

TRANSACTIONS  
OF THE  
EAST LOTHIAN  
ANTIQUARIAN AND FIELD  
NATURALISTS' SOCIETY

VOL. IX.

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1963

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OF THE  
EAST LOTHIAN  
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NINTH VOLUME

1963

*The Council of the Society gratefully acknowledges  
the generous contribution from The Carnegie Trust  
towards the cost of producing this volume.*

HADDINGTON:

PRINTED BY D. AND J. CROAL, LTD.  
FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY

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## THE RURAL ECONOMY OF EAST LoTHIAN IN THE 17th AND 18th CENTURY

TRAVELLERS have been impressed by East Lothian agriculture for many centuries. In 1587 Camden wrote that "Lothian, also called Lauden, . . . . shoots out along from *Merch* as far as the Scottish Sea, or the *Frith*, having many hills, and little woods; but for its excellent Corn-lands, and civility, is commended above any County in Scotland"<sup>1</sup>. Camden's editor added in 1695 that the stretch between Dunbar and Dunglass was amongst the most fruitful in wheat and barley in the kingdom. This was partly due to the use of sea-weed for manure. Earlier on, in 1636, Sir William Brereton had seen that about a mile from Dunbar, "the grass, weeds and wreck, brought by the sea and with the tide, and left upon the sands, was carried and laid thick upon the ground"<sup>2</sup> for growing corn. Daniel Defoe, who travelled in Scotland about 1725, pointed out that Scotland was not as barren as people represented her, and that the soil of East Lothian was particularly good. Sea-ware and marl were much used, and "by laying this continually on the Land, they plow every Year, without letting it lie fallow, as we do [i.e. in England]; and I found they had as much Corn . . . as could stand upon the Ground"<sup>3</sup>. In 1759 Pennant also described how, after the bleak tract of Coldingham Moor, "the country becomes now extremely fine; bounded at a distance, on one side, by hills, on the other, by the sea: the intervening space is as rich a tract of corn land as I ever saw; for *East Lothian* is the *Northamptonshire* of *North Britain*: the land is in many places manured with sea-tang; but I was informed, that the barley produced from it is much lighter than barley from other manure."<sup>4</sup> It must not, however, be imagined that the fertility of the soil here was entirely due to the use of sea-weed. This was used for manure all round the coasts of Scotland, as is amply attested by seventeenth century records. East Lothian soil produced better crops than most other parts of the country because it was naturally more fertile.

It is, therefore, little wonder that East Lothian has always held a leading position in Scottish agriculture, possibly even from the period of the Roman

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occupation, and that she has produced so many notable improvers and agriculturists. A study of this area is of importance for the rest of the country, too. As few have ever tried to see back much beyond eighteenth century agricultural and social history in East Lothian, or even Scotland as a whole, the following notes are an attempt to supply this want, and in doing so to seek out some of the roots of the "agricultural revolution" in the seventeenth century, and to trace them as they developed and changed through the eighteenth into the nineteenth century.

The first detailed evidence of improving standards in East Lothian agriculture is to be found in *Reports on the State of Certain Parishes in Scotland, 1627*, edited by Alexander Macgrigor for the Maitland Club in 1835. Nine East Lothian parishes are dealt with—Auldhamstoks, Barowe (now Garvald and Bara), Bothanes (now Yester), Diriltoun, Hombie and Keith (now Humbie), Ormistoun, Penkatland, Saltoun, and Tranent — and it is clear that the value of land was rising rapidly as a result of widespread liming. For example, the tenantry of the lands of Newhall in the parish of Yester, extending to 20½ husbandlands (a term used in south-east Scotland, one husbandland amounting to two oxgangs, or about 26 acres) paid about 200 marks in annual rent about 1600, and over five times as much, 1040 marks, by 1627, an increase only partly accounted for by inflation. As the writer put it, the land "being now betterit be lyming and industrie of tennentis dois pay the present rent, thair nather being coyll nor lymestane upone the saidis landis bot all at the large charges of the heritouris and tenantis transportit thairto and if they wantit the lyming they wald hardlie be worth the half of the dewitie whilke thay presently pay."<sup>5</sup> Similarly, in the parish of Tranent, the rent for Longniddrie rose from 21 chalders (336 bolls) of grain to 30 chalders (480 bolls), and the teind from 7 to 10 chalders; Seton, with the Mains, rose from 16 chalders of rent plus 5 of teind to 24 of stock (rent) and 8 of teind; Tranent rose from 24 of rent plus 8 of teind to 30 of rent plus 10 of teind, partly through liming, and partly through "the great trafique of mercheandis."<sup>6</sup> These rents and teinds were paid in differing proportions of oats, bere, and wheat, with oats invariably making up at least half the total. Thus, in the parish of Pencaitland, Easter Pencaitland paid a teind of 42 bolls made up of 31 of oats, 5 of wheat, and 6 of bere; Templehall paid a teind of 3 chalders, made up of 1½ chalders of oats, 20 bolls

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of bere, and 4 bolls of wheat; and Peaston paid 3 bolls of teind, 2 of oats and one of bere, for each of its 25 husbandlands.<sup>7</sup> In each case the larger amount of oats is because the infield grew a greater acreage of oats than of the other two types of grain, and it was the only crop grown on the outfield.

