ane Brief Commendation of Uprichtnes*, 1573, in *Poetical Remains of Mr John Davidson*, Ed. by Laing & Maidment, 1829.
3 *Lives and Characters of the Most Eminent Writers of the Scots Nation*, by George Mackenzie, 3 vols., folio, 1708, 1711 and 1722.
4 M'Crie's *Life of Knox*, Vol. I, p. 91n.

that Seton " ceassit not to persew him (Whitelaw) till he came to the toun of Ormestoun.[1]

## II

Not only has Knox's parentage been much disputed, but also the place of his birth. As it is beyond question that he was a native of East Lothian, the precise spot in the county where he first saw the light is perhaps not of supreme importance. But it is of some local interest, and it is proposed to review the evidence for the various claims.

It should be mentioned at the outset that 1505 was long accepted as the year of Knox's birth, but Dr Hay Fleming has shown that this was an error,[2] and that the period has been narrowed down to the years 1513-15.

We will examine first Knox's own statement, and then those of contemporaries who knew him.

After Knox returned to Geneva in 1557 he was enrolled a burgess of that city, and as the information in regard to his parentage and place of birth would have to be supplied by himself, the entry in the register forms an important piece of evidence. It is as follows:—" Jehan filz de Guillaume Cnoxe, natif de Hadington en Escosse." Five years after Knox's death Archibald Hamilton published his *Dialogus,* before referred to, which states that Knox was born in the *town* of Haddington in Lothian, or, to reproduce his actual words, " in Hadintona oppido in Laudonia." In 1579, James Laing, Professor of Theology in the University of Paris, and, like Hamilton, an opponent of Knox, wrote lives of Beza and other Reformers,[3] in which he states that Knox was born " near Haddington, which is a town in Lothian," his Latinity being " Innatus prope hadintonam, quae est urbs in Laudonia."

It has been suggested that when Knox entered himself in the Genevan register as a native of Haddington he may have meant not the town but the constabulary. As both Hamilton and Laing distinctly mention the town, the one using the word " oppidum " and the other " urbs," there is no need to suppose that Knox meant anywhere else than the town.

1 Knox's *History of the Reformation,* ed. by D. Laing, Vol. I, p. 393.
2 *The Date of Knox's Birth,* by Dr Hay Fleming. *Bookman,* 1905. Vol. XXVIII, pp. 193-6.
3 *De Vita et Moribus Theodori Bezæ omnium Haereticorum nostri temporis facile principis, & aliorum haereticorum brevis recitatio,* by James Laing, Paris 1585. Account of Knox, pp. 113-6. The copy of this work in the National Library of Scotland formed at one time part of the library of the Rev. John Gray of Aberlady. On the title-page the following appears in Gray's own handwriting:—" Ex libris Jo. Gray, Past Aberledien, Summa Religionis Smitari Quem Colis." Gray, it may be noted, was in the habit of writing his impressions of a book or its author on the margin of the work he was reading. In this instance, at the foot of the title page, there is this pungent comment:—" This is a Calumnious Ill natur'd Author—Too near a Kin to the Grand Lyar and Accuser of Brethren."

# JOHN KNOX AND EAST LOTHIAN

## III

Had the question of Knox's birthplace rested solely on his own statement and those of Hamilton and Laing, probably no doubt would have arisen, but a statement by Beza, the Genevan Reformer, has given rise to a considerable difference of opinion. Beza published in 1580 his portraits and sketches of leading figures of the Reformation, and the article on Knox is headed " Joannes Cnoxus, Scotus, Giffordiensis." [1] The single word " Giffordiensis " is decidedly vague, for it does not indicate whether the place referred to is a district, a town or a village. Indeed it may be safely assumed that Beza himself had no clear notion. Yet the statement by a Frenchman who never visited Scotland has received greater credence from some historians than the statements of Knox, Hamilton and Laing.

We have David Buchanan stating that " John Knox was borne in Gifford, neer Hadington, in Lothian," [2] and Archbishop Spottiswoode, that his birth took place " in Gifford within Lothian." [3] Both statements are substantially the same, the only difference being that Spottiswoode makes no reference to Haddington. As neither Buchanan nor Spottiswoode had intimate knowledge of the county, and do not define what they mean by " Gifford "—whether district, town or village—it seems probable that they simply copied from Beza. "Giffordiensis" in the heading to Beza's account of Knox has undoubtedly caused a good deal of confusion. The question as to what was understood locally by " Gifford " when Knox was born is therefore of paramount importance.

Gifford was a part of East Lothian which received its name from the family who originally acquired it. The first of that family is said to have received a grant of the lands from David I. While their extent cannot be definitely stated, they included a tract on the east side of the river Tyne, extending southward from the ford at Haddington to Sandyford burn, which flowed at the foot of the rise leading up to Slateford and Myreside, where they marched with the lands of Yester.[4] Gifford comprised the lands and

1 *Icones, seu Imagines Illustrium Virorum*, by Theodore Beza, Geneva, 1580.
2 David Buchanan's *Life of Knox* prefixed to *History of the Reformation* (unpaged).
3 *History of the Church of Scotland*, by John Spotswood, 1655, p. 264.
4 Sir Hugh de Gifford had grants from Malcolm IV and William the Lion of the lands of Upper and Nether Yester beyond the Sandyford burn. They formed separate manors from Gifford. Owing to the failure of heirs-male about the beginning of the fifteenth century, the family name of Gifford became extinct, and, by the marriage of a daughter to Sir William Hay of Locherworth, the name of Hay henceforth became associated with the Gifford and Yester estates. In 1646 John Hay, the eighth Lord Yester, was created Earl of Tweeddale, and in 1694 John Hay, the second Earl, was given a marquisate. The head of the family is therefore now known as the Marquess of Tweeddale. See article by John Russell in the *Transactions* of the Society, Vol. I, pp. 185-98.

village of Giffordgate, and at one time the whole of Lethington (Lennoxlove).

It has been held that Beza's reference to " Giffordiensis " indicates that the Reformer was born in the *village* of Gifford. This view was supported by two ministers of Yester, the parish in which the present village is situated. John Thomson, who became minister in 1834, wrote, in the following year, the account of the parish for the *New Statistical Account*. Therein he states that " John Knox, the Father of the Scottish Reformation, was born in the village of Gifford in the year 1505." [1] Samuel Kerr, who succeeded Thomson in 1843, supported his predecessor in this contention, and in a pamphlet,[2] which he wrote in 1860, tried to disprove the arguments brought forward for Giffordgate by John Richardson, solicitor, Haddington, in a paper contributed by him in 1858 to the *Proceedings* of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. While asserting that there had been a " constant tradition " that the village of Gifford was Knox's birthplace, Kerr adds: " No one here, it is true, professes to point out the very house or site of the house in which Knox was born." He admits that there is no building in the village as old as the early sixteenth century, but assumes that there was a previous village on the site of the present one.

Supposing the claim of Thomson and Kerr to be based on good evidence, it is difficult to understand how James Innes, a previous minister, in his account of the parish for the *First Statistical Account* [3] makes no mention of Knox. Under the heading of " Eminent Men " Innes mentions only " Dr John Witherspoon, President of the College of New Jersey, and Dr Charles Nisbet, President of the College of Carlisle in America." The inference is that Innes did not claim Knox for Gifford because he knew he was not born there. It is noteworthy that James Fleming, who became minister of Yester in 1625, had as his first wife, Martha, the eldest daughter of Knox. Now, if the Reformer had been born in Gifford, this connection would have kept the fact so clearly before all Fleming's successors, that Innes could not have failed to mention Knox amongst the eminent men of the parish. Moreover, if that were not sufficient, the fact that the wife of James Witherspoon, one of Innes's predecessors and the father of Dr John Witherspoon of New Jersey, claimed descent from Knox through his son-in-law John Welch, would have further perpetuated Knox's connection with the parish, had he been born there.

Strong proof that there was no village of Gifford in the time of Knox

1 *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, Vol. II, Haddingtonshire, pp. 153-72.
2 *Where Was John Knox Born?*, by Samuel Kerr, 1860.
3 *Statistical Account of Scotland*, Ed. by Sir John Sinclair, 1791, Vol. I, pp. 342-7.

nor for long after, is supplied by the Yester writs from 1166 preserved in the Register House. In the index of places appended to that part of the Calendar of these writs already printed, *i.e.*, up to 1625, the name of "Bothans," the old village, occurs no fewer than two hundred and two times, whereas that of "Gifford" does not appear once. From information received in regard to the portion of the Calendar compiled but not yet printed, the fact emerges that the first mention of the "town and lands of Gifford" is in 1687. Gifford does not appear in the maps of either Mercator [1] or Pont,[2] nor can it be found in the *Abstract of Old Retours in Chancery* [3] or in Monipennie's *True Description and Division of the Realm of Scotland.*[4] In Pont's map, Bothans is marked as "Bothams"; in the *Abstract of Retours* as "Bothans"; and in Monipennie's *Description* as "Bothens."

As the village of Bothans has long ago disappeared and the village of Gifford, built on a different site, has taken its place, it is desirable to enquire how this came about. Some time before the middle of the seventeenth century, the Tweeddale family removed from their ancient castle, well known as the Goblin Ha', and took up residence in the house which had been the manse of the Provost of the Collegiate Church of Bothans. Andrew Hay of Craignethan in his *Diary* [5] of 1659, speaks of visiting Lord Tweeddale at Bothans. It is known from a note made by Scott to *Marmion,*[6] that the castle was occupied in 1737 by Lord Tweeddale's falconer, and that afterwards the stair gave way, and the place had to be abandoned. The Tweeddales occupied the manse till the present mansion was built in 1745.

Until well on in the seventeenth century, manorial policies in Scotland were not walled. It is thought that the first estate in the county to be enclosed was Lethington (Lennoxlove).[7] When it happened that the village and church lay well within the area to be enclosed, it sometimes became necessary to build a new village outside. This was the case at Yester.[8]

1 Mercator's *Atlas*, Dusseldorf, 1595.
2 *A new Description of the Shyres of Lothian and Linlithquo* by T. Pont.
3 *Inquisitionum Ad Capellam Domini Regis Retornatarum quae in Publicis Archivis Scotiae Adhuc Servantur Abbreviatio*, 1816. Vol. III.
4 *The Abridgement, or Summarie of the Scots Chronicles*, by John Monipennie. Printed by John Budge, 1612.
5 *Diary of Andrew Hay of Craignethan*, 1659-1660. Scottish History Society, Vol. XXXIX.
6 *Poetical Works of Sir Walter Scott*, Oxford Press, 1894. Note XL, p. 188.
7 The late Major W. A. Baird, in an article which appeared in the Society's *Transactions*, Vol. II, pp. 9-27, writes "The Duke of York, afterwards James II, was about to visit Scotland and had been heard by Lauderdale (who then owned the castle) to exclaim that he understood there was not such a thing as an enclosed park in the whole of Scotland. Lauderdale had thereupon given orders for a park to be enclosed at Lethington, to be completed in two years' time." Major Baird adds:—"What truth there is in this story I am unable to say." It is a fact, however, that the wall was begun in 1674 and completed in 1676. When in 1679 the Duke of York was Lauderdale's guest at Lethington, he found the policies enclosed.
8 Another instance is Tyninghame.

The wall was probably built between 1670 and 1690, but the church of the new village was not erected till about 1710 when evidently the villagers discontinued attendance at the old church of Bothans. The village of Gifford however was in existence in 1681, for in that year an Act of the Scots Parliament authorised two yearly fairs and a weekly market at the " town of Giffart belonging to John, Earl of Tweeddale." There being no record of Gifford in the Yester Writs up to 1687, the inference is that the village came gradually into existence, probably after the middle of the seventeenth century.[1]

The village of Gifford, then, it seems clear from the foregoing evidence, did not exist at Knox's birth nor for more than a hundred years after that. It therefore follows that Beza's " Giffordiensis " can have no reference to the village.

## IV

Up till the early eighties of last century the controversy in regard to Knox's birthplace was simply between the advocates for the village of Gifford and those for Giffordgate. Eventually, however, David Louden, schoolmaster at Morham, wrote a series of letters in the Press vigorously championing that village, several of which he afterwards reprinted in his *History of Morham*.[2] His argument may be briefly summarised.

In the churchyard of Morham are nine tombstones bearing the name Knox, all the persons represented having resided in Morham in the seventeenth century. The earliest, dated 1660, records that " Heir layeth Patrick, son to William Knox yonger." Louden also founded his case on various entries in the parish records referring to persons of the same name, but the earliest reached no further back than 1712, and concerned the marriages of the Knoxes of Mainshill. These discoveries, when placed alongside the account which Knox gives of an interview with James, fourth Earl of Bothwell in March 1562, led Louden to believe that when Knox was born his parents resided at Mainshill. Knox reports himself as having said to Bothwell: —

" My Lord, wold to God that in me war counsall or judgement that mycht comforte and releave you. For albeit that to this hour it hath nott chaunsed me to speik with your Lordship face to face, yit have I borne a good mynd to your house; and have bene sorry at my heart of the trubles that I have heard you to be involved

1 On part of the site of the present village, there was at one time a mansion called Giffordhall, which belonged to the Hays of Yester. There is no evidence, however, that Giffordhall dated as far back as the early sixteenth century.

2 *Morham, the Birthplace of John Knox*, in *History of Morham*, by D. Louden, 1889, pp.32-51.

in. For, my Lord, my grandfather, goodsher [1] and father have served your Lordshipis predecessoris, and some of thame have died under their standartis; and this is a part of the obligatioun of our Scotische kyndnes: but this is not the cheaf." [2]

Louden points out that at Knox's birth a portion of the parish, including Mainshill, belonged to the Bothwells. James, fourth Earl of Bothwell, sometimes resided at Morham. Indeed Knox himself relates that when in 1559 Bothwell attacked Cockburn of Ormiston and carried off the money which had been received from Sir Ralph Sadler for the Lords of the Congregation, search was made for Bothwell at Morham.[3] According to Louden, the only way in which Knox's forebears could have served Bothwell's predecessors was as tenants of his farm of Mainshill. The tombstones of the Knoxes in Morham churchyard, together with the Kirk Session records, clearly show, he states, that the Knoxes continued to farm Mainshill for well-nigh two centuries after his birth. Louden also affirms that the traditions of Morham point to the tombstones as commemorating relatives of Knox.

It was also Louden's belief that the maternal as well as the paternal side of Knox's ancestry belonged to Morham. The name of the Reformer's mother was Sinclair, and in " times of trubill " Knox called himself " John Sinclair." Thomas Thomson, the celebrated Record scholar, attempted to connect her with Marion Sinclair, wife of George Ker of Samuelston.[4] To fully understand Thomson's argument the paper itself must be perused, but, briefly, the points are as follows:—George Ker of Samuelston and his wife Marion Sinclair had a daughter named Nicolas, who was her father's apparent heiress. In view of a marriage arranged between her and Alexander, Lord Home, her parents, in a contract dated 31st August 1497, bound themselves to tailzie the lands to Lord Home and his spouse, with the reservation that should they (George Ker and his wife) have heirs male, Lord Home should have the superiority and the heirs male the heritages. A further contract was signed on 29th October 1497, " William Sinclair of Northrig " being one of the witnesses. In 1531 there was a charter in favour of Janet Home, the daughter of Lord Home and Nicolas Ker, and her promised spouse, John Hamilton, natural son to the Earl of Arran, which contains a description of Samuelston, with the tower, manor place, etc., as " set to James Ker in

1 According to the usage of the time, " grandfather " meant " great grandfather," and " goodsher " meant " grandfather."
2 *History of the Reformation*, by John Knox, ed. by David Laing, Vol. II, pp. 323-4.
3 *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 455.
4 *Notices of the Kers of Samuelston*, by Thomas Thomson. *Proceedings* of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 64-8.

feufarm." Thomson's inference is that Kerr " came into possession of this feu-right as heir-male of George Ker and Marion Sinclair under the reserved right contained in the contract of 1497, being born after that date." Certain records[1] show that Knox acted as a notary on several occasions in connection with transactions affecting the Kers of Samuelston, and the internal evidence of these documents convinced Thomson that Knox had resided at Samuelston for some time. He therefore writes:—

" The name of the Reformer's mother was Sinclair, and if the above inference is correct, Marion Sinclair was the mother of James Ker, and as one of the witnesses to the contract of 29th October 1497, in favour of Alexander Lord Home and Nicolas Ker, was named Wm. Sinclair of Northrig—all of these may have been members of the same family. The name is not unusual in the Records of Haddington, but the apparent intimacy between Sir John Knox and James Ker leads me to think that they were connected, and that the former may have taken refuge in this secluded village, with his mother's relatives, for some years previous to his joining the ranks of the Reformers."

Various bits of evidence suggest that Knox was resident at Samuelston either continuously or at certain periods between 1540 and 1543, perhaps also earlier. A local tradition is that he held some office in the chapel of St. Nicholas there, but more probably he was a tutor, for in the notarial intimation given at Samuelston in 1543 to William Brounefield, Knox, who was a witness, is designated " his maister."

Taking all the above facts and theories into consideration, Louden strongly advocated the view that Knox's paternal ancestry belonged to Mainshill and his maternal to Northrig, both places being in the parish of Morham. He suggests, too, that William Knox, who in 1598 acquired land in the Nungate, may have been a nephew of the Reformer—probably his eldest brother's son. In support of the tradition that Knox was born in Morham, Louden mentions a visit which he had in 1883 from an old native —a Mr Neilson from Dunbar—who came to see the place where he (Neilson)

1 The Protocol Book of Alexander Symson, Elder, fol. 134, narrates that at the Market Cross of Haddington, on 13th December 1540, there was a proclamation discharging all men from purchasing any corn, cattle or other goods from " James Kar in Samelston," and that " Sir Jhone Knoix " appeared on his behalf.

The Book of Court of Counsall of Haddington narrates that at the Burgh Court of Haddington, on 21st November 1542, " James Ker and Sir Jo. Knox " acted as arbiters in a dispute.

Notarial Instrument drawn up by John Knox, containing an assignation by Elizabeth Home, Lady Hamilton of Samuelston, of nonentry duties of the Ley-Acres to James Ker in Samuelston, dated 27th March 1543. It is attested by " Joannes Knox sacri altaris minister Sanctiandreæ dioceseos auctoritato appostolica notarius."

Protocol Book of Alexander Symson, Younger, Vol. II, foll. 32 and 33. " Sir Jo. Knox appears at Samuelston, on 28th March 1543 as witness to a notarial intimation to William Brounefield of the intended redemption of the lands of Ramylton Law in Berwickshire."

The Notarial Instrument and all the above extracts are printed in full in a " Supplementary Notice " by David Laing in the *Proceedings* of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Vol. III, Part I, pp. 57-63.

was born. This person expressed astonishment that no one had ever claimed that Knox was born at Morham, and took Louden to a knowe which, he said, his father and grandfather (who were born at Mainshill) regarded as the place where Knox was born.

Louden's case for Morham received careful attention, while his letters to the newspapers caused many to believe that he had solved the problem. Even Dr P. Hume Brown was inclined to favour Morham. None the less there are difficulties.

To begin with, Louden was hard put to reconcile his theory with the reference to " Giffordiensis " by Beza. Like those who support the view that Knox was born at Giffordgate, he contends that there was no village of Gifford in Knox's time, and that the word referred to the *lands* of Gifford. In explanation of Beza's reference to Gifford in place of Morham, he refers to the fact that Sir John de Gifford of Yester married Euphemia, daughter of Sir Thomas Malherb, otherwise Sir Thomas de Morham, and adds, " This Euphemia, on her marriage with Sir John de Gifford, transferred to him the Manor of Morham along with other estates, and henceforth, as was the common practice then (and in some districts still), the name of the estate and the name of the proprietor became synonymous terms, so that it would as frequently be called ' Gifford ' as ' Morham.' " He further says that " the only conceivable way in which Beza could have got his information was from hearing his colleague Knox talking of Sir John de Gifford." But Morham never formed a part of " Gifford." Certain lands in Morham, it is true, were possessed by Sir John de Gifford through his wife, but they formed a separate barony entirely unconnected with that of Gifford. " Gifford " derived its name from its original owner, but Sir John de Gifford never gave his name to Morham. Knox may conceivably have mentioned the name of Sir John de Gifford in the hearing of Beza, but the only proper use of the word " Gifford," as Knox would quite well know, was to indicate the lands which had been known by that name since the twelfth century.

Further, Knox does not state the nature of the services rendered to Bothwell's predecessors, nor where they were given. It is not always easy to follow the transfers of land in the fifteenth century, but in the Register of the Great Seal it is recorded that in 1477 Eufamie Hepburn, and in 1490-91, Patrick, Earl of Bothwell, acquired successively the halves of the lands and baronies of Yester, Duncanlaw and Morham, with the patronage of the churches, the whole being incorporated into a free

1 *Register of the Great Seal*, I, 1360 and 2013.

barony of Morham. If the Hepburn family held lands in Morham parish prior to 1477, the theory that Knox's ancestors served the family at Mainshill might be sustained, but if, as seems probable from the entries above referred to that they only entered into possession in 1477, it is clear that the service could not date back to his great grandfather.

Even although Bothwell's ancestors may have possessed Mainshill and Northrig in the time of Knox's predecessors, it does not necessarily follow that Knox referred to services at these places. The family of Hepburn of Hailes was one of the most influential in East Lothian, possessed extensive estates both in East and Midlothian, and employed a large number of people in various capacities. It is therefore inadvisable to assume, without evidence, that the services referred to were rendered at Mainshill and Northrig. Patrick, first Earl of Bothwell was Sheriff of Lothian and Constable of Haddington, and was powerful not only in the county but in the county town. The military service referred to by Knox may allude to the first Lord Bothwell's presence at Sauchieburn, and to the fact that Adam, the second Earl, took part at Flodden.

That there was a family (or families) named Knox in Morham as far back as 1598 when " William in Morham " acquired land in the Nungate is undoubted, but there is no evidence to show in what way, if any, the Reformer was connected either with this man or the Knoxes who were in Morham in the seventeenth century. While it is likely that the Knoxes settled south of Haddington had their origin in one stock, there seems no reason for supposing that they were all located in Morham.

Nor is there evidence as to whether Knox's mother was a sister of the wife of George Ker of Samuelston. Thomson makes the suggestion only as a probability. It is significant, too, that neither in the statement which Patrick Carfrae, the minister, wrote for the first *Statistical Account* [1] nor in that of James Forsyth for the *New Statistical Account* [2] is there any suggestion that Knox was connected with Morham. " The manor of Morham," writes Forsyth, " included, as far as we can ascertain, nearly the whole of that division of the parish which lies west of the church and which now forms several distinct properties. The eastern division would appear to have once formed part of the extensive possessions of the Earls of Bothwell." He is silent about Knox, which he would scarcely have been had he believed that the Reformer was connected with Morham.

1 *Statistical Account*, Vol. II, 1792, pp. 333-8.

2 *New Statistical Account*, Vol. II, 1837 (Haddingtonshire 261-71).

Dr Hay Fleming, while granting that Louden has displayed "much plodding, dogged, persevering inquiry," that his proofs are "linked together with no little ingenuity" and that all has been done "that zeal and patience" can do, gives it as his deliberate opinion that "the claim of Giffordgate has still to be overthrown, the claim of Morham has still to be established." [1] The verdict of so weighty an authority cannot easily be set aside.

## V

We now come to the claim of Giffordgate. There has never been any doubt that Knox was born in the area extending in one direction from Haddington to the village of Gifford, and from Haddington in another direction to Morham. Nor can it be doubted that he was educated at the grammar school in Haddington. There Knox would meet with the sons of some of the local lairds, as well as others who afterwards held office in the town. His parentage and early history would therefore be well known in the county. Accordingly the tradition (of which there is written record from the seventeenth century) that Knox was born at Giffordgate, across the river from Haddington, should be carefully investigated.

The name "Giffordgate" has been traced back to the middle of the fourteenth century, though it is probably older. References to the "lands of Giffordgate" and to the "village of Giffordgate," make it necessary to define these terms. The village was a "burgh of barony" in 1499-1500 [2] and was situated on the east side of the river Tyne, opposite the parish church, which is on the west side. Except that a number of houses have been closed up or demolished and the old well [3] has disappeared, the village is very much as it was a hundred years ago. Formerly there was a ford across the river, and the road leading from it formed the division between the lands of Gifford on the south and the lands of the Abbey of Haddington on the north.

A few facts in regard to the village and lands of Giffordgate may be gleaned from the Yester House writs. In 1350 Hugh Giffard, Lord of

1 *Critical Reviews Relating Chiefly to Scotland*, by D. Hay Fleming, LL.D., pp. 560-1.
2 *Yester Calendar of Writs*, No. 243, pp. 90-1.
3 A few yards from the traditional site of Knox's birthplace, there existed till about fifty years ago a sunk well, protected by a large stone. It was known as "Cossar's Well," and there can be little doubt that it supplied the villagers in the time of Knox's parents. The name of Cossar (the older form of which was Crosar), was known locally in the sixteenth century. In 1539 we hear of George Crosar claiming to be patron of St. Salvator's altar in the parish church, and in 1544 of Sir John Crosar being chaplain of the Holy Blood altar in the same church.

Yester " for the weal of his soul and those of his predecessors and successors, gave, granted and confirmed to the foundation, site, and construction of the east end of Haddington Bridge, two tenements containing two pieces of land in the north end of the village of Giffardgat, lying on the west side: The said tenements to be held and had of him and his heirs and assignees whatsoever for the benefit and upkeep of the said bridge, with free entry and ish to all wishing to use the said bridge." [1]

It is evident that the Giffords and Hays as superiors granted lands at Giffordgate. Thus we learn from a Retour of Inquest "held at Giffergait" on 4th February 1499-1500, that John Broun of Coalstoun, nearest and lawful heir of Thomas Forsyth his uncle, succeeded to six roods, lying in the Giffergait contiguous to " le rudcroft," held of Lord Hay of Yester. On the same date there was a sasine, proceeding upon a Precept of Clare Constat, granted by Lord Yester to John Broun as heir to Thomas Forsyth his " eme " [2] of six roods " lyand on the east syde of Giffertisgate betwixt the lands of the rude of Haddington on the north and Candles Orchart." Another Retour of Inquest, on 23rd October 1508, finds that John, Lord Hay of Yester died " last vest and seized in the lands of Giffordgate and superiority thereof."

The situation of the villages of Nungate and Giffordgate in relation to Haddington is important. Giffordgate was the village on the Gifford lands, Nungate that on the Abbey lands. The ancient bridge erected close to the ford, and no doubt of a later date, had its east end in the Nungate. While therefore Giffordgate could be reached from Haddington by riding or driving across the ford, there can be little doubt that the inhabitants of the village used the bridge. On the west side of the river was the walled royal burgh with its ports, the east being a short distance from the west end of the bridge. The two villages lay east of the river, and Haddington was the nearest place in which the inhabitants could procure such necessaries as could not be had at their own doors. The inhabitants of Giffordgate attended the parish church and their children went to the burgh school. It will therefore be seen that although these villages were not within the royalty of the burgh, and formed no part of the burgh's possessions, the daily life of the inhabitants was so clearly associated with the town that there was little exaggeration in defining their place of residence as simply " Haddington." As an instance of the close association of Giffordgate and Haddington, it may be noted that in 1350 Thomas Goldharis and Hugh

1 *Yester Calendar of Writs*, No. 26, pp. 21-2.
2 Uncle.

Baker, burgesses of Haddington, were tenants of Hugh, Lord of Yester in Giffordgate.[1] Further, the smaller Giffordgate became in popular conception merged in the larger Nungate, and the two villages were and are to this day treated as one and called "Nungate." In the Valuation Roll for 1937 Giffordgate still appears as a distinct part of Nungate. It embraces the portion south of the ford road, between the river and the road to Gifford. The Roll includes twenty-five occupied houses (seventeen with gardens), besides four uninhabited and six condemned dwellings.

From an early period there has persisted a local tradition that Knox was born on the east side of Giffordgate, and successive generations have pointed out the site of the house. This tradition is not the outcome of ignorance, as many traditions are, but was accepted by a succession of parish ministers of Haddington. The first of the Reformed Church was Patrick Cockburn, son of Cockburn of Langton. His ministry extended from 1562 till his death in 1568. After a temporary ministry by another, the vacancy was filled in 1570 by James Carmichael. It may be confidently assumed that Knox knew both these men personally and that they were aware of his connection with the county. But neither Cockburn nor Carmichael nor the five ministers who succeeded from 1628 to 1766 wrote a memoir of Knox or a history of the town and parish. George Barclay, who came to Haddington as minister of the second charge in 1766, was the first local historian. Patrick Wilkie was then minister of the first charge, a position he held for over fifty years. When Wilkie came to Haddington in 1714 he must have conversed with people who had lived in the town in the reign of Charles I if not in that of James VI. Therefore an antiquary like Barclay, who spent five years as Wilkie's colleague, might be expected to ascertain lore which reached back almost to the days of Knox. In 1785 Barclay contributed his valuable "Account of the Parish of Haddington" to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. It was printed in 1792 in Vol. 1 of the Society's *Archaeologia Scotica* (pp. 40-121). His statement in regard to Knox's birthplace is as follows: "John Knox, the reformer, was a native of this parish. He was born in the Giffordgate, one of the suburbs of Haddington, leading to the village of Gifford, which probably has occasioned the erroneous account of him by Dr McKenzie, D. Buchanan and others, who tell us he was born at Gifford. The house in the Giffordgate, in which Knox was born, still remains; it has but a mean appearance: and, together with two or three acres of land adjoining, belonged for several centuries to a family of the name of Knox, until they were purchased, about ten or

[1] *Yester Calendar of Writs* No. 26, pp. 20-1.

twelve years ago, by the present Earl of Wemyss." Further testimony was given by Barclay in 1793 when he contributed an account of the parish to the first *Statistical Account of Scotland*. There he repeats, more briefly, what he had stated in *Archaeologia Scotica* — "John Knox, the famous reformer, was a native of Haddington; the house in the Giffordgate in which he was born still remains." [1]

Barclay died in 1796 and was succeeded by Robert Lorimer. In 1843 John (afterwards Dr) Cook became minister of the second charge. When the *New Statistical Account* was compiled, the account of the parish was drawn up in 1845 conjointly by Lorimer and Cook. Their statement in regard to Knox's birthplace is:—"But it (Haddington) is much more distinguished as the birthplace of the illustrious Scottish reformer, John Knox. He was born in Gifford-gait, adjoining to the town, in 1505, and afterwards educated at the grammar school of the burgh. . . Immemorial, unopposed, unchallenged tradition has fixed this suburb of Haddington on the old Gifford road as the place of his nativity, and the site of the house is still shown." [2] It will be noted that whereas Barclay in 1785 and again in 1793 refers to the house as still standing, Lorimer and Cook refer only to its site.

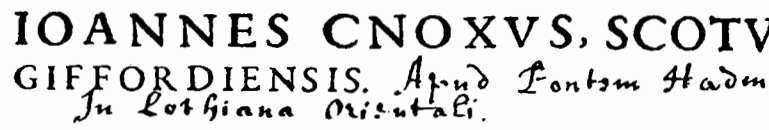
While it is not possible to fix the exact date when the house was taken down, authentic evidence has been placed in the writer's possession which not only establishes the date approximately but practically removes the last particle of doubt as to Knox's birthplace being in Giffordgate. The evidence is contained in a memorandum in the handwriting of Peter Martine, who was born in 1775, and was a son of Provost John Martine, whose forebears were connected with East Lothian from the sixteenth century. Peter Martine, who was deeply versed in the history and antiquities of Haddington, wrote the memorandum about 1850. In this document he furnishes definite information in regard to the demolition of the house of Knox's parents in Giffordgate. He definitely states that the Reformer was born there, and adds circumstantially: "Now there is not a stone of the house, as the park where the house stood was bought by Wm. Aitchison, baker, and he removed every stone of the house, and it now cannot be found out except by the people who had seen it before it was taken down." As Aitchison (who purchased Gimmersmills in 1830) died in 1837, the removal of the house of Knox's parents in Giffordgate must have taken place before that date. It should be added that there is a house in Giffordgate, popularly known as "Knox's House," but, as it has all the appearance of an eighteenth-century dwelling,

1 *Statistical Account*, Vol. VI, p. 542.
2 *New Statistical Account*, Vol. II Haddingtonshire, p. 6.

it is obvious that it has no connection with the Reformer.

The evidence, however, is not confined to Presbyterian ministers. One of the clearest statements on the subject comes from one who strongly adhered to Episcopacy. In the first half of the seventeenth century there was a merchant in Haddington named Andrew Gray, whose son, John, was born in 1646. This boy, like Knox, was doubtless educated at Haddington Grammar School. Thereafter he entered the ministry, then under Episcopalian rule, and was minister of Aberlady at the Revolution of 1688. In 1690 came the Revolution Settlement, but Gray refused to conform, and in consequence was deprived of his living. He retired to Haddington where he resided until his death in 1717.

During Gray's boyhood there were still people alive whose parents must have existed in Knox's time, and he might well hear older people speak from personal knowledge of the Reformer's connection with the town. Gray was a scholar, and bequeathed his large and valuable library to Haddington where it still remains. One of the volumes in his collection is an original copy of Beza's *Icones Virorum Illustrium*. The account of Knox is headed "Joannes Cnoxvs, Scotvs, Giffordiensis." In line with the heading there occur, in Gray's handwriting, these words:—"Apud Pontem Hadinen (Hadinensem) In Lothiana Orientali." [1] A fascimile of the heading to the article on Knox is herewith produced.




Gray no doubt desired that no mistake should be made in regard to the identification of Knox's birthplace. Accordingly he added the words above quoted so as to make quite clear that the place referred to was "near the bridge of Haddington."

The magistrates and town officials were also likely to know the facts in regard to Knox's birthplace. We have already seen that Knox, as notary, came closely in touch with Alexander Symson, the elder, and Alexander Symson, the younger (both of whom in succession were notaries of Haddington), as well as many other public officials. Knox was therefore not likely to fall out of remembrance in the town either with his contemporaries or their descendants. What evidence, it may be asked, have we of

1 See "The Gray Library, Haddington," by W. Forbes Gray, in Society's *Transactions*, Vol. I, pp. 105-30; also *Catalogue of the Library of John Gray, Haddington*, with Introduction and Notes, by W. Forbes Gray, 1929, pp. 17-18.

the continuity of the town's remembrance of him? Walter Macfarlane in his *Geographical Collections* supplies notes on Haddington which are significant. One is a communication from the magistrates. The writer tells of a conversation he had with Provost Sleich, the younger, who was a member of a family prominent in Haddington for three centuries. Several of them were Provosts. John Sleich, the elder, was born in or about 1596 and died in 1686. His son, who bore the same name, succeeded him as Provost, but only survived his father three years. The conversation referred to with the youngest Provost Sleich must therefore have taken place not later than 1689, and probably much earlier. Sleich would naturally get much of his information from his father, who was born only about twenty-four years after Knox's death. He in turn would acquire his information from his father and others who lived in Knox's time. The facts which the younger Sleich conveyed would thus be reliable. Referring to the Nungate,[1] the writer of the note in *Geographical Collections* (Vol. III, pp. 65-67) says:—"In the south-east end of the village is the house where Knox was said to be born." We do not know the date of this note, but if not written before the end of the seventeenth century, it must have been early in the eighteenth.

Macfarlane also quotes (Vol. I, pp. 375-7) a document written by a Mr Coutts in 1726, probably a native of Haddington, for he shows intimate knowledge of the burgh. He writes, "Contiguous with the Nungate and hard by the south bank of the River Tyne is Giffordgate, famous for the birth of John Knox."