These Reports show that the value of land increased by anything from a third to five times between 1600 and 1627 in East Lothian, as well as in Berwickshire and other parts of central and southern Scotland where lime was available or was within reach. Liming must therefore be regarded as an important factor in the early stirrings of the agricultural revolution from the first quarter of the seventeenth century in parts of Scotland.

The next printed work of importance to the area, and one of the earliest pieces of writing of any consequence on Scottish agriculture, is *The Countrey-Man's Rudiments: or, An Advice to the Farmers in East Lothian how to Labour and Improve their Ground*, by A. B. C. (Edinburgh, 1699). The writer has been identified as John Hamilton, second Lord Belhaven. He wrote this pamphlet for "ordinar farmers," and made the interesting suggestion that what was wanted over the whole country was a "particular Treatise for a particular Shire or Bounds of Land." This idea was taken up and carried through over hundred years later by Sir John Sinclair with his notable series of County Agricultural Surveys, of which Buchan-Hepburn's<sup>8</sup> and Somerville's<sup>9</sup> books are samples. Belhaven sets out the organisation of the land on East Lothian farms. Each farm was divided into infield and outfield. Infield was also known as "croft land" or "muckit land," and was composed of the groups of rigs in close association with the farm-buildings. A common East Lothian practice was to divide it into four parts called "breaks" or "shotts," one of pease, one of wheat, one of bere, one of oats, with the rotation in that order. If no wheat was sown, the infield was in three parts growing barley, oats, and pease. All the manure the farm could produce went on the parts that were to grow wheat and bere. According to some notes on husbandry by Skene of Halyards in the neighbouring county of Midlothian,<sup>10</sup> written some time before 1666, "when they sowe peiss and oates the land is not muckitt but when they sowe wheat and Beir the land is muckitt but the Beir getts mor mucke." The infield rotation might be upset if the tenant was required to pay much of his rent in bere, in which case he had to sow bere again after oats as well as after pease, a practice well adapted to further

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impoverish ground that was already overcropped. Skene recorded the practice of liming before pease, but in this he was unique in the seventeenth century. A hundred years later, according to Buchan-Hepburn,<sup>11</sup> all the dung on the farm was put on the part of the infield intended for pease, and the succeeding crops of wheat, barley, and oats on this part got nothing more at all. Infield crops normally gave a threefold return in the seventeenth century, and it was not until the general establishment of fallowing about the middle of the eighteenth century that average returns increased to any extent. On returns, Belhaven commented that "fallowing will give the sixth increase, and whatever Ground will yield the third, fourth or fifth, by the ordinar Custom will double it by this Method for three years to come: and at the end of these years, leave it in a better condition than it found it; for a good Crop of Corns makes a good Stubble, and a good Stubble is the equalest Mucking that is. And I must say this by and by, that if in *East Lothian* they did not leave an higher Stubble than in other places in the Kingdom, their Grounds would be in a much worse condition than at present they are, though bad enough."<sup>12</sup>

The outfield was larger than the infield. In 1697, in the first work on agriculture in Scotland to appear in print, the writer (an Edinburgh publisher, James Donaldson) imagined a hypothetical 60 acre holding or "tack," and divided it into one third infield and two-thirds outfield. The outfield was further split into two sections, of which one grew oats and the other grass for two years in succession, before changing over.<sup>13</sup> For the time of writing, this was not a practical system. Since there were no sown grasses, two years were not long enough for a worthwhile sward to develop by natural regeneration. As the 6th Earl of Haddington said in 1733, "the ground, immediately after corn, is many years before it swards, and many more before it can produce hay, or tolerable pasture"<sup>14</sup>. The animals grazing it would not get the nourishment they needed, and both the milkhouse and the animals' progeny would suffer. In addition, the manure produced by them on the poor feeding would be of correspondingly poor quality, and a vicious circle would develop. In reality, the outfield was treated in a less simple manner than Donaldson suggests, and indeed, it must not be imagined that either with the infield or the outfield there was one standard method of treatment throughout Scotland, or even in East Lothian alone. In the south-east it could be divided into 5 to

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7 parts, according to the quality of the soil, of which three were normally under crop. Lord Belhaven's remarks two years later, are evidently founded on observation rather than speculation. The outfield, he says, is generally the highest lying, driest, and worst ground. Its normal treatment is by folding, fauching, and liming. As regards folding, he says that the making of sheep-folds on the outfield, "digged up with many little Divisions, that the Sheep and other bestiall may dung them more equally," is nowhere practised so much as in the Lothians and the Merse, though the folds tended to be overcropped. His recommendation is that no more than three crops, or four at the most, should be taken after folding. If lime is applied to folded ground, it should go on with the first crop only. In trying to assess the value of what the outfield was getting from manuring through folding, it is worth remembering that except for poultry manure, sheep manure is the most concentrated, followed by horse, pig, and cattle manure in that order<sup>15</sup>. On the other hand, sheep eat so close to the roots that they take a great deal more out of the grazing than other farm animals, so that the advantage to the ground in the folds from their stronger manure would have been minimised.

The second way, by "fauching," had been going on in Scotland at least from the early part of the 14th century<sup>16</sup>. It was in effect an early form of fallowing, and consisted of alternately tilling part of the outfield, and then leaving it fallow for a time. It was not until well on to the middle of the eighteenth century that the application of dung after fallow became anything like a general principle. The treatment of outfield by fauching was well-enough known in Scotland, and is known to have been well established in the North-East of Scotland as well as in East Lothian in the seventeenth century. It is, therefore, wrong to suggest that fallowing was unknown in Scottish agriculture till about 1750, though Buchan-Hepburn says that in East Lothian it was confined to a narrow district until this time, and that its introduction was attributable either to Thomes, sixth Earl of Haddington (1680-1735), who was partly educated in England, or to James Walker, tenant in Beanstown, near Haddington. Walker kept an inn, and about 1690, he "was advised by an English traveller . . . to try the effect of fallow; which he did at first upon six acres; and finding the crop he obtained after it very productive, he fallowed more than 20 acres in a subsequent year<sup>17</sup>." The innovation lay in fallowing part of the *infield*, and the fact that the native



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term, "fauching," was not given to the process as applied to the infield suggests strongly how much of a novelty it was felt to be on this part of the arable ground.

Liming is the best possible treatment for sour acid soil. Its effects can be gauged not only by the increased rents and teinds of the Parish Reports of 1627, but also by Belhaven's remarks on cropping after liming. Lime should be applied before ploughing for fauch. His advice was: "lyme therefore your Clay land in the Summer, fallow it at Lambas, Harrow it well after the first Frost, Seedfur (prepare the seed bed) and Sow it some time in *February*, and through GOD'S Blessing, you may expect a good Crompt of Oats that same year"<sup>18</sup>. In this way the best ground might be expected to give 7 or 8 successive crops, poorer ground 5 to 6, and the worst ground 3 to 4. He went on to say that if this limed part of the outfield were taken into the infield, it could then be treated like the infield and cropping could go on as long as desired, provided it was treated gently and got dung at least every three or four years. Modern thought may not consider this gentle treatment. Nevertheless, it is one of the most important points Belhaven makes since it suggests how increased acreages of better-quality arable land developed around the farms, as outfield was gradually converted to infield, in the first instance largely as a result of liming. The outcome of the agricultural revolution was the conversion to infield of all outfield land that could be converted, and Belhaven shows that this movement had already started in the seventeenth century, though it could not, of course, go forward with any speed until enclosure had led to the general establishment of individual holdings. With more good land available for cropping, farmers began to lose their suspicions of fallowing part of the infield, which had seemed to many a waste of space where grain crops could be growing, so that by the middle of the century the old four course rotation of pease, wheat, bere, and oats had been replaced on the more progressive farms by a six course rotation of fallow and dung, wheat, barley, oats, pease, and wheat.<sup>19</sup>

Potatoes came to be grown on a large scale only after the turn of the eighteenth century, though they were known very much earlier. John Reid mentioned them in 1683<sup>20</sup>, but only as a garden crop. Belhaven recommended them in 1699 as a crop in the "Kitching Grounds" or garden, commenting that "the advantage of the Potatis is so excellent and usefull, that in *England*

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and severall other places Abroad, the poor people boyl them, dry them, mix them with a little Meal, kned them and make them up in Bread . . . . . of the joyce of them also stilled, they make most excellent Aquavitae''<sup>21</sup>. Although the cultivation of potatoes as a field crop was already being carried on by Alexander Wight on his farm of Murrays or Muirhouse as early as 1726<sup>22</sup>, extensive field cultivation took another quarter century to become at all general. In the north and west of Scotland, the potato was already established as the staff of life, and the lateness of its widespread adoption in south-eastern Scotland suggests the comparative prosperity of the area. Indeed, one may well say that the real inspiration behind potato crops in East Lothian was increased marketing facilities after the turnpike acts provided good roads in the second half of the eighteenth century, and again in the middle of the nineteenth century when railways brought London within quick reach. Potato growing developed in East Lothian as a commercial venture rather than from economic necessity.

The first man to sow grass-seed in East Lothian was Thomas, 6th Earl of Haddington, but Belhaven had already spoken of grass with a prophetic voice in 1699. Commenting on the state of this crop, he said: "For Grass I know it is a very great rarity in East Lothian amongst the Husbandmen, neither can they well have it . . . . unless they turn some part of their infield Land to Grass, and lime as much of their outfield Land as corresponds thereto, and really I know not whether that method might not prove in time the best Husbandrie of all the infield Land''<sup>23</sup>. Haddington imported English men to teach the management of grass-seed, and succeeded in rousing local opposition. "This improvement was new in this country," he wrote in 1733, "till I got the people from Dorsetshire: I fell heartily to work, tho' the whole country, who are really discontented at any new thing, were angry with me. They had a poor opinion of a man's understanding, who would sow grass upon land that would carry corn''<sup>24</sup>. His practice was to sow broad-clover with barley, in good ground, at the rate of 20 lbs. per Scots acre (1½ English acres). Rye grass could be included to make the hay hold longer, since clover by itself is easily choked. Buchan-Hepburn recorded that his predecessor began sowing broad clover about 1740, but generally the sowing of grass and clover seed took on very slowly until fallowing became an adopted principle on the infield. Rye-grass became popular earlier than clover, and

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was sometimes sown on the outfield with the last oat-crop.<sup>25</sup>

Turnips were also grown by the Earl of Haddington before 1733 — in fact, he grew them in the seed beds for his young trees to give protection to the young plants and keep weeds at bay—but without conspicuous success. John, former Marquis of Tweeddale, brought in an English steward called Wade, about 1740, who raised turnips broadcast on the lands of Yester. Mr Somner in Castlemains, on the same estate, also did this. It was left to Sir George Suttie of Balgone to adopt turnips (as well as clover) as a systematic crop, under the influence of English agriculture, using the four-course Norfolk rotation of turnips, barley, clover and wheat.