Many natives of Haddington, who were born in the latter part of the eighteenth century, brought the tradition into the nineteenth. Among them was John Richardson, before referred to, who was born in 1793. Doubts having been thrown upon the Giffordgate as the place of Knox's birth, (and the fact that M'Crie, in his *Life of Knox,* had shown a preference for the village of Gifford) led Richardson, a clear-headed lawyer and excellent antiquary, to make exhaustive inquiry. Fortunate in obtaining access to certain legal documents, he was able to shed considerable fresh light. The result of his researches was contributed in 1858 to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in a communication entitled "On the Present State of the Question—Where was John Knox Born?"[2]

Dealing with the misconceptions of those who contend that Beza meant

1 Even at this time the villages of Nungate and Giffordgate seem to have been so closely united that it was sufficient to refer to the former as embracing the latter.

2 *Proceedings* of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Vol. III, Part I, pp. 52-7.

the village of Gifford, and especially with the statements of Dr M'Crie, Richardson writes:—

"That Dr M'Crie's preference for the village of Gifford is founded on a want of knowledge of these circumstances (the distinction between Nungate and Gifford) can be easily shown. He assumes that the village of *Giffordgate* is part of the village of *Nungate*. . . While Giffordgate, however, is held of the Marquis of Tweeddale as part of the estate of Gifford, Nungate is all church lands, formerly belonging to the Abbey of Haddington, and now to the Earl of Wemyss and Lord Blantyre, in right of the Crown, as coming in place of the Abbot. . . Among Lord Wemyss' titles Dr M'Crie found a charter to 'William Knox in Morham and his wife,' in 1598, of certain lands in '*the territory of Nungate*.' This and the boundaries given in the charter, of which we have seen a copy, clearly distinguish them from Giffordgate lands. The Doctor there takes for granted that this Knox and spouse must be the descendants or relations of the Reformer's father, if there were any; and having found, by inquiring at the descendants of this William Knox and his wife, that the Reformer was no relation of theirs, he rejects the authority of tradition in favour of Giffordgate, as the place of his birth, and sums up in favour of the village of Gifford. It is thus evident that Dr M'Crie, not knowing that Giffordgate was a separate village, and part of the estate of Gifford, did not direct his researches in the proper quarter. The charter among Lord Wemyss' titles proves that a certain William Knox and spouse had lands in 'the territory of the village of Nungate,' but it does not establish that there was no proprietor of lands of the name of Knox in the adjoining village of Giffordgate, part of the estate or territory of Gifford. It is certain however, as we now proceed to show, that a person of the name of Knox did hold lands or houses, or was in some way connected with lands or houses in Giffordgate, as early or earlier than the time of the Reformer, and on the very spot indicated by immemorial tradition as the place of his birth."

Richardson then cites additional evidence in support of the tradition that assigns Giffordgate as Knox's birthplace:—

"This tradition (he writes) has of late received remarkable confirmation by the discovery of two instruments of sasine among the titles of Mr James Watson, writer, Linlithgow, the proprietor of a large part of the village, and comprehending the spot indicated by tradition as the birthplace of Knox. These instruments are dated in 1607 and 1611 respectively. In these, certain 'butts' of land are described as bounded on the *north* by the lands called '*Knox Walls*,' and other buts are described as bounded by '*Knox Walls*' on the *south*. The description is applicable to the exact spot pointed out by tradition as Knox's birthplace; and as Mr Watson holds the lands on each side of 'Knox Walls,' *and all between*, it is clear that the latter are comprehended in his property, although no distinct title to 'Knox Walls,' by itself, has been discovered. These sasines are the oldest of the series of Mr Watson's titles, as far as Giffordgate lands are concerned; and they prove that near the time of the Reformer, a property, ever since said to be the place of his birth, was known by the family name. This fact gives rise to the unavoidable inference, that the name was of *some standing even then*, and that it either belonged to one of the name of Knox, or that a person of the name was, in some way or other, remarkably connected with it. Long before 1607, therefore, the name of Knox is associated with a property in Giffordgate; and as he was born in 1505, and died in 1572, there is no reasonable doubt that the name

was familiar to the place as early as his birth. The sasines proceed on charters from Lord Hay of Yester, as superior and proprietor of the Gifford estate."

## VI

In estimating the value of the evidence that has been adduced for each of the places alleged to be Knox's birthplace several important points ought to be kept in mind.

Apart from the fact that the village of Gifford did not exist when Knox was born, the tradition in itself is not convincing, since it cannot even determine the site of Knox's supposed birthplace. Indeed it seems to have originated chiefly with writers unconnected with the county. They have assumed that because there was a village named Gifford, 'Giffordiensis' in Beza's *Icones* must refer only to the village which goes by that name.

The claim for Morham is more substantial. Although there is no evidence to connect the Knoxes of Mainshill in the seventeenth century with the Reformer, it may quite well be that some of his ancestors belonged to Morham. Even if there was evidence to prove that Knox's ancestors on both sides resided in Morham, that his mother was connected with the Kers of Samuelston and that her father's ancestors belonged to Northrig, it would not preclude the idea of Knox being born elsewhere.

Those who support the claim for Giffordgate know nothing of Knox's ancestors beyond the fact that his father's name was William Knox and that his mother's surname was Sinclair. They are unaware where his parents came from, or what circumstances brought them to Giffordgate, or when they came. They take their stand on a continuous and consistent tradition to be found in written records as early as the seventeenth century—a tradition widely accepted and supported by the civic authorities, and by the parish ministers from an early period. Likewise on documentary evidence, which has never deviated as regards the site in Giffordgate of the Reformer's birthplace, a site, moreover, on which it has been incontrovertibly proved stood property that belonged to a family of the name of Knox.

As a result of a careful examination of the entire evidence, the writer has no hesitation in pronouncing in favour of the claim for Giffordgate.

## VII

As to when Knox began to adopt the doctrines of the Reformation we do not know, but his contact with several men in the early forties of the sixteenth century may well have contributed to confirm if not to originate

his views. As some of his early friends belonged to or were resident for a time in East Lothian, and, on his own showing, exerted no small influence in shaping his Protestant opinions, it is proposed to collect the few stray facts that are known concerning them, and to set forth these in a form that will be useful for future reference.

In his *History* Knox makes occasional mention of Thomas Guylliame (or Williams), who was born at Athelstaneford about the end of the fifteenth century, and attained considerable distinction in the Order of the Dominicans. Subsequently he came under the influence of the Reformed doctrines, and while still a friar preached in general conformity with the new faith. During part of this period Williams acted as chaplain to the Earl of Arran (who then adhered to the Protestant faction), as we are reminded by Knox:— "The Governor (Arran) establissed in governement, godly men repaired unto him, exhorted him to call to mynd for what end God had exalted him . . . At thare instant sutying, more then of his awin motioun, was Thomas Guylliame, a Blak Freare, called to be precher."[1] Whether Knox came in personal contact with Williams we do not know, but he was familiar with his preaching, for he continues: — "The man was of solid judgement, reassonable letteris (as for that age), and of a prompt and good utterance: his doctrine was holsome, without great vehemency against superstitioun."[2] If Williams "was the first man from whom Knox received any taste of the truth," it must have been before the Reformer came in contact with Wishart, that is to say, before 1544. Knox, alluding to Beaton's and Arran's visit to Haddington in November 1542, says:—"The Cardinall, with the Earle of Errane, war directed to go to Haddingtoun, to mack a shaw against the East bordour, when the utheris ware in readdynes to invaid the Weast." [3] If on that occasion Williams accompanied Arran as his chaplain (as seems likely),[4] Knox may have heard him preach in Haddington Church. But Arran's defection from the new doctrines led to Williams being inhibited from preaching, and he departed to England.[5]

We get another glimpse of Knox at this time in his capacity as tutor to the sons of Hew Douglas of Longniddry whose baronial castle there (in which Knox resided for a brief period) has long since disappeared. Knox does not say much about his tutorial work at Longniddry, but he seems

1 Knox's *History*, Vol. I, p. 95.
2 *Ibid*, p. 96.
3 *Ibid*, p. 84.
4 In the Lord High Treasurer's Accounts of 23rd February 1543, there is an entry for "ryding gownis, with hudis, to Frier Thomas Gilzame," which seems to indicate that Williams rode about with Arran.
5 Knox's *History*, Vol. I, p. 105.

to have taught the young Douglases Latin as well as read with them in the classical authors. He also, according to his own testimony, "nourished them in godliness." What was meant is thus explained by M'Crie, who seems to have thoroughly investigated this rather interesting episode in Knox's career. "He managed their (his pupils') religious instruction in such a way as to allow the rest of the family, and the people of the neighbourhood, to reap advantage from it. He catechised them publicly in a chapel at Langniddrie, in which he also read to them, at stated times, a chapter of the Bible, accompanied with explanatory remarks." M'Crie adds, "The memory of this fact has been preserved by tradition, and the chapel, the ruins of which are still apparent, is popularly called *John Knox's Kirk*."[1] Part of the structure still stands in the garden of Longniddry House.

After Knox and his pupils, along with Alexander Cockburn (son of John Cockburn of Ormiston), who joined the Douglases in their studies, entered St. Andrews Castle, Knox records that "besydis thare grammare, and other humane authoris, he redd unto thame a catechisme, a compt whairof he caused thame give publictlie in the parishe Kirk of Sanctandrois. He redd moreover unto thame the Evangell of Johnne, proceading whare he left at his departing from Langnudrye, whare befoir his residence was; and that lecture he redd *in the chapell*, within the Castell, at a certaine hour."[2] In carrying out this scheme Knox was exercising his pupils "after his accustomed manner," which seems to imply that he catechised the boys publicly in a chapel at Longniddry. Knox's own statement therefore justifies the tradition perpetuated in Longniddry and conveyed to M'Crie by natives whose parents and grandparents lived in the seventeenth century, namely, that Knox not only publicly catechised his pupils, but did so in the chapel there.

When in December 1545 Wishart preached at Leith a number of East Lothian friends heard him, among whom were Knox and Hew Douglas of Longniddry. Knox writes, "The sermon ended, the gentill men of Lotheane, who then war earnest professouris of Christ Jesus, thought not expedient that he shuld remane in Leyth, becaus that the Governour and Cardinall war shortlie to come to Edinburgh; and tharefore thei tooke him with thame, and keapt him sometymes in Brounestoun, sometymes in Langnudry, and sometymes in Ormestoun; for those thrie diligentlie awated upoun him."[3] Shortly after, Wishart stayed with Douglas at Longniddry, and on two Sundays preached at Tranent. Knox writes:—"In the hynder end of

1 *Life of John Knox* by M'Crie. 2nd Ed. 1813, p. 43.
2 Knox's *History*, Vol. I, p. 186.
3 *Ibid*, p. 134.

those dayis that ar called the Holy dayis of Yule, past he (Wishart), by consent of the gentilmen, to Hadingtoun, whare it was supposed the greatast confluence of people should be, boyth be reassoun of the toune and of the countrey adjacent." [1] Wishart went to Haddington on the day before he was to preach and was the guest of David Forrest. Next day, 15th January, he preached in the parish church in the forenoon where, says Knox "the auditouris was reassonable, and yitt nothing in comparisone of that which used to be in that kyrk." Wishart preached again in the afternoon, but "the auditure was so sclender, that many wondered." Knox adds "The cause was judged to have bein, that the Erle Bothwell,[2] who in those boundis used to have great credite and obedience, by procurement of the Cardinall, had gevin inhibitioun, asweel unto the toune, as unto the countrey, that thei should nott hear him under the pane of his displeasur." [3] On the second night Wishart was the guest of Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington, who, Knox says, "was ever civile, albeit not persuaded in religioun." [4] Next morning before the hour at which Wishart was to preach, he received a letter stating that the "gentilmen of the West" "could nott keape dyet at Edinburgh." [5] This message much depressed Wishart, who told Knox "that he weryed of the world: for he perceaved that men begane to weary of God." After a pause, Knox said: "Schir, the tyme of sermoun approches: I will leave yow for the present to your meditatioun." Wishart then "paced up and doune behynd the hie altar more than half ane houre: his verray contenance and visage declared the greaf and alteratioun of his mynd." At last, he went into the pulpit, but the congregation was again small. Knox says, Wishart "begane in this manner":

"O Lord, how long shall it be, that thy holy woord shalbe despysed, and men shall not regard thare awin salvatioun. I have heard of thee, Hadingtoun, that in thee wold have bein at ane vane Clerk play two or three thowsand people; and now to hear the messinger of the Eternall God, of all thy toune nor parishe can not be nombred a hundreth personis. Sore and feirfull shall the plagues be that shall ensew this thy contempt: with fyre and swerd thou shalt be plagued; yea, thow Haddingtoun, in speciall, strangearis shall possesse thee, and yow, the present inhabitantes shall eyther in bondage serve your ennemyes, or ellis ye shalbe chassed fra your awin habitationis; and that because ye have not knawin, nor will nott know the tyme of Goddis mercifull visitatioun."

"In such vehemency and threatnyng continewed that servand of God,"

1 Knox's *History*, Vol. I, p. 136.
2 Patrick, 3rd Earl of Bothwell.
3 Knox's *History*, Vol. I, p. 137.
4 *Ibid*, p. 137.
5 *Ibid*, p. 137.

says Knox, " neyr ane hour and ane half." [1]

Wishart then set out for Ormiston. Among those who accompanied him were John Cockburn (whose guest he was); John Sandilands of Calder, the younger, Alexander Crichton of Brunstane and Hew Douglas of Longniddry. Knox was also of the party, for we read " Johne Knox preassing to have gone with the said Maister George, he said, ' Nay, returne to your barnes (pupils) and God blisse yow. One is sufficient for one sacrifice. And so he caused a twa handed sweard, (which commonly was caryed with the said Maister George), be tackin fra the said Johnne Knox, who, albeit unwillinglie, obeyit, and returned with Hew Dowglass of Langnudrye.' "[2]

The account of Wishart's arrest at Ormiston by Cardinal Beaton and his subsequent martyrdom at St. Andrews has been told in moving words in Knox's *History,* and is too well known to warrant repetition even in an article on East Lothian.

Wishart was not the only guest at the house of Cockburn of Ormiston who suffered a martyr's death. Knox tells us, that Adam Wallace " with his wyif Beatrice Levingstoun, frequented the cumpany of the Lady Ormestoun, for instructioun of hir childrein during the truble of her husband, who then was banissed."[3] Wallace and his wife had taken up the work of Knox after he left the country. According to Wallace's own statement, he was commonly called " Feane " (and indeed Knox gives his alias as that), and was born in Kyle. Why he came to East Lothian and what his real occupation was there is not known. Knox does not say that he knew him personally, but most likely he met him at Ormiston. Wallace he describes as " a sempill man, without great learnying, but ane that was zelous in godlynes and of ane uprycht lyeff." [4] In saying that Wallace was " without great learnying " Knox probably meant that he had not been at a grammar school or university. It is obvious, however, that he was not without education, for when charged with heresy he carried at his belt a Bible in three languages—English, French and Dutch. After Wishart's arrest, a watch was kept on the house of Ormiston, with the result that in 1550 Wallace was apprehended by order of Archbishop Hamilton, tried in the monastery of the Blackfriars in Edinburgh, and was condemned to death

1 Knox's *History,* Vol. I, pp. 137-8. It is noteworthy that though we have Knox's ample testimony that Wishart preached in the parish church, there is no documentary evidence to show that Knox himself ever did so. It may however be confidently assumed that St. Mary's resounded with his voice more than once.
2 *Ibid,* p. 139.
3 *Ibid,* p. 237.
4 *Ibid,* p. 237.

and burned on the Castlehill.[1] Knox says that when the officers came they took "the said Adame furth of the place of Wyntoun."

Of Knox's Haddington friends, David Forrest was perhaps the best known. At one time General of the Mint of Scotland, he was connected with a family which took an active part in ecclesiastical and civic affairs both before and after the Reformation. One of the Forrests acquired the flour mills at Haddington, known as Gimmersmills, from the nuns of the Abbey. In an instrument of sasine in 1569, in favour of David Forrest as heir to his father, John Forrest of Gimmersmills, it is recorded that David, son of David Forrest, General of the King's Cunzie House, acted as attorney for the heir. Probably the General of the Mint was a brother of John Forrest. Between Knox and David Forrest there was a close friendship. Forrest, like other members of his family, was active in local affairs, serving as Treasurer of the burgh. In the Lord High Treasurer's Accounts 1554-5 he is referred to as "Magister Cone," and between 1562 and 1572 as "General of the Cunzie-house." Knox describes Forrest as "ane man that long hes professed the trueth, and upoun whom many in that tyme depended."[2] He it was who entertained Wishart in 1546. On returning from England in 1555 Knox again got into touch with Forrest. "And last came Johne Knox, in the end of the harvest, in the year of God J^m. V^c. fyfty fyve; who first being loodged in the house of that notable man of God, James Syme, begane to exhorte secreatly in that same house; whareunto repared the Lard of Dun, David Forress, and some certane personages of the toune, amonges whome was Elizabeth Adamsoun, then spous to James Barroun, burges of Edinburgh."[3] Shortly thereafter the laird of Dun invited Knox and Forrest to supper to talk over matters. Forrest was often in the Reformer's company, as, for example, in 1558 when the image of St. Giles was dashed to the ground by the mob in Edinburgh. Knox says that "the heartes of the brethrein war wonderouslie inflammed, and seing such abominatioun so manifestlie manteand, war decreed to be revenged." But Forrest was a moderating influence, for Knox adds, "Thare war some temperisaris that day (amonges whome David Forress, called the General, was one) who, fearing the chance to be done as it fell, laubored to stay the brethrein."[4] And when there were "na publict ministeris of the worde," Forrest was among the "zelous men," who

1 An account of Wallace's trial is printed as an Appendix to Vol. I of Knox's *History*, pp. 543-50.
2 Knox's *History*, Vol. I, p. 137.
3 *Ibid*, pp. 245-6.
4 *Ibid*, p. 260.

exhorted the brethren.[1] He was also one of the laymen nominated to the first General Assembly which met in December 1560. Strong representations were made to Forrest " to tak on the ministerie," but he declined. It does not appear that Forrest owned Gimmersmills, but his family possessed them and the adjoining land till near the end of the eighteenth century, the last owner being George Forrest, Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of St. Andrews. The Forrest family thus maintained the Knox tradition to within modern times.

Of the East Lothian men who exerted a potent influence on Knox in the impressionable years, the great Schoolman and historian, John Major (or Mair), occupies an important position. Major, who was born at Gleghornie near North Berwick, was Knox's teacher at Glasgow University. Subsequently when Major became Provost of St. Salvator's College, St. Andrews, Knox again came under his influence. Major's word (he tells us) " was holden as ane oracle in materis of religioun." When Knox preached his first sermon " Maister Johnne Mair " was one of his auditors.

Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, the poet who has been named " the Langland of Scotland," was another contemporary with an East Lothian connection. As Lyndsay's father had a residence at Garleton near Haddington as well as at the Mount in Fife, it is uncertain at which place the poet was educated. In any case, Sir David succeeded to Garleton when a young man, and would be frequently in Haddington. Knox, who was much younger, may have seen him there. At all events he knew that Garleton belonged to him. Lyndsay never joined the Reformed Church, but his satires, expressing the evils and abuses of the pre-Reformation Church, assisted materially to bring about the Reformation. Knox indeed mentions him among "the men of counsall, judgement, and godlynes, that had travailled to promote the Governour."[2] Knox must have come personally in contact with Lyndsay, for when the Reformers in the castle of St. Andrews entreated Knox to become a preacher they took Sir David into their counsel before doing so,[3] and it was largely owing to his advice that Knox received his charge.

Knox usually refers to the East Lothian poet, Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington, as " the old Laird of Lethingtoun " or " Lethingtoun the Laird." Whether Knox accompanied Wishart to Lethingtoun when the latter spent the night in the old tower, is not known, but Knox was well informed of

1 Knox's *History*, Vol. I, p. 300.

2 *Ibid*, p. 106.

3 *Ibid*, p. 186.

Sir Richard's attitude to the Reformers. Lethington, he declared, was always civil but not fully persuaded as to the new faith. With William Maitland of Lethington, who became Secretary to Mary Queen of Scots, Knox had much more to do. Maitland was one of the guests at the laird of Dun's supper party in 1555, and, along with Knox and Forrest, took part in the discussion. Knox speaks of him as " a man of good learnyng and of scharpe witt and reasonyng." The Reformer had many interviews with Maitland. In 1563, when the Reformer appeared before Queen Mary on a charge of being offensive to her, Maitland sat beside the Queen and assisted her. Knox adds a pretty touch to the picture, for " removeand from the tabill sat auld Lethingtoun."[1] Again, in 1564, Lethington was the protagonist of Knox in a long debate in the General Assembly.[2]

## VIII

There are many incidental references to Haddington in Knox's *History*, but all are eclipsed by the detailed account of the siege of Haddington in 1548-49.[3] When the siege took place Knox was working in the French galleys, but he appears to have heard the story from eye witnesses. One of the outstanding episodes was the midnight attempt by the French to dislodge the English who were in occupation. Knox says the French, who had marched from Edinburgh, approached Haddington a little after midnight when the English soldiers, except the watch, were asleep. They approached " so secreatlye, that thei war never espyed, till that the formar war within the basse courte, and the haill company in the church yard, nott two payre of boot lenthis distant from the toune."[4]

The English soldiers, aroused by the cries of the watch, " bowes and billes," attacked the French, the conflict raging in the vicinity of the East Port. Knox writes: —

One (soldier) amongis many cumes to the East porte,[5] whare lay two great pieces of ordnance, and whare the enemies (the French) war known to be, and cryed to his fellowes that war at the yett macking defence, " Ware befoir "; and so fyres a great peace (*sic*) and thareafter another, which God so conducted, that after thame was no farther persuyt maid; for the bullates redounded fra the wall of the Freir Kirk,[6] to the wall of Sanct Katherine's Chapell, which stood direct

1 Knox's *History*, Vol. II, pp. 403-11.
2 *Ibid*, Vol. II, pp. 425-61.
3 *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 223.
4 The French, according to this account, must either have come by a road from the west crossing the churchyard or by way of the haughs.
5 Near the site of Elm House and the fire station.
6 The site is now occupied by the Episcopal Church.

foiranent it, and fra the wall of the said Chapell to the said Kirk wall agane, so oft, that thare fell mo than ane hundreth of the French, att those two schottis only. Thei schott oft, but the French reteired with diligence, and returned to Edinburgh, without harme done, except the destructioun of some drynkin bear, which lay in the saidis Chappell and Kirk.

A little later, Knox adds the following:—

Haddingtoun being keapt, and much hearschipe done about in the countrey, (for what the Engliss men destroyed nott, that was consumed by the French,) God begynnis to feght for Schotland; for in the toun he send a peast so contagious, that with great difficultie could thei have thare dead buryed. Thei war oft refresched with new men, but all was in vane. Hunger and pest within, and the persuyt of the ennemy with a campe volant lay about thame, and intercepted all victuallis, (except when thei war brought by ane convoy from Berwik,) so constrayned thame that the Counsall of England was compelled in spring tyme (1549) to call thare forses from that place; and so spuilzeing and burnyng some parte of the toune, thei left it to be occupyed to such as first should tack possessioun, —and those war the Frenchmen, with a meane nomber of the ancient inhabitantis.[1]

## IX

While it is not possible to estimate how close Knox's relations with Haddington were in his latter years, a perusal of the Inventory of his estate discloses the fact that he was in receipt of a pension from Haddington Church. His Will was signed on 13th May 1572 and on 24th November following he died. From the Inventorie of the "guides, geir, sowmes of money and dettes" pertaining to him, it is evident that part of this pension was due to him at the time of his death. Here is an extract from the Register of Confirmed Testaments of the Commissariot of Edinburgh, which reveals the interesting fact.

Item, restand awand to the said umquhile Johnne, the tyme foirsaid, for ane pairt of his pensioun quhilk he had furth of the kirk of Hadingtoun, be the persones following, the victuales vnderwrittn of the zeiris and cropes rex^ue^ vnderspecifeit viz of the crope and zeir of God 1^m^ V^c^ Lxxj zeiris be James Fiddes, for ane pairt of his teyndis of the Nunland,[2] liand in the parochin of Hadingtoun, ane boll of quheit, ane boll ane firlote beir, vij bollis aittis. Be Adam Ethingtoun in Quhitrig,[3] ane boll of quheit, sex bollis aittis: price of the boll of quheit the said zeir l^s^; price of the boll of beir the said zeir, twa merkis; and price of the boll of aittis the samin zeir xx^s^. Summa, xix^li^ xiij^s^ iiij^d^. Item, be the said James Fiddes, for his teyndis of the saidis landis of Nunland, of the crope and zeir of God 1^m^ V^c^ Lxxij zeiris, ane boll of quheit, ane boll ane firlote beir, seven bollis aittis. Be James Oliphant and Robert Hepburne, for thair teyndis of the landis of Stenestoun,[4] liand within the said parochin, the said zeir, sex bollis quheit, sex bollis beir and xx bollis aittis. Be the said Adam Ethingtoun in Quhitrig,

1 Knox's *History*, Vol. I, p. 236.
2 Huntington.
3 Wheatrig.
4 Stevenson.

for his teyndis of the saidis landis, the said zeir, ane boll of quheit, ane boll of beir and sex bollis aittis. Be Johnne Gulanis wyfe in Aulderstoun,[1] for hir teyndis thairof, of the year foirsaid, twa bollis quheit, twa bollis beir, and viij bollis aittis: price of the boll of quheit the said zeir 1s; price of the boll beir the said zeir, twa merkis; and price of the boll aittis the same zeir xx$^{s}$. Summa Lxxix$^{li}$ xiii$^{s}$ iiij$^{d}$.

No record can be found either of the circumstances which led to this pension or the date when it began. Several suggestions might be made, but as they are unsupported by evidence, no good purpose would be served by stating them. Suffice it to say that Knox collected the teinds referred to in the Inventory direct from the farmers therein mentioned.

## X

That Knox was born at Giffordgate was the firm belief of Thomas Carlyle, who gave a practical turn to his contention, besides demonstrating his well known admiration for the Reformer, by having a tree planted on the supposed site. Carlyle, as everyone knows, married the daughter of Dr John Welsh, a medical practitioner in Haddington at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and by doing so forged a link with the Reformer, since Dr Welsh claimed descent through Knox's youngest daughter, who married John Welsh, minister of Ayr. Carlyle had therefore a personal reason for inquiring carefully regarding the Giffordgate tradition during his numerous visits to Haddington. Further, he contributed to the erection, in 1878, of a secondary school, known as the "Knox Institute," appropriately enough, for in front of the building is a statue of the Reformer, which Carlyle, however, regretted, because it had not been executed by Boehm.

Nor was this all. About a year before his death Carlyle had a conversation with Colonel David Davidson, a conspicuous Haddingtonian, in which he expressed a desire (as Colonel Davidson narrates in his *Autobiography*) that a tree should be planted at Giffordgate to mark the site of Knox's birthplace, and asked Davidson if he, on his behalf, would see the project carried out. Davidson agreed, and the tree was planted on 29th March 1881, a few weeks after Carlyle's death.

An interesting account of the planting ceremony appeared in *The Haddingtonshire Courier* of 1st April 1881. The piece of ground in which

1 Alderston, together with Huntington and Stevenson are in the parish of Haddington. Wheatrig is in that of Gladsmuir. Before 1692, when the parish of Gladsmuir was formed by taking portions from the contiguous parishes of Haddington, Tranent and Aberlady, Wheatrig was also in the parish of Haddington. Nunland (now Huntington) belonged to the nuns of Haddington Abbey.

the tree is planted was the gift of Miss Watson, Linlithgow,[1] who officiated at the ceremony. In the newspaper report we read: — "Most of our readers will be aware that the people of Gifford lay strong claim to their pretty baronial village having had the honour of giving birth to the Luther of Scotland. To bury the ghost of an old controversy and reconcile the villagers to the distinction that has now been conferred on the Nungate, a request was made to the Marquis of Tweeddale for an oak from the plantations of Yester, which was readily granted, so that, in some sort, the claims of the rival localities have been harmoniously met." Beside the tree there is a tablet with suitable inscription.

This article may end suitably with a reference to the Quatercentenary celebrations at Haddington connected with Knox's birth. These were held in 1905, in accordance with the belief that the Reformer was born in 1505, a false chronology which was not rectified until the year 1905 when, as already mentioned, Dr Hay Fleming showed conclusively that the date of Knox's birth was nearly ten years later than the date originally assigned. The Knox celebrations of 1905 were under the joint auspices of the local Presbyteries of the Church of Scotland and the United Free Church. The actual commemoration took place on 10th May, when a procession of ministers and elders, accompanied by the Town Council and other public bodies, marched through the town to the parish church. At the service held there, the address was given by the Rev. John Watson, D.D., of Liverpool, well known under the pen name of "Ian Maclaren." An illustrated brochure[2] containing a full account of the Commemoration was afterwards published.

JAMES H. JAMIESON.

1 Miss Barbara Smith Watson was the daughter of James Watson, Writer, Linlithgow, who previously owned the land, and who died on 6th December, 1874.
2 *John Knox Quater Centenary Celebrations*—Haddington 1905.

# WHITTINGEHAME TOWER [1]

IN this effort to unravel the story of Whittingehame Tower, or Castle, it will be advisable to deal first with the building as it was and as it is to-day, and to consider thereafter the illustrious families by which it was tenanted for many centuries. The Tower is situated on the bank of a thickly wooded ravine through which flows the pleasant but unpretentious river known as the Whittingehame Water, and sometimes, less agreeably, as the Papana. The latter name is probably derived from a nunnery which stood about a mile to the west of the Tower, and near to what was the house of Pople or Popill, and is now the farm of Papple. On the immediate east of the Tower there was until recent times marsh land, the steep decline on the south side forming a strong natural defence, while from the north it is more easily approached.

The date of the erection of the Tower has hitherto been given as between the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, during the reign of James IV, but we have reason to think that it must have been built at a considerably earlier period. By well authenticated evidence the widow of Patrick sixth Earl of Dunbar and March, resided at Whittingehame, and died there in 1267. Patrick, the seventh Earl, who freed Alexander III and his Queen from the power of the Comyns by surprising the Castle of Edinburgh, died at Whittingehame on 24th August 1289. It is reasonable therefore to conclude that the Tower was then the place of habitation, no trace of an earlier foundation being discoverable. Moreover, the Earls of Dunbar and March held their baronial court at Whittingehame at that early period. As the possession of Whittingehame by these Earls ceased in 1372, the title becoming extinct after the eleventh Earl, the baronial courts must have been held before that date.

But in addition to the evidence for the earlier date, a careful examination of the Tower must lend confirmation. In the middle of the thirteenth century castles or towers were beginning to be built with stone, following the lead of

1 It had been the desire of the late Miss Alice Blanche Balfour of Whittingehame to contribute an article to the *Transactions* of the Society (of which she was Vice-President) upon the ancient Tower of Whittingehame. This desire she was unable to fulfil, and before her death she requested the writer to do what the infirmity of advancing years had made impossible to her. The notes which she had prepared have been found useful, particularly in regard to the restoration of the Tower under her supervision. Copies of certain old charters which she had obtained from the Register House have also been drawn upon.

churches. On 7th May 1245 David de Berneham (Birnam), Bishop of St. Andrews, dedicated a stone church at Whittingehame, the site of which was close to the Tower, which, it is only reasonable to suppose, then assumed much of its present character. Towers of the fourteenth century, being fortified dwellings on a small scale, are remarkably similar to much that we find in Whittingehame Tower as it is to-day. Here are some of the characteristics of mediæval towers (1286-1424), as enumerated by Sir John Stirling-Maxwell in *Shrines and Homes of Scotland* (1937) all of which find their counterpart in the Tower at Whittingehame—quadrangular in shape with a vaulted basement; wooden floors supported on stone corbels; the spiral stair, "leading to a turret or cape house from which one stepped out on to the roof which was protected by a crenellated parapet"; the roof flat and covered with overlapping flagstones; the entrance to the Tower defended by a door, inside of which is an iron yett or gate (the sockets for which are seen behind the door in Whittingehame Tower); garderobes recessed into the thick wall. The external masonry of the Tower at Whittingehame is of dressed stone, but with no evidence of harling, which was not introduced till the fifteenth century.

The basement chamber with its stone vaulted ceiling is perhaps the best witness to the mediæval character of Whittingehame Tower. There may be, and there doubtless are, particularly in the fenestration, indications of later work, but the combination of all these earlier characteristics, together with the knowledge of its habitation in the fourteenth century, lends credence, if not assurance, to the contention that the date of erection must be put back more than a century from that hitherto accepted.

Curiosity has lately been aroused by the discovery of the figures 1277 on the newel of the spiral stair, just below the cape house. It cannot be supposed that these figures were impressed in the thirteenth century, for the first recorded use of Arabic numerals in Scotland is that on the monument in Elgin to the first Earl of Huntly, bearing the date 1470. But as the figures 1277 come into the period when it is surmised the Tower was built, it is difficult to avoid the haunting suggestion that, though impressed by a later hand, they may commemorate some structural event in the building of the Tower, perhaps only the date at which the spiral stair was said to have been completed. This latter conjecture is rendered probable, as, curiously enough, there are exactly seventy-seven mason-marked rounded stones on the newel, while the number twelve might indicate the stones on the last portion of the newel.

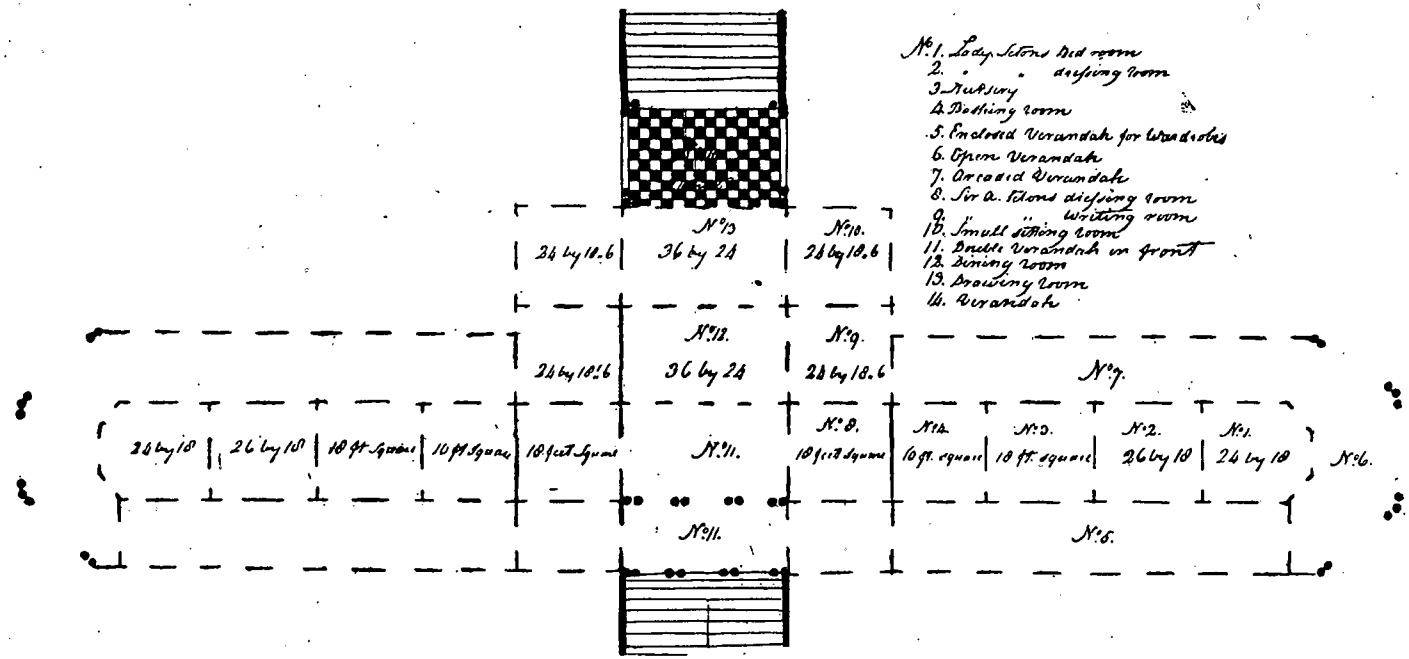
Life in the Tower cannot in these remote times have been luxurious, but

with floors covered with rush mats, stone seats with cushions in the windows, more or less ingenious furnishings, and, above all, simple tastes, we can imagine that the inmates lived in some degree of comfort as long as they were undisturbed by " the enemy at the gate."