It can therefore be seen that by soon after 1750 all the essential elements of modern rotations were present — grass and clover, potatoes, turnips, the various types of grain. It only remained to get them in the right order, in the right proportions, and on the right soils, and a rotation such as that of potatoes, wheat, roots, barley, hay, and oats became a favourite in the nineteenth century.

In addition to the infield and outfield, there was the moor or common pasturage, common to several estates, or to the tenants on one estate. Besides giving pasture to the yeld stock, and a few sheep, it supplied sods or "feal" used in building walls, garden dykes, etc., or for mixing with dung to make a form of compost, and the long thin "divots" which in Galloway were called "scraws," pared off by a special type of spade with a more or less heart shaped blade, and laid over the roofing timbers of buildings to serve as a bed for the overlying thatch. An act was passed in 1695<sup>26</sup> empowering the Court of Session to divide waste or uncultivated land used as pasture among the proprietors who held rights over it in common, whenever any single heritor with an interest in it claimed a division. The process of division went slowly at first, and concurrently with the disappearance of runrig. By 1792, however, the Rev. George Barclay<sup>27</sup> could say of the parish of Haddington that the whole of it was enclosed except for some fields near Haddington that were burgage lands (these had been specifically excluded from the 1695 statute), or let by neighbouring heritors to labourers and other poor people. The same must have been true for the other East Lothian parishes, and by the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century even the burgage lands had gone the same way, for example, George Hope of Fenton Barns records in his

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letters the addition to his holding of the Dirleton common and the park between Dirleton and Archerfield, consisting of 300 acres of links and 60 acres in the park, and keeping about 300 ewes and lambs, and 40 cattle<sup>28</sup>. That the division and enclosure of commons did not proceed without opposition is suggested by the disciplinary measures set forth in the *Boorlaw Book of Yester and Gifford*<sup>29</sup> against those who broke "wood dykes or Inclosers or other Inclosers" and drove cattle in to graze according to their ancient privilege, but there was no trouble in East Lothian on the scale of that caused by the "Levellers" who in 1724 banded themselves together, some hundreds strong, and travelled through parts of Galloway overturning stone walls as a protest against the evictions to which enclosure had given rise.

This layout, of infield in four parts growing pease, wheat, bere, and oats, outfield in 5 to 7 parts, of which three grew oats, and the pasture, was fairly standard in the south-east till about 1750, and the foregoing notes indicate how, already in the seventeenth century, and particularly through the improvement of the outfield through liming, the roots of the eighteenth century agricultural revolution were stirring into life.

It is possible to get a general idea of the agricultural landscape of the countryside in the seventeenth century. One of Slezer's plates has a view of the coast of Lothian from Stony hill in 1693, showing a fence of wooden stakes within a dyked enclosure—perhaps one of the wood dykes mentioned in the *Boorlaw Book*. There are a number of trees within the wall, and the early maps of East Lothian by Timothy Pont and John Adair show that an enclosure with trees was a standard feature of most of the gentlemen's residences in East Lothian. In the foreground are a number of rabbits, creatures that Gibson notes as being rife along the coast in his edition of Camden's *Britannia* (1695) 902.

Another of Slezer's plates shows the Prospect of the Town of Haddington, seen from across the river. At the riverside is a mill with what seems to be an undershot wheel, in the foreground are fields cultivated in broad, somewhat curved rigs through the middle of which passes an unfenced road<sup>30</sup>. These rigs were the great distinguishing feature of the arable land at the time. Since underground drainage was scarcely, if at all, practised, surface drainage by gathering up high ridges with the plough to give a corrugated appearance to the fields was the only alternative. Rigs varied considerably in width

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and height according to the nature of the ground. Belhaven recommended that rigs should be gathered as high as possible before liming, a sound principle since lime cannot have its best effect where drainage is inadequate, and in moist clay grounds they should be narrow, straight and high, "gathered without turnings and weindings as ordinarily they are, that so the rain and moisture may have free passage to the furrows"<sup>31</sup>. In the south-east, rigs could vary from 9 to 36 feet broad, the old rigs being 18 to 36 feet broad or more and tending to curve like the letter S, no doubt as a result of the large plough teams of the period continually anticipating the turn at the end, and perhaps also, as Stephens suggests, "from the mistaken notion that the crook always presented some part of the ridge in a right position to the sun, a form which, although it did, would remove other parts as far away from the sun's influence"<sup>32</sup>. It is recorded in the New Statistical Account in 1845<sup>33</sup> that a few years previously whole fields were laid bare of blown sand in the parish of Aberlady, and there then appeared the crooked old-fashioned ridges in a fine clayey loam. The writer thought the overblowing must have taken place from the beginning of the seventeenth century, and his view is, in fact, correct, since in the *Parish Reports* for 1627 we read that at Dirleton, "the gleib is so overblowen with sand as the largest aiker therof has not bein manured these fyve yeiris bygone, the rest doth scarslie yeild the own seed (i.e. a one for one return) as is notourlie known," and "as for the rest of the few (= feu) aikers of Gulane they are all lying waist unlaboured and never licklie to be laboured. Besydes, the rent of the rest of the land of Gulane quhilk we have given up cannot be counted constant rent in respect the samyne is licklie to be overblowen more with sand"<sup>34</sup>. As these old bowed rigs may still be observed in hilly areas<sup>35</sup> that went out of cultivation during the first half of the eighteenth century at latest, the Dirleton rigs on fairly flat ground are a useful corrective to the common assumption that such rigs were confined to steeply sloping areas. The fact rather seems to be that they were made on practically any sort of terrain, all over Scotland, wherever there was a sufficient area of cultivable soil to allow of their use. John and Alexander Cunningham, tenants in White Kirk, are credited with having begun to level and straighten the high-gathered ridges about 1723<sup>36</sup>, and the process went on fairly quickly after that, though chiefly on farms held by individual tenants, the bowed rigs surviving longest on lands held by groups

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of village cottars, as shown, for example, on the 1778 estate plan of Longniddry illustrated in Vol. VI of these Transactions by Betty Third.<sup>37</sup>

Rigs were commonly worked on the runrig or rundale system, i.e. they were held in common by groups of tenants, each tenant having his rigs interspersed with those of his neighbour. The statute of 1695 dealing with the redistribution of lands lying runrig allowed an appeal for division and excambion by one of the parties having rights in the lands to be carried on in the form of a private law-suit, so that it is not easy to get as exact information as in England about where re-allocation of rigs into blocks happened at any particular place. One record has been printed of an enclosure proceeding in Melrose in 1742<sup>38</sup>, and the Longniddry estate plan in Betty Third's article shows block rig possessions throughout in 1778. One may reasonably infer that a good deal of re-allocation had been carried out already by 1750, though a long time passed before the process was anything like complete. As Robert Hope said in his survey of the county of East Lothian in the *New Statistical Account*<sup>39</sup> in 1845, "long after the middle of last century, almost the whole country was open field, with much of the lands rundale, and divided field about amongst its numerous tenantry. These frequently resided together in a cluster of mean houses, dignified by the name of toun." These farming villages were inhabited by people connected with agriculture—day-labourers, blacksmiths, plough-wrights, shoe-makers and, by the late eighteenth century, shop-keepers retailing grass-seed and some implements, or groceries and articles of daily consumption<sup>40</sup>. It was on the lands held by them that the runrig system persisted longest. The process of change from runrig with interspersed holdings of rigs, to holdings of rigs in blocks, and finally to enclosed holdings, is clear enough, though the chronology is obscure, and it is certain that early on in the seventeenth century there were in East Lothian groups of block rigs, especially on farms worked by the land owner himself. Mains of Congalton was one such farm, noted in the *1627 Parish Reports*<sup>41</sup> as being laboured by the Laird himself and appearing in the early eighteenth century as a large farm worked by a single tenant with hired labour. The transition from run-rig to enclosures was aptly summarised by Somerville in 1805:

"Of late years the size of farms has been considerably augmented . . . .  
About 50 years ago the farms were very small, and the houses, in place of

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being distinct, each in the middle of its own land, four, five, or more together, with their different cottages and dependents enjoyed certain liberties, not quite consistent with the mode in which modern husbandry is carried on [The Boorlaw Book of Yester and Gifford will suggest some of these.] A great part of these villages are now in a state of decay, and, in their place, the distinct farm-house, with its own offices and cottages, is almost everywhere to be seen. This change, and the separation of the inhabitants, has contributed not a little to increase the general and unfounded clamour that has been raised against large farms''<sup>42</sup>.

As it is difficult to pin-point the main period of enclosing in Scotland, the following table has been constructed, bringing together scattered references, to give as precise a picture as possible.

The table shows that the whole of the arable or potentially arable ground of East Lothian, with some minor exceptions, had been enclosed by the 1840s. By the 1780s, much enclosing had been done, but a good deal remained to do, particularly in the hillier parishes of the eastern district. In Ormiston enclosing started after 1698 on the farm of Murrays or Muirhouse leased by Robert Wight from Adam Cockburn, Lord Justice Clerk of Scotland, who gave a long lease to encourage Wight to begin enclosing<sup>45</sup>, and also in the parish of Whitekirk and Tynningham, where Thomas, 6th Earl of Haddington, began enclosing the Muir of Tynninghame (which became Binning Wood) in 1707. All things considered, the great period of enclosing in East Lothian was about 1730-1790, comparing very favourably with the main period of the enclosing of arable land in England, 1760-1820, though it must be remembered that English law made enclosing a much more cumbersome process than in Scotland. Considerable credit must be given, too, to the numerous tenant farmers who undertook enclosing at their own expense.