The Tower is built of local red sandstone, and is an oblong, measuring thirty-one feet by twenty-three feet, six inches, with a height to the top of the parapet of forty feet. There are four storeys, including the garret or cape-house under a high-pitched roof. Miss Balfour thinks the cape-house may be modern, but it seems more likely to have been part of the original structure. Until recently it was used as a dovecot. Another garret on the east side is more suggestive of modernity, and on one of its stones the date 1600 is clearly incised. Until some forty years ago, the Tower was thickly covered with ivy, but on its removal signs of alterations and additions became visible. Evidence of considerable additions were apparent both on the south-west and south-east sides. In the north-east angle, formed by the stairway and the main body of the building, the masonry has been cut to admit of the roofs of the additional buildings being tied in. The inner walls also show marks of having been pierced in two or three places for doorways into the later buildings. It is not known when these additions were made, but presumably it was not till after the large windows were inserted in the south-east and north-west walls of the Tower. The sketch[1] on page 83 shows the arrangement of the newer buildings as they were in the eighteenth century. When Whittingehame became the property of Mr James Balfour in 1817 they were pulled down, owing to their dilapidated condition, and the central tower was left standing by itself. At present there is only one room in each storey. What is now the ground floor has been completely altered, and the barrel-vaulted apartment was for long part of an adjoining laundry. On the north-east wall is the entrance to the spiral stairway, and here there are three steps leading to a recess through which an opening (now built up) gave access to the apartment with the stone-vaulted roof, which is thirteen feet six inches from floor to ceiling at the highest point.

At the beginning of this century Miss Balfour undertook to put the room on the second floor in order, and to furnish it as a small museum with curios

1 This plan was sent to Miss Balfour by Mrs Hay of Duns Castle, whose husband, Major Hay, was a lineal descendant of the family in possession of the Tower before 1817. The Lady Seton, whose bedroom is marked on the plan, was the sister of Robert Hay, the owner, and aunt of William Hay who sold the estate and Tower to James Balfour. She was the last of the family to live there. The plan was made by George Stirling Home Drummond of Blair Drummond, who married Mary Hay, Lady Seton's grandniece. Some imagination is required to visualise the Tower here represented, particularly the east wing, which cannot have been directly in line with the west wing. Probably it stretched more southwards and overlooked the famous Yew Tree.




**Plan showing arrangement of newer buildings attached to Whittingehame Tower, as they were in the eighteenth century.** See footnote on page 82.

and prints relating mainly to Mary, Queen of Scots, and Bothwell. The roof is eighteen by fifteen feet, and eight feet nine inches high. Formerly, there was a brick partition across the room from north-west to south-east, which was evidently erected subsequently to the ceiling, the moulding of which it cut. The partition allowed the other portion of the room to be used as a dining-room. Part of the panelled ceiling had been covered with thick coats of whitewash, which, on being removed, revealed a fine example of seventeenth-century plaster work, corresponding to similar work in Lennoxlove, Winton Castle, and Moray House in Edinburgh. The moulds in which the plaster work has been cast have been of wood. Evidently there had been at one time a danger of the ceiling falling, for oak beams supported by stone corbels have been run along the north-west and south-east sides of the room. As a matter of fact, the part of the ceiling outside the partition actually did fall on being uncovered, but the fragments were saved, and a fresh ceiling cast to fill up the whole space.

In this work of restoration, so admirably conceived and carried out, the woodwork of the doors, windows and shutters was kept as it was found, except for necessary repairs. The mouldings round the doors are carved with an egg-and-dart enrichment (signifying life and death), which resembles the woodwork at Pilmuir House, in Bolton parish, though the *motif* is somewhat different. Two small doors admitting to recesses are modern. The garderobes are unaltered, but the doors of two of them have been heightened, while shelves have been inserted in the two larger ones. The chimneypiece of red sandstone is in its pristine state, but the grate and fire-hobs are modern, likewise the stone fender and the wooden shelf above the fireplace. Nor has the dado been touched. When the floor of the room was renewed, it was found that the whole of the space between it and the stone arch below was completely filled with quarry refuse, and showed no sign of a stone floor. The room above, until lately inhabited by estate servants, was also repaired. The fireplace of this room is of some antiquity, and there are plaster ornaments on the ceiling. Some curious small windows seen on the north-west wall of the Tower, but now filled up, appear to have been inserted in comparatively recent times in order to secure extra light.

On the slope toward the Whittingehame Water, south-east of the Tower, is what has been called the gun platform, a mound of earth about ten feet high and eighty feet long. It is not likely to have been of later date than the Tower, and was probably raised when defence against sudden attack from the " auld enemy " was needful.

From the story of the structure we turn to the distinguished families who have inhabited Whittingehame Tower. The first is that of the Gospatricks. One of that name (sometimes spelt Cospatrick) came from the north of England at the time of the Norman Conquest. He had been bereft of his earldom by William the Conqueror, and, settling in southern Scotland in 1072, had received Dunbar with adjacent lands in the Merse and Lothian, including Whittingehame, from his cousin, Malcolm Canmore. Whittingehame as a property probably remained in unbroken possession of his successors down to George, tenth Earl of Dunbar, that is to say from 1072 to 1372. The first indication of actual habitation of the property is that afforded by the genealogy of the Gospatricks wherein it is stated that Euphemia, daughter of Walter, High Steward of Scotland, and wife of Patrick, sixth Earl of Dunbar, resided in her later years at Whittingehame—" apud Wytyngham "—and died there in 1267.[1] Lord Hailes, in his *Annals of Scotland,* mentions the sixth Earl as the most powerful baron of the southern districts of Scotland. He held the first rank among the twenty-four barons who guaranteed the treaty of peace with England in 1244.[2] He died in 1248 while on the crusade with Louis IX of France.

Perhaps before, but certainly thereafter, the Tower must have been one of the residences of the Earl of Dunbar, but it is not until the fourteenth century that we find the family again associated with Whittingehame. Patrick, ninth Earl, married Agnes, the eldest daughter of Thomas Randolph, first Earl of Moray, Regent of Scotland. She was the famous "Black Agnes," the heroic defender of Dunbar Castle for nineteen weeks in 1338 when attacked by the English. Sir Alexander, brother of the eighth Earl, surnamed " Black Beard," was the first to be designated Earl of Dunbar and March. His only son, Sir Patrick, married a sister of " Black Agnes." To them were born (1) George, who became tenth Earl; (2) John, who in 1372 was created Earl of Moray; (3) Sir Patrick of Biel; and (4) Agnes, whom George, tenth Earl, styles " his very dear sister." In 1372 he gave her the lands of Whittingehame and Mordington (Berwickshire) on her marriage with Sir James Douglas of Dalkeith. Thus this branch of the Douglases became united to the Gospatricks, Earls of Dunbar, and owners of Whittingehame, where they lived constantly for nearly three hundred years. On the lintel over the door of the Tower is a shield charged " parted *per pale, dexter* a cinque foil beneath two stars on a chief; *sinister* a boar's head

1 *Chronicon de Lanercost.* Maitland Club, 1839, p. 82.
2 Wm. Anderson, *Scottish Nation,* Vol. II, p. 74.

erased beneath two stars in chief (for Douglas): the cinque foil shows maternal descent from Borthwick."[1] This inclusion of the Borthwick quarter on the shield is explained by the fact that the son and heir of Sir James Douglas of Dalkeith, also a James Douglas, was betrothed to a daughter of the Earl of Carrick (afterwards Robert III), who is said to have been made a Lord of Parliament, under the style of Lord Dalkeith. He married as his second wife, Janet, eldest daughter of Sir William Borthwick of that Ilk, by whom he had a son, William. On 13th October 1439 confirmation of the charters of the lands of Whittingehame and Morton to Lord Dalkeith was made by James II. There was a further confirmation on 7th March 1449-50, about which time Lord Dalkeith must have died. The original charter was afterwards confirmed to Janet, who is described as " spouse of the late James, Lord of Dalkeith. In 1452-53 the King confirmed to William, their son, 20 pound lands of the town of Quhittinghame. This William was the real ancestor of the Douglases of Whittingehame. In 1512 the lands were confirmed by charter, granted by James IV, to his son, who bore the same name, and in 1540 they passed to Robert Douglas of Lochleven.

Three years later, however, the lands appear to have been owned by James, third Earl of Morton. This nobleman was such an extensive landowner that James V solicited a resignation of his lands to be made nominally in favour of his kinsman, Robert Douglas of Lochleven, but really that the King might possess them himself. On 18th March 1542-43 the Earl entered into an agreement with Sir George Douglas of Pittendreich, that the latter should at once procure the annulment of Lochleven's infeftment, and, on decree being obtained, Sir George should pay £2000 to Morton, who should cause his daughter to marry James, the second son of Sir George.[2] This seems to have been done, for on 2nd June 1564 Queen Mary confirmed Morton's charter of 1543, on decree of the Lords of Council and Session annulling the resignation of the last Earl of Morton of the lands " inter alios of Quhittingehame." This James Douglas, having married Lady Elizabeth Douglas, daughter of the third Earl, who had no male issue, obtained, on her father's death in 1553, his titles and estates, including Whittingehame. He became High Chancellor and High Admiral of Scotland, and in 1572 was elected Regent. But, for his supposed part in the murder of Darnley, he was condemned to death and executed in 1581. His estates were forfeited.

On 24th January, 1565-66 there was confirmation of a charter by Lord Claud Hamilton, a son of the second Earl of Arran, then Dean of Dunbar,

1 Ancient Monuments Commission: East Lothian volume, p. 133.
2 *Scots Peerage*, Vol. VI, p. 360.

who in feu-ferm demitted to William Douglas of Whittingehame, his heirs and assignees, the glebe and kirklands of Whittingehame as part of the patrimony of the Deanery. This laird joined the Lords of the Congregation, and seems to have been frequently employed by the General Assembly in their communications with Queen Mary. He was implicated with his kinsman, the fourth Earl of Morton, in the conspiracy to murder Riccio, but was pardoned. In 1567 he joined those who banded themselves together for the protection of James VI. Later, he was appointed a Lord of Session. He resigned in 1590 when his son Archibald was presented to the vacant office.[1]

Archibald Douglas, who succeeded to Whittingehame, was even a more noted man than his father. He accompanied James VI on his matrimonial voyage to Norway, and in 1603 was knighted. Sir Archibald was Commissioner of the County of Haddington, and in 1604 was chosen one of the Lords of the Articles in the Scots Parliament. He resigned his seat on the Bench in 1618. In July 1621 a charter of the lands of Whittingehame and others, granted to him on 3rd July 1616, was ratified with a remembrance of his "gude, trew and thankful service."[2] On 5th December 1620 there was confirmation of a charter by Sir Archibald in implement of a contract of marriage, dated 18th June 1597, to Helen Lumsdane, his affianced spouse, of the "West Maynes of Quhittinghame, with manor place, ½ of the corn mill of Quhittinghame, and 10 husbandlands of the town of Quhittinghame." In 1628 Sir Archibald resigned, with certain reservations, his lands of Whittingehame in favour of his son Arthur and his wife Isobel, daughter of William Douglas of Stoneypath.

It is somewhat difficult to unravel the story of Whittingehame and its lairds from these charters, for while some refer to subordinate portions of the property, others manifestly allude to the main property, including the Tower. Moreover, portions of land were often assigned to kinsmen or friends in order that they might be reckoned as supporters in any emergency. On 5th June 1581 James VI granted the lands and barony of Whittingehame, forfeited by the fourth Earl of Morton, to Esme, eighth Earl of Lennox and Seigneur d'Aubigny. Being at that time one of the royal favourites, the highest honours and the most lucrative emoluments were heaped upon him. Besides Whittingehame, he received the lordship and regality of Dalkeith, the lands of Aberdour, etc. But fickle fortune failed him at the last. For his part in the Raid of Ruthven James VI in 1582 caused his removal from Scotland, and in the following year revoked certain possessions granted to him by royal

1 Brunton and Haig, *Senators of the College of Justice*, p. 160.
2 *Ibid*, pp. 217-18.

favour, including " the lands and barony of Quhittinghame, with the castell, toure, fortalice, mylnis, multuris, woddis, fischeingis thairof."[1] Lennox died in France in 1582. A charter, dated 31st July 1583, seems to imply that his eldest lawful son held the lands of Whittingehame. This was Ludovic Stewart, second Duke of Lennox (1574-1624), who was next in succession to the Scottish throne. After James VI's removal to England, he was made Steward of the Royal Household. This laird of Whittingehame is buried in Henry VII's Chapel in Westminster Abbey.

In 1638 the lands passed to William Douglas, seventh Earl of Morton (1582-1650). He was a Privy Councillor, one of the Gentlemen of the Bedchamber, both to James VI and Charles I, and commanded the Scots regiment of three thousand in the Rochelle expedition in 1627.[2] In 1630 he was made Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, and in 1635 Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard. He accompanied Charles I to Scotland for his coronation at Holyrood in 1633. In 1641 he was nominated Lord High Chancellor of Scotland. Being one of the richest noblemen in the Kingdom, he advanced large sums for the support of the royal cause during the Civil War. He had four sons and five daughters.

In 1642 there was a charter of Novodamus to Arthur Douglas of Quhittingham, Knight, in liferent, and Archibald Douglas, eldest lawful son and his heirs, of the lands and barony etc. with reservations of liferent to Dame Helen Lumsden and Elizabeth Cranstoun, relict of William Douglas of Stoneypath and Dame Elizabeth Preston, spouse of Arthur Douglas. The daughter of the above Sir Arthur, surviving his brother Archibald, married in 1661 Sir Alexander Seton, Viscount Kingston. There is a charter, dated 1663, in favour of the Senators of the College of Justice, confirming another of alienation and disposition by Alexander Seton, fourth son of George, third Earl of Winton, proprietor of the lands and barony of Hailes, and Dame Elizabeth Douglas, his wife, proprietrix of the lands and barony of Whittingehame, under reversion for 100,000 merks with past rents. The Viscountess Kingston was served heir to her brother Archibald on 15th May 1662.

Thus, in 1663, the long connection of the Douglases with Whittingehame virtually came to an end. Gathering up the story, we find the following were in possession of the lands, and more or less in occupation of the Tower for more than two centuries, the dates assigned being those mentioned in the charters: —

Sir James Douglas, Lord Dalkeith, 1439.

1 *Register, Privy Council of Scotland*, Vol. III, p. 580.
2 J. Balfour, *Annales of Scotland* (to 1652), Vol. II, p. 159.

Sir William Douglas, 1452.
,, William Douglas (son of above), 1512.
,, Robert Douglas of Lochleven, 1540.
,, James Douglas, third Earl of Morton, 1543.
,, William Douglas, 1565.
Esme, eighth Earl of Lennox, by forfeiture, 1581.
Ludovic, second Duke of Lennox, 1583.
Sir Archibald Douglas, 1616.
,, Arthur Douglas, 1628.
,, William Douglas, seventh Earl of Morton, 1638.
,, Arthur Douglas, 1642.
Dame Elizabeth Douglas, 1663.[1]

Before passing from the Douglas family, more distinct mention may be made of an event which has given Whittingehame and its Tower a lasting, if rather sinister, place in our national history. In January 1567, and, as tradition has it, under the sepulchral shadow of a great yew tree in the enclosure of the Tower, Morton, Bothwell and William Maitland of Lethington (now Lennoxlove) assembled at night to plot the death of Darnley. In the confession of Morton made before his execution for complicity in the plot, he says: —

" First after my retorninge out of England, where I was banished for David's (Riccio) slaughter, I came out of Weterburne to Whittinghame where thearle of Bothwell and I met together, and in the yeard of Whittingham after long communinge, thearle Bothwell put forth to me the purpose of the King's (Darnley's) murther, requyreinge what would be my parte therein. . . My answer at that time was this, that I would not in any wise meddle in that matter. . . After this answer Mr Archibald Douglas entered into conference with me . . . persuading me to agree to the Earl of Bothwell's desire. Last of all the Earl of Bothwell, yet being in Whittinghame, earnestly proponed the same matter to me, persuading me therunto, because so was the Queen's mind that she would have it to be done. To this, my answer was, that I desired the Earl of Bothwell to bring the Queen's handwriting to me of that matter for a warrant, and then I should give him an answer." [2]

The meeting at Whittingehame was noted at the time by the political gossips, and Cockburn of Ormiston in his confession says: " It was thought expedient and maist profitable for the commounwealth be the haill Nobilitie and Lords . . . that sic ane young fool and proud tirrane sould not reign nor bear reull over thame."[3]

Of Sir Alexander Seton, who by his marriage with Dame Elizabeth Douglas, became laird of Whittingehame, it is related that at the age of twelve

1 It may be of interest to note that the male line of the Douglases of Whittingehame is represented by the Counts Douglas in Sweden, created Counts Skinninge and Barons of Skelby. Comte Douglas is (or was recently) Swedish Chamberlain, and one of the largest landowners in Sweden.

2 *Calendar of State Papers, Scotland*, Vol. VI, p. 14, where the spelling differs from that contained in a copy preserved in the Tower.

3 R. Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials of Scotland*, Vol. I, p. 512.

he received Charles I, when the King visited Seton Palace, delivering himself of a Latin oration. Then and there his Majesty knighted him, remarking, as he did so: " Now, Sir Alexander, see that this does not spoil your school; by the appearance you will be a scholar." To which Seton replied, " No, please your Majesty." After extensive travel, Sir Alexander came home in 1640, and presumably lived in the Tower. On refusing to sign the Solemn League and Covenant, he was excommunicated in Tranent Church, and had to betake himself to France. On his return, he was entrusted with important State business by Charles II, and on 14th February 1651 was created Viscount Kingston with limitation to the male heirs. On the day when the honour came to him, he was defending Tantallon Castle against Cromwell, who had laid siege to it. The Castle was taken by assault, but Seton and his men received quarter in recognition of their bravery. In 1668 Lord Kingston was appointed to command the East Lothian Militia. He died at Whittingehame, 21st October 1691.

Lord Kingston married four times. His first wife was Jean, daughter of Sir George Fletcher of Saltoun, who died in 1651. The second wife was Elizabeth, the proprietrix of Whittingehame, daughter of Sir Archibald Douglas. He married, thirdly, the Hon. Elizabeth Hamilton, third daughter of the first Lord Belhaven, and, lastly, in 1686, Lady Margaret Douglas, sister of the Earl of Douglas, and therefore a kinswoman of his second wife. She died at Whittingehame in 1690, and was buried in the aisle of the old kirk. By his first wife Lord Kingston had one daughter, who married the third Lord Mordington. There was no issue from the third and fourth marriages. By Dame Elizabeth Douglas of Whittingehame, there were ten children; seven sons (four of whom died in youth) and three daughters (two of whom died early). Archibald, the fourth son, became second Viscount Kingston. He died unmarried in 1714, and was succeeded by his younger brother, James, who was the third and last Viscount Kingston. For his share in the rebellion of 1715, he was attainted.

Meanwhile the estate had passed to another family. By the marriage of the Hon. Lady Elizabeth Seton, only surviving daughter of the first Viscount Kingston, to the Hon. William Hay of Drumelzier, second son of the first Earl of Tweeddale, which marriage took place at Broxmouth in 1695, the Hays became proprietors of Whittingehame. The Hays obtained by fortunate marriages the extensive estates of the Frasers in Peeblesshire, as also Locherworth in Midlothian, Snowden, Carfrae, and Danskine in Berwickshire; Yester, Belton, Whittingehame and Stoneypath Tower in East Lothian.

William Hay died in 1726 but Lady Elizabeth continued to live in the Tower for many years thereafter. Of their five children, who were born and baptised at Whittingehame, the third son, Alexander, succeeded to the property. He married the Hon. Anne Stewart, fourth daughter of Alexander, fifth Lord Blantyre, laird of Lethington, or, as it became known, Lennoxlove. The issue of this marriage was five sons and two daughters. One of the daughters, Anne, married, first, Sir Patrick Murray, Bart. of Balmanno, and, secondly, Archibald Stirling of Keir. The second daughter married Sir Henry Seton, Bart. of Culbeg, in 1770, and, living in widowhood at Whittingehame, was the last member of the Hay family to reside in the Tower.

In 1752 Alexander Hay married, as his second wife, Jean, daughter of Lord David Hay of Belton. During the second Jacobite rebellion, Hay esteemed discretion the better part of valour, and declined to join his younger brother in following the Prince. He came under suspicion, however, and was actually imprisoned in Edinburgh. He died in 1789, and was buried in the aisle of the old kirk at Whittingehame. Robert Hay of Drumelzier, who was served heir to his father, was for thirty-eight years in the service of the East India Company. In 1786 he married Janet, eldest daughter of James Erskine of Cardross, who died in 1808, a year after her husband's death, leaving five sons and four daughters. His son, Colonel William Hay, succeeded to the estate in 1814, but, three years later, he sold Whittingehame to James Balfour of Balbirnie, Fife, by whom the new and stately mansion was built on the other side of the valley, leaving the Tower tenantless, except for the temporary occupation of servants on the estate.

For more than a hundred years the Hays of Drumelzier were proprietors of Whittingehame. They were highly esteemed, and have left the tradition of noble bearing and useful service to the community. Their descendants are to be found in the Tweeddale family, the Hays of Duns Castle, the Hays of Belton, and the Grants of Biel, Charles Thomas Constantine Grant of Kilgraston having, in 1856, married Janet Matilda, daughter of William Hay of Duns Castle. In 1838 James Balfour gave permission to Robert Hay of Nunraw to erect a monument in the old burial ground of Whittingehame, bearing this inscription: " Sacred to the memory of the families of Douglas, and Seton of Whittinghame, and Hay of Drumelzier, over whose sepulchre this stone is placed."

When, in 1817, James Balfour of Balbirnie entered into possession of Whittingehame, he transformed, perhaps we should say transfigured, the whole estate, adding to it much of the adjoining properties, while at the

same time removing the old village in the proximity of the Tower, and forming a new and smaller village at Luggateburn, on the road to East Linton. The policies were planted and laid out by one Gilpin, a celebrated arborist of that time, the marshland near the Tower being converted into lawnland with large herbaceous borders. The architect of the new mansion was Sir Robert Smirke, the architect of the British Museum, and the stones were brought from Cullel's Quarry at Burntisland.

James Balfour was the last member of Parliament under the old system of election in 1831, and the first to be elected under the new system in 1833. In 1815 he married Eleanor, daughter of the Earl of Lauderdale, of Thirlestane Castle in Berwickshire. The Earls of Lauderdale are descended from John Maitland of Lethington, who married Elizabeth, the sister of Agnes who was sister to the tenth Earl of Dunbar, and through whom, by her marriage with Sir James Douglas of Dalkeith, the property of Whittingehame had come to the Douglas family. It will thus be seen that while purchasing the property, James Balfour was in the line of descent from the Douglas family on the maternal side. He was succeeded in 1847 by his eldest son, James Maitland Balfour, who married in 1843, the Lady Blanche Gascoigne-Cecil, sister of the second Marquess of Salisbury, the Victorian Prime Minister. James Maitland Balfour was a country gentleman of high spirit, a sportsman and man of affairs, while the tastes of Lady Blanche were mainly literary, with a pronounced love of nature, and a piety, without austerity, which added charm to her personality. From 1841 to 1847 Mr Balfour worthily represented Haddington Burghs in Parliament. He died in 1856 at the early age of thirty-six, while Lady Blanche died in 1872 at the age of forty-seven.

Of their distinguished family, the most eminent was Arthur James Balfour, who was born 25th July 1848, and succeeded his father as laird of Whittingehame on attaining his majority in 1869. After a career of outstanding distinction in the realms of philosophy, politics, and statemanship, being Prime Minister from 1902 to 1905, he was raised to the peerage as the first Earl of Balfour in 1922. Thus our long record of the families of Whittingehame ends as it began with an earldom, but it is a far cry in more respects than one from the first Earl of Dunbar in the eleventh century to the Earl of Balfour, K.G., O.M., etc., in the twentieth century. Lord Balfour's successor in the earldom was Gerald William Balfour, P.C., his younger brother, Secretary of Ireland (1895-1900), President of the Board of Trade (1900—1905), President of the Local Government Board (1905). In 1887 he married the Lady Elizabeth Edith Lytton, eldest daughter of the first Earl of Lytton. Mr

Gerald Balfour, however, while succeeding to the title, surrendered his right to the property in favour of his son, Robert Arthur Lytton Balfour, the Viscount Traprain, the present popular laird, who married, in 1925, Jean, daughter of Canon J. Cooke-Yarborough, formerly Rector of Puttenham in Surrey, by whom he has issue in two sons and two daughters. In accord with the motto of the Balfour family, "Virtus ad aethera tendit," may prosperity be theirs through many succeeding generations, as it has been that of the families in ancient Tower and modern Mansion.

MARSHALL B. LANG.

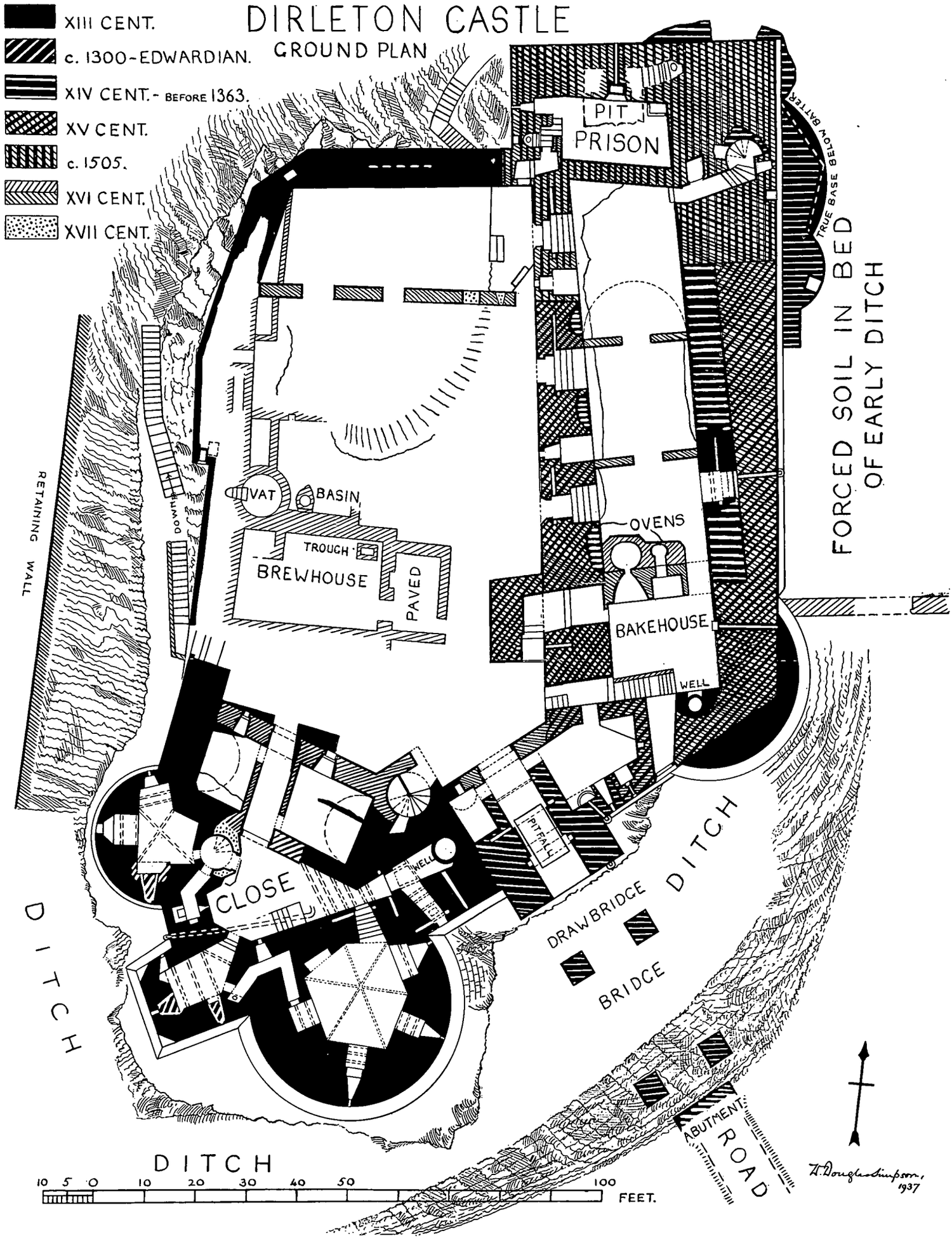
# DIRLETON: ITS CASTLE, PARISH CHURCH, CHAPELS AND COLLEGE

THE East Lothian village of Dirleton, with its quaint old church and the ruins of its famous castle, is one of the most beautiful hamlets in Scotland. True it is that, during the last half century, the march of "progress" has done something to whittle down its charms. Nowadays the pleasant murmur of rural life is constantly invaded by the gross racket of motor transport, and the fragrance of the lime trees and the honeysuckle and the apple blossom has to compete unequally with petrol fumes; for whereas the railway left Dirleton at a tactful distance, the village stands astride the high road from Edinburgh to North Berwick, and its ancient peace, in these modern days of charabancs, has suffered accordingly. Also the physical beauty of the spot has been sadly marred by a housing scheme—fortunately clear of the village green. But it still remains a place of haunting loveliness; and in two notable respects the post-war years have brought improvement. The castle and its pleasaunce have been handed over to the custody of His Majesty's Commissioners of Works, and the ruins have now been excavated and conserved beyond all risk of further decay. And the church has been restored with a full measure of that good taste which tardily is making itself felt in the interiors of our Scottish parish kirks.

## THE CASTLE[1]

In its origin Dirleton Castle was one of those earliest fortresses in stone

1 In 1927 I published a detailed architectural description and discussion of Dirleton Castle in the *Transactions of the Glasgow Archæological Society*, new series, vol. VIII, part 1, pp. 1-31, to which reference may be made for fuller particulars and documentation. It is sufficient here to summarise the main features of the building, and to place on record one or two further facts that have been discovered in the course of the operations conducted by H.M. Office of Works, as also to give some additional historical matters of general interest. The devolution of the manor has recently been the subject of a useful paper on "The Owners of Dirleton," by Mr William Douglas, F.S.A.Scot., in the *Proceedings of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club*, vol. XXVII, pp. 75-92. An admirable short descriptive and historical account of the Castle is now available in the *Official Guide*, by Mr James S. Richardson, F.S.A.Scot., H.M. Inspector of Ancient Monuments for Scotland.


XIII CENT.
c. 1300-EDWARDIAN.
XIV CENT.- BEFORE 1363.
XV CENT.
c. 1505.
XVI CENT.
XVII CENT.
DIRLETON CASTLE
GROUND PLAN
PIT
PRISON
TRUE BASE BELOW BATTER
FORCED SOIL IN BED OF EARLY DITCH
RETAINING WALL
DOWN
VAT
BASIN
TROUGH
BREWHOUSE
PAVED
OVENS
BAKEHOUSE
WELL
PIT FALL
CLOSE
WELL
DRAWBRIDGE
BRIDGE
DITCH
DITCH
DITCH
ABUTMENT
ROAD
10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 100
FEET.
A. Douglas Simpson, 1937

and lime introduced by the immigrant Anglo-Norman baronage who settled over much of Scotland under the generous patronage of the Canmore dynasty. Its founders were scions of the great Norman house of de Vaux, owners of wide domains on both sides of the Border. Their Castle of Dirleton is mentioned as early as 1225, but the upthrust igneous plug on which it stands had been occupied at a far more remote period, as appears from fragments of pottery, assignable to the Early Iron Age, which have been recovered during the recent excavations. These fragments consist of two portions of a large bulging vessel in thick, coarse, hand-made ware of a dirty light-grey colour, with a blackish core. The castle of 1225 was probably constructed of earthwork and timber, and a part of its ditch is still traceable immediately to the north east of the present ruins. This ditch appears to have run out in a north-easterly direction, and it may be conjectured that it swept round to the east and south so as to enclose the bailey or courtyard of the castle, the *motte* or citadel being formed by the rock. The bailey would thus stand on the saddle of the ridge or "tail" of the castle crag.

Before the thirteenth century was far advanced this early castle had been transformed into a powerful stone fortress of the new fashion at that time introduced into Scotland. The guiding principle of such castles is the courtyard enclosure—at Dirleton necessarily circumscribed by the nature of the site—defended by high and thick curtain walls with flanking towers. The more important of these castles show great refinement in detail and perfection of masonry, and the remains surviving at Dirleton indicate that in these respects it was equal to any. Mr Richardson suggests that the earthwork castle was so soon replaced in stone because of " the fact that good freestone was obtainable from a quarry near Gullane, on the western boundary of the baron's domain. This stone was used in the thirteenth century building operations at the Convent of North Berwick, and masons working there and at the quarry may have been enrolled for the building of the castle[1]." In this connection it may not be without significance that John de Vaux, the second known lord of Dirleton, was seneschal to Marie de Coucy, Alexander IInd's Queen. It was Marie de Coucy's father who built the great French Château de Coucy, the *chef d'oeuvre* of the military architecture of its time. Two other Scottish stone castles of the same early age, Kildrummy in Mar and Bothwell on the Clyde, show marked resemblances to Coucy. Kildrummy we know was founded for Alexander II by Gilbert de Moravia, Bishop of Caithness, and Bothwell belonged to the family of which Bishop Gilbert was

1 *Official Guide*, p. 4.

a member. It is therefore not impossible that these three castles, built in stone and of very elaborate and finished architecture at a time when Scottish castles were almost all of the timbered earthwork type, may owe their existence to the connection between the Scottish royal house and the scarcely less regal house of Coucy.

No record exists of the building of the stone castle, but the cubical, close-jointed ashlar masonry, and the nail-head enrichment on the fireplace in the principal tower, indicate a date fairly early in the thirteenth century.