The correlation between enclosure and drainage was of great importance in improving the arable land. Early improvers sometimes enclosed without considering the lie of the land for drainage, and this is one of the criticisms levelled by Wight at Cockburn's enclosures at Ormiston<sup>46</sup>. In addition, they were too small, comprehending on an average only 10 acres, and his habit of planting trees along the hedges, though picturesque, meant that the crops suffered as the trees increased in size. The lesson was soon learned, however, for most of the farmers mentioned by Wight were arranging their enclosures

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<u>Parish</u>	<u>Wight 177643</u>	<u>Old Stat. Acc., 1790s</u>	<u>New Stat. Acc. 1845</u>
Tranent	Matthew Haldane's farm on Tranent Moor enclosed.	_____	The large common was divided in 1804.
Prestonpans Gladsmuir	200 acres enclosed by Mr Law of Elvingston. Enclosed.	Nearly all enclosed.	All enclosed.
Ormiston [Enclosing started in 1718] Salton	Farms enclosed, but enclosing of the fields within the farms was not encouraged by Fletcher.	All enclosed.	All enclosed.
Yester	_____	_____	60 acres of common remain undivided.
Garvald	_____	The lands to the north of the Lammermoors are mostly enclosed.	As for Old Stat. Acc.
Morham	Robert Law's 200 acre farm of Whitelaw all enclosed.	Nearly all enclosed.	All enclosed.
Haddington [Enclosing around Stevenson by 172644]	Barefoot farm enclosed by George Hepburn; Ugston enclosed by Thomas Howden.	All enclosed except burgage lands near Haddington.	No undivided common remains.
Athelstaneford	Drem farm enclosed by Patrick Dudgeon.	Some enclosing, a good deal still to do.	_____
Whitekirk and Tynningham [Enclosing started in 1707] Prestonkirk	Part of Whitekirk enclosed by Mr Cuninghame. Sunnyside enclosed by Mr Knox.	All enclosed.	All enclosed.
North Berwick	Luchie estate and Bonington farm enclosed by Sir Hugh Dalrymple; a 150 acre farm part enclosed by Sir George Suttie of Balgone.	_____	30 acres of links remain as common.
Dirleton	Fenton Barns enclosed by George Yule; West Fenton by John Darg.	_____	All enclosed.
Dunbar	Enclosing by John Dudgeon in progress at Easter Broomhouse.	Enclosed but for a few open fields.	All enclosed.
Whittingham Stenton Innerwick	_____	Lower part enclosed. Almost all enclosed. Many enclosures, not entirely liked by the farmers.	Most enclosed. Enclosures with stone fences liked.
Oldhamstocks	_____	Hardly any enclosures.	_____



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so that the water would be readily drained off by ditches and under-drains filled with stones.

The enclosures were made with thorn or beech hedges and ditches, which tenants often did not like since the hedges harboured birds that ate the corn, or with stone walls, or sometimes with hedges combined with a small stone dyke, two to two and a half feet high. The effect was to give the landscape the basic appearance that it retains to the present day, but at the time the change from vast stretches of land with little more than a few "fail" dykes and sheep-folds of the same material here and there, to a countryside of hedge and dyke enclosed fields averaging about 20 acres, must have been in itself a thing to raise the farmers' spirits and give them promise of better times to come. Indeed, after about 1800, it was the tenant farmers rather than the landlords who kept the flow of agricultural improvements in rapid motion.

We may now ask what the farm-buildings and dwelling-houses themselves looked like. On this subject, early writers are not as forthcoming as they might have been, but still a certain amount of information is available. Belhaven gives advice in 1699 about how the buildings of a properly organised farm should be laid out, from which we may infer something of the actual forms of construction obtaining at the end of the seventeenth century. No doubt the biggest and best of the farms of the period approximated to his description, although nearly 100 years were to pass before it could be called general. All the "sit-houses" or dwelling houses should stand east and west, their doors and windows to the south for warmth. The barns should stand north and south from the west end of the dwelling-house, their doors east and west opposite each to get a good draught for winnowing. On a large farm he advises three barns, one for wheat and barley, one for oats, and one for pease. This sounds very much like a doctrine of perfection. The barn yard should be to the west of the barn, for "the drying and winning of Corn in Stacks, and if it be a Collect and raising Ground so much the better." The stable and byres should extend from the south end of the barns, east and west, with their doors on the north side facing the dwelling-house for convenience, and their entry from the east, since high winds from this direction are rare and therefore the dunghill there is less likely to be spoiled. There should be a house for chaff, etc. on the east side of the close, complet-

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ing the square, "so your Closs will be warmer, and your entry to your sit-house being betwixt the North Gavil of your Chaff-house and the East Gavil of your Sit-house may be cleansed and kept clean, which the rest of the Clöss ought not to be." The house walls should be of stone and lime, not stone and clay as was evidently common. The roofs should be covered with a few divots and plenty of thatch, and "take notice and mind them yearly by stinging them with Straw alwise where they begin to fail but never add any more Divots." The yards should be planted round with ash and elm trees, the wood of which could later be used for the upkeep of the interiors of the houses. The yard or "Kitching Grounds" should be on the north side of the dwelling-house, in extent about half an acre, and containing cabbage, winter kale, potatoes, and turnips (already in 1699), perhaps a few "Turkie Beans" and even some beans and pease to go with the pork, but "leeks, sybous and other curious Herbs not being for your handling"<sup>47</sup>.

When John Ray was in Scotland in 1661, he noted after travelling through East Lothian to Edinburgh that "the Scots make up the fronts of their houses, even in their principal towns, with fir boards nailed one over another; in which many round holes and windows are made to put out their heads. Even in the best houses, even the King's palaces, only the upper part of the windows is glazed, and the lower has two wooden shutters to open." The latter feature is one which may still be seen on the windows of outhouses. As for the houses occupied by the farm-servants, they were "pitiul Cots, built of Stone, and covered with Turves, having in them but one Room, many of them no Chimneys, the Windows very small Holes, and not glazed"<sup>48</sup>. These dwellings were the last to be affected by the improvements. Some changes were already going on by the end of the eighteenth century, for example, it was reported of the parish of Whittingehame in 1792 that most of the cot-houses had been pulled down<sup>49</sup>. The advantage of cot-houses was that they supplied the farmer with a large, cheap labour team in times of emergency like harvest, when whole armies of local labour, and of Highland and Irish shearers, were required to shear the corn-fields. Even as late as the 1840s, when Irish labour was cheap and freely available, the farms of Coates and Hairlaw in Gladsmuir parish kept a labour force of 76 and 87 respectively<sup>50</sup>. Yester is known to have had some two-roomed houses in 1792, but each room was occupied by a separate family at a rent of about £1 a

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year<sup>51</sup>. The awakening social conscience of the country can be seen from the parish reports of the 1840s in the New Statistical Account. In Saltoun, the minister complained of immorality resulting from the one-room dwellings of the peasantry<sup>52</sup>. In Aberlady, there was "ground to hope, that the cottages on every farm will, at no very distant period, have two apartments instead of one"<sup>53</sup>. In Morham, "the houses both of hynds and cottars are here, as elsewhere, miserably deficient in accommodation. They have usually only one apartment, and that but small. And in that one room, often ill-aired, worse lighted, and damp, are to be found crowded together sometimes a family of eight or ten persons." Two-roomed houses were, however, being built at Morham Mains<sup>54</sup>. In Pencaitland, Lady Ruthven was pursuing an enlightened policy on her estate, and was constructing three-roomed houses, containing a kitchen-cum-sleeping room, a room reserved entirely for sleeping, and one for dairy produce and household necessities, all with the walls plastered within<sup>55</sup>. The next twenty years saw considerable improvements in cottages. In 1861 George Hope of Fenton Barns, at a public meeting on labourers' dwellings, "spoke of the striking improvement which had taken place in labourers' cottages within his recollection. Instead of being four bare walls covered with thatch, having a small hole twelve or fifteen inches square, with a fixed piece of glass, for a window, and a door covered with key-holes, made to suit the size of the lock of each successive occupant, on many estates they had been rebuilt in a commodious and comfortable manner"<sup>56</sup>. But even then, a good deal still remained to do, and credit must be given to the Highland Society of Scotland who, as early as 1832, offered a premium for an essay on the construction of improved dwellings for the labouring classes. The prize-winner was an Edinburgh architect, George Smith<sup>57</sup>, and houses of the type illustrated in his plans may be seen in the Lothians to this day, for example, the first on the left on going into Longniddry from the Edinburgh side.

The cottar houses survived into the nineteenth century as an anachronism, though already decreasing in number by the end of the eighteenth century. They were either grouped in a row near the farm-steading, in which, as George Smith comments, the cattle were probably better housed, or clustered into little hamlets around which the runrig system survived longest, partly encouraged by the landlords themselves who knew that an artisan, a

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weaver, smith, joiner, etc., living in such a hamlet, could pay a higher rent for the rigs than a farm-labourer with no subsidiary occupation. In the later stages of their existence such hamlets were occasionally taken over by families of tinkers or gypsies, who lived in them as squatters. A hamlet of old houses near Pencaitland Church was occupied by gypsies who ostensibly made a living by turning wooden bowls and making horn spoons. There was another near Winton village north of Winton Castle, which was eventually taken down by Colonel Hamilton, but before this was occupied by a family or two of horners who made horn spoons, baskets, etc. They were known as the horners of Winton and were said to have come from Yetholm or elsewhere in the Borders<sup>58</sup>.

The cot-houses seem to have been mostly built of stone by the time of the Old Statistical Account. Earlier on, the walls were sometimes made of turf, or of clay, and perhaps it is because of this that so many of the early villages for farm-labourers and artisans have disappeared without trace, except for place-names containing the element "cot". Even finer buildings than cot-houses were of clay, such as the old church of Aberlady, which measured 100 feet long by 16½ feet wide, and between 10 and 11 feet high, and had walls partly built of clay. It was described as "a disgrace to the parish"<sup>59</sup>. Nevertheless, clay walls are not as bad as might be thought. The remains of a number of clay-walled houses survive on Coldingham Moor in Berwickshire, and one is still occupied. These walls are quite hard and durable, and being of a reddish colour, look particularly attractive in bright sunshine. The marks of the shuttering used in their construction can be clearly seen. Others are found in Errol, Perthshire, and in the coastal strip of Banffshire.

The seventeenth and early eighteenth century scene, then, no doubt included cot-houses of turf or stone, and farmhouses of clay or stone — long, low farmhouses for the most part, probably, with the byre a continuation of the dwelling house. Only on the "mains" farms on the large estates might one expect, late on, steadings approximating to that described by Belhaven. The thatched roof was the feature common to all, and indeed the thatching trade was carried on into the nineteenth century, until slates and tiles became the standard roof-coverings. Well-drawn wheat straw, threshed with the flail, was the favourite material, and hazel or willow rods

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were used to bind it down. Almost every considerable village in East Lothian is said to have had its thatchers — Burtons, Simpsons, Amoses, Balgairnies, Smiths, etc.<sup>60</sup>—but the small farmers and cottars would have done their own thatching. Around the buildings would have been the rigs, with grassy baulks on which a few tethered cows might be grazing, turf-walled folds a little further off, and a turf or stone-walled kailyard near the dwelling house.