Lying on the right flank of the ancient main road from Berwick to Edinburgh, so powerful a stronghold was bound to figure prominently in the Wars of Independence. On 15th July, 1298, Anthony Bek, the famous warrior-bishop of Durham, captured it after an obstinate defence. Some picturesque incidents of the siege are told us by the English chronicler, Hemingburgh.[1] The first assault, though strongly pressed for several days, failed owing to lack of siege engines, and the assailants, who were not provisioned for a long blockade, were reduced to subsist upon the pease and beans which they could gather in the fields. Two other neighbouring castles, whose names are not given, also defied the English assaults. In these straits the Bishop despatched Sir John Marmaduke, *miles ille strenuissimus*, to crave the will of Edward I, who was then encamped at Kirkliston. "Go back," said the King, "and tell my Lord Bishop that in his episcopal capacity he is rightly a man of tenderness, but in the job that he has now in hand tenderness is out of place[2]." And then he added to Marmaduke, clapping him upon the shoulder: "Thou however art a ruthless fellow, and more than once have I had to reprove thee for thy too great severity, even to the extent that thou hast leaped for very joy over the death of thine enemies. Return thou therefore and be as ruthless as thou wilt, for thou shalt thereby earn my praises, not my blame. And look thou that thou beholdest not my face again until these three castles be burned." "How shall I do this deed, my lord King," inquired the Knight, "sith the task is over-difficult?" "Farewell," said the King, breaking the discussion short: "by setting hand to it thou shalt succeed, and thou wilt pledge me that it shall be done!" Meantime three ships had come in with provisions; and thus refreshed, the besiegers made so fierce an attack upon the castle that in two days they compelled the brave garrison to surrender. Their lives and goods were granted them in token of their gallantry. A

1 *Chronicon Walteri de Hemingburgh*, ed. H. C. Hamilton, vol. II, pp. 174-5.
2 "*Revertere et dic episcopo quod homo pietatis est in quantum episcopus, non tamen oportet in hoc facto opera pietatis exercere.*"

force was then despatched against the other two castles, which were found empty and committed to the flames. Probably these were wooden structures. Hemingburgh writes as if all three castles had been burned. If this was so, Dirleton must have been restored very soon thereafter, as it was garrisoned by the English and remained in their hands until after May, 1311. It is probable that the early repairs traceable in the western towers were done during the English occupation. A small fireplace inserted in the lesser round tower is certainly English work of this period: it has the chamfered jambs curved out above and below, which are constantly found in Edwardian fireplaces.[1]

On January 15-16, 1304, Dirleton Castle afforded lodgement over night to Edward Ist's second Queen, Margaret of France, then on her way to join her consort at Dunfermline. There is still preserved a letter to the King, dated Jan. 11, 1304, from an unknown official, who gives particulars of the route drawn up for the Queen: —

The writer acknowledges the King's letter at Berwick this Wednesday next after Epiphany at the hour of tierce, commanding him to hasten the arrangements for the Queen's joining him. Tells him these were already well ordered before receipt of his letter by Sir Robert de Cottingham, and that the Queen awaited nothing but her escort, or would by this time have reached him. When she showed the King's commands to Sir John de Berwick and the writer, the latter by the advice of Sir John sent the King's letter to Sir Alexander de Balliol and Sir Robert de Clifford, and the Queen's letters to the Constables of Norham and Werk, and Sir Robert Hastang, Constable of Roxburgh, to tell their people that Sir Robert de Clifford was going to the King, and to the other men-at-arms of this March to attend the Queen at Berwick with horses and arms this Saturday, St. Hilary's day, in order that the Queen should have sure escort on her journey as far as Dirltone. She will start from Berwick this Sunday, the morrow of St. Hilary, sleep that night at Dunbar, and the next at Dirlton, whence her escort will return, as the King had signified he would send an escort to meet her there. Written at Berwick on Tweed, *le unzime jour de Janevoir*.[2]

From another document it appears that " Sunday, the morrow of St. Hilary " was Jan. 14.[3] The Queen's itinerary to Dirleton thus is: —Jan. 14, Berwick to Dunbar; 15th, Dunbar to Dirleton. The stages were unequal, being about 25 miles from Berwick to Dunbar, as against some 15 from Dunbar to Dirleton.

When recaptured from the English, in accordance with Bruce's usual policy, the castle was evidently destroyed, only those portions being left which afterwards were incorporated in the restoration carried out by the Halyburtons,

1 There are two other examples of these fireplaces in Scotland, one in the Edwardian gatehouse at Kildrummy Castle, and the other re-used in later work at the Castle of St. Andrews.
2 J. Bain, *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland*, vol. II, p. 378, No. 1438.
3 *Ibid.*, No. 1439.

who succeeded to the barony about 1340. The early parts thus surviving consist of the fine group of three towers—two round, one square between them —at the south-west corner, the stump of a third round tower at the opposite end of the south front, and the foundation course of a fourth at the north-east corner. Owing to the site there was no tower at the remaining or north-west angle of the *enceinte*. Other fragments of the early castle, including a postern (afterwards blocked) on the east side, survive at various places, inwrought with the more recent buildings.

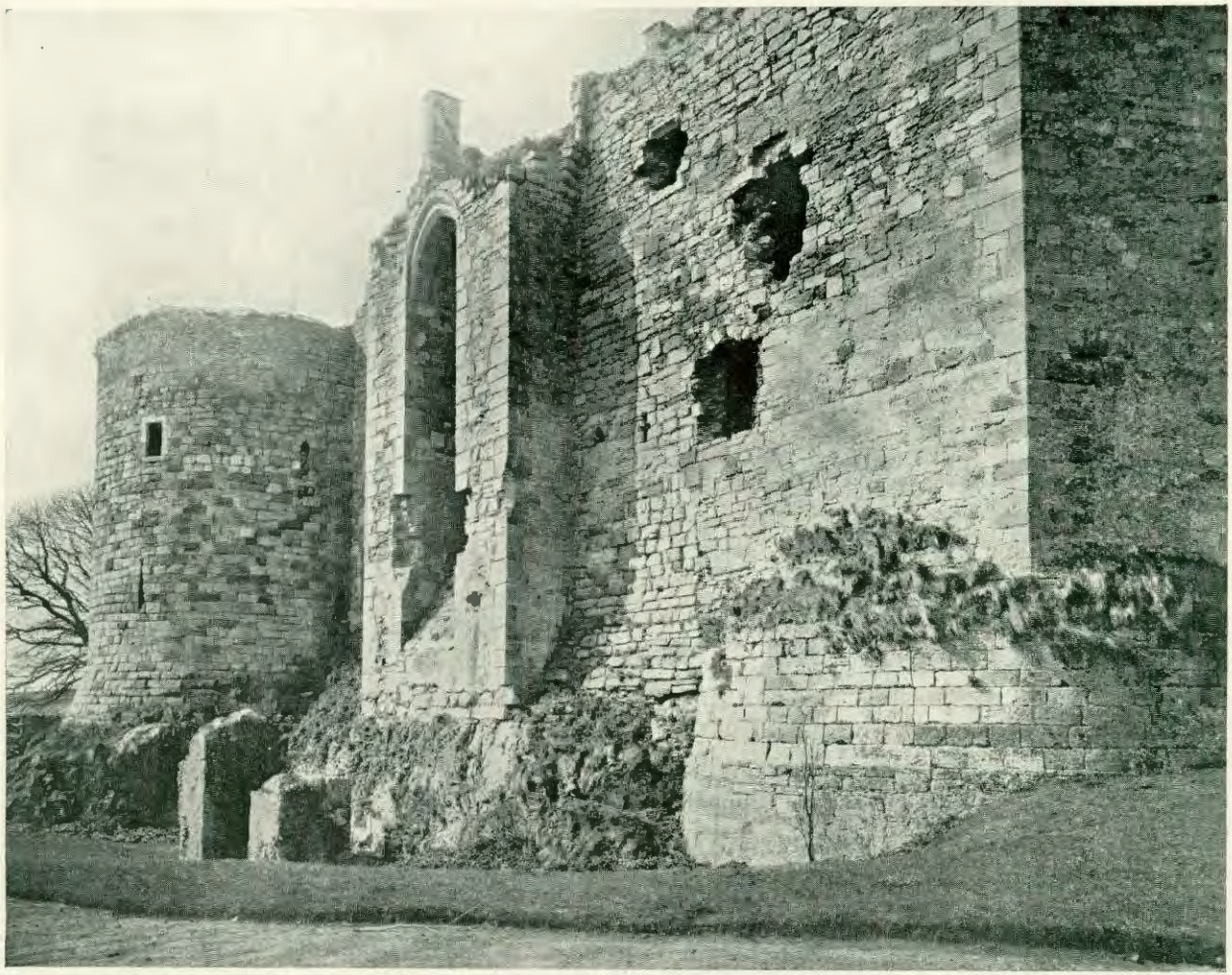
The Halyburton restoration must have taken place before 1363, in which year the castle, then under royal wardship, was besieged and captured by the rebel Earl of Douglas. To this first reconstruction seems to belong the splendid gatehouse, with the curtain eastward as far as an irregular vertical joint in the masonry, and the old rubble walling, in large coursed stones, still traceable along both sides of the later great eastern vault, with the spiral stair at its north end. Here the fourteenth-century curtain, which followed the alignment of its predecessor, terminated in an angled work built upon the stump of the demolished round tower.

In my former account,[1] I showed that the south curtain, east of the Halyburton gatehouse, is a composite rebuild in part using old materials, and that it is probably off the lines of its thirteenth-century predecessor, which would naturally be withdrawn so as to relieve the south-east tower.

Excavation disclosed a rubble-built pit inside the outer gate-arch. This pit would receive the inner or counterpoise end of the drawbridge when the latter was raised. The lack of evidence as to how the chain of the bridge was taken into the building is doubtless due to the fact—revealed by examination when the scaffolding was up—that the wall above the corbel course (and including it) has been reconstructed.[2] No doubt the original wall would have had a hole for the chain, as at Caerlaverock. This seems more probable than Mr Richardson's idea that the original bridge was worked by a windlass mounted on the timber decking above the great arch of the gatehouse, for at first this platform was open to the sky. Later on, when the axis of the bridge had been moved forward, the upper front wall of the gatehouse rebuilt, and the platform overhead roofed in, the new bridge would undoubtedly be worked from this platform.

At some period, apparently about the middle of the fifteenth century, a radical reorganisation of the buildings on the east side was taken in hand.

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 12.
2 The gatehouse at Tantallon had a similar history.



Dirleton Castle: View of South Front, showing Donjon, Gatehouse, and Stump of Destroyed Tower.

The angled work at the north end was pulled down, and to compensate for the loss of flanking defence thus entailed, or perhaps merely to get additional elbow room, the new curtain wall was pushed out to the edge of the rock by thickening it outside progressively northward, till it finally reaches the enormous thickness of 22 feet. At the same time the ditch on this side appears to have been filled in, the material used for this purpose consisting largely of masonry spoil from the demolished buildings which was deemed unserviceable for re-use. Against the new curtain a complete, self-contained *corps de logis* was built, with all the usual domestic accommodation of the period. It has a great hall in the centre, with a kitchen at the lower end and private rooms in the upper, all overlying spacious cellarage, with prisons beneath the private rooms. The unusual size of the cellar doors probably allowed for barrels being rolled in. The kitchen is vaulted—no doubt as a precaution against fire—and is carried impressively through the full height of the building, as at Hurstmonceux Castle. The two great fireplaces recall those of Dudley and Warkworth Castles, and indicate the increased importance given to good cheer in the fifteenth century. Later, a bakehouse was established in the south end of the long cellar, under the kitchen. The north quarter of the Halyburton house, which comprises the solar apartments and forms a self-contained unit, was evidently completed somewhat later, and this work is perhaps to be correlated with the known presence of masons working at the castle in 1505.[1] The finely carved dresser in the hall was probably inserted about the same time. Its vine-leaf ornament is almost identical with that found on the south cornice of King's College Chapel, Aberdeen, erected in 1500-5. This resemblance is suggestive in view of the known Lothian connections of King's College Chapel. The position of the dresser, at the screen's end of the hall, is abnormal, but probably here there was no screen in the usual sense, the large service passage to the kitchen, with its hatch and sideboard, answering to the functions of a screen. A display of plate on the dresser would afford a grateful view to the lord seated on his dais at the opposite end of the hall. The large mural pantry at the lower end of the hall, with an aumbry inside, is paralleled by similar features at Huntly Castle and in the "Lion Chalmer" at Linlithgow Palace—though in these there is no hatch to the cellarage below.

One of these private rooms at the upper end of the hall is remarkable in

1 On 15th September 1505, James IV visited Dirleton and disbursed 28s in drinksilver "to the masons and workmen"—*Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer*, vol. III, p. 161. The fact that there were more than one mason as well as workmen employed, and the amount of money distributed, indicate that an important building was in progress.

that it gives evidence of having been used both for domestic purposes and also, when required, as a chapel. Along with the usual ecclesiastical fittings —altar-stance, aumbry, credence, and benatura—it possesses a fireplace, a window with a stone side-bench, and a hatch so contrived as to overlook proceedings in the cellarage below the hall. Such observation hatches were not uncommon in the domestic accommodation of the period, both in Scotland and in England.[1] The combination of sacred and household functions in this room strikes us as odd, but it would not seem so in the fifteenth century. Religion and religious observance were closely interwoven in the daily life of men and women in the Middle Ages: it has been left to modern times to relegate them to Sunday. Mediaeval parish churches were constantly used for all sorts of secular purposes; and that castle chapels were regarded in a similar light we know from Sir David Lyndsay, who tells us that he wrote his poem *The Dreme*—hardly a sacred composition—" in tyll ane Oritore " whither he retired after dinner.[2] So also in the opening lines of *The Tragedie of the Cardinal* the same writer clearly shows how an oratory in a private house was used also for purely recreational reading[3]: —

> Nocht Lang ago, eftir the hour of pryme,
> Secreitly sitting in myne Oratorie,
> I tak ane Buke, tyll occupye the tyme,
> Quhare I fand monie Tragedie and storie
> Quhilk Ihone Bochas had put in memorie.

From this passage it would appear that Sir David Lyndsay's oratory was also his library or study; and the room under discussion at Dirleton, with its fireplace having a cosy seat in the ingoing, and near by a large, ornate, shelved locker that can hardly be anything else than an *armarium* or book-press, in all probability served the same purpose. One pictures old Lord

1 Sir Walter Scott has pictured a contrivance of this sort in action at the beginning of the third chapter of *Peveril of the Peak*: " Even upon ordinary occasions, and where means were ample, a great entertainment in those days was not such a sinecure as in modern times, when the lady who presides has but to intimate to her menials the day and hour when she wills it to take place. At that simple period the lady was expected to enter deeply into the arrangement and provision of the whole affair; and from a little gallery, which communicated with her own private apartment, her shrill voice was to be heard from time to time, like that of the warning spirit in a tempest, rising above the clash of pots and stewpans—the creaking of spits—the clattering of marrow bones and cleavers—the scolding of cooks—and all the other various kinds of din which form an accompaniment to dressing a large dinner." And in a note to chap. VI of the same novel, Scott mentions an authentic example which is a close parallel to Dirleton, in that the observation hatch opens from the chapel:—" At Haddon Hall, Derbyshire . . . . in the lady's pew in the chapel there is a sort of scuttle which opens into the kitchen, so that the good lady could ever and anon, without much interruption of her religious duties, give an eye that the roast meat was not permitted to burn, and that the turn-broche did his duty."

2 *Works*, ed. D. Hamer, vol. I, p. 35.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 130.

Patrick Halyburton on a winter's day sitting here in his ingle-neuk engrossed in some well-thumbed ancient chronicle, ready at the appointed time for the ministrations of his chaplain, and while he reads casting occasionally a watchful eye through the hatch at the doings of his servants in the long vault below.

The capacious locker in the passage leading from the long cellar to the service stair is paralleled by a similar feature in the stair passage of the Tour de Constance at Aigues Mortes. What special purpose such fitments may have served it is hard to say.

This Halyburton house is a strong and resourceful effort of building. It is conceived on a big scale, and is cleverly adapted to the restricted site and the previous remnants. Yet there is something *schwerfällig* and sombre about it. It strikes us as a little clumsy, and architecturally it lacks the bold energy of the thirteenth century towers, the robust yet delicate grace of the fourteenth century gatehouse, or the classic elegance of the later work. Criticism is perhaps unfair, as the hall, which was the principal element in the design, is now a total ruin: but the building as a whole does seem to have had less of the dignity and pride of feudalism about it than the other major Scottish domestic buildings of the fifteenth century. A remarkable feature is the preservation of the older cellarage alignment. It is difficult to understand why this should have been done. One imagines that it would have been more satisfactory to clear away altogether the older cellarage walling which has been suffered to remain on either side of the long vault. Perhaps the fact that the cellar is partly hewn out of the living rock may have had something to do with it.

Probably during the later Halyburton period the great thirteenth century round tower at the south-west corner was reduced in height and remodelled to provide for wall head defence with small cannon, and the protruding top of its upper vault was blanketed with turf as a protection against plunging fire.[1] The large brewhouse, of which foundations remain on the west side of the courtyard, is probably another work of the later Halyburton period. Beyond that it is likewise late in date, it is impossible to give any estimate of the age of the fragmentary range on the north side of the courtyard. Nearly all the Halyburton walling, except the freestone dressings, is carried out in rough trachitic rubble—the spoil of the castle rock itself—in contrast to the freestone ashlar of the original buildings, though naturally a great many older

1 This was a common practice. During the defence of St. Andrews Castle in 1547, the walls were "rycht stronglie stuffit with faill"—*Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 43.

stones, still lying about on the site or available by demolition, were re-used wherever handy in the successive reconstructions.[1]

About 1515 Dirleton passed by marriage to the Lords Ruthven. Later in this century the new owners erected at the south-west corner of the court-yard a second house which formed a complete lodging, lacking only culinary accommodation, as the great Halyburton kitchen served the whole castle. The symmetrically planned elevation of this Ruthven lodging betokens the influence of the Renaissance. In conserving it, portions of glazed tiles with stamped heraldic and other patterns were discovered: the main floor, resting on the vaults, had evidently been laid with these. They have been described by Mr Richardson,[2] and include pieces showing the royal, Halyburton, and Ruthven coats of arms. One tile exhibits a shield charged with the arms of William, fourth Lord Ruthven and first Earl of Gowrie, impaled with those of his wife, Dorothea Stewart. He married her about 1561, and was executed in 1584 for his share in the Raid of Ruthven. Between these dates the Ruthven lodging appears to have been erected.

In connection with this lodging a handsome wheel stair was built in a square tower beside the inner portal of the gate-house. Subsequently a second stair, in a semi-hexagonal tower, was inserted between the Ruthven lodging and the old de Vaux tower upon which it abuts. The delicately profiled cornice moulding found on the Ruthven lodging appears also at the wall-head over the servery passage between the Halyburton hall and kitchen. The masonry of this walling closely resembles that of the square stair-case tower: in both, thirteenth century stones are freely used. Thus it is evident that the upper portion of the servery block was refashioned when the Ruthven lodging was built. The small corbelled stair turret in the angle here also belongs to the same reorganisation. About this period, moreover, the little kitchen court on the first floor, as well as the caphouse platform over the gate-house, were roofed in, and the portcullis chamber was divided into living rooms. This constant struggle, on the narrow rocky stance, to obtain more and more private accommodation, after the fashion of living in hall had gone

1 It was an obvious economy to use the old materials again, particularly when they were fine ashlar and the stone had to be brought from a distance, as was the case at Dirleton. That medieval masons were careful in such matters is shown by an interesting extract from the Corfe Castle building accounts of the year 1377. "Six men were employed for sixty days in pulling down the stone of the walls and preserving the freestone thereof, and twenty more were similarly employed for the same number of days in saving the same stones from being broken."—T. Bond, *History and Description of Corfe Castle*, p. 116. In the same way at Warkworth Castle in 1513, in repairing a wall that had fallen down, two masons were detailed to oversee the labourers in recovering from the debris the *achillers* or ashlars for use in the repair work:—*Northumberland County History*, vol. v, p. 53.

2 *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, vol. LXIII, pp. 305-8.

out, is one of the most interesting points about Dirleton Castle. It left the buildings finally in a congested and encumbered condition, and one feels perhaps that due value has not been obtained even from the limited opportunities of the site. Yet at the end of the tale, after four centuries of construction and reconstruction, it was a noble house, and a house in a fine setting. " I cair nocht for all the land I haue in this kingdome," wrote the conspirator, Logan of Restalrig, in 1600, "in caiss I get a grip of Dirltoun, ffor I esteem it the plesantest duelling in Scotland."[1]

In the ancient documents which I have explored, I have found specific mention of only two rooms in the castle. On 16th April, 1438, a deed is signed " in the chamber of Sir Walter within the Castle of Dirleton."[2] And in June, 1649, one of the famous Dirleton witch-trials took place within the "broad hall" of the castle.[3]

No doubt from the Ruthven period dates the lay-out of the pleasaunce which surrounds the castle, at least in its present form. But the policies in their origin seem to be older, for there exists a deed, dated March 11, 1489, "done under a pear tree in the orchard of Dirleton near the castle."[4] Very probably the terraced garden, with its venerable holly and yew trees, is, as Mr Richardson suggests, the creation of the first Earl of Gowrie, who was much interested in arboriculture. This garden is reached from the castle by a postern gate and a narrow flight of rough stone steps down the west face of the rock. To the Ruthven period, doubtless, belong also the round-arched outer gateway and the tall circular dovecot.[5]

The same geographical conditions which had involved Dirleton so heavily in the struggle for independence brought about its final ruin during the invasion of Cromwell. In September 1650 the castle was reconditioned, broken windows were repaired, and a garrison was installed;[6] but on 8th November, after a short bombardment, it surrendered to General Lambert. The events of this, the last siege of Dirleton, are thus summarised in a despatch written immediately after its fall: —

That Colonel Monk with a party of 1600 was sent to take Derlington House, a nest of the moss troopers who killed many soldiers of the army. That he and Major General Lambert came before the house and cast up batteries the same night, so that

1 *Act. Parl. Scot.*, vol. IV, p. 420b; *cf.* Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, vol. II, p. 283.
2 *Laing Charters*, No. 116.
3 *Reg. Privy Council*, 2nd ser., vol. VIII, p. 195.
4 *Hist. MSS Commission, 9th Report* (*Papers of Lord Elphinstone*), p. 188b.
5 The dovecot is mentioned in 1600—*Act. Parl. Scot.*, vol. IV, p. 217b; *cf. Reg. Magni Sigilli*, 1593-1608, No. 1095.
6 Public Record Office, C.22, 489/23, Suit *Dirleton v. Dalmahoy*, answer to interrogatory 40.

their great guns were ready to play the next morning by the break of day. That their great shot played, and that the fourth shot of their mortar piece tore the inner gate, beat down the drawbridge into the moat, and killed the lieutenant of the moss troopers, so that they called for quarter, which would not be given them, nor would they agree to surrender to mercy, but upon reverence,[1] which was consented unto. That they took the governor; and the captain of the moss troopers and 60 soldiers. That two of the most notorious of them and the captain were shot to death upon the place. They took in it many arms, 60 horses which they had taken from the English, and released ten English prisoners, and demolished the house.[2]

As usual in such cases, demolition is of course here to be understood in a strictly limited sense, as indeed the condition of the ruins to-day bears witness. No doubt the place was made useless for military purposes; but Mr Douglas has shown that it was the *venue* for the Sheriff Courts of Haddington on occasions as late as 1656.[3] In Grose's drawing (1787), the main front is shown as still partly roofed.[4] Before dismantling the castle the English removed and sold all the furniture for £100 sterling, which sum was less than half its value.[5]

In their conservation of the ruins H.M. Office of Works are to be commended for restoring the ancient mode of access by an inclined bridge across the ditch and so through the gatehouse. Thus the public are enabled to approach the castle by the old front, whereby a *coup d'oeil* is at once afforded of the main lay-out and architectural history of the buildings. The result is a great gain in reality. Previously the courtyard could be reached only by the inconvenient side-stair from the old garden, which brought the visitor up the flank of the rock and introduced him to the interior of the castle without any conception of its general plan or development. It is hardly necessary to add that the present bridge makes no pretence exactly to reproduce the original mode of access, which was by an inclined gangway and a counterbalanced drawbridge. The only criticism that might be passed is that the gradient selected for the present bridge has entailed banking up the counterscarp to a height which it never had in former times, and thereby burying the stone revetment from which the ancient bridge took off. No other gradient, however, was possible owing to the course here taken by the boundary wall.

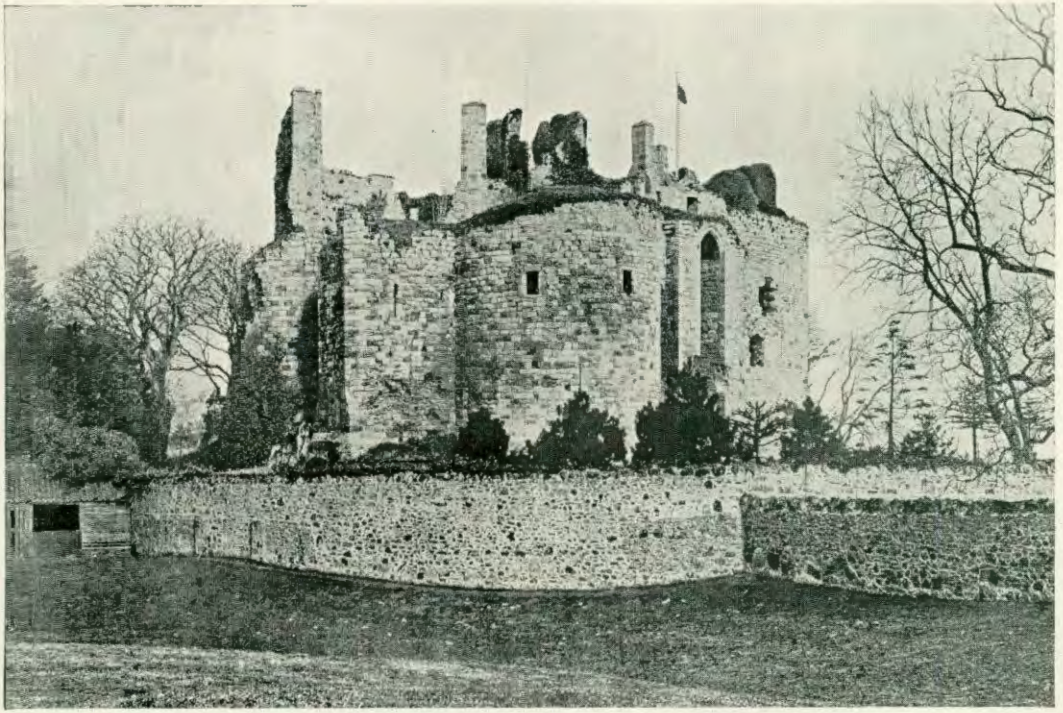
1 i.e. presumably, respect to be had to their personal safety—though in three cases this condition was not adhered to.

2 Bulstrode Whitelocke's *Memorials*, ed. 1853, vol. III, pp. 258-9.

3 *The Owners of Dirleton*, op. cit., pp. 14-5.

4 *Antiquities of Scotland*, vol. I, p. 72.

5 Answers to interrogatory No. 39, Suit "*Dalmahoy v. Dirleton*" P.R.O. C. 22, 489/23.



Dirleton Castle: View of 13th century Towers at South West Corner.

# DIRLETON

## THE PARISH CHURCH

Prior to 1612 Dirleton was in the parish of Gullane; but in that year Sir Thomas Erskine, Viscount Fenton, at this time lord of the manor, was authorised by Act of Parliament, with the consent of the Presbytery and parishioners to demolish the Kirk of Gullane, and to use its materials in the building of a new parish church at Dirleton, because the latter was "ane florising towne," centrally situated, whereas Gullane Church "is situat at the outsyde of the haill parochin thairof, quhilk is ane great parochin, and is sa incommodiouslie situat besyde the seasand that the same, with the kirkyard thairof, is continewallie owerblawin with sand, that nather the kirk servis commodiouslie for convening of the parochiners, nor yet the kirkyard for thair buriall, besydis mony vtheris inconvenientis staying the saidis parochiners in tyme of storme and vnseasonable weather to convene at the said kirk[1]." The fine old Norman church of Gullane—a notable monument of the piety of the de Vaux—was thereupon unroofed and apparently in part demolished, though none of its stones seem now to be traceable in Dirleton Church. The latter is a most interesting example of post-Reformation Gothic, and has recently (1930) been well restored by Mr Stewart Kaye, A.R.I.B.A.

The church is a long narrow oriented building with a west tower emerging from the continuous high-pitched roof; the Dirleton or Archerfield aisle, added in 1664, projects from its south front; and on the north side is a small vestry, which is modern—as also was an east porch, removed in the restoration. The upper part of the tower dates from 1825.[2] The old parts of the church are built of harled rubble, with freestone dressings, but the Archerfield aisle is in ashlar. It has rusticated angle pilasters, each carrying a sundial on the front and side faces, and supporting a heavy pediment, on the tympanum of which is a cartouche with the arms of James Maxwell, Earl of Dirleton, a saltire within a bordure charged with eight thistles, surmounted by an earl's coronet. The same arms occur on the pedimented eastern entrance. So far, the aisle is a good specimen of Scottish classical Renaissance; but there is a remarkable and highly effective harking back to medieval tradition in two features:—the south window, a good Gothic design of three cusped lights with loop tracery, also cusped; and the roof, which is built of heavy overlapping slabs quite in the old Scottish baronial manner.

The exterior of the church proper is featureless enough, with plain round

1 *Act. Parl. Scot.* vol. IV, p. 490a.
2 The date 1828 with initials W.R. is cut inside the three-light window on the west front of the topmost storey. S.

modern windows. The older windows, now blocked, were square, with chamfered edges. Built up doors, north and south, still exist at either end of the nave. The west door is modern. On the north side of the tower is a projecting circular turret stair, with conical roof, and the old parapet level, beneath the modern heightening, is marked by two large cannon gargoyles. When the modern east porch was removed in the recent restoration, a plain three-light window was inserted, with basket tracery.

Plain round-arched chamfered doors in either wing of the gable wall admit from the nave, on the north side to the newel stair of the tower, and on the south side to a void underneath the present gallery stair. Probably the original stair was reached from this door. The tower contains four storeys, the basement being vaulted. The topmost room is used as a dovecot, which is quite in accordance with medieval practice.[1] The turret stair reaches to the second floor only, access thereafter being obtained by ladders. Scarcements indicate that before the heightening the tower had a roof sloping from south to north.

Before the restoration the church was arranged in an extraordinary manner. The pulpit and communion table stood midway in the north side, the pews faced east and west towards them, and there was a gallery at the west end. The organ was on the south side, east of the Archerfield aisle. In the restoration a false arch—not a satisfactory feature— was inserted so as to divide the church into nave and chancel, the latter containing pulpit, lectern, communion table, and organ. The whole church was reseated comfortably with the new arrangements. The west gallery has been retained.

Internally the Archerfield aisle has some interesting features. It is entered from the church by a wide semi-circular archway having imposts slightly projected on the nave side only, and plain but good broad shallow mouldings. On either side above the impost is a coat of arms surmounted by a coronet. The eastern is a shield having the Maxwell cognisance, while the western one is a lozenge charged with a large cross moline between four smaller ones, being the arms of Elisabeth Debousy (Busson de Podolsko), Countess of Dirleton. Although not completed till after the Restoration, the Dirleton aisle was planned, and apparently building, as a burial aisle for James Maxwell, Earl of Dirleton, so far back as 1656, in which year it was reported that the estimated cost of the work was £45 sterling " or thereby," and that marble for a monument had not yet come from " ane stoner at

1 See G. G. Coulton, *The Medieval Village*, p. 78, note 2. Two other East Lothian churches, Stenton and Pencaitland, have towers fitted up as dovecots.

London."[1]

The whole interior fittings of the restored church are in the best of taste, and are a model of what a Presbyterian church can be once it has discarded the old prejudice that beauty in the House of God is an evil thing.[2]

The quasi-classical tomb on the outside of the east gable, described by the Ancient Monuments Commission as " probably of the early eighteenth century,"[3] is twice dated 1728.

The manse did not at once follow the church in its transference from Gullane to Dirleton. So late as 1627 the minister complains that " he hathe ane manse and ane gleib in Gulane a long myle from the kirk of Diriltoun. The gleib is so overblowen with sand as the largest aiker therof hes not bein manured these fyve yeiris bygone, the rest doth scarslie yeild the own seed as is notourlie knowen."[4] Six years later the manse had become " rwinous and decayit," and the lord of the manor agreed to build a new manse and provide a new glebe at Dirleton.[5] The present manse was erected in the year 1825.

## THE CHAPELS AND COLLEGE

It is the general rule in Norman baronies that the parish church and the castle are situated side by side, as representing respectively the ecclesiastical and the civil nuclei of the early manorial organisation. To this rule the de Vaux lordship of Dirleton is a conspicuous exception. The reasons for planting the castle on the igneous plug in the centre of the demesne are sufficiently apparent. But it remains a mystery why the parish church should have been established at Gullane, in a wind-swept and isolated situation on the extreme north western boundary of the manor. At all events, the error was

1 P.R.O. C. 22. 489/23, Suit *Dirleton v. Dalmahoy*, answers to interrogatory No. 29.

2 The strikingly beautiful window in the Archerfield aisle, gifted in 1935 by Mr Jackson Russell of Archerfield in memory of his wife, is thus described in *The Scotsman*, September 10, 1935:—" The window is unusual in shape and design. The chief interest is in the grouping of wild birds and animals about the solitary figure of a woman. At the top there is a flight of tern against a background of vivid blue. The figure stands on a green hill with a stream running along the foot, and there are groups of rabbits, pigeons, ducks, voles, and other animals. These two passages of colour are separated by white glass through which comes a rush of small birds in downward curves. There are lesser interests here and there, such as a woodpecker at work on the stem of a tree, two little brown birds feeding their young, bushes of broom and gorse in flower. There are about 90 different creatures portrayed in the window, which is in three panels. The whole is an expression of the soul's love of Nature. The window was designed by Miss Margaret Chilton, A.R.C.A., and executed by Miss Marjorie Kemp, under the direction of Mr F. C. Mears, F.R.I.B.A."

3 *Anc. Mon. Commission, Report on East Lothian*, p. 15.

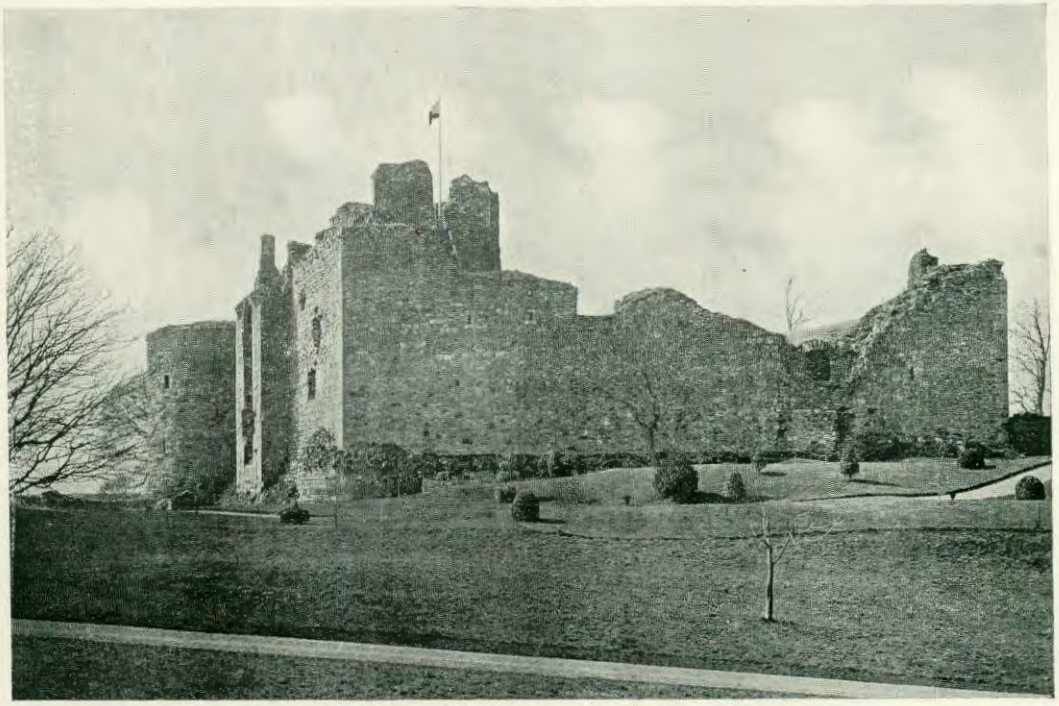
4 *Reports on the State of Certain Parishes in Scotland* (Maitland Club), p. 110.

5 *Act. Parl. Scot.*, vol. v, p. 106.

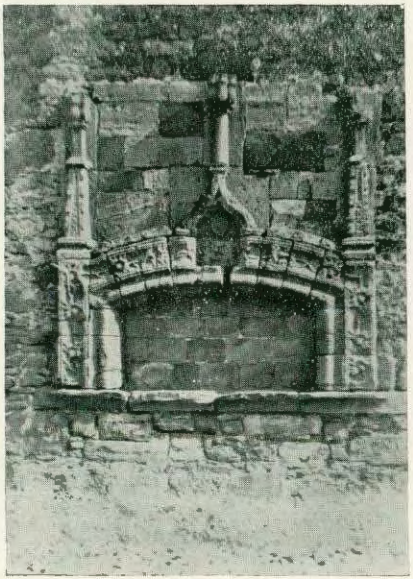
one that it took three and a half centuries fully to rectify. But from an early time some sort of provision had been made to meet the spiritual needs of the little community which would grow up under the shadow of Dirleton Castle. In a deed of William de Vaux, *circa* 1221, the chapel of St Andrew at Dirleton is mentioned. This chapel was subordinate to the "mother church of Gullane," which also was under the same invocation.[1] A little before this time, we have a charter by John de Vaux, lord of Dirleton, in which he refers to "the chapel which I have founded in honour of all the saints on my lands of Dirleton;" and in another document of the same date he calls it "the chapel founded by me in the *villa* (manor) of Dirleton."[2] Here therefore we have evidence in the thirteenth century of two chapels at Dirleton, one dedicated to St Andrew and the other to All Saints.

At some date prior to the sixteenth century, the chapel of St Andrew at Dirleton was dissociated from Gullane and impropriated to the Trinitarian Abbey of Fail, or Failford, in Ayrshire. There is extant a writ under the Privy Seal, dated 2nd May, 1507, in which it is stated that the Chapel of St Andrew in Dirleton, of the Trinitarian Order, had been three years vacant; accordingly the King as superior — Patrick, Lord Halyburton of Dirleton having recently died—presents the charge to Friar Alexander Blith of the said Order.[3] And in the Great Seal register is a charter, dated 1588, of the Friar lands of Dirleton and the lands and garden called the "chapell-yaird" in the village of Dirleton, the temporalities of which had belonged to the "minister, prior, and convent of Fail and the prior of Dirleton."[4] The principal of a Trinitarian or Red Friars Monastery was known as the "minister"; and that the friar in charge of the chapel at Dirleton was styled the "prior of Dirleton," we learn from an entry in the Privy Council Register, under the year 1593, which particularises "the lands called the Frear lands of Dirltoun, consisting of ten merkland of old extent, with a tenement of land adjacent thereto, lying within the toun of Dirltoun, called the Chapel yard, formerly pertaining in temporality to the priory of the chapel of Dirltoun." The name of a former Prior is given: "Friar John Dalyell, Prior of Dirleton."[5] In later documents the Friar-lands of Dirleton are called the "boon-lands" or "boundlands."[6] A detailed statement is given in the Report on the Parish of 1627: they then consisted of 42 acres

1 *Liber S. Marie de Dryburgh*, Nos. 29-30.
2 *Ibid.*, Nos. 31-32; *cf.* Nos. 286-7.
3 *Reg. Secret Seal*, vol. I, No. 1470.
4 *Reg. Magni Sigilli*, 1580-93, No. 1568; *cf. ibid.*, 1593-1608, No. 1875; 1609-20, No. 1859.
5 *Reg. Privy Council*, vol. V, p. 106.
6 *Laing Charters*, Nos. 1241, 2042, 2061, 2181, 2379, 2443.



Dirleton Castle: View of East Front.



Dirleton Castle: Buffet in Hall.

and a husbandland, and there was "ane house situate quhair the chaippell stoode of old."[1]

Of All Saints' Chapel I have been able to find no mention subsequent to its foundation. The two chaplains seem to be indicated in a charter granted at Dirleton on December 30, 1449, among the witnesses to which are Sir John Burgoun, Chaplain of Dirleton, and another chaplain, Sir Thomas Sinclair.[2]

At the Reformation period we have mention of the "preist of St. Catherines chapell in Dirltoun."[3] Most probably this is the private chapel still extant in the castle.

It is said that Sir Walter Halyburton founded in 1444 a collegiate church at Dirleton.[4] Such foundations were very common during the later Middle Ages, taking the place of the great monasteries which had provided an objective for the piety of an earlier generation. An establishment of collegiate priests of this sort was usually planted by the noble founder in the immediate neighbourhood of his residence, and a chief item in the duties of the corporation would be to celebrate mass daily for the souls of the founder and his kin. There were three other such collegiate establishments in East Lothian, all in close dependence on a castle: Bothans, founded by Sir William Hay of Yester in 1421; Dunglass, by Sir Alexander Hume prior to 1450; and Seton, by the fourth Lord Seton about 1493. All these churches survive, and show an unaisled uniform plan of choir and transepts, at Seton and Dunglass with a central tower: but only at Dunglass was a nave provided.[5] These still existing buildings give us some idea of what was doubtless provided at Dirleton. I have not been able to find any authentic documents connected with the foundation of the latter college, but the name Collegehead, more properly Collegestead, still marks the site. The revenue of the college at the Reformation is stated to have been returned at only £20.[6]

In 1505 Sir John Robison was Provost of the College at Dirleton, and had a house-yard in the village; and at a barony court held in the castle on 1st April, 1506, Master John Murray, Provost of Dirleton, appeared to prove his infeftment in the lands of Quarelhede (Collegehead).[7] A respond in respect of Dirleton, on 29th October, 1552, includes the advowson or patronage of the

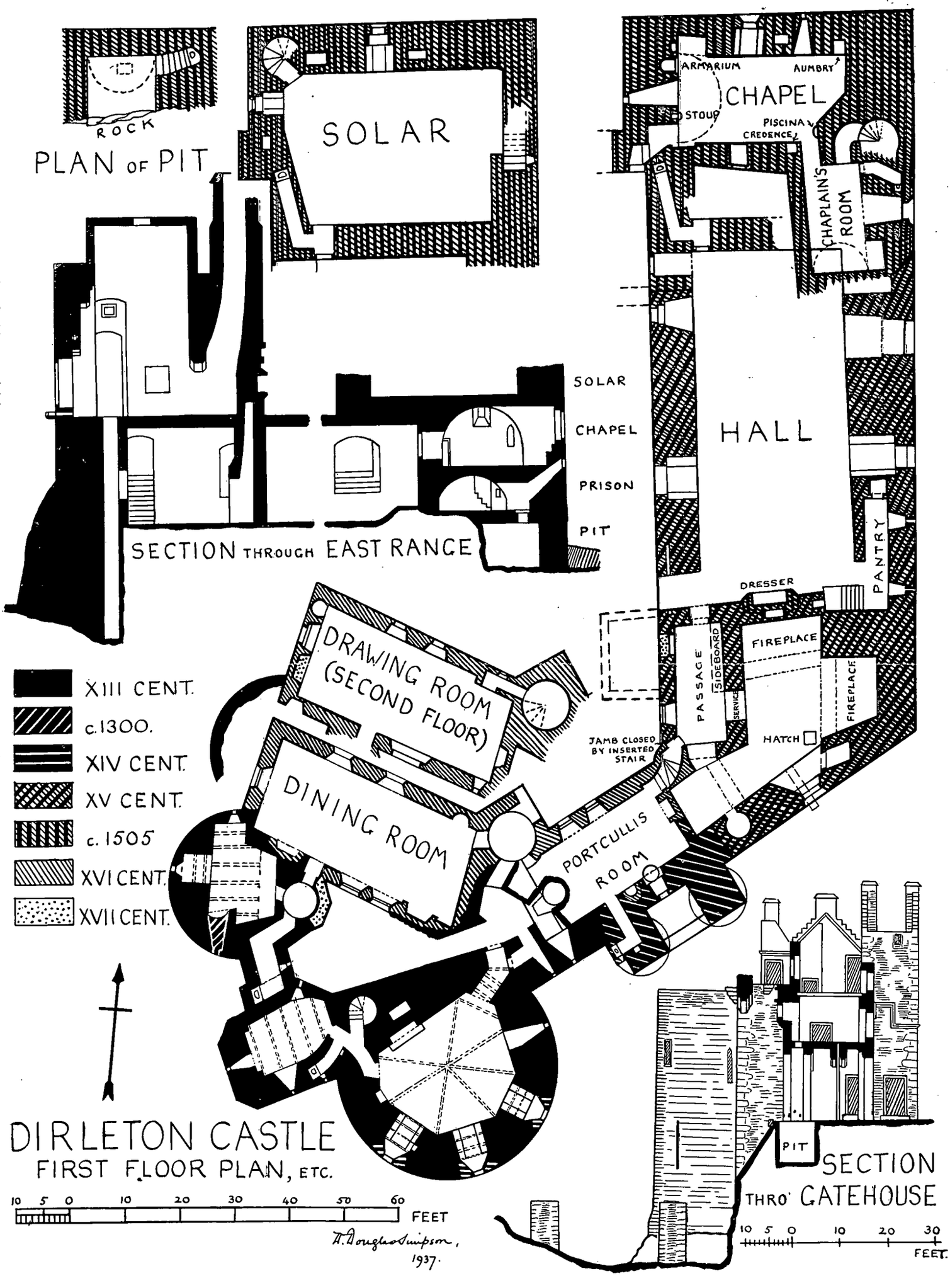
1 *Reports on the State of Certain Parishes, ut supra* p. 111.
2 *Reg. Magni Sigilli*, 1424-1513, No. 399.
3 *Liber de Dryburgh*, p. 358; *cf.* p. 401.
4 J. Spotiswood, *Account of the Religious Houses in Scotland*, printed in Keith's *Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops*, ed. N. Russell, p. 467.
5 As such churches had usually no parochial functions, a nave was scarcely necessary.
6 G. Chalmers, *Caledonia*, ed. 1889, vol. IV, p. 513.
7 *Exchequer Rolls*, vol. XII, pp. 694, 695, 697.

provostship, chaplaincies and chapels of Dirleton.[1] The advowson was ratified to the lord of the manor under the Great Seal in 1557, 1618, and 1627, and by Act of Parliament in the year 1669.[2] On 19th December, 1561, Patrick, Lord Ruthven granted to Robert Hoistlair, priest and servant to him, the liferent of the provostship of the chapel of Dirleton beside the castle thereof, together with the sasine of the lands of Correig head—the said provostship now being vacant through the death of Master Robert Hoppringill the last provost.[3] By a charter, dated 29th January, 1598, Walter Ker, Provost of Dirleton, with consent of the Earl of Gowrie and others, feus the lands of Querrellegehead with an acre of ground and the house and garden called the provost's manse, in the village of Dirleton. And in 1627 the expression is "the lands of Colledgsteid, *alias* Quarrelledgeheid, with the manor, once belonging to the Provost of Dirleton."[4] The advowson of the provostry is included in the annexation to the Crown and subsequent grant of the barony to Sir Thomas Erskine in 1600, and the lands pertaining to the provostry recur in the grant to James Maxwell of Innerwick in 1633.[5] From a writ of 1635 it appears that Provost Walter Ker's tenement was on the north side of the " toun greine " of Dirleton, near its east end.[6] Anna Ker, Lady Collegestead, appears as a witness in 1656.[7] The lands and manor-place of Collegestead, the advowson of the provostry of Dirleton, and the Friar lands all recur in a charter granted by the Lord Protector in 1659.[8] And finally, in 1664, we have " the lands of Colledge-stead, called Quarreledghead, with manor place, which formerly belonged to the said provostry of Dirleton as part of the patrimony thereof."[9]

The site of Colledgestead is now occupied by the estate workers' cottages on the west side of the Archerfield gardens. Part of these buildings are obviously of considerable age, and one time-worn, chamfered door will undoubtedly reach back to the period of the college.

By a charter, dated 4th June, 1631, Charles I, in confirming the barony of Dirleton to James Maxwell of Innerwick (afterwards Earl of Dirleton),

1 *Exchequer Rolls*, vol. XVIII, p. 544: so also in 1567 and 1581, see *ibid.*, vol. XIX, p. 558, and vol. XXI, p. 442.
2 *Reg. Magni Sigilli*, 1546-80, No. 1171; 1609-20, No. 1859; 1620-33, No. 1077; *Act. Parl. Scot.*, vol. VII, p. 611a; *cf. Reg. Magni Sigilli*, 1593-1608, No. 1095.
3 *Carta Monalium de Northberwic* (Bannatyne Club), p. 82, No. 47.
4 *Reg. Magni Sigilli*, 1609-20, Nos. 1667, 1859; and 1620-33, No. 1077. " Colledge steid " is the form of the name used in the Report of 1627.
5 *Act. Parl. Scot.*, vol. IV, pp. 215a, 217b; vol. V, p. 107a.
6 *Reg. Magni Sigilli*, 1634-51, No. 327.
7 *Scot. Hist. Review*, vol. 23, p. 271.
8 *Reg. Magni Sigilli*, 1652-9, No. 681.
9 *Ibid.*, 1660-8, No. 556.


ROCK
PLAN OF PIT
SOLAR
ARMARIUM
AUMBRY
CHAPEL
STOUP
PISCINA
CREDENCE
CHAPLAIN'S ROOM
HALL
SOLAR
CHAPEL
PRISON
PIT
SECTION THROUGH EAST RANGE
PANTRY
DRESSER
FIREPLACE
SIDEBOARD
PASSAGE
SERVICE
FIREPLACE
HATCH
JAMB CLOSED BY INSERTED STAIR
DRAWING ROOM (SECOND FLOOR)
DINING ROOM
PORTCULLIS ROOM
XIII CENT.
c.1300.
XIV CENT.
XV CENT.
c.1505
XVI CENT.
XVII CENT.
DIRLETON CASTLE
FIRST FLOOR PLAN, ETC.
10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 60
FEET
A. Douglas Simpson, 1937.
PIT
SECTION THRO' GATEHOUSE
10 5 0 10 20 30
FEET.

erected the town of Dirleton into a burgh of barony, with permission to hold "Dirltoun-fair" annually for three days, commencing on 13th June.[1]

W. DOUGLAS SIMPSON.

1 *Reg. Magni Sigilli*, 1620-33, No. 1779.

## THE "LAMP OF LOTHIAN": PARISH OR FRIARY CHURCH?

THE name "Lamp of Lothian" has been associated for centuries with a church building in Haddington, but the question as to which fabric the name refers is one about which there has been a difference of opinion. Some have held that it refers to the present parish church, others to the long since demolished church of the Francisans. It is here proposed to review the evidence for both contentions.

In the time of David I there was a parish church at Haddington, which, with its chapels, was granted by that king, about 1139, to the Priory of St. Andrews. It is not known when that church was erected: no description or history of it exists, and no part of it has been preserved. It was probably a comparatively small Norman building erected on part of the site on which the parish church of to-day stands.

The Order of Franciscans (known also as the Grey Friars, Cordeliere Friars, and Minorites), founded by Francis of Assisi in or about 1209, gained a footing in Scotland early in the thirteenth century. A Friary was established at Haddington, the first mention of which occurs in 1242 in connection with the burial in its cemetery of the Master of Atholl.[1] The buildings and grounds occupied the site now covered by the Episcopal Church, parsonage and grounds, and Elm House and its garden. At the Reformation the property of the Friars was conveyed to the town of Haddington. The charter of 1560 gives the boundaries as follows: — On the north by the Frier Gowl (Gowl Close); on the east by the water of Tyne and a mill-pond; the high road which leads from the said burgh towards the Parish Church of the same on the south (Church Street); and a certain piece of waste land belonging to the said burgh on the west. The charter conveyed "church, houses, edifices, gardens and dovecots" as being within the boundaries described.

When, therefore, in the winter of 1355-6, Edward III invaded Scotland and occupied Haddington for some days, there existed the parish church of David I, with its various chapels, and the Franciscan Friary whose church formed part of the Friary buildings. Edward, finding himself in extreme

1 *Lanercost Chronicle*, pp. 49-50.

difficulty, owing to the non-arrival of his fleet in the Firth of Forth and the lack of food for his army, burned Haddington and laid waste the whole country on his way through Lothian.

The destruction of Haddington is recorded in the *Chronicle of Scotland,* begun by Fordun and completed by Bower. Early editions of the Latin text of this work printed in this country, and unaccompanied by a translation, are those of Thomas Gale (1691), who printed only a portion of it; Thomas Hearne (1722); and William Goodall (1759). The last mentioned is usually known as the *Scotichronicon.* The latest and most valuable edition, however, is that of W. F. Skene, who, in a long preface, gives the result of his researches into the history of the work. It is accompanied by a translation by Felix J. H. Skene.

According to Skene, Fordun compiled his *Chronicle* between 1384 and 1387, but while he collected material sufficient to carry the history down to 1385, he had, before his death, put into permanent shape only the portion to the death of David I in 1153, that portion being comprised in five books and part of a sixth. At a later period (Skene fixes it between 1441 and 1447), Bower, who was a native of Haddington,[1] not only continued the *Chronicle* to the death of James I in 1437, but revised the portion completed by Fordun, and made a considerable number of interpolations.

There are a variety of manuscript copies of the *Chronicle* in England and Scotland, and the printed editions differ in some respects. The Latin text of Fordun in regard to the burning of Haddington, is, with slight variations, given both by Hearne and Skene without Bower's interpolations. Skene explains that his object in analysing the manuscripts was "to discriminate between the original composition of John of Fordun in the fourteenth century and the additions of his continuator in the succeeding century." It is Fordun who records that Edward III, being left without his fleet but with a starving army, burned down the Franciscan monastery, including their church, and then directed his course through Lothian, causing havoc wherever he went.[2] Although he does not mention the parish church as having been destroyed, the fact that it was so is covered by his general statement that nothing was spared. Amid the destruction of Haddington, it is clear that the burning of a church so cherished by the community as that of the Franciscans was

1 Walter Bower was born in Haddington in 1385, and no doubt received his education at the grammar school there. He was trained for the Church, and after some time abroad, returned to Scotland in 1418. Shortly after that, he was elected Abbot of Inchcolm. In the Chamberlain Rolls for 1395, there appears the name of John Bower, a bailie of Haddington, who was probably the father of the chronicler.

2. Appendices A. and C.

regarded as a sacriligeous act of the first magnitude, so much so that the chronicler singles out the incident for special mention. Fordun's words *opus utique sumptuosum mirique decoris ac totius patriae illius solatium singulare,* convey the impression of "a costly and splendid building of wonderful beauty, and a church which was the singular solace of the pious in that part of the county." While the editions of Hearne and Skene give only Fordun's statement, that of Goodall contains the interpolations by Bower. Mention is made therein of the burning of the town as well as of the Friary, and most important is the statement that the church was known as the "Lamp of Lothian." After the word "singulare" there follows: — "*cujus chorus quidem, ob singularem pulchritudinem et luminis claritatem, Lucerna Laudoniae communiter vocabatur,*" a rendering of which is "whose quire from its elegance and clearness of light, was commonly called the Lamp of Lothian."[1]

Fordun was not a native of East Lothian, but as his life was contemporary with the period in which the English invasion occurred, and as he travelled far collecting material for his *Chronicle,* it may reasonably be assumed that his statement in regard to the burning of the Friary church at Haddington was the outcome of information given to him by persons who had local knowledge. Bower, who was born in the town about thirty years after the disaster, must in his boyhood have had opportunities of hearing old inhabitants speak of what was known then and for long afterwards as "the burnt Candlemas." Indeed he may have seen the restoration of the church. When, therefore, he set his hand to revise and supplement Fordun's work, he had local knowledge of his own, and was able not only to endorse Fordun's statement, but to add the important additional fact that the Friary church was known as the "Lamp of Lothian."

John Major, the historian, who was born near North Berwick in 1469, refers to the burning of Haddington.[2] Although much further removed than Bower from the time of Edward's invasion, it may be inferred that, apart from what he read of the burning of Haddington in the *Chronicle,* he would not, as an East Lothian man, be without a knowledge of the local tradition. It is, therefore, important to note that Major, like the chroniclers, speaks of the beauty of the church, and endorses Bower's statement that it was known as the "Lamp of Lothian."[3]

Nothing is known of the architecture of the Friary church, as it existed

1 Appendix B.
2 *De Gentis Scotorum,* by John Major. Paris, 1521. Lib. v., Fol. cix.
3 Appendix D.

in the fourteenth century, nor of what precisely constituted its beauty, but it may be gathered that it was not only the most admired and cherished ecclesiastical building in Haddington but was famous farther afield. If Bower's use of the word " Laudonia," is to be taken literally, it refers to the whole district of Lothian and not merely to East Lothian. The question as to the interpretation of " Lucerna " has given rise to some speculation. One suggestion is that the word was used figuratively, implying that the church was a centre of spiritual life in Lothian. Apart from the fact that the thought underlying such a use of the word was scarcely likely at that time to present itself to the minds of the people as a whole, it will be noticed that Major has changed the word to " Lampas," and the use of both words indicate a natural or artificial light. It has further been suggested that the word had reference to the lamp-light which, during the early and late services of the friars, shone out to light travellers on their way. The difficulty of accepting this view is that as the church lay in the valley of the Tyne, the " lamp " could not be a light to the whole district of Lothian. While the generally accepted meaning of " lucerna " is "lamp" or "candlelight," the word had also in mediaeval times the signification of " windowlight " (see Du Cange's *Glossarium*) and might reasonably be applied to the clearness of illumination provided by windows of more than usual breadth or elevation. It is impossible to dogmatize, but it is perfectly clear that, for some reason acceptable in the fourteenth century, the church, on account of certain features of its choir, was popularly known as the " Lamp of Lothian."

Had there been no magnificent parish church in Haddington, the statements of the chroniclers that the name of " Lamp of Lothian " was applied to the Friary church, would probably never have been questioned. Unfortunately, it has been assumed by many on insufficient evidence, that the "Lamp of Lothian" was the parish church. In keeping with this uninformed general assumption, two views have been put forward. The one is thus stated by Dr Barclay, a minister of the parish from 1766 to 1795:—" I am decidedly of opinion, that the present parish church of Haddington is the same that formerly belonged to the Franciscans, and, which Major says, was called Lucerna Laudoniae[1]; as a field now converted into a garden, and which is still stiled the Friars Croft, lies contiguous to the church yard, and is not above thirty yards distant from the parish church."[2] Now the piece of ground Dr Barclay refers to (previously known as the King's Yaird) only came into the possession of the Friars after 1447. His argument has therefore no bear-

1 Major calls the church *Laudoniae Lampas.*

2 *Account of the Parish of Haddington*, by Rev. Dr George Barclay. *Archaeologia Scotica*, 1792, Vol. I, p. 67.

ing on the question. The other view, strange to say, was put forward by Dr Moir Bryce, the author of the standard work on the Greyfriars in Scotland. Met with the difficulty of reconciling the statements of the chroniclers with his knowledge that the Franciscans were bound under their rules to erect only plain buildings, he makes the surprising assertion that " Bower erroneously identified " the Lamp of Lothian " with the Franciscan church," and that "John Major, although a native of Haddingtonshire, perpetuated this error."[1] Dr Moir Bryce's difficulty was two-fold. He knew that the present parish church could not have been the Friary church, and truly says " The dwarf belfry of Francisan churches, as required by the Bulls of Erection, had nothing in common with the tower and lantern of Haddington parish church." His hesitation in accepting the statement that the church of the Friary could have been meant, was that " there is nothing in the surviving monuments of Franciscan architecture in the country to indicate that the Friary churches were other than plain unpretentious buildings." Dr Moir Bryce evidently came to the conclusion that the real " Lamp of Lothian " was the present church of St. Mary, and that Bower and Major ought or meant to have written " parish church " and not " Minorite church." In other words, Dr Moir Bryce asks us to believe that Fordun, who was living at the time of the English invasion, Bower, a native of Haddington, and Major, born in the county, have all blundered. A strong point in his argument is that no Franciscan church could have had a great tower. But there is no suggestion by either Fordun or Bower that there was such a tower. The only reference is to the choir.

The two most notable antiquaries resident in Haddington in the last half century, Mr James Robb and Dr Wallace-James, were perfectly convinced that the " Lamp of Lothian " was not the present parish church. Referring to the ascertained boundaries of the site of the Friary, Robb writes: " The position of the Monastery of the Friars Minores of Haddington, which is thus so distinctly pointed out, has formed the subject of a large amount of speculation amongst local antiquaries. . . . . These facts tell strongly against Dr Barclay's contention that the present "Auld Kirk" is the veritable " Lucerna Laudoniae " of Fordun and Major."[2] Again, Dr Wallace-James, in a prefatory *Note* to the new edition of Miller's *History,* writes: — " The title of the book, however, is not well chosen, as Miller applies the term

1 *The Scottish Grey Friars*, by William Moir Bryce, 1909. This work contains the only and a most complete account of the Franciscans of Haddington. It will be found in Vol. I. pp. 168-98; the documents in Vol. II, pp. 8-100. The above quotation appears in Vol. I, pp. 168-9.

2 *History and Guide to Haddington*, by James Robb. New Ed., 1891, p. 44.

"Lamp of Lothian" to the magnificent parish church of St. Mary. The writer of the chronicle, who originated the epithet, applies it most distinctly to the Church of the Franciscans or Grey Friars. The Church of the Friars was, of necessity, situated along with their other conventual buildings near the site now occupied by the present Episcopal Chapel, as may be instructed from many deeds yet extant."[1]

But whether the statement that the Franciscan church was the Lamp of Lothian be accepted or not, the success of any attempt to apply the term to the present parish church must necessarily depend on its being proved that that church existed at the date of the burning of Haddington. What evidence is there in regard to this matter?

The East Lothian volume of the Ancient Monuments' Commission contains the following statement:—"St. Mary's is one of the largest churches built in the great building period of the late fourteenth to the late fifteenth century, of which its ordinance and detail are typical." Mr James S. Richardson, H.M. Inspector of Ancient Monuments for Scotland, when he conducted the Society over the building in June 1924, corroborated this view. Messrs Macgibbon and Ross in their *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland* write: "There is no record of its erection, but from the style of the architecture it was probably rebuilt in the first half of the fifteenth century"; and Mr Henry F. Kerr, in vol. I of the *Transactions of the Edinburgh Architectural Association*, 1891, after stating that the whole church is practically of one date, adds "This we may affirm to be the fourteenth century after the burning of the buildings in 1355 by the English." These experts are agreed that the present church dates no further back than the late fourteenth century, while two of them put the date as far forward as the first half of the fifteenth century. And if the opinions of the architects needed confirmation, it may probably be found in the fact that a number of entries in the *Buke of Auld Register of Haidinton*, in the half century after 1423, indicate gifts of chalices on which were inscribed the names of the donors.

While it is true that the Franciscans did not erect ornate buildings, there may have been circumstances which led the brethren at Haddington to erect a church more architecturally beautiful than was common. It would be unwise to read too much into the statements of Fordun and Bower. There is evidence to show that the Friary attracted members of notable Scottish families. Dr Moir Bryce writes:—"The charitable bequests of the laity to the friars of Haddington were rivalled only by those granted to the friars of

1 *The Lamp of Lothian; or the History of Haddington*, by James Miller. New Ed., 1900. Note by J. G. Wallace-James, p. xi

Dundee."[1] Considerably before the end of the thirteenth century gifts were being made to the Friary, and the church became the burial place of wealthy families. For example, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, certain members of the East Lothian families of Congalton and Lindsay of Luffness were buried there. The Friary rental, on the other hand, " was augmented by the generosity of the family of Seton, which appears to have held the Friars in high repute during the whole of the fourteenth century." Further it may be stated that for the ornaments and vestments of the church an annual rent was, in 1337, granted by Sir Alex. Seton out of the Mill of Barns. While, therefore, there is no evidence whatever to indicate what was implied by the words of the chroniclers as to the beauty of the church, and none to show whether the building referred to was the original one or a reconstruction at a later date, it is possible that the wealth accumulated by this small Friary may have had something to do with the existence of a more than usually ornate church. Major accepted the tradition of its beauty, for he tells us that he did not think it well that the Franciscans should possess such churches. But whatever the facts in regard to the decorative features of the church, there is no reason to suppose that Fordun, Bower and Major entertained vague notions in regard to the building, nor to doubt that that church was the *Lucerna Laudoniae* of Fordun and Bower and the *Laudoniae Lampas* of Major.

While it is abundantly clear that the present parish church of Haddington is not the fourteenth century " Lamp of Lothian," there can be no doubt that when complete, it was much larger and more magnificent than the Franciscan church and, so long as the historical truth set forth in this article is kept clearly in view, there is no reason why it should not bear the ancient name of " Lamp of Lothian," of which it is well worthy.

### Appendix A

" Quibus rex destitutus, cum toto exercitu paulo post panis penuria laborabat, & inde sua movens castra, combusta prius solempni basilica fratrum minorum cum toto monasterio eorundem, opusutique sumptuosum mirique decoris, ac tocius patriae illius solacium singulare, direxit iter suum Laudoniam, circumquaque omnia devastans, et nichil salvans." From Johannis de Fordun's *Scotichronicon Genuinum Una cum ejusdem Supplemento ac Continuatione.* E. Codicibus MSS. eruit ediditque Tho. Hearnius. Oxford 1722. Vol. iv., pp. 1047-8.

### Appendix B

" Rex igitur victualibus destitutus, cum exercitu suo paulo post panis penuriâ nimium laborabat; et inde sua movens castra, combusto prius burgo et

1 *Scottish Grey Friars*, Vol. i., p. 175.

toto monasterio, ac solemni ecclesia fratrum minorum de Hadington, opus certe quod sumptuosum erat mirique decoris, ac totius patriae illius solatium singulare, (cujus chorus quidem, ob singularem pulchritudinem et luminis claritatem, Lucerna Laudoniae communiter vocabatur) direxit iter suum per Laudoniam, circumquaque cuncta comburens ac devastans, et nihil pro posse salvans." From Joannis de Fordun's *Scotichronicon, cum Supplementis ac continuatione Walter Boweri.* Ed. by Walter Goodall, 1759. Book XIV., Chap. 13, p. 354.

A rendering of part of the above is " He burned the town, the monastery, and the sacred church of the Fratres Minores of Haddington, a costly and splendid building of wonderful beauty, whose quire, from its elegance and clearness of light, was commonly called the Lamp of Lothian,—and a church which was the singular solace of the pious in that part of the country." *The Lamp of Lothian; or, the History of Haddington,* by James Miller, 1844, p. 37.

### APPENDIX C

" Quibus rex destitutus, cum omni exercitu paulo post panis penuria laborabat, et in sua moriens (sic) castra, combusta prius solemni basilica fratrum minorum cum toto monasterio eorundem, opus utique sumptuosum mirique decoris, ac totius patriae illius solatium singulare, direxit iter suum Laudoniam, circumquaque omnia devastans, et nihil salvans." From Johannis de Fordun's *Chronica Gentis Scotorum, Gesta Annalia.* Ed. by William F. Skene 1871, Vol. I., p. 374. The translation of this passage is as follows:—" When the king was thus left without his fleet, he and his whole army were soon after suffering from want of bread; so, shifting his camp thence, after having burnt down the whole monastery of the Minorite brothers, together with their stately church (a most costly work of wondrous beauty, and the one pride of all that country), he bent his steps through Lothian, wasting everything all around, and saving nothing." From John of Fordun's *Chronicle of the Scottish Nation.* Tr. from the Latin text by Felix J. H. Skene, Vol. II, Chap. 176, p. 364.

### APPENDIX D

" Anglus irritatus Hadingtonam incendit cum Minorum templo pulcherrimo quod Laudoniae lampas dicebatur. Ego autem non approbo quod templa magnifica & sic excellentia Minores habeant, & fortasse in eorum & villae peccatum voluit Deus omnia incendio dari." From John Major's *De Gentis Scotorum,* 1521. Lib. v., Cap. xx., p. 248. Translation:—" The English king then, in his wrath, set fire to Haddington, and, along with the town, burnt to the ground that most fair church of the Minorites, which is called the lamp of Lothian. Now I for my part do not think it well that the Minorites should possess churches of this sumptuous magnificence; and it may be that for their sins, and the sins of the town itself, God willed that all should be given to the flames.—" John Major's *History of Greater Britain.* Translated from the original Latin and edited, with notes, by Archibald Constable, 1892, for the Scottish History Society.

JAMES H. JAMIESON.

# THE FALLS OF DUNBAR: A NOTABLE SCOTS FAMILY

THE north end of the High Street of Dunbar is completely blocked by a large and imposing edifice of unusual design, a couchant sphinx with extended wings set on its loftiest point imparting quite an Egyptian appearance. Viewed from the main street, it is not an attractive building, and one cannot help thinking how much better it would have been had it not been there, for the eye would then have rested on the hoary fragments of Dunbar Castle, and the glorious vision of the sea and the islands beyond.

But if Dunbar on the north terminates somewhat drearily, it is only fair to state that what we see is the back of this strange-looking building. Originally Dunbar House[1] (for it is to that mansion we refer) had its front entrance facing the High Street, the approach being by a broad flight of steps. In all likelihood the mansion would then be more appealing, but later the entrance was placed seawards. The alteration led, no doubt, to more privacy, but it is not difficult to imagine that it detracted from the aspect of the building when seen from the south. As for the present frontage of red and white sandstone overlooking the Castle Park, it is entirely out of harmony with the surroundings. In the midst of a typical old Scots burgh there has been set down a highly ornate, classical building with a heavy semi-circular portico supported on four massive pillars. The mansion, it may be assumed, was erected to gratify a taste for gaudy magnificence, but the whole thing is so formal and austere and ponderous, reveals so inartistic a setting, that it cannot be reckoned a meritorious achievement.

This foreign-looking building, known first as Dunbar House, then as Lauderdale House (having been occupied for a considerable period by the noble family of that name), and for the last eighty years the property of the War Office—this building is a survival of the eighteenth century and witnesses to the amazing mercantile prosperity and social importance of the Dunbar family of Fall, one of the members of which built it. The Falls

1 John Martine in his *Reminiscences and Notices of Ten Parishes of the County of Haddington* (p. 117) says Dunbar House was built by Captain James Fall in 1737. but gives no authority.

not only bulked largely in the municipal and business life of Dunbar during the eighteenth century but their methods were so enterprising, their trading interests so far-stretching and remunerative, that their record is intimately bound up with the economic history of Scotland.

No adequate account of this remarkable family—" the greatest Scottish merchants of the eighteenth century," according to one authority—has ever been published. While the writer makes no pretence to having succeeded where possibly others have failed, he does claim to have collected from obscure but authentic sources much illuminating and withal interesting information concerning the Falls of Dunbar. If what he has set down be the means of encouraging others to take up the quest and supplement, and, it may be, round off the story, his labour will have been amply rewarded.

## I

Into the vexed question as to whether the Falls of Dunbar were of gipsy origin, we need not enter. Suffice it to say, that Mr A. Francis Steuart, who investigated the matter in the pages of *The Scottish Antiquary* (vol. XVI, pp. 127-32), is of opinion that the statements in Walter Simson's *History of the Gypsies* are to be regarded " with great care and some scrutiny." While Mr Steuart is convinced that the names "Faa" and "Fall" are interchangeable, he states that there is no documentary evidence to show that the Dunbar Falls really claimed gipsy descent. Curiously enough, however, some of the early references are concerned more or less with acts of lawlessness incidental to a nomadic life. For instance, on 18th November 1675, the magistrates of Dunbar petitioned the Privy Council of Scotland anent certain disorderly gipsies, including several who bore the name of Faa. And even in later times, when the family had risen to importance in the municipal and commercial spheres, one or other of its members would pursue a line of conduct not inconsistent with the view that gipsy blood ran in his or her veins.

Every close student of the annals of Scotland has come across the name of Fall. Persons owning to that patronymic are frequently found serving the country in some prominent capacity, though whether they were allied to the Dunbar branch, cannot be made out. In the *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland* occasional mention is made of a James Fall who was Principal of Glasgow University. In 1684 he was paid £100 sterling out of public funds to defray his expenses in going to Court anent business relating to the government of the Church; and about the same time he claimed the vacant stipends of the Province of Glasgow for the repair of the University buildings. From

the same source we also learn that in 1679 Robert Fall was serving as bailie of the regality of Melrose, but indifferently, for he was charged with assault. We meet with him again in 1684 in a more reputable connection, for, in his magisterial capacity, he is imposing fines and releasing a prisoner. By 1689 he had become chamberlain to the Earl of Haddington, and was engaged in raising fencibles, in which he served as captain.

Probably the earliest reference to the existence of the family in East Lothian, with which their name will always be associated, is contained in the *Register of the Great Seal.* There, under date 25th January 1506-07, allusion is made to John Faw of East Lothian. Again, in the *Calendar of Wills,* there is an entry, dated 20 March 1597-98, of the will of Agnes Wood " sometime spouse to John Fall, in Stenton, Constab of Haddington." The family's connection with Dunbar dates much earlier than is generally believed, there having been a Thomas Fall, merchant burgess of Dunbar, living in the reign of Robert III., that is, in the latter part of the fourteenth century. In November 1657 died Elizabeth Cockburne, widow of George Fall " Meassone Burgess of Dunbar;" in 1670 there was a Bailie Faa assisting John Blackadder the Covenanter; and from 1693-1701 one, Robert Faa, was Commissioner for Dunbar to the Scots Parliament.

Nor was this all. The family had already begun that connection with the municipal life of the burgh which was to last for upwards of a hundred years. A Council record, dated 19th June 1675, ordains the bailies " to admit and receive James Faa, merchant in Leith, eldest lawful sonne to the deceasit George Faa, burges of this burgh, his father—be whose right the burgeschipe of the solis burgh perteines to him—Burges and Frieman of this burgh, ffrie of the payment of any finance or armes because of good service done be him to this burgh."[1] Before the end of the century we hear of Bailie William Fall, along with a fellow-magistrate named Kirkwood, receiving the thanks of the Privy Council for seizing a vessel in the Firth of Forth. The communication is printed in full in the *East Lothian Annual Register* for 1844, and is as follows:—

Edinburgh, 8th February 1693.

Sirs, Having acquainted the Privy Council of your care and diligence in seizing the vessel and apprehending the seamen, who had been with coals at the Bass and came into your harbour (Dunbar) thereafter, and your examination of them, whereby some discovery is made of more persons concerned, who are all now under examination—the Council were pleased to order me to return you the thanks of the

1 The writer is indebted for this and some other information to notes made by Mr T. Wilson Fish, Kirklands, Dunbar.

Board for this testimony of your good affection to the Government, and I am your affectionate Friend.

(Signed) TWEEDDALE, CANCEL.

For Bailies Fall and Kirkwood,
Present Magistrates of Dunbar.

## II.

From this time onwards the importance of the family in the life of Dunbar was increasingly felt, and early in the eighteenth century its municipal affairs were entirely dominated by " four eminent brothers," all of them merchant princes, namely—William, Robert, James, and Charles Fall. In 1727 they were serving in the Town Council, as well as another member of the family—John Fall. William, who became Provost, married Jean Suttie, who was probably of the Balgone family, and was the father of Charles Fall, merchant in Dunbar, whose testament is recorded 30th May 1776 (*Tests., Edinburgh*); George, to whom his brother was served heir, 17th November 1746; James, and Marion. Provost William Fall died in September 1736.

Robert, the second of the " four eminent brothers," was also a merchant. By his wife, Mary Melvil, he had two daughters, Mary and Janet. The third brother, Captain James Fall, was not only Provost of Dunbar but represented the burgh in Parliament, 1734-41. He was a noted Jacobite, though he did not live to take part in the rising of 1745-46. He married Jean, daughter of Patrick Murray of Pennyland, and had one son and two daughters. His son, Robert, was born on 23rd July 1724 and, like his father, was Provost of Dunbar. But of him more presently. The last of the " four eminent brothers," Charles, was also Provost. He died in 1744.

We therefore see that throughout the greater part of the eighteenth century the Provostship of Dunbar was almost a perquisite of the Fall family. Of the numerous holders of the office the best known perhaps was Robert Fall, the son of Captain James, one of the " four eminent brothers," though it is not to be forgotten that it was mainly through the exertions of Provost Charles (probably the son of Provost William, who died in 1736) that, in September 1767, an excellent water supply was obtained for the burgh. Provost Robert Fall appears to have been a forceful personality, and two episodes have been recorded in which he figures in a pleasing light.

In May 1781 he directed a spirited and successful defence against the bombardment of Dunbar from the sea by a French privateer which was in pursuit of a small vessel that had taken refuge in the harbour. James Miller, in his *History of Dunbar* (1859), gives a circumstantial account of this affair,

and as his information was probably derived from eye-witnesses, no apology need be made for reproducing it, more especially as his book is extremely scarce.

On 22 May 1781, about eleven in the forenoon, Captain Fall, a noted maritime adventurer, gave chase to a Gravesend fishing-smack near St. Abb's Head, which made for the port of Dunbar. As she cast anchor at the Lammer Island, at the mouth of the harbour, a small privateer belonging to the burgh, which lay in Dunbar Bay, felt alarmed, and notwithstanding the bravado conveyed by the usual motto attached to her name " The Thistle," sought refuge astern of the smack. " The Thistle " had been fitted out by voluntary subscription of the inhabitants of Dunbar and neighbourhood, for the purpose of picking up any small craft belonging to the enemy (the French). Under the command of Captain Hare, she made a voyage to the Leeward Islands, where she made the unfortunate mistake of capturing a small Prussian vessel, which as that Power was at peace with Britain, she had to restore.

Captain Fall had his boat in the tackles. Meanwhile three twelve-pounder caronnades, belonging to the Greenland Company, had been brought from their storehouse to the Lammer Island by the natives. Provost Robert Fall collected every sack of flour deposited in his granaries, for the purpose of forming embrasures for the protection of the gunners. Another party dragged two nine-pounders that were found in Tyne Sands, and had belonged to the ill-fated " Fox " man-of-war, to an eminence on the Castle. . . .

Provost Fall, having ordered away all useless hands from the Lammer Island, prepared for action. A well-directed shot was sent under the enemy's bow. The second shot told still better; but a third dropped into the water, right astern. . . . The party on the Castle were not so successful. The first shot of Captain Fall fell into Provost Fall's garden, which was situated at the back of the house, now the front of the barracks. The second shot struck a log of wood lying on the road leading to the Castle, while the third and last shot fell at the Lammer-haven. The well-directed shots sent from the shore had their due effect, and the enemy, after remaining an hour and a half off the town, and within half a mile of the shore, sheered off. He proceeded to the Isle of May, and carried off all its sheep. A party of volunteers had in the meantime provided themselves with muskets, and proceeding to the end of the harbour, fired a volley by way of bidding him good-bye.

The story is a little confused, but the valiant part played by Provost Robert Fall is not in doubt. On the other hand, we would have liked to know more of the pirate captain, and in view of the fact that he bore the same surname as the Provost, whether he and the gallant defender of Dunbar were related. Most likely they were. But however that may be, Miller prints a letter written by Captain Fall, which he tells us, might, " but for the favouring breeze and the report of a distant gun," have been handed to the Dunbar authorities. The epistle is addressed to " Mons., mayor of the town call'd Arbrought (Arbroath), or, in his absence, to the Chief man after him in Scotland." The pirate captain had been rather troublesome to towns on the east

coast, and Arbroath seemingly had received special attention. He cannonaded the town for three days, but the magistrates wearied him out, and he weighed anchor, not however before insolently demanding from Arbroath the sum of £30,000. It was accompanied by the following ultimatum:—

Gentlemen, I send these two (few?) Words to inform you—That I will have you to Bring to, to The French color in Less than a quarter of an hour, or I set The town in fire Directly; such is the order of My Master, the King of france, I am sent by. Send Directly the Mayor and the Chiefs of the town to Make Some agreements With me; or I'll Make my Duty. It is the Will of yours, etc., G. Fall.

If this pirate captain was a Scotsman by birth, he had evidently been so long in the French service as to have forgotten that our civic heads are called Provosts.

But Robert Fall has another title to fame. When, on 22nd May 1787, Robert Burns arrived in Dunbar, " riding like the devil, and accompanied by Miss —— mounted on an old cart horse . . . "—he dined with the Provost. In the poet's *Journal* we read:—" Past through the most glorious corn country I ever saw, till I reached Dunbar, a neat little town—dine with Provost Fall, an eminent merchant and most respectable character, but undescribable, as he exhibits no marked traits. Mrs Fall, a genius in painting; fully more clever in the fine arts and sciences than my friend Lady Wauchope, without her consummate assurance of her own abilities " (Chambers's *Burns*, vol. II. p. 115 and note). In all probability Burns dined at Dunbar House, which was still in the possession of the Provost, though not for long.

One of the Provost's sisters, Janet, married in 1750 Sir John Anstruther, third baronet of Anstruther. This Fife family ranked prominently among the barons of Scotland for upwards of seven centuries, so that Janet Fall climbed high on the social ladder. "Jupiter" Carlyle of Inveresk in his *Autobiography* speaks of the " celebrated Jenny Fall " as " a coquette and a beauty " and as "lively and clever, no less than beautiful." Lady Anstruther is credited with having been a superior woman, and to have exercised considerable influence over her husband. Sir John was the author of a work on drill husbandry, which is said to have been useful at the time, but is chiefly remembered for a *bon mot*. On the appearance of the book one of Sir John's friends jocularly remarked that no one was better qualified to write on the subject, as there was "not a *better drilled husband* in the county of Fife." In Simson's *History of the Gypsies* it is stated that " Jenny Faa " was saluted by a disorderly crowd at a contested election of the burghs of East Fife with the song of " The Gipsy Laddie," an overt allusion to her supposed descent. Nor must it be forgotten that Lady Anstruther induced her husband

to found a whale fishing company with headquarters at Anstruther. The enterprise was modelled on the constitution of the East Lothian and Merse Whale Fishing Company, the story of which is about to be related. Her father, Provost James Fall, became one of the extraordinary directors of the new company. (*Memoirs of Melville Family*, edited by Sir William Fraser, Vol. I. pp. 340-1).

III.

Powerful as the Falls were in the affairs of Dunbar during a whole century, this by no means constituted the whole range of their activities. Indeed, it may be confidently asserted that their commanding influence locally was but the outcome of the high position and the great reputation the family had won for itself in the wider sphere of Parliamentary politics, and especially in the mercantile life of Scotland. No history of Scottish trade in the eighteenth century can be considered complete that does not witness to the boldness and enterprise, the shrewd capacity if not always business integrity, which the Falls brought to their numerous and varied trading concerns. Commercially they had a long spell of almost unprecedented success, having an uncanny instinct for remunerative outlets for their capital.

With the history of the undertakings in which the Falls had a ruling interest, it is impossible to treat of here, but there is one which we propose to recount in considerable detail, partly because there is no lack of material but mainly because it sheds a strong light on the industrial life of Dunbar nearly two centuries ago. Of the affairs of the East Lothian and Merse Whale Fishing Company, an undertaking largely financed by the Falls, we know a great deal through a litigation in the Court of Session at the instance of Thomas Meek, merchant in Dunbar, who was manager of the Company for more than forty years. In 1794 Meek raised an action with regard to his remuneration.

The story begins in 1751. In that year it occurred to Charles and Robert Fall (both lineal descendants of the " four eminent brothers " already referred to, and the latter the well-known Provost) and some other gentlemen in Dunbar that the carrying on of whale fishing from the harbour might be of great advantage to trade in the burgh. Accordingly, along with the principal landed gentry in the neighbourhood, they formed the East Lothian and Merse Whale Fishing Company. There were to be 120 shares of £50 each which would provide a capital of £6000, but at the first general meeting of the co-partners, owing to the large demand for shares, it was resolved to extend it to £7200. The business was carried on from Dunbar harbour, and at one time the Company had five ships of 1532 tons burden engaged, which gave employ-

ment to 238 seamen. The direction of the concern was in the hands of five ordinary managers, residing in the burgh, and two extraordinary managers who lived outside Dunbar. The five ordinary managers, who acted " without fee or reward," were empowered to call in the stock subscribed, purchase vessels for the whale fishing, hire and contract with shipmasters, and issue instructions regarding the victualling of ships.[1]

When the Company started Thomas Meek became a partner, and it was largely owing to his directions that the subscription was so quickly filled up. He was then a merchant in Dunbar and carried on his business in copartnery with Alexander Kinloch. Meek and his partner subscribed £400. Soon after, however, Kinloch gave up trade, having succeeded to the estate of Inverleith, but Meek continued the business and remained owner of four shares in the Whale Fishing Company. At the first election he was chosen one of the five ordinary directors, and ever after was annually re-elected. During forty years he devoted the greater part of his time and attention to extending the business of the Company in the " most prudent and beneficial manner." Theoretically the management was equally divided among the five ordinary directors, but in practice Meek acquired such a knowledge of the concern that the other managers left matters pretty much in his hands. Consequently Meek expected, not unnaturally, that the stipulation " without fee or reward " would not apply in his case, more especially as the Company " had prospered beyond almost any other Whale Fishing concern in Scotland."

Of all the directors Provost Robert Fall had the best opportunities of knowing how much of the Company's prosperity was due to Meek, and he had thought of proposing that his services should be adequately rewarded. But for various reasons no action was taken till 1775 when Meek was appointed " ship's husband for the Company." The question of remuneration then came up and Robert Fall formulated six proposals, one of which was that Meek should receive a commission of £5 upon each sizeable whale brought to the harbour of Dunbar and one per cent. upon the value of the oil and bone. Unfortunately, when the matter was discussed at a general meeting in May 1776, Fall was not present to support his proposals, but a resolution was adopted that Meek's salary as manager should be £30 a year, with the prospect of an increase by £20 when " the profits of the fishing can allow of the same." But Meek contended that the remuneration should be retrospective, and he submitted a petition showing how he had promoted the interests of the Company during twenty-five years.

1 The Managers of the East Lothian and Merse Whale Fishing Co. desire to contract for 13,000 pounds weight of beef for the use of their ships.—*Edinburgh Courant*, 19th October 1767.

Meek's communication is of exceptional interest because of the sidelights it throws upon the whale fishing industry which flourished at Dunbar for more than half a century. In 1781 an allowance of £5 upon each sizeable whale brought to Dunbar harbour, together with a commission of 2½ per cent. on the sale of oil and bone,[1] would have yielded Meek £193. To demonstrate, however, in the strongest light, the difference between any of the six proposals of Robert Fall and the salary of £50 mentioned in May 1776, Meek pointed out that if the allowance had been calculated on a premium of £8 on each sizeable whale the sum due to him for that year would have been £96. On this basis he would have received £732 for the nine years 1776-85 instead of £450, the sum due on the supposition of an annual salary of £50. The highest catch of whales during this period was in 1781 when no fewer than twenty-one sizeable whales were landed at Dunbar. In 1783 the catch numbered eighteen, but in 1780 and 1782 it had sunk to three.[2]

The Earl of Haddington and Sir David Kinloch, Bart., were appointed to consider Meek's petition, but the former was not available for consultation, and Sir David Kinloch reported as his opinion that " as prior to Mr Meek's settlement with the Whale Fishing Company, by which they gave him a salary yearly, Mr Meek had a good deal of trouble in inspecting and seeing things done, which did not properly belong to him as a manager, such as the inspecting the cleaning of the whale-bone and the weighing of it, as also of inspecting the oil casks and delivery thereof, he is entitled to a gratification . . . not as a real manager . . . but for his *extra* trouble." The sum proposed was £100, but Meek regarded it as a " mere mockery," since it worked out at £4 for each of the twenty-five years. None the less he accepted the £100, but only as " paid to account." Matters continued unsatisfactory, and in 1785 it was agreed that the settlement of all accounts between the Company and Meek should be placed in the hands of Sir William Forbes of Pitsligo, Bart., the eminent Edinburgh banker. Ultimately the Company decided that the dispute could not be settled in this way. The year 1785 proved a turning-point in the history of the Company, for it ceased to pay any dividend, and fortune definitely turned against Meek.

In May 1791 he was requested to " pay the balance of his account due

1 Public Roup at Dunbar on 3 Oct. 70 tons whale oil and 3½ ton bones, the proceeds of 8 whales of this year's fishing. The conditions of sale to be seen in the Greenland Company's Office, Dunbar. The East Lothian and Merse Whale-fishing Co.—*Edinburgh Courant*, Sept. 28, 1765.

2 The *Blessed Endeavour* of Dunbar is arrived from Greenland with large fish of about 10 ft. 10 in. bone, and yielding 89 butts of blubber and 16 puncheon crang.—*Edinburgh Courant*, 15 August 1770. On Monday night the *Blessed Endeavour* (Captain Dawson of Dunbar) arrived there from Greenland fishing with a cargo of 110 butts blubber and 7 butts crang, the produce of 5 fish and 1100 seals.—*Edinburgh Courant*, 15 July 1790.

to the Company within four months from that date, with interest due thereon, and that if not paid at the same time, he should be prosecuted." It was further resolved that Meek's salary as ship's husband should " immediately cease unless there was that year a successful fishing." But the directors eventually thought they had gone too far, for at another general meeting in September a motion was made for reversing the resolution of the previous meeting, and for either finding that, in place of Meek being due any balance to the Company, the directors were owing him £180 19s 3d, or that their mutual claims should be submitted to Lord Haddington, Sir David Kinloch and Sir Peter Warrender, or any two of them; that meantime Meek should continue ship's husband; and that no lawsuit should be instituted against him. But the motion was rejected, and Meek was requested to pay the balance alleged to be due by him amounting to £187 8s 7¾d by a certain date. Meek acknowledged no debt, and on 23rd November 1791 he received a summons from the Company, concluding for payment of the sum above-mentioned with interest, and for £20 of expenses.

In the litigation which followed, it was stated that the difference between the parties was mainly due to three causes. With regard to the first, it was explained that Meek was a corn merchant in the town, and while financially interested in the herring-fishing of Dunbar, sacrificed his time and labour to the business of the Whale Fishing Company. During the thirty-three years between 1752 and 1784, both inclusive, the Company drew a return of 208½ per cent., which yielded a little over £6 6s per cent. to the original subscribers upon their whole capital stock. The whole direction being devolved upon Meek for so protracted a period was of itself a testimony to his qualifications, and if further evidence were required, there was the testimony of Robert Fall, who was frequently a director and furnished the Company with ropes, fails, etc., by which he was a considerable gainer, his accounts for these furnishings in a single year amounting to upwards of £1400. In like manner, Messrs Hamilton and Cunningham, who were surgeons in Dunbar, and often on the list of directors, had the contracts for medicine chests, as well as the appointment of surgeons to the ships of the Company. In 1776 there were three vessels, but after that the fleet was increased to five.

The second branch of Meek's claim was for time and trouble in making various journeys in the Company's interest in the years 1776-80. The first of these was to Montrose (1776), in order to purchase a ship. In November 1777 he went to Holy Island with the same object, though in this case it was a stranded ship. Again, Meek paid several visits to Leith to superintend

the repairing of one of the Company's vessels. The task occupied him twenty-four days in all, and he resided in Leith from " six to eight weeks," by order of the Company, "to oversee the outfit of the *Princess of Wales,* an armed ship which the Company hired to Government." The transaction also involved Meek in eighteen months' correspondence. By this attention the Company gained about £100 more than they would otherwise have done. Thirdly, Meek claimed £20 as rent for a yard in Dunbar belonging to him which the Company had occupied for ten years as a storehouse. But Meek alas! did not come well out of the litigation, for in 1792 Lord Craig repelled his claims for compensation and found him liable in payment thereof as libelled, and decerned.

The East Lothian and Merse Whale-Fishing Company, in which Provost Robert Fall was one of the leading spirits, began its career in 1751 and ended it in 1803—a period of fifty-two years. It had a brief spell of prosperity but latterly the undertaking proved unprofitable, and, as we have seen, ceased paying a dividend in 1785. Matters were further complicated in 1796 when a dispute arose between two sets of persons for the management of the affairs of the Company. This incident, strange though it may seem, occasioned a considerable demand for the Company's stock and raised the price of it. But the good fortune was only temporary. Soon there was an appreciable decline, and at a general meeting in October 1803, the partners decided to dissolve and wind up affairs. The debt amounted to £3383. The loss on each share amounted to £17, and a call having been made for this sum, all agreed to pay their proportion of loss except William Walker, Attorney of the Court of Exchequer, who held six shares. This led " a committee appointed by the East Lothian and Merse Whale Fishing Company, lately carrying on trade at Dunbar " to commence an action before the Court of Session in November 1807. The case is of considerable local interest.

The six shares originally belonged to Jean Lisk, widow of Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, who married as her second husband Lewis Gordon of Techmuirie, upon whose sequestrated estate William Walker was appointed factor by the Court of Session. Through his wife Gordon had right to several different funds. Upon her death a dispute arose between her representatives and Gordon's creditors, but by decree-arbitral it was found that the creditors had right to the shares belonging to Mrs Gordon in the Whale Fishing Company. When Walker inquired regarding the Company affairs, he found them so hopeless that he would not have incurred the expense of a transfer if it had not been for an earnest application by Charles Hay, merchant in Dunbar,

Mr Hay of Hopes, his father, and Alexander Lawrie, writer in Dunbar, agent for the Company. This happened in 1796, nearly seven years after the decree-arbitral, and in consequence Walker sent an extract of the decree to the Clerk of the Company, to be entered as their transfer to him of whatever rights Mrs Gordon had. Upon this, he received in return a certificate of a transfer of six shares, which was made in his name.

## IV

The story of the East Lothian and Merse Whale Fishing Company may be considered a digression in which the main object of this article has been lost sight of—the tracing of the fortunes of the Falls of Dunbar. Yet the digression can be justified, since the Falls not only were the principal founders of the undertaking but were closely identified with its activities right down to the time when the Company had fallen upon evil times and had ceased to pay a dividend. Apart from this, the episode is illuminating from the point of view of local history, because it makes manifest how deeply, in the eighteenth century, Dunbar was concerned in the whale fishing industry.

Besides the East Lothian and Merse Whale Fishing Company the Falls were prominently associated over a long period with the Society of Sailors of Dunbar. It is impossible, nor indeed is it necessary to describe its operations in detail but some reference may be made to this undertaking if only to afford another example of how far-reaching was the influence and how manifold the activities of this remarkable family. And the means of doing so is at our disposal in the Minute-Book of the Managers of the Society of Sailors of Dunbar which covers the period from 6th May 1726 to 31st January 1794. This good fortune the writer owes to Mr W. A. Adams Cairns, who kindly lent him the volume.

The early records of the Society of Sailors make it clear that its affairs were largely in the hands of members of the Fall family. This was due in great measure to the fact that they were strongly represented in the Town Council, the body which virtually controlled the Society. When, in 1730, a charter was granted by the magistrates in favour of the Society empowering the Managers to levy and collect " dutys and taxations " payable to the poor connected with the Dunbar fishing industry, it was signed by no fewer than five Falls—William and Charles being magistrates and Robert, John and James, councillors.

For sixty years of the eighteenth century there was always one or more members of the Fall family serving on the board of management of the Society, and judging by certain entries in the Minute-Book their activities

were not always disinterested. It is difficult to follow the financial transactions, but so far as can be made out, the Falls seem to have collected the poor's money from the more prosperous mariners of Dunbar and distributed it in necessitous cases. Such transactions were regularly reported to the Managers of the Society with whom lay the disposal of the money collected. On 18th September 1729 James Fall, having brought to the notice of the Managers that several sailors whose families resided in Dunbar were in the habit of departing from other ports and were thus irregular with their contributions to the Sailors' Box, was instructed " to levy and recover from such Sailors as are now in the place (Dunbar) or may come to it from time to time what poor money they may be owing."

Another example of procedure is contained in a minute dated 21st November 1733. William Fall and his brothers, we are told, gave in their account with the Society from which it appeared that they had received or were owing, besides £11 of interest " already debted them, Poor Money collected by them from Sailors in sundry Voyages of their Ships *Jane, Beaumont, Mary and Expedition* . . . as also from Sailors in the *George* from Lisbon," £19 :4:2½ . The Falls also paid out four shillings to " transient Sailors . . . being four Dysart men ship wreckt at Holy Island." The balance amounting to £30:0:2½ was left in their hands " till the Society consider how to dispose of it." At the same meeting John Fall was reported to be owing £8:7:11⅔. This sum seems to have been accounted for two years later, by which time, however, John Fall was dead. Under date 5th November 1735, it is stated that his representatives had discharged the debt.

In October 1746 the affairs of the Society were in danger of being neglected owing to the paucity of managers. In this predicament " Charles Fall, present Provost of Dunbar and Robert Fall, one of the present bailies of sd. Burgh, both Merchants trading to foreign Parts," were invited to join the board of management. They did so, and the Provost, who was present, signalised the occasion by placing a guinea in the Sailors' Box. Unfortunately the Falls were not acceptable to all the Managers, for Captain Thomas Ferguson, shipmaster in Dunbar, protested, at a meeting of the Sailors' Box, against their presence on the ground of some irregularity connected with their election, but " the stay and continuance " of the Falls was " vehemently and with some warmth " insisted on by the other Managers, and Charles and Robert Fall remained on the board. In October 1750 they sold some ten acres, of which they were proprietors, to the Society

for £396, which was probably an excellent stroke of business. The property is described as " that Piece of Arable Land lying in the Borrough Dales, Dunbar, Bounded by Sir John Warrander's Land on the East, the Gallow Green on the North, Gamilshiels Land on the West, and the South Borrough Dales on the South."

V

In the case of the Falls of Dunbar the word " merchant " seems to have covered a variety of occupations, all of them more or less remunerative. In the earlier half of the eighteenth century three of the " four eminent brothers " — William, James and Charles — were in partnership and exercised a heritable proprietorship over certain lands and tenements in and about Dunbar. In this connection we do not view them in an altogether amiable light, for in the conduct of their business they brought " a process of Mails and Duties " against a number of poor people in the town. This led to litigation, and in certain old law papers preserved in the Signet Library we have an unvarnished tale of their doings.

For example, we hear of Messrs Fall, in 1734, taking action against Janet Young, widow of Richard Inglis, mason in Dunbar, for the sum of £18 of yearly rent for a house possessed by her, extending the same, for forty years bygone, to the sum of £720 Scots. Mrs Inglis denied that the rent was above £14 Scots yearly, and that she had been more than twenty years in possession of the house. Curiously enough, the Falls acquiesced in these statements, and so decreet went against Mrs Inglis for the balance amounting to £200 12s 8d Scots. It may be of interest to add that the titles upon which the process was founded were dispositions by Robert Hepburn of Beanston and David Forrest of Gimmer's Mills, both in favour of the Falls.

When the decreet was taken out Mrs Inglis was old and infirm and upon the Poor's Roll. She was also handicapped by the fact that she could neither read nor write. Moreover she was left with a large family, most of whom were supported by her own industry. One of her sons, Richard, became a sailor and wishing to assist his mother, wrote to her to say that he had saved six guineas, and desiring to know how he might remit the money to her. Mrs Inglis sought advice from Charles Fall. He directed her to ask her son to hand the money to Claud Johnston, banker in London, and to cause that person to draw a bill upon his firm payable to her. Mrs Inglis did so. The bill was duly received, and she having presented the draft to Charles Fall for acceptance, the latter desired her to leave it with him, and promised to pay the money as soon as the bill fell due. But when the time for payment came,

she was told no money could be paid as, by the decreet, she was in debt to the Fall firm in a larger sum than that contained in the bill.

Ultimately Charles Fall offered Mrs Inglis two guineas. Thinking herself badly treated she resolved rather to lose the whole than to make such a composition. In the end, she took legal action. The case came before Quarter Sessions at Haddington, but as Mrs Inglis failed to appear, she was held as confessed, and decreet went out accordingly. Charles Fall's action, however, was described as " insidious dealing, and a plain breach of trust."

The firm of Fall frequently went to law, and it is from the documents connected with the various litigations that we obtain information regarding their business. In 1758 Charles and Robert Fall, merchants in Dunbar, consigned twenty-eight sacks of flour to a firm in Aberdeen, to be disposed of by them on their behalf. But a dispute arose which found its way to the Court of Session in 1763.

From another action, at the instance of Alexander Porterfield of Fulwood, raised in 1766, we learn that the Falls at that time owned a vessel called the *Black Prince,* which traded on the high seas. Porterfield had ten pipes of Madeira wine at Charlestown in South Carolina awaiting a vessel bound for Leith. The vessel belonging to Messrs Fall happening to be in the harbour of Charlestown and about to leave for Dunbar, arrangements were made for having Porterfield's cargo of wine sent to Leith in the *Black Prince.* The vessel duly arrived at its destination, and the Falls sent an account of the various charges amounting to £129 1s. Porterfield purchased a bill for this sum, but one of the persons on whom it was drawn became bankrupt, and the bill was dishonoured. Porterfield wrote to the Falls expressing surprise, but pointing out that they had no recourse against him. The Dunbar firm replied by sending a charge of horning which obliged Porterfield to suspend.[1]

Again, in 1767, Charles and Robert Fall, as assignees of George Anderson, tanner in Haddington, gave in answers to the petition of Christian Robertson, widow of George Smith, Provost of Haddington, and Louisa, wife of John Hay, sometime commander of the *Princess Anne* yacht. The facts are briefly these: Alexander Robertson of Struan granted a heritable bond to John Robertson, writer in Edinburgh, for 4000 merks, with annualrent and penalty. One half of the principal with interest was paid up about 1764, leaving the rest of the debt due from that date. John Robertson, grandson

1 In an advertisement in the *Edinburgh Courant,* of date August 22, 1767, Messrs Charles and Robert Fall announce that the *Magdalene* of Dunbar (Captain Robert Beattie) will sail on September 4 with a cargo for Charlestown, South Carolina. They also advertise for " two gardener lads " to go to Charlestown, presumably on board the *Magdalene.*

of the original creditor, made up a title to this debt, and thereupon was infeft in virtue of the precept of saisin contained in the bond. Upon his death, Robert Robertson, shipmaster in Haddington, his brother and heir, entered a claim upon the estate of Alexander Robertson, late of Struan, for this debt, under protestation that this claim should not be held a passive title against him as heir to his brother.

In 1779 Charles and Robert Fall, who now constituted the firm, contemplated arming one of their vessels, apparently with the intention of dealing effectively with marauders on the high seas. At any rate, they applied for advice to the Carron Iron Company. Here is the reply which has been copied from the Company's letter-book: —

" Carron
10 Feb. 1779

To Charles and Robert Falls, Dunbar

We observe what you say concerning the vessel you intend to arm, and as you ask our opinion thereon, we recommend you mounting her with 9 or 12 pr. Carronades.

The vessels we employ on the London trade are much about the same burthen, and they have fourteen 12 pr. Carronades each."

By 1780 the firm had become Fall, Melville and Company. Robert Fall, the last Provost of Dunbar of that name, was possessed of lands in the neighbourhood of the town called Liddleslands. It was during his time that the prosperity of the Fall family reached its zenith and that the magnificent house at the north end of the High Street of Dunbar was built. But the Falls had towering ambitions, and it is to be feared, lived beyond their means. Anyhow there came a decline in their fortunes, and in 1788 the mercantile house of Fall, one of the wonders of the time, went into liquidation. On 19th January 1790 trustees were appointed in the sequestration of Charles and Robert Fall as a copartnery, and for the said Robert Fall and Robert Melville, merchant in Dunbar, the partners of the said Company. Melville, it may be added, owned Parsonspool, a property which had previously belonged to James Fall. Provost Robert Fall did not long survive the extinction of his firm and the consequent decay of his fortunes. He died, according to the *Scots Magazine,* on 18th December 1796 at Dunbar. He had married the elder daughter of John Stephen, banker, by his wife Christian, daughter of Patrick Coutts, merchant.

## VI

It ought to have been noted earlier that Charles Fall, merchant in Dunbar, was granted a coat-of-arms by the Lyon King of Arms on 12th March 1764.

The terms of the grant shed fresh light on this remarkable family: —

"I . . . do find that the said Charles Fall is son of the deceased William Fall of Dunbar, who, with his three brothers, were the most considerable merchants of their time in Scotland. That James Fall, Esq., one of the brothers, was a member of the British Parliament for the Burghs of Dunbar, Haddington, etc. That the said deceased William Fall was lineally descended from Alexander Fall, Esq., whose armorial bearing in the reign of King James the First of Scotland was Argent, a fess chequé gules and of the first, between three boars' heads coupée azure, as is instructed by an original charter dated in the year one thousand four hundred and nineteen, to which his seal is appended, and in that charter he is designed son and heir of Thomas Fall, merchant burgess of Dunbar, who lived in the reign of King Robert the Third. . . . "

The terms of the grant of arms to Charles Fall are of great importance, since they establish beyond dispute that the hereditary and mercantile connection of the family with Dunbar was existent from the fourteenth century, if not earlier.

## VII.

In the grant of arms above-mentioned, reference is made to James Fall, one of the "four eminent brothers," being "a member of the British Parliament for the Burghs of Dunbar, Haddington, etc." To this personage we must now devote some attention, owing to his extraordinary methods of contesting elections. He had been Provost of the town but was not content with municipal honours; he must enter the House of Commons, and the local constituency gratified his ambition. James Fall was well-connected, having married Jean, daughter of Patrick Murray of Pennyland, in Caithness. (John Henderson, *Notes on Caithness Family History,* p. 194). He was the father of Provost Robert Fall, while his daughter Janet, as already stated, married Sir John Anstruther of Anstruther, Bart. He is usually referred to as "Captain Fall," but it is difficult to explain this designation.

A contested election in pre-Reform days was an affair in which neither side earned credit for scrupulosity. On the contrary, jobbery and corruption and even violence were the order of the day. As for Captain Fall, he proved himself a past-master in the art of electioneering as conducted in the old days of Whig ascendancy. In 1734 he stood as candidate for the group of burghs comprising Haddington, Dunbar, North Berwick, Jedburgh and Lauder against Sir James Dalrymple of Hailes, Bart., Auditor of the Exchequer of Scotland, the father of the eminent Scots judge, Lord Hailes. Despite the ability and social standing of his opponent, Captain Fall was successful, and sat in the House of Commons from 1734 to 1741. In the latter year he again stood for Parliament for the same constituency, and was the chief actor in

an election which became a subject of inquiry in the law courts.

Fall was opposed on this occasion by Sir Hew Dalrymple of North Berwick, Bart., who, if chicanery had not been employed, would have won the election, as he had an undoubted majority in the town councils of Haddington, North Berwick and Lauder. But Fall, perceiving that the contest was likely to go against him, procured fictitious commissions from the minority in the councils of Haddington and Lauder, and as the bogus commissioners assembled with the delegates duly elected to choose a member for Parliament, the total number was increased from five to seven. Thus by counting the whole votes, good and bad, the returning officer, George Fall, W.S., Town Clerk of Dunbar, was " over-persuaded " to certify that Captain Fall was elected by a majority of votes. This was not, however, the free act of the Town Clerk but the result of dishonourable conduct, as the sequel will make sufficiently clear.

For some days before the election the returning officer was kept in confinement by Captain Fall, for the most part in his (Captain Fall's) own house, and when temporarily released " the Captain or some of his friends were constantly pin'd to his coat-tail." While Dunbar's Town Clerk was in durance vile, Captain Fall, assisted by the Town Clerk of Jedburgh, wrote out and delivered to the returning officer an indenture, which he was to hand to the Sheriff after the election. He also caused the imprisoned official to affix the seal of Dunbar to this indenture, which was no sooner done than he took possession of the seal in order that it might not be affixed to any other indenture. Nor was this all. The Captain also tried to make the returning officer insert his (Captain Fall's) name in the indenture, as the person duly elected, but that official refused, adding the remark that it was time enough to insert his name when he had been elected.

Fall was as resourceful as he was unscrupulous. He framed and gave in writing to his brother Charles, who was then Provost of Dunbar, particular directions for conducting the election. He also stationed a guard of armed men, " mostly Captain Fall's sailors," in front of the town house, where the election was to take place, who, by his orders, refused admittance to Sir Hew Dalrymple his opponent. Then after the election when, by the minutes as dictated by the Provost, Captain Fall was declared elected by four votes to three (computing the two fictitious delegates from Haddington and Lauder), the returning officer was hustled out of the building and taken to a public house, where he was again requested to subscribe the indenture. The Town Clerk of Dunbar, however, desired to be allowed a few hours' sleep, " being

greatly fatigued by the long sederunt," so that when refreshed he might deliberate on the matter. But he was ordered to sign, and when a learned counsel whom Captain Fall had brought from Edinburgh assured him that he was absolutely safe in doing so, he at last complied. Fall then took possession of the indenture, and the returning officer was allowed to go home.

But George Fall was troubled as to the legality of his action, as well he might be. Matters were in this situation when a friend of Sir Hew Dalrymple called, who, while not suspecting that a return had already been made out in favour of Captain Fall but justly apprehensive that solicitations to that purpose would not be wanting, advised the Town Clerk to withdraw from Dunbar to the house of his friend Sir John Warrender (i.e., Lochend) till he should have taken legal advice regarding the candidate in whose favour the return ought to be made. Sir Hew's friend was " answered with a Flood of Tears and other visible marks of an unfeigned Contrition," that he had already been prevailed on to sign in favour of Captain Fall. But as he had not affixed his own seal nor given a mandate for the indenture to be delivered to the Sheriff, he proposed to make out a second indenture in favour of Sir Hew Dalrymple and, if possible, have it presented to the Sheriff before Captain Fall should present his.

Accordingly a new indenture was written out by George Fall's son, David, who with his father served as Clerk to the Justices of the Peace of the County of Haddington. Having been duly signed by George Fall, it was sent to Lord Belhaven, High Sheriff of the County, who was also informed that an indenture in favour of Captain Fall had been elicited by fraud and imposition. His Lordship therefore was to return Dalrymple as the person duly elected. Notwithstanding this precaution, however, both indentures were annexed to the writs and returned to the Crown Office.

When it became known in Dunbar that the Town Clerk had executed a second indenture in favour of Sir Hew Dalrymple, his house was " beset by a great Mob armed with offensive Weapons . . . to whom orders were given by Captain Fall and his friends " that no person was to be allowed to escape from the house. It was clear that the Town Clerk and his family were being besieged, and fearing violence, all doors and windows were barricaded. As for the Town Clerk, he was advised to " conceal himself in the Ceiling," which he did. Despite the uproar the magistrates made no effort to disperse the mob. On the contrary, it was reinforced, while the town-officers went to the house under pretence of executing some warrant granted by the magistrates. Breaking into a room, they seized David Fall,

the Town Clerk's son, and ordered him to go with them to jail. He asked by whose authority he was being committed, but received no information other than that he was a prisoner by order of the magistrates. David Fall thereupon was dragged through the streets to the tolbooth. He was afterwards taken to the Council-room, where Bailie Pollock sat on the Bench, and the Provost (brother of Captain Fall) acted as one of the prosecutors. No formal charge was preferred but David Fall was told that his imprisonment was due to his being suspected of having been employed by his father to write out the indenture in favour of Dalrymple. Fall's answers were " taken down in the style of a declaration, such as the prosecutors were pleased to dictate." Having signed the declaration, " under the terror of his life," he was conveyed back to the tolbooth.

The Town Clerk, who, as we have seen, hid himself in the ceiling of the house, underwent the same humiliation as his son. He was conducted " through the streets as a criminal," lodged in the tolbooth, and then questioned before the magistrates as to his having made out an indenture in favour of Dalrymple. But when requested to deliver up the minutes of the election, he positively refused. In the end, he was dismissed on promising to make out a fair extract, which he did.

The Town Clerk and his son would have been more than human had they not taken legal advice with regard to the brutal treatment they had received. They were advised that the warrant of commitment was most illegal and that the outrages committed in the Town Clerk's house were " so many unjustifiable acts of oppression and violence." In consequence, George Fall and his son David brought a process of wrongous imprisonment, oppression and damages against the Provost, who was said to have signed the complaint on which the warrant was issued; against Bailie Pollock who granted the warrant; and against the other defenders who were most active in committing the abuses mentioned.

How this lawsuit ended, the writer has not been able to discover. Nor, for the purposes of this article, does it matter, considering that the real interest lies in the amazing story that has been unfolded. The whole affair is a sorry commentary on the methods of contesting Parliamentary elections in the days when rotten boroughs like Old Sarum were regarded as a normal feature of our political institutions. But, above all, it throws a lurid light on the personality of certain members of the Fall family, makes poignantly clear the strained relations, one might truly say the vindictiveness subsisting between the various branches. To what a terrible pass matters had come when George

Fall, W.S., Town Clerk of Dunbar, and his son David, were compelled in self-defence to raise an action against their kinsman, Provost Charles Fall.

## VIII.

The Fife connection of the Falls was made specially prominent in 1791 by two lawsuits, the one at the instance of Robert Fall, Provost of Dunbar (son of Captain James Fall), and the other at the instance of his brother-in-law, Sir John Anstruther of Anstruther. The object of both actions was the same—to obtain redress for certain illegal acts done by a majority of the town council of Kilrenny, a royal burgh and a coast parish in the East Neuk, and close to the domain of the Anstruther family.

Robert Fall was elected a councillor of Kilrenny at Michaelmas 1779 and sat continuously till the date of the lawsuit. It would therefore appear that he held municipal office in two Scottish burghs simultaneously, for during at least a portion of this period he was Provost of Dunbar. The position seems highly anomalous; but queer things were done in the days of the unreformed town council. Be that as it may, it happened that neither Sir John Anstruther nor Robert Fall nor Robert Louthian (who was elected eldest bailie) were present at the election at Michaelmas 1789, and their absence deprived them of accepting their offices, although they intended to do so on next coming to Kilrenny. Louthian, it may be explained, was absent in the service of his King and country, being an officer in the Navy, and Fall, owing to residence in another place (i.e. Dunbar). Both ultimately went to Kilrenny and claimed their offices. Louthian was admitted to his office, but an attempt was made to deprive Fall.

The reasons for this partial behaviour were thus explained. Some time before there had been a contest for the representation of the Kilrenny district of burghs in Parliament, and as a majority of the councillors were attached to the interest of Sir John Anstruther (the husband of Jenny Fall), it became necessary for those councillors who opposed him, either to give up the contest or adopt such measures as would give them a majority. They resolved to cut the Gordian knot they could not untie, and the absence of Sir John, and of his relative, Robert Fall, afforded them an opportunity of carrying their plan into execution. Accordingly, a meeting of the town council was held, and the vacancies, occasioned by the non-acceptance of Sir John Anstruther, Fall and Louthian, were filled up.

This precipitate action led Robert Fall to raise a summons of reduction and declarator against the Town Council of Kilrenny, and praying that the

person who had been assumed a councillor in his place should be ordained to pay him £100 of damages for attempting to deprive him of his office. For the defence, it was pleaded that Fall had no title to insist on the action, and that though he had been a member at the last election, and therefore might reasonably complain of alleged abuses committed at the election, this was only competent by action of reduction raised within eight weeks or by summary complaint, presented within two months of the annual election, in which the whole of the acting councillors must have been parties.

But there is no need to pursue the case, since the real point of interest is that Fall should have sat at all as a member of a town council in Fife, considering that he was serving in a similar capacity in East Lothian. Why a Provost of Dunbar should have sought municipal honours in Fife must, it is to be feared, remain a mystery, but it may be surmised that, if he inherited his father's indomitable spirit and his rapacity, the advantage to be gained would certainly be tangible.

W. FORBES GRAY.

## THE BELL OF SAMUELSTON SCHOOL AND ITS DONORS

EVERY one connected with the school of Samuelston (which has now been closed) has looked on its heavy brass hand-bell as an interesting curio without perhaps being aware of its actual age. It bears its own date—1598—and on each side of this date the two pairs of initials P.H. and S.S. Fortunately there is no difficulty in identifying the spouses who took this way of commemorating their marriage; they were Philip Hamilton of Samuelston "quha decest upon the . . . day of July 1611" and Susanna Sinclair who, as his relict, gave up the testament from which this quotation is borrowed. Marriage stones and marriage bells are fairly common in Scotland, the date being generally the date of the marriage, but not always. In this case the year on the bell is anterior to the earliest date at which these spouses appear together on record, and it is not unlikely that the old bell carries the actual year of their marriage. This is the bell's contribution to our knowledge of the family of Hamilton of Samuelston.

The bell is unlike any that I have been able to trace.[1] It is a hand-bell such as is still carried by a boy ministrant at the head of a funeral procession in Brittany. Its ring handle, of size to admit the four fingers, is part of the single casting. In this way it differs from the bell of the Gorbals of Glasgow, which has an iron ring-handle riveted to the brass of the bell. The Gorbals bell bears the date 1747. The particulars were submitted to Mr F. C. Eeles, who was of opinion that this probably was the oldest dated hand-bell in Scotland. On the belt which encircles the shoulder of the bell appear the date and initials as already stated, separated by ornaments, namely a St. George's cross, cinquefoils and fleurs-de-lys.

The weight of the bell is $6\frac{3}{4}$ lbs., and its dimensions are as in the following table.

| | |
|---|---|
| Total height over all ... ... ... ... | 7.6 in. |

1 See Catalogue of Glasgow Exhibition, 1911, vol. II, p. 1099 (F. C. Eeles).

The Bell of Samuelston School.
Probably Oldest Dated Hand-Bell in Scotland.


*From Drawing by Jas. Lawrie.*

Inscription on Bell, Showing Date and Two Pairs of Initials.

| | |
|---|---|
| Height to shoulder ... ... ... ... | 4.6 in. |
| Diameter of lowest rim ... ... ... | 5.6 in. |
| Diameter at shoulder ... ... ... | 3.3 in. |

As to the history of the bell nothing is actually known. As will be seen, there was before the Reformation an endowed chapel of St. Nicholas of Samuelston,[1] and there is a tradition that John Knox served this chapel and baptized with the water of a well near the school; he could not have used the bell, for it was founded twenty-six years after his death. But, as will appear from evidence which will be submitted later, he was probably master of the school of Samuelston in 1543 and perhaps for a few years before that date. It seems easy to suppose that the duty of the chaplain of St. Nicholas may have been largely that of a teacher, and that a chaplainry was the pre-Reformation equivalent of an endowed school.

Although the school may thus have had a continuous existence from very early times, the bell seems too precious an heirloom to have been permitted to pass into alien hands so long as the family existed. But the last of the line of the Hamiltons of Samuelston died in 1691, and nothing could be more appropriate than that the bell should be bestowed on the school which had so long served the family and the hamlet.

As Samuelston was never the parish school, there is little chance of its bell or other affairs being mentioned in the early records of the kirk-session of Gladsmuir. In the Parliamentary Report of 1826 for Gladsmuir[2] one parish school (Gladsmuir) is shown with three private schools—at Samuelston, Longniddry and Penston. The rolls—in the same order—were at this date 50, 40, 30, and 15; so that, in point of numbers Samuelston was only a little behind the parish school. There must have been a considerable population in the hamlet before the beginning of mechanisation; in fact Samuelston was the second village in the parish in 1823, and housed a ninth of the whole inhabitants. Longniddry came first with one eighth for its share. The total population of the parish was then 1623.

It may be useful to have a brief sketch of the families associated with the lands of Samuelston in the time of Knox. These were Kers, Homes and Hamiltons. Only such details as bear upon Samuelston or other topics of local interest will be attempted here.

At the time here dealt with the family of Ker of Samuelston was already of some antiquity, a Monsire Car de Semelston and a Monsire Thomas Carr

1 Haddington Retours, 183; Reg. Mag. Sig. 29 Oct. 1497; appendix IX.

2 Parliamentary Report No. 27, p. 535.

(probably different persons) being either taken or killed at Homildon in 1402.[1] The last of the surname, lairds of Samuelston, was George Ker. His wife was Marion Sinclair. The mother of Knox the Reformer was also a Sinclair. The fact is only known through a manuscript note at the foot of one of his letters. The letter is signed ' Johne Sinclair ' and the note runs: " This was his mother's surname whilk he wrait in tyme of trubill." No more is known of her but she would be a generation later than Marion Sinclair, wife of George Ker, and a contemporary of their daughter now to be mentioned.

Nicholas Ker in a contract, dated 31 Aug. 1497, is described as daughter and apparent heir of the above-named George Ker, and as then contracted in marriage with Alexander, second Lord Home. Her parents bound themselves to tailzie the lands of Samuelston to the said lord and his promised spouse " in sic sort that the said lord, in case George and his spouse had *heirs male,* sould have the superiority, and the heir male the heritage, in sic form as the men of law sould devise." There was a penalty for non-performance at the sight of the Archbishop of St. Andrews. A Great Seal charter of 29 Oct. 1497 covers ' the lands of Samuelston with manor, fortalice, tower, gardens, orchards and mill, and also the donation of the chaplainry of the Chapel of St. Nicholas of Samuelston.' In the subsequent sasine John Ker was attorney for the young pair, and the parents retained their life-interest.

It would appear, though it is not certain, that the contingency of a male heir to the above-named spouses did arrive in the person of James Ker, feu farmer of at least a *part* of Samuelston at 24 Aug. 1531, as will appear in the next paragraph. The superiority remained with the family of Home, and James Ker *in* Samuelston in 1545/6 disponed his feu-right to Janet Home, Lady Samuelston, his superior.[2]

Elizabeth Home, daughter of Alexander, second Lord Home (already mentioned) by Nicholas Ker, and divorced wife of James Hamilton, first Earl of Arran, was before her death in 1544 known as Lady Samuelston. It is not quite clear in what way she held this title, for already, in 1531, Samuelston had been settled upon Janet Home, grand-daughter of the same Lord Home and Nicholas Ker. The occasion was her marriage with John Hamilton, and thus began the family of Hamilton of Samuelston.

A very full account of this family is contained in Lt.-Col. George

1 Parliamentary Report No 27, p. 535.
2 Hist. MSS. Report x, App. vi, p. 77 (Luttrell).

Hamilton's *History of the House of Hamilton* (1933) pp. 762-9. This fact will justify passing as speedily as possible to the third generation, to which belongs the founder of the bell.

The first of the name was John Hamilton called ' of Clydesdale,' natural son of James, first Earl of Arran, and thus base-born brother of James, second earl of Arran, best known as Governor of Scotland from 1542 to 1554. John Hamilton as already stated, obtained Samuelston by marriage, shortly after 24 Aug. 1531, with Janet Home, only daughter and heiress of Alexander, third Lord Home. The gift was made by her uncle George, fourth Lord Home, and included tenandry of a part of the lands (Samuelston) let to James Ker for seven merks yearly.[1] This lady was dead by 5 April 1596 when her grandson Patrick (owner of the bell) was served heir to her.

John Hamilton of Clydesdale was Provost of Edinburgh in the year 1544-5[2] and seems to be traced till 26 April 1566.[3]

James Hamilton, who succeeded his father, is referred to as of Samuelston in 1558, at which date his father would seem to have been alive. The date of his death is not precisely known but the terms used in connection with his eldest son's death would seem to imply that he was alive to about the date of that unfortunate event, 9 March 1592/3. This son John seems to have been attracted by that lawless firebrand and swashbuckler Francis Stewart, Earl of Bothwell, and, as John Hamilton of Samuelston, was on 8 December 1592 ordered to be apprehended in this connection. On the other hand a remission granted in 1613 to Alexander Hamilton (his brother) bears to be for the murder of John Hamilton ' son and apparent heir of Hamilton of Samuelston.' Both of these brothers had been associated with the Earl of Bothwell. Alexander was with him at the ' Road of the Abbey.'[4] ' On the 27th of December ' (1591), says Calderwood, ' Bothwell and his complices came to the King and Chancellor's chamber doores with fire, and to the Queen's with a hammer, in the Palace of Halyrudhouse, of intent to seize upon the King and Chancellor.'

John had resetted Bothwell.[5] This was no doubt at Samuelston; if so, it is remembered that the place was afterwards notorious for witches.[6] Another charge against Bothwell was ' treasonable consultatioun with witches against

1 See Appendix VIII-X; Hist. MSS. Report XII, Appendix VIII, p. 162.
2 Reg. Privy Council, vol. I, p. 452.
3 Extracts from the Records of Edinburgh, vol. III, pp. 158, 297.
4 Reg. Mag. Sig. vol. VII, p. 920.
5 Reg. Privy Council, vol. V, pp. 23, 26.
6 New Stat. Acct., vol. II, p. 187n.

the king.'[1]

Patrick Hamilton would seem to have succeeded after the date 9 March 1592/3 of his brother's murder. It is therefore difficult to account for a mention of him as ' of Samuelston ' in 1589, when he did penance for the slaughter of James Ayton, burgess of Haddington. After he succeeded he had a feud with William Gill in Samuelston, and swore peace with him thereon 22 June 1595. He was retoured heir to his grandmother Janet Home in 1596, as already stated. Remission was granted to him and to John Hamilton and William Cairnes his servants, 18 March 1597/8. This was, as we now count, the very year in which his initials and those of his wife were cast on the old bell, and it might be the year of his marriage with Susanna Sinclair. She is not mentioned in the records as his wife until 13 January 1602, and she survived her husband till 1622. Another feud between Patrick, John Hamilton (secundus) his brother, and Sir William Seton of Kylismure on the one part, and William and George Hepburn on the other, was still unstanched in 1601. Little more is known of Patrick except what is derived from his testament.

Patrick gave up his will on 22 July 1611, and he died in the same month.[2] The witnesses were Robert Cokburne, advocate, John Cokburne, his brother (who took down the will), and William Lyle, son to the laird of Staniepeth. The testator subscribed at Samuelston ' with my hand.' ' Seiklie in body but hail alwayis in mynd and spereit,' he recommends ' his saule to God and his body to be buriet in his predecessoris' burial place conforme to his estate and rank.' He constitutes his wife, Susanna Sinclair, his executrix, and in agreement with his eldest son William ordains that she shall have the whole living of Samuelston till William be married, but that William plenish his brothers and sisters. As fathers and protectors to his wife and bairns that they get no wrong, he nominates my Lord Ormiston, my Lord Advocate, the Laird of Innerwick, my Lord Privy Seal, and Laird Hirdmanstone—surely a formidable combination. Lord Ormiston (Sir John Cockburn) was Lord Justice-Clerk.

Patrick left of free geir £3,048, a very considerable estate for those days. He had ' twa mylnes ' and had the lands of Newmains beyond the Water (of Tyne), and owed the teinds to the Laird of Ruthven. Those for Samuelston were payable to the Earl of Morton (Douglas). He drew some small ferms for his mills and part of his lands, but cropped the Mains himself with a

1 Calderwood, *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, vol. v, pp. 127-8.
2 Edinr. Tests, 3 Aug. 1613.

large force of draught animals and servants. His crops were as follows, with the number of bolls of seed sown: — oats (100), beir (20), wheat (16), peas (12). He had 27 drawing oxen and 3 horses each of the value of £20, and 2 mares each worth £24. He had only 5 ky and 40 each of lambs, hoggs and ewes.

His staff included (yearly fee in brackets) three gentlemen (£40), whose names were James Sinclair, Hew Hamilton and Alexander Cockburn; two grieves and one steward (£20), one gentlewoman (20 merks); and three hinds each paid a total of £73 6s 8d made up of a chalder of oats worth £64 and 2 bolls of peas worth 14 merks. It is difficult to understand why the hinds were paid so highly in comparison with the gentlemen and grieves but no doubt they had to support themselves outside of the ' place.' There were also two female servants (£10) and a ' rynner boy ' (£12). Besides all these servants the laird was no doubt able to draw upon his tenants for ' boon work ' at the busy seasons. These scanty details must serve to furnish a shadowy picture of the laird who caused the bell to be founded.

It does not appear probable that so long as the Hamiltons of Samuelston survived they would part with the bell of their house and family. But the family came to an end in two generations.

William, mentioned in his father's will, succeeded in 1611 and married, under contract dated 24 June 1613, Jean Home, with whom he obtained the lands of Quhitelaw. He, however, lost all his lands, fell into the hands of his creditors and died apparently in his thirties before 25th July 1631, at which date his relict married, Captain James Hay, son of Patrick Hay of Megginch, who was brother of the first Earl of Kinnoul.

William left a daughter Elizabeth, who married Captain Robert Home in 1652 or 1655. Such rights as she had to the lands of Quhitelaw she sold to Arthur Hamilton, advocate, in return for a weekly aliment. The last that is known of her in life is that on 6 August 1691 Elizabeth Hamilton, Lady Whitelaw, was suing Arthur's widow for the aliment due to her. She was buried in Greyfriars kirkyard, Edinburgh, 3 July 1693.[1]

In the absence of positive information, it seems reasonable to presume that this lady left the bell of her grandfather and grandmother to the school of the village with which her family had been associated for two centuries, as Hamiltons, and from a much earlier date as Kers. With that school it remained; indeed the bell has outlasted the school.

Although relating to a time before the founding of the bell, a brief sum-

1 Lt.-Col. George Hamilton, *House of Hamilton*, pp. 762-69.

mary of the evidence for Knox's connection with Samuelston may not be out of place in a paper which deals with the school of Samuelston. The Reformer's residence at Longniddry is vouched for in his own *History of the Reformation*. He states that " at Easter 1547 came to the castle of St Andrews (after the murder of Cardinal Beaton) John Knox, wearied of removing from place to place by reason of the Cardinal's persecution of him. He had the care of some gentlemen's children, whom *certain years* he had nourished in godliness, whose fathers solicited him to take them there with him. These were Francis Douglas of Longniddry, George his brother, and Alexander Cockburn, eldest son to the laird of Ormiston." The third was cousin of the first two, and his age was then 12 years and 2 months.[1] In the same place Knox gives his scheme of work.

When in 1546 George Wishart ' took his goodnight as it were for ever, from his acquaintances, especially from Hugh Douglas of Longniddry ' (father of two of the scholars just mentioned),' and Knox pressed to have gone with him, George turned to Knox and said: ' Nay, *return to your children* and God bless you; one is sufficient for sacrifice.' A few days later, the laird of Ormiston, father of the third of the scholars, was summoned for resetting Wishart.

These ' certain years ' are generally supposed to be those from 1544 to 1547. It may be of interest to add a note of references to Knox between the dates 1536 and 1543 which connect him with Samuelston, and are negative as regards Longniddry or the lairds of that place or of Ormiston. These documents provide no evidence of Knox as a chaplain. There is a suggestion in No. V. that Knox held a subordinate post latinised as ' minister ' (?ministrant). It is quite clear that he was not a ' magister,' had no degree; his title being ' sir ' or ' dominus.' He was a notary (No. V.). Ninian Winzet, popish schoolmaster at Linlithgow, wrote to him in 1561, ' Ye renunce and estemis that ordinacioun null, or erar wikit, be the quhilk ye war callit Schir Johne.' His order was probably sufficient to secure for him a salary, but his real occupation was that of schoolmaster, as appears from No. V.

None of these facts exclude the possibility of Knox having been ordained as a priest; and the statement just made would be incomplete without reference to a further argument put forward by Winzet in a subsequent letter to the Reformer. This plainly refers to Knox's priesthood. ' For we can persaue be zour allegeance [allegation] na power that euir ze had, except it quhilk wes geuin to zow in the sacrament of ordinatioun be auctoritie of preisthed. Quhilk

1 Cookburn-Hood, *House of Cockburn*, p. 136.

auctoritie geue ze esteme as nochtis, be reason it wes geuin to zow (as ze speik) be ane papiste bischope ' [you may as well renounce your baptism for a like reason].[1]

*APPENDIX*

I. 31 Oct. 1536. Charter in favour of Henry Wardlaw of Torry and Alison Home his spouse; witnessed at Edinburgh by Dom. John Knox. The lady was half-sister of Janet Home, Lady Samuelston. *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, vol. IV, p. 3 (6 Sep. 1546).

II. 13 Dec. 1540. On a proclamation being made at the Mercat Croce of Haidinton discharging any to buy from James Kar in Samuelston, Sir John Knoix in name of James Kar protested. Prot. Bk. of Alex. Symson elder, f.134; *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, vol. III, p. 59.

III. 6 Ap. 1542. John Wilson burgess of Hadington grantit receipt fra the Lady Samuelston of £78-16s in part of ane mair sowme awin be the Lady to him, viz. £20 fra George Ker in Chirnside and £8-16s fra Sir William Tod and James Ker. Prot. Bk. of Alex. Symson, younger; *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, vol. III, p. 65, where the Lady is taken to be Elizabeth Home, without reason. She was Janet Home.

IV. 21 Nov. 1542. In the Burro Court of Haddington, Andro Gibson and Richart Dikson are bundyn to abide by the decision of arbiters, those for the latter disputant being James Ker and Sir John Knox—Bk. of Court of Cownsall of Haddington; *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, vol. III, p. 59.

V. 27 Mch. 1543. Notarial Instrument by which Elizabeth Home Lady Hamilton assigns to James Ker dwelling in Samuelston the nonentry duties of the Leyacres lying between Samuelston on the south and the common mur called Gladmur on the north and Clerkington and Letham on the east, since the deceis of Nicholace Ker Lady Samuelston, which duties the said Elizabeth had 20 April 1535 purchased from William Gourlaw of Kincraig, baron of Alderston, and superior of the said acres.

Done in the garden of Sir John Ker in Sammelston at 4 p.m. in presence of William Lord Herries, George Ker in Chyrnsyd, Thomas Ker, John Vane, and me Sir John Knox (Domino Joanne Knox) notary.

Written and attested by Joannes Knox servant of the holy altar (*sacri altaris minister*), of the diocese of St. Andrews, by apostolic authority notary; his motto is "*per Christum fidelis cui gloria Amen.*"—Fraser, *Earls of Haddington*, vol. I, p. xl (facsimile), xli; vol. II, p. 259; *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, vol. III, p. 60. Lord Herries was a cousin of Janet Home, Lady Samuelston.

VI. 28 Mch. 1543. Memorandum narrating that Charles Home procurator for George Lord Home appeared in the presence of the handsome youth (*elegantis juvenis*) William Brounefield son of Stephen Brounefield of Grenelaudene, lord of the fee of four mercates of land in Ramylton Law (parish of Gordon) Berwickshire, and warned him to appear in the church of St. Giles of Edinburgh on the 12th of May following to receive on the altar of St. James the Apostle the sum of 80 merks in redemption of the said lands.

Done in Samuelston at 6 a.m. before these witnesses—Sir John Knox

1 Certain Tractates by Ninian Winzet (Scot Text Soc.), vol. I, pp. 15, 21.

his maister (?), William Ker, Patrik Home and Patrik Wood.—Prot. Bk. of Alex. Symson, younger, 2.f.32; *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, vol. III, p. 63. The date is given in M'Crie's *Knox*, vol. II, p. 458*n*. as 8 Mch. 1541, but the deed is not sufficiently described. See also *Works of Knox* (ed. Laing, Bann, Club), vol. I, p. xiv.

VII. 20 March 1545/6. Copy of Contract by which James Ker dispones his feu-right to Janet Home Lady Samuelston. Prot. Bk. of Alex. Symson, younger. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, vol. III, p. 66.

VIII. 18 Dec. 1550. Instrument of Resignation *ad remanentiam* by James Ker completing his conveyance to Janet Home Lady Samuelston his superior. The resignation is made at Samuelston in the house or dwelling-place of the said James Ker about 2 p.m. in the presence of Robert Forman, James Skynner, Sir Robert Douglas and Sir William Ogle chaplains.—*Ibid.*

IX. 30 Jan. 1554/5. Instrument under the hand of John Castellan notary public whereby the said James Ker in Samuelston ratified the said resignation. Done in the Chapel of St. Nicholas of Samuelston.—*Ibid.*

X. Ap. 1555. Further Instrument under the hand of the same notary whereby James Ker in Samuelston quitclaimed Janet Home Lady of Samuelston of all sums of money promised by her to him for resignation of his lands of Samuelston now to remain in the hands of the Lady his superior. Done at Samuelston about 6 a.m. in the presence of John Home of Hutounhall, Laurence Home his son natural, Alexander Castellan and Sir William Caithank chaplain.—*Ibid.*

A. CAMERON SMITH.

# A HADDINGTON BOAT

A BOAT on the Tyne at Haddington is rather unusual. Whether natives of the town in the eighteenth century made more use of the river as a means of enjoyment than those of the twentieth we do not know, but a document which has been handed to the Editors by a member of the Society throws some light on the question. This document is an agreement entered into by seven individuals in 1795, to purchase a boat for mutual use. Although the designations of those signing the contract are not stated, it may be conjectured that they were Henry Davidson, afterwards Sheriff-Clerk of the county; Peter Martine, son of Provost John Martine, afterwards Postmaster; William Pringle, a member of the Town Council, and Deacon of the Incorporation of Skinners; John Davie, one of a family of old-established dyers in Hardgate; Benjamin Hunter, son of Andrew Hunter, baker and brewer; Alexander Witherspoon, admitted a freeman clockmaker in 1796; and William Burn, for a long time tacksman of the town's flour mill. There is sufficient evidence to show that the signatories were all young men. Davidson and Martine, for example, were under twenty. Some of them were evidently keen boatmen, for John Martine in his *Reminiscences of the Royal Burgh of Haddington*, p. 34, tells how various young men, including Davidson, Hunter and Martine, hired a boat at Prestonpans and rowed across to Kirkcaldy. The following is a copy of the Agreement: —

Haddington, 30th April 1794.

We, the undersubscribers, residing in this place, having previously agreed to purchase a pleasure Boat, to be keept in the Water of Tyne, in that part thereof commonly called Lang cram,[1] and having met this day in consequence of previous warning, there was laid before the meeting a Letter from Mr William Anderson and another from David Orr, informing us that the said David Orr will undertake to furnish us with a Boat at the price of One pound fifteen shillings Sterling; Both which Letters having been fully considered by the meeting, They unanimously agree to purchase the Boat therein mentioned, and at the price above specified; But in the mean time it being necessary that Articles and Rules should be made out and entered into for the better regulation, and to prevent all, or any, disputes which might otherwise hereafter arise in the management thereof, We therefore do hereby agree to adopt the following :—

1 That part of the river immediately above the weir near the West Mills.

## A HADDINGTON BOAT

1mo That the members who shall have the joint property of the Boat consist of not fewer, nor above, twelve in number, and no other person to be admitted a member under any pretence whatever.

2do That no person or persons who are not members as above mentioned shall be allowed to sail in the foresaid Boat, Except such as come under the denomination following, to wit, Strangers of decent appearance to be allowed the priviledge of sailing in our Boat without any obstruction, as also those who are particular acquaintances of any of the crew, (who shall have the priviledge of the Boat that day), altho' they reside in Haddington, provided always and with this express provision allenarly that these last shall only be entitled to the above priviledge any time before six o'clock in the Evening, after which hour it is expressly agreed that none such shall be admitted without the unanimous consent of the whole party then present.

3tio That the members shall be equally divided into two separate Divisions of six each, and have day about alternately as shall be afterwards fixed upon by us, and the party whose day it shall so happen to be, to have the sole management of the Boat during that day, with this exception, that if she be not full, and any members of the other party wanting a sail, The party whose day it so is shall be obliged to ask the other party aforesaid if they chuse a sail at least as many as the boat will safely carry.

4to That any member or members who shall disobey or break through any of the above Articles and Rules shall be liable to pay such a sum not exceeding (blank in MS.) shilling sterling for every such offence in name of Fyne as shall be fixed upon by a majority of the whole members at a meeting duly warned to convene for that purpose, which meeting shall determine to what purpose the said Fynes shall be applied.

5to That no further Rules shall be entered into unless at a meeting of the whole members duly warned as aforesaid, and which meeting shall have power to make such additional Rules and Articles as shall be agreed to by a majority of said meeting.

HENRY DAVIDSON
PETER MARTINE
WM. PRINGLE
JOHN DAVIE
BENJAMIN HUNTER
ALEX. WITHERSPOON
WILLIAM BURN

# INDEX

*Note.*—The abbreviation "App." signifies Appendix, which is paged separately.

## OFFICE-BEARERS, 1933-38

THE last list of Office-bearers to be printed in the *Transactions* was that for 1932-33. The following is a record of the changes that have taken place since then :—

*Hon. President.*—Miss Balfour of Whittingehame, Vice-President of the Society, was on 23rd May 1936 elected to this office, but held it for less than a month, as she died on 12th June.

*President.*—Major W. A. Baird, of Lennoxlove, died on 6th June 1933, and on 24th June, Lieut.-Colonel J. P. N. H. Grant, D.S.O., of Biel, was elected to fill the vacancy. Colonel Grant retired in May 1937, and the Very Rev. Marshall B. Lang, D.D., was elected his successor.

*Vice-President.*—Mr Gilbert F. M. Ogilvy, of Winton Castle, was elected to this office in May 1936.

*Hon. Secretary.*—Mrs James S. Bruce resigned in May 1936, when Mr James Annand was elected to fill the vacancy.

*Hon. Treasurer.*—Mr Adam Currie resigned in May 1936, and Mr William Taylor was elected in his place.

*Editorial Committee.*—Dr Marshall B. Lang resigned in May 1935 and Mr William Angus in May 1936. Mr Hugh Hannah resigned in February 1936 and died on 10th April. Mr Charles L. Bruce was appointed in May 1935 and Mr W. Forbes Gray in May 1936. The latter became convener.

*Council* (*New Members*).—Messrs James Jack and A. M. Jamieson, M.A., were elected in May 1934; Messrs John E. Dalgliesh and A. W. Mosman in May 1935. *Resignations*—Mr Alexander Burnett, November 1934; Rev. Lothian Gray and Mr C. R. Maitland, May 1935. *Deaths*—Mr W. S. Curr, 26th July 1933; Sir William Keith, 22nd January 1937; Mr A. W. Mosman, 8th October 1937.

### OFFICE-BEARERS, 1937-38

*President*

Very Rev. Marshall B. Lang, D.D.

*Vice-President*

Mr Gilbert F. M. Ogilvy, of Winton Castle

*Hon. Secretary*

Mr James Annand

*Hon. Treasurer*

Mr William C. Taylor, C.A.

*Hon. Auditor*

Mr John E. Dalgliesh, C.A.

*Editorial Board*

Messrs W. Forbes Gray, F.R.S.E., F.S.A. Scot. (Convener), Charles L. Bruce, M.A., James H. Jamieson, F.S.A. Scot., John Russell, F.S.A. Scot.

*Council*

Mrs Broun Lindsay of Colstoun, Messrs T. Wilson Fish, A. M. Jamieson, M.A., James Jack, F. W. Hardie, A. W. Mosman, T. Balden, D. B. Swan, and Colonel J. P. N. H. Grant, D.S.O., of Biel.

OWING to lack of space, it has been found impossible to print full Reports (and Statements of Accounts) for the last four years. The latest to be issued was the ninth (contained in Part III of Vol. II), and the following narrative attempts briefly to summarise the proceedings of the Society from April 1933 to May 1938.

The tenth annual meeting was held at Haddington on 12th May 1934. Colonel Grant presided. At 30th April 1934 there were 245 members. The balance on hand at 30th April 1933 was £33 19s 6d. The income for year 1933-34 amounted to £57 2s 10d and the expenditure to £35 11s 9d, leaving a balance of £55 10s 7d.

Colonel Grant referred to the great loss sustained by the death, on 6th June 1933, of the first President, Major W. A. Baird of Lennoxlove, who entered heartily into the Society's work and attended the excursions with almost unfailing regularity. Referring to the fact that the Society had been in existence for ten years during which period it had produced two volumes of *Transactions*, the President mentioned that for some years Mr James H. Jamieson had been collecting material with a view to the production of a bibliography of the county, and that the Council had arranged to print it. Further, they had decided to found a library of literature connected with East Lothian, as well as a collection of pictures of local interest.

At the eleventh annual meeting held at Haddington on 11th May 1935, Colonel Grant presiding, it was reported that the membership on 30th April 1935 stood at 261; that the income for the year amounted to £72 12s 9d; that the expenditure (which included the cost of printing the *Transactions*) was £76 12s 7d; and that there was a balance of £51 10s 9d.

Intimation was made of a gift from Miss Balfour of Whittingehame in the form of two cases of stuffed birds indigenous to East Lothian, which, by permission of the County Council, had been placed in the entrance hall of the County Buildings. Referring to the Council's intention to form a library and a collection of pictures illustrative of the county, the President intimated the presentation of certain items which would form a nucleus. Mr James H. Jamieson, Edinburgh (from whom the proposal to form the library and collection emanated) had sent a gift of about seventy publications concerning the history and topography of the county, together with a variety written by East Lothian men. Seven manuscript volumes of extracts from the burgh records of Haddington between the years 1425 and 1714 had also been received from Miss Madge W. Shaw, Haddington. The records were transcribed by her grandfather, the late Mr James Robb, a noted antiquary, and the author of a local guide book. The Misses Ferme, Haddington, had presented the Bible of the Incorporation of Hammermen of Haddington, and Mr Robert Waterston, Edinburgh, a copy of *The Millers of Haddington, Dunbar and Dunfermline*, by W. J. Couper. The Print collection also received notable accessions. Mr James H. Jamieson, Edinburgh, was represented by fourteen framed prints of places and people connected with East Lothian. These, by permission of the County Council, had been hung in the staircase of the County Buildings. Another addition was a collection of prints and maps from Mrs Wallace-James, Haddington.

East Linton was the venue of the twelfth annual meeting. It was held on 23rd May 1936, Colonel Grant presiding. The membership on 30th April 1936 was reported to be 240, the income £56 10s 2d, the expenditure £21 14s 8d, and the balance £86 6s 3d.

The President alluded to the loss which the Society had sustained by the death on 10th April of Mr Hugh Hannah, one of the founders of the Society and a zealous worker. He wrote several articles for the *Transactions*, and, as Convener of the Editorial Committee for several years, did excellent work. It was decided to ask Miss Balfour of Whittingehame to become Hon. President of the Society—an office which had been vacant since the death of Earl Balfour. Colonel Grant was re-elected President. It was agreed that there should also be a Vice-President. Mr

Gilbert F. M. Ogilvy of Winton Castle was elected to that office. In view of the vacancy on the Editorial Committee occasioned by the death of Mr Hannah, the following new Committee was formed :—Messrs W. Forbes Gray (Convener), Charles Bruce, James H. Jamieson and John Russell.

The thirteenth annual meeting was held at Gifford on 15th May 1937. Colonel Grant presided. The membership at 31st March 1937 was stated to be 223, the income £68 6s 4d, and the expenditure (which included the printing of the *Bibliography*) £134 8s 2d. There was a balance of £20 4s 5d.

The outstanding event of the year was the issuing to members of the *Bibliography of East Lothian*, a work which aims at "registering all books and lesser publications relating to East Lothian, furnishing bibliographical particulars, and providing brief descriptive notes, indicating the scope and distinctive features of each item." It was stated that Mr James H. Jamieson had been engaged on this work for a number of years, in the latter stages of which he was assisted by Miss Eleanor Hawkins and Mr W. Forbes Gray, the latter of whom also contributed a sketch of the literature of East Lothian. The work represented an enormous amount of exacting labour, hundreds of publications being inspected. The Council, it was added, were confident that the *Bibliography of East Lothian* would not only be of great service to members but be frequently consulted by students of Scottish history and literature. The work had already found its way into a considerable number of university and other libraries in Great Britain, while a copy had been requested by New York Public Library.

Colonel Grant having intimated his intention to retire from the Presidentship, Dr Lang expressed the Society's appreciation of his services as a member of Council since the foundation of the Society and as President since the death of Major Baird. Colonel Grant, on behalf of the Council, submitted a recommendation that the new President should be Dr Lang, and this was unanimously agreed to.

The fourteenth annual meeting was held at Haddington on 14th May 1938, Dr Marshall B. Lang presiding. The membership at 31st March 1938 was stated to be 238, the income for the year £66 0s 4d, the expenditure £34 10s 6d, and the balance £51 14s 3d.

Reference was made to the loss sustained by the death of Mr A. W. Mosman who had been a member of Council since May 1935.

The report referred to the forthcoming issue of the *Transactions* which would take the form of a volume of nearly 200 pages (accompanied by numerous illustrations), containing articles dealing with famous historic personages and noted families of East Lothian, as well as with several of the most prominent antiquities in the county.

It was stated that the Council were anxious to see more progress in the building up of a County library and invited contributions, either of books or subscriptions for the purchase of books. The number of publications in the Society's library, which in May 1937 amounted to 184, had, by the purchase of 22 additional books, been increased to 206.

## EXCURSIONS

*Note*—The aim in each case is to give a short description of the place visited, likewise the chief historical facts. In cases where places visited have already been amply dealt with in print, only a brief account is given, but with a reference to the authorities on the subject. If the leader of an excursion has sufficient original material to justify the publication of an article, only a brief account will be inserted in the hope that the article will be forthcoming in a future issue of the *Transactions*. If, however, this is not likely to happen, an effort will be made to insert as much of the new material as possible.

May 6, 1933. *North Berwick. Leader*—Mr T. Cuthbert Day, F.C.S., F.R.S.A.

The party met at Canty Bay with the object of examining some of the old volcanic vents that are to be seen along the East Lothian coastline for a distance of about fifteen miles. The discovery of the vents was made by Mr Day, who wrote a full account of them in the *Transactions* of the Edinburgh Geological Society.

June 3, 1933. *Redhouse and Longniddry. Leaders*—Messrs J. D. Finlayson and James H. Jamieson.

Mr Finlayson's long family connection with Redhouse made it most appropriate that he should tell the history of the castle and its owners. His paper, carefully revised and added to, is printed in this volume. From Redhouse, the company proceeded to Longniddry. Mr James H. Jamieson acted as leader, and gave an account of the ancient castle of the Douglases (now entirely demolished), so full of original research that it is proposed to publish it in a future volume of the *Transactions*, together with his sketch of the ancient chapel in the grounds of Longniddry House, which was also visited under his guidance.

June 24, 1933. *Prestonlinks Colliery. Leader*—Mr James Jack.

Colonel Grant, the new President, in introducing Mr Jack, General Manager of the Edinburgh Collieries Company Ltd., made some observations on the condition of miners in the eighteenth century, and referred to the fact that the first Lord Melville, a kinsman of his predecessor at Biel, was chiefly responsible for the passing in 1779 of the Act of Parliament abolishing the system which kept the miners virtually in a state of slavery.

Mr Jack then submitted a most instructive paper on the geology of East Lothian, with special reference to the Prestonlinks district and the coal mining there. The earliest records of working coal in Britain, Mr Jack said, referred to the neighbourhood of Prestonlinks. Seyr de Quincey, Earl of Winton, some time between 1210 and 1219, granted a charter (which was the confirmation of an earlier one granted by his father) to the monks of Newbattle to work coal and stone from the coal heugh and quarry between the "rivulet of Whitrig and the bounds of Pinkie and Inveresk, both in the ebb and flow of the sea." There were reasonable grounds for believing that coal had been worked more or less steadily in East Lothian since the first charters of about 1200 down to the present day. The workings at first were only on a small scale, the chief difficulty being to prevent the mines being flooded. Gradually the workings got so deep that the water could not be run off, and they had to be abandoned. At a later period the water gin was introduced for raising water, followed by the Egyptian wheel, which was a chain of elevator buckets generally driven by a horse. About 1725 a Newcomen steam pumping engine was introduced into the Lothians. Harbours were built at Cockenzie and Port Seton, and a wooden railway constructed for the conveyance of coal from Tranent to Cockenzie for shipment.

In his geological description, Mr Jack explained that some volcanic rocks such as Traprain Law and the Garleton Hills, intruded themselves, but coming down towards Tranent and the coast the limestone group made their appearance. It was in these—the carboniferous limestone section—that the coal seams were found that were at present wrought. On either side of the Prestonlinks pit shaft, however, there were volcanic intrusions, and on one side a fault, and these probably delayed the working of coal to a later date than might otherwise have been the case. A pit was sunk, however, on the north side of the road in 1830, followed by another in 1857, but they appeared to have been abandoned about 1884. They were not linked up with the railway, and were worked only on a small scale. In 1900, a company named the Forth Collieries Ltd. entered into leases, and sank, in 1902, the present large pit on the south side of the road. They also built a branch line which was connected with the North British Railway. In 1907 the company was absorbed by the Edinburgh Collieries Company Ltd., which sank a pit in 1912, on the north side of the road. The depth of the shaft sunk in 1902 was 400 feet, and the coal seams sloped gradually under the sea, until about two miles out from the shore (to which the present workings extended). They were at a depth of about 1200 feet. The coal seams probably extended across the Firth of Forth, and might be continuous with the Fife coalfield, but they were supposed to reach, in the basin of the Forth, to such a great depth that their working might be difficult.

Mr Jack added that at Prestonlinks pit three seams of coal were presently being worked, about 900 workers being employed. The output of coal was about 1300 tons a day. Thereafter, under the guidance of Mr Jack and other officials, the party descended the mine to a depth of 400 fathoms. They were then conveyed in bogies a distance of over 1000 yards, stops being made on the way for the purpose of having the various strata of rocks pointed out.

July 15, 1933. *Inchcolm. Leader*—Miss Barbour Simpson.

This island has a special interest for East Lothian people in respect that Walter Bower, who was born in Haddington in 1385, was Abbot of the monastery for a period of years, beginning shortly after 1418, and that it was in that monastery that he completed Fordun's *Chronicle of Scotland*. Miss Simpson, Assistant Inspector of Ancient Monuments, outlined the history of the Abbey from its foundation in 1123, and, with the aid of plans, explained the structural development of the buildings.

September 16, 1933. *Hopes Waterworks. Leader*—Mr Richard Baillie.

Situated in the Hopes Valley, about four miles east of Gifford, this imposing piece of work, for which Mr Baillie was contractor, was visited by a large company. Mr Baillie gave as detailed a description of the reservoir as was possible without dwelling too much on technicalities. He told how the water was collected from Fall Burn and the Longrain, and how the fine discharge tunnel, forebay, tailbay and valve house were constructed of stone from the demolished Calton Jail, Edinburgh, he having bought 3000 tons of it. He further explained that a bridge which had been used by the prisoners in the Jail was to be erected from the valve tower to the top of the wall. The pink stone for the valve tower was brought from Garvald quarry. The reservoir covered an area of 35 acres, and, when filled to the top-water level, would contain about 300,000,000 gallons.

The Society paid a second visit to the waterworks at the Hopes on 29th June 1935, when Mr Baillie was again leader.

May 12, 1934. *Traprain Law. Leader*—A. O. Curle, LL.D.

A large company assembled to hear Dr Curle's account of his archaelogical re-

searches on the hill, and the story of the finding in 1920 of the wonderful collection of silver.

June 2, 1934. *Pressmennan Lake.* *Leaders*—Colonel GRANT, the proprietor, and Mr H. MORTIMER BATTEN.

The only *lakes* in Scotland, Colonel Grant pointed out, were Pressmennan and the Lake of Menteith, a lake in Scotland differing from a loch in being artificially made. Pressmennan Lake was formed somewhere about 1840 by Mr Nisbet Hamilson, who made a dam across the east end of the glen, which was then marshy. The Lake was 1.2 miles long, the maximum breadth about 100 yards, and the average depth about nine feet. Pressmennan was famous for its brown trout. In 1926 fifty yearling rainbow trout were introduced, but the experiment had been a failure. Fish weighing 3¾ lbs. had been caught in the Lake, although latterly their weight had diminished. Besides the fish one might see other interesting things at Pressmennan—for example, a wild duck skimming along the water and flapping her wings with intent to prevent the boat from reaching the spot which she desired all to herself. Altogether, some sixty different birds were to be seen at Pressmennan. The arrival of the swallows might be fairly accurately predicted. Twice (Colonel Grant explained) he had been reminded by his companion in the boat that it was about the date of their arrival and, a few minutes later, the coming of the first of the swallows was witnessed. On one occasion this occurred on 26th April, and on another on 23rd April. In both cases the birds were seen at 4 p.m.

Many varieties of plant life were to be found in the Lake, those principally represented being:—*Potamogeton, lemnaceae, anacharis, myriophyllum,* and the aquatic *ranunculus.* Some years ago, a new pest, the water dropworth (*Oenanthe fistulosa*), transformed in the early Spring the surface of the Lake into what looked like a bowling green. Fortunately it died down in the summer.

Following Colonel Grant's address, Mr Mortimer Batten gave an account of the various birds which frequented Pressmennan.

June 30, 1934. *Whittingehame.* *Leaders*—Miss BALFOUR, LORD TRAPRAIN and Dr LANG.

A visit was first paid to Whittingehame Tower, in which Miss Balfour received the company, and gave a short informal address regarding its history. An article on Whittingehame Tower by Dr Lang appears on pp. 80-93 of this volume. On leaving the Tower the company inspected the famous Yew Tree, the story of which was told by Lord Traprain. He said it was estimated to be a thousand years old. Its total spread was 138 feet.

July 14, 1934. *Berwick-on-Tweed.* *Leader*—LIEUT.-COL. W. B. MACKAY, C.M.G., M.D.

The itinerary to the historic parts of the town was curtailed owing to wet weather, but the site of the Castle, the Edwardian walls, the parish church, the barracks and other objects of interest were visited. Colonel Mackay delivered an interesting address on Berwick's place in history. A second excursion to Berwick-on-Tweed took place on September 25, 1937, under the leadership of Mr W. Bain Dickinson. This time the weather was entirely favourable, and the large company were admirably instructed in Berwick's fascinating story. In proposing a vote of thanks to the conductor of the party, Dr Lang, the President, reminded the members of John Knox's connection with the town. In Berwick-on-Tweed the Reformer met his first wife.

## EXCURSIONS

September 15, 1934. *Colstoun.*

On the invitation of Mrs Broun Lindsay, the members visited the ancient mansion of the old East Lothian family of Broun, the history of which is a long and interesting one. Major and Mrs Broun Lindsay divided the party into four groups, two of which they conducted, the other two being led by Miss M. Lindsay and Miss Marrow. It was explained that the earliest records of the mansion dated back to 1270, that an additional storey was added in 1500, and that the present staircase leading to the house was, in 1860, cut through the original wall. Mrs Broun Lindsay showed the company a collection of pottery which had been found when excavations were made in the vicinity of the mansion. The site of a mediaeval kiln of the thirteenth century had been discovered, and the fragments demonstrated the skill of the potters in design, decoration and glazing. Mrs Broun Lindsay, it may be recalled, contributed to the Society's *Transactions*, vol. II, pp. 123-51, an article on " The Barony Court of Colstoun : Extracts from its Records."

May 11, 1935. *Churches of St. Mary and St. Martin, Haddington. Leader*—Mr G. P. H. WATSON, F.R.I.B.A., F.S.A. Scot.

The beautiful late fourteenth or early fifteenth century Church of St. Mary was the first ancient monument visited by the Society after its formation, the visit taking place on 14th June 1924 under the leadership of Mr James S. Richardson, H.M. Inspector of Ancient Monuments in Scotland, who fully described the architecture. Many members who were not present on that occasion had another opportunity, under the guidance of Mr Watson, of inspecting this magnificent structure.

The old church of St. Martin, one of the earliest ecclesiastical buildings in Scotland, had also been visited in 1924 under Mr Richardson's leadership. Mr Watson said the building was rather a puzzle, for though it seemed an early twelfth century church, the narrow and elongated plan rather belied this view. The chancel arch, unusually narrow in this case, was invariably a sign of the date. The windows were typically Norman.

June 8, 1935. *Tantallon Castle. Leader*—Mr E. STAPLES, the custodian.

An excursion had been arranged to the Bass Rock, with the understanding that if the weather was unsuitable, the company would proceed to Tantallon. As it happened, a landing could not be made at the Bass, and therefore the alternative programme was carried out. Tantallon has been thrice visited by the Society. See Vol. I of the *Transactions* pp. 212-15.

July 27, 1935. *Pilmuir House. Leader*—Mr HENRY WADE, C.M.G., F.R.C.S.

This seventeenth century mansion, situated about a mile and a quarter from East Saltoun, is fully described in the *Inventory of Ancient Monuments* for the county. The house was built by William Cairns, and a panel over the original doorway bears, in monogram, his initials and those of his wife Agnes Brown, with the date 1624. They had a family of three—Richard, Sibilla and William. Sibilla married Alexander Borthwick of Johnstounburn, and Richard, who succeeded to Pilmuir on the death of his father in 1653, left the estate entailed upon William Borthwick, the son of his sister Sibilla and Alexander Borthwick. The deed of entail is dated 1659.

Mr Wade, who acquired Pilmuir about 1925, explained that what is now the front of the house was originally the back. Among the alterations he had carried out was the restoration of windows which had been built up probably a hundred and fifty years ago. In 1927 a small press with an oak door was discovered in one of the

walls which had been covered by panelling. In the press was found a twopenny piece Scots of the reign of Charles I. On the removal of the panelling on the opposite side of the entrance hall another press of like design was discovered.

September 7, 1935. *Duddingston Church.* *Leader*—Rev. Wm. SERLE, B.D.

The day was beautiful, and the party which met at Duddingston Manse numbered about a hundred. Mr Serle, minister of the parish, conducted the company to the south side of the Loch, where he gave an instructive account of the birds which take advantage of the sanctuary there. On returning to the manse garden, Mr Serle pointed out an ash tree which had associations with Sir Walter Scott and the Rev. John Thomson, a former minister and well-known artist. Passing from the garden into the churchyard, interesting tombstones were pointed out and a description given of the church.

May 23, 1936. *Hailes Castle.* *Leader*—Mr R. SKELDON, the custodian.

This was the Society's second visit to Hailes, the first being on 21st July 1928, under the leadership of Mr James S. Richardson.

June 11, 1936. *Pinkie House.* *Leader*—Mr HENRY F. KERR, A.R.I.B.A.

This splendid mansion, which has certain unique features, was inspected through the courtesy of the Hon. Lady Hope. Describing its architectural and decorative details, Mr Kerr had much to say regarding the beautiful plaster work of the so-called King's Room, and the noble "Painted Gallery," 96 feet long, whose ceiling is adorned with heraldic and mythological emblems in blue and red and gold. The company also inspected a lofty chamber, its ceiling decorated with pendants, which is said to have been occupied by Prince Charles Edward on the night after the battle of Prestonpans. Forming two sides of a quadrangle, Pinkie House is a château-like building of various periods. The massive square tower, with charming corner turrets, was originally a country seat of the Abbots of Dunfermline. Passing to Alexander Seton, first Earl of Dunfermline, it was by him enlarged, repaired, and decorated in 1613. On the death of the fourth and last Earl of Dunfermline (1694), the estate passed to the first Marquess of Tweeddale, and by the sixth Marquess was sold in 1778 to Sir Archibald Hope of Craighall, Bart. Among numerous portraits is one by Jameson of Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall. In front of Pinkie House is a lofty stone fountain of striking and ornate design. The Princes Henry and Charles, sons of James VI, are said to have spent three years of their boyhood at Pinkie House.

July 11, 1936. *Hawthornden House.* *Leader*—Mr W. FORBES GRAY, F.R.S.E., F.S.A., Scot.

The members gathered in front of the mansion where Mr Gray read an interesting paper. Whether viewed architecturally or because of its associations, which are mainly literary, Hawthornden was one of the most interesting mansions in Midlothian. The quadrangular tower, now in ruins, is fully five hundred years old. John Major refers to a tower at Hawthornden as existing in 1340, but the earliest of the present group of buildings may be assigned to the fifteenth century or thereabout. As regards the modern portion of the building, what is now seen is mainly the outcome of the rebuilding scheme undertaken by the most illustrious of all the lairds of Hawthornden—William Drummond, the poet. After the poet, the most outstanding laird of Hawthornden was Dr Abernethy-Drummond, Episcopal Bishop of Edinburgh, who was descended from the Abernethys of Saltoun.

## EXCURSIONS

September 5, 1936. *Aberlady Bay and Luffness.* *Leaders*—Rev. WILLIAM SERLE, B.D., and Mr A. M. JAMIESON, M.A.

At Aberlady Bay Mr Serle gave a most instructive account of the natural history of the district, enlarging on the habits of the birds which frequent The Bay, including the redshank, curlew-sandpiper, common sandpiper, ruff, and greenshank. He pointed out that the eider duck is common both at Aberlady Bay and Tyninghame. But perhaps the most interesting "wader" to be seen at Aberlady Bay was the bar-tailed godwit. Hardly the size of the curlew, its beak is turned up. Mr Serle mentioned that five weeks previously he had seen about 500 bar-tailed godwits at the end of the bar; they were all in bronze-red plumage. He had also seen in the Bay between 300 and 400 curlew and about 1000 golden plover. Another bird largely in evidence was the black-headed gull.

The party then proceeded to Luffness where Mr A. M. Jamieson read a paper. It was explained that while part of Luffness House suggested fifteenth century work, what is left of the early building was erected in the following century. Mr Jamieson pointed out various features, including the ditch and mounds understood to have been formed by the French in 1549 during the siege of Haddington. A visit was also paid to the remains of the church of the Convent of Carmelite Friars in the grounds.

The Society previously visited Luffness on 12th June 1926 (*Transactions* Vol. I pp. 217-8). An excellent account of Luffness House will be found in the *Inventory of Ancient Monuments for East Lothian.*

September 26, 1936. *Linlithgow Palace.* *Leader*—Mr J. MCINTOSH, the custodian.

The visit was much enjoyed. The company also inspected St. Michael's Church, one of the prominent landmarks of Linlithgow.

May 15, 1937. *Goblin Ha' and Yester House.* *Leader*—Mr JOHN RUSSELL, F.S.A. Scot.

A previous visit to Yester took place on 12th May 1928 when the ancient castle and the church of St. Bothans were inspected under the leadership of Mr Russell. The visit is described in Vol. I pp. 136-7 of the *Transactions*, and at pp. 185-88 of the same volume will be found an article by Mr Russell on "Yester and the Goblin Ha'." On the present occasion there was no return visit to the church but, by the courtesy of the Marquess of Tweeddale, the company were admitted to view the interior of Yester House.

June 12, 1937. *Saltoun Hall.* *Leader*—Mr W. FORBES GRAY, F.R.S.E., F.S.A. Scot.

This mansion was visited by permission of Captain A. M. Talbot Fletcher. Mr Gray gave an interesting account of the village as well as of the mansion, also of the distinguished members of the Saltoun family who had lived there. He said that in some respects the parish was anything but inconspicuous, as it played an important part in the early stages of industrial development in Scotland. It was the first place in the country in which pot-barley was manufactured, and the first, too, in which a bleachfield of the British Linen Company was formed. Saltoun was also associated with the first attempt at weaving Holland cloth, and with the invention and improvement of agricultural implements. Nor must it be forgotten that it was in Saltoun that a paper-mill and a starch work were established, when both these industries were comparatively new.

## EXCURSIONS

July 10, 1937. *Penshiel. Leader*—Very Rev. MARSHALL B. LANG, D.D.

The object of this excursion was to visit the ruins of the chapel of Penshiel and its grange, and to hear something of their history from Dr Lang, in whose parish they are situated. The party met at Kingside and, after being welcomed by Mr and Mrs Charles R. Shirreff, ascended the hill to the historic spot. Inside the ruins of the chapel, Dr Lang spoke of the prehistoric and early Christian aspects of the place. This is the second occasion on which Dr Lang has conducted the Society to Penshiel, the previous visit being paid on 30th June 1928.

September 4, 1937. *Fast Castle. Leader*—Mr JOHN RUSSELL, F.S.A. Scot.

The paper which Mr Russell read on the occasion of this excursion will be found printed in full at pp. 40-8 of this volume. There was a large attendance, and the outing was much enjoyed.

May 14, 1938. *Garleton Hills. Leader*—Mr J. H. JAMIESON, F.S.A., Scot.

Following the annual meeting at Haddington, the members visited the Garleton Hills. The company first stopped at the east end of Cope's Road where Mr Jamieson spoke of the history and romance of the district. The little used road extending from Blackmains and joining, near Yellow Craigs, the road leading north from Haddington, was, he said, part of the direct route for centuries between Edinburgh and Dunbar and England by the east coast. Haddington was not then on the main road. The county town had its modern bye-pass, but this road was its bye-pass previous to the late eighteenth century. Coming from Edinburgh, the road led by Musselburgh, Preston, Seton, Cantyhall, Seton Hill, Cotty Burn, Coates, Gatefoot, Bangley and Blackmains, crossed the north road at Yellow Craigs, and continued by Beanston, Pencraig and Upper Hailes. An off-shoot from the road led to the great Abbey of Haddington, and, farther on, another to Hailes Castle. What the traffic on this old road must have been from the time of the Edwardian wars to the seventeenth century one could only imagine. Mary Queen of Scots and Bothwell on their way to Dunbar, and James VI with his retinue on their progress to London, travelled on that old road, and it was along it that Somerset led the English army in 1547, and that Cope's army passed to the field of Prestonpans in September 1745. The road was at one time known as the "Thieves' Dykes," from the fact that robbers frequented it, but now it was locally known as "Cope's Road."

The members afterwards visited Garleton Castle, at the north base of the range of hills. It was once a superb mansion, a seat of the Earls of Winton, but is now a fragmentary ruin. Of the history of this structure a full account was given by Mr Jamieson. The excursion finished up with a visit to the striking columnar monument which crowns a western spur of the Garleton Hills. The monument commemorates John, fourth Earl of Hopetoun (1766-1823), the Peninsular hero.

June 11, 1938. *Fountainhall and Ormiston Hall. Leader*—Mr JOHN RUSSELL, F.S.A. Scot.

Fountainhall, one of the oldest and most picturesque mansions in the county, was re-visited, by permission of Mrs Holbourn, who received the company. Lying about a mile to the west of Pencaitland and in beautifully wooded, upland country, the history of Fountainhall (now called Penkaet) chiefly centres in the Lauder family, the lands having been acquired by Sir John Lauder, an Edinburgh merchant. In 1688 he was created a baronet of Nova Scotia. His ancestors had been lairds of the Bass Rock from the 13th to the 16th century. His son, Sir John (1646-1722), an eminent lawyer and statesman, was appointed a Lord of Session in 1689, with

the title of Lord Fountainhall. He is remembered by his *Decisions*, as is his fourth descendant, Sir Thomas Dick-Lauder (1784-1848), by his writings, notably *Scottish Rivers*, in which he gives a delightful account of the Tyne and the charming country through which it flows. The party were taken through the mansion, and all the objects of interest pointed out to them.

A visit was afterwards paid to Ormiston Hall. The building, which is about a mile from the village, was built in 1745, in the tea-canister style of architecture that then prevailed. From the Ormes, who bequeathed their name to the parish, the lands of Ormiston passed to the historic family of Lindsay of the Byres, and from them by marriage to the Cockburns, two of whom held the office of Lord Justice-Clerk in the 17th century. In 1748 John Cockburn (1685-1758), a pioneer of Scottish agriculture, and whose *Letters to his Gardener* is one of the most interesting of the publications of the Scottish History Society, was obliged to sell the estate to the Earl of Hopetoun, with whose descendants it has since remained. The older house of Ormiston is situated 200 yards to the west, and forms part of a court of offices. Hither on a December night of 1545 the Reformer, George Wishart "passed upon foot, for it was a vehement frost." Here, too, a few hours later, he was delivered into the hands of Bothwell, only after, however, the latter had solemnly promised that no harm should befall the Reformer. But he was handed over to Cardinal Beaton, and, as every one knows, was burnt at St. Andrews. In the flower garden grows a spreading yew tree, 18 feet in girth and 38 feet in height, which seems to have been a tree of mark so long ago as 1474, and is still in great vigour. Underneath its branches, Mr Russell told all that there was to know of the chequered history of Ormiston Hall and the families connected with it.

July 23, 1938. *Holy Island. Leader*—Rev. E. E. C. Elford, Vicar of Lindisfarne.

About ninety members and friends took part in this all-day excursion, which was favoured with fine weather. Unfortunately, the arrangements with regard to the tide miscarried, and the crossing from the mainland had to be delayed an hour and a half. After lunch, the company assembled at the parish church (the earliest portion of which dates from about 1100) where Mr Elford delivered an informative address, in which he dealt with the history of Holy Island, and the ancient church of which he is vicar. The Priory was afterwards inspected under the guidance of the custodian. The President of the Society, Dr Lang, in proposing a vote of thanks to Mr Elford, recalled the interesting fact that a considerable portion of the land, appropriated by decree of King Oswald for the support of the monastery, lay in the parish of Whittingehame.

September 10, 1938. *Dunbar Church and Battlefield. Leader*—Mr T. Wilson Fish, F.S.A. Scot.

The final excursion for the season was held in fine weather. The company assembled in the Parish Church, where, in opening the proceedings, the President (Dr Lang) made fitting reference to the passing of two prominent members of the Society — Provost William Davidson and Mr Alexander Burnett, M.A., both of Haddington. Provost Davidson took a keen interest in the Society and frequently attended its excursions. His lovable personality would be greatly missed. They also mourned the death of Mr Burnett. For several years he was a member of the Council of the Society, and did much to further its activities. In 1930 he led an excursion to the Garleton Hills where he read a most instructive paper on the ancient fort there. Mr Burnett was noted for his gifts of mind and grace of character, and he was a wise counsellor.

Mr Wilson Fish gave an interesting account of the erection of the present Dun-

bar Church, of which he is an elder. He also furnished some little-known particulars regarding its predecessor — the cruciform collegiate church which was demolished in 1819. Two excellent drawings of this building are preserved, and were inspected. Founded in 1342 by Patrick, tenth Earl of Dunbar and March, it was the earliest collegiate church in Scotland, and the most important and richest foundation within the diocese of St. Andrews. Its patron saint was St. Bey, also known as St. Ann. A noted feature of the present Dunbar Church is the superb monument commemorating George Home, Earl of Dunbar, third son of Alexander Home of Manderston, of which Mr Wilson Fish gave a full description. Situated at the end of the north aisle, the memorial is 26 feet high, 12 feet broad at the base, and is composed of various coloured marble. The Earl is represented kneeling on a cushion in the attitude of prayer, with a Bible open before him. He is clad in armour, which is seen under his knight's robes, and on his left arm is the badge of the Order of the Garter. Two knights in armour stand on each side. Above them are two female figures, Justice and Wisdom, betwixt whom, and immediately above the cupola, Fame sounds her trumpet; while, on the opposite side, Peace, with her olive branch, sheds a laurel wreath on his lordship. The Earl died in London in 1611, but his body was brought to Scotland and interred in the collegiate church of Dunbar.

From Dunbar Church the members motored to Spott, in order to view the scene of Cromwell's victory over the Scots on September 3, 1650. On the top of Doón Hill, from which Leslie's army made its fatal descent, Mr Wilson Fish gave a realistic description of the battle, drawn from Cromwell's dispatches and other contemporary documents. At the close, General Sir Reginald Wingate, Bart., G.C.B., made some interesting comments on the strategy employed at " Dunbar Drove."

# CONSTITUTION

I. The Name of the Society shall be THE EAST LOTHIAN ANTIQUARIAN AND FIELD NATURALISTS' SOCIETY.

II. The objects of the Society shall be the study of the Archæology and History of East Lothian and the collection of documentary evidence relating thereto; the study of the Natural History of the County and the collection of information relating thereto; the printing from time to time of a selection of communications and documentary evidence when it is considered the Society is in a position to do so; the promotion of excursions to various parts of the County or elsewhere in furtherance of the objects of the Society; the arrangement of lectures at various centres, and, generally, the stimulation of interest in the Antiquities and Natural History of the County.

III. The annual subscription shall be five shillings, payable in advance on the date of the annual meeting in May.

IV. The affairs of the Society shall be managed by a Council consisting of the President, the Vice-President, the Secretary, the Treasurer, and twelve members. The office-bearers shall be elected annually. Four of the members of Council shall retire every year in rotation, but shall be eligible for re-election. The Council shall have power to fill up any vacancy in their number arising during the year, to make bye-laws, and to appoint sub-committees for special purposes. At meetings of the Council five shall be a quorum.

V. The Secretary shall keep proper Minutes of the business and transactions, conduct official correspondence, submit an Annual Report of the proceedings of the Society, and have custody of and be responsible for all property placed in his charge.

VI. The Treasurer shall receive all monies, collect subscriptions, pay accounts, and shall present annually a duly audited statement.

VII. The Annual Meeting of the Society shall be held in East Lothian in May, at which the Annual Report and the Financial Statement shall be read and considered, the office-bearers elected for the ensuing year, and any other competent business transacted.

VIII. Intimation of the place and date of the Annual Meeting shall be sent by the Secretary to each member of the Society at least ten days before the meeting, and an advertisement shall also appear in the local newspaper or newspapers. Reasonable intimation of other meetings, lectures, and excursions shall be given in such way as is found to suit the circumstances. The Council shall have power to call a General Meeting of the Society at any time if they think it necessary to do so.

IX. The Council shall regulate all matters relative to the publications of the Society, though the consideration of manuscripts, their preparation for the Press, and the negotiations with the printers shall be in charge of an Editorial Board consisting of three members of Council, the Convener of which shall convey the recommendations of the Board. Papers accepted for custody, and, if advisable, publication shall become the property of the Society.

X. Members whose subscriptions are not in arrear shall receive one copy of the publications of the Society. Contributors shall receive six copies of

their communications, if and when printed. The Council shall have discretionary powers to provide additional copies for review, presentation and supply to approved public bodies and societies.

XI. In the event of it being determined at a General Meeting to wind up the Society, the Council shall discharge debts due by the Society, and shall then transfer the Library of the Society, together with other property to such body as the meeting may determine for preservation within the bounds of East Lothian.

XII. These Rules may be amended or extended at any General Meeting if previous notice of not less than a fortnight has been given to the Secretary.