The growing crops were weed infested, and the young folk could make some profit from this by pulling weeds amongst the corn in the season, at 4d or 5d a day<sup>61</sup>. Until about the middle of the eighteenth century it was a common employment for farm-servants to gather thistles from the corn or elsewhere to feed their work-horses during the night. This was said to be the only green food the animals ever tasted in the stable<sup>62</sup>. It was known as "suppering" the horses<sup>63</sup>. In due season, the light blue flowers of the patches of flax grown around the houses must have been a pretty sight.

As for the people themselves, we are indebted to John Ray for a rather unflattering description in 1661. "The Scots generally (that is the poorer Scots)," he said, "wear, the Men Blue Bonnets on their Heads, and some Russet; the Women only White Linnen which hangs down their Backs as if a Napkin were pinned about them. When they go abroad none of them wear Hats, but a party coloured Blanket, which they call a Plad, over their Heads and Shoulders. The Women generally to us seemed none of the handsomest." Not content with this, he went on to say that "the People seem to be very lazy, at least the Men, and may be frequently observed to plow in their Cloaks"—meaning, presumably, their plaids<sup>64</sup>.

Apart from references of this kind, little is said about farm-workers till near the end of the eighteenth century. According to Buchan-Hepburn in 1794, the characteristic labour-force on a farm consisted of three classes, the hind, the cottager, and the unmarried ploughman, each of whom worked a pair of horses. The hind was first in rank, worked his horses, sowed the grain in Spring, and built the stacks in Autumn. He was a married servant with a house for which he had to provide a shearer in harvest, generally his wife, who was known in south-east and central Scotland as the "bondager." The characteristic bondager dress that developed in the nineteenth century with its wide-brimmed hat of black plaited straw with a rim of red ruching, its neat blouse and drugget skirt, and boots buttoning up the side of the leg,

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was to be seen out in the fields till about the period of the 1914-18 War. Attached to the hind's house was a small garden, for which he paid a rent of 2 to 4 hens. In 1794 his wages were 9 bolls of oats, 3 bolls of barley, and 3 bolls of pease, with the keep of a cow whose dung, however, went to the master. The master carted his fuel, and, taking everything together, his annual wage amounted to about £20.

The cottager was a ploughman only, whose house and garden were rented as the hind's. It is necessary to remember that ploughing was much slower at this period, and that several ploughings were sometimes given to produce an adequate tilth, sufficiently free from weeds for sowing to proceed. Barley, for example, almost invariably got three ploughings — one at Lammas, one about Candlemas, and the third in March or April. The total amount of time taken up in the year by ploughing was much greater than at the present day, and the ploughmen's trade was very much a full-time one. He was allowed the first crop of all the dung, called "cottar dung," he could gather in a year. The master ploughed and harrowed it, the cottager found the seed and reaped it, and the master led home the crop. This, with his meal (about  $6\frac{1}{2}$  bolls), perquisites and money wages of £8 10s a year brought him up to nearly as much as the hind. Both hind and cottager could sow a peck of lint-seed on a corner of the fallow, for which their wives gave 3 days scutching of flax for the mistress, and 6 days spinning of wool on the large wheel. These feudal services had gone out of use by 1794.

The third class was that of unmarried farm-servant, who ate in the master's house, slept in the stable, and was paid £8 a year and a pair of shoes<sup>65</sup>. Into this group came the "tasker" or "lot-man", whose job it was to thrash the grain with the flail and who received as wages one boll out of every twenty-five thrashed<sup>66</sup>. As a good man could thrash  $1\frac{1}{2}$ -2 bolls a day, it can be calculated that a tasker's wages were about 7/- a week at best in the 1790s.<sup>67</sup>

Female farm-servants got most of their wages in kind. They had cloth partly to clothe themselves and partly for the "providing" of blankets, sheets, etc. they were expected to bring with them on marriage. This had altered slightly by the time Buchan-Hepburn was writing, when they got £3 to £3 10s per annum, with the sowing of half a peck of lintseed, and two pairs of shoes<sup>68</sup>.

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Servants of a more occasional nature were the blacksmith and carpenter. They received so much per plough from the farmer, a fact that suggests the sphere in which their most important work lay. Until the Carron Company started making cast-iron mould-boards for the Berwickshire ploughwright James Small about 1780, the plough was made entirely of wood and only the culter and share were of iron. The heavy teams required to pull it, of up to 12 animals in some parts of the country, though 4 was more usual in the Lothians, often with horses and oxen combined, must have ensured a fairly high incidence of breakages, and, therefore, steady work for these two craftsmen. Each parish had a good number of smiths and wrights, Dirleton having 10 smiths and 11 wrights as late as 1845. By this time they were working largely with carts as well as ploughs. Smiths got £2 10/- per annum for maintaining the equipment used by each pair of horses, the cast metal for the plough, and new rings for cart wheels being supplied by the farmer; the wrights generally furnished their own timber, and got 2/6 a day<sup>69</sup>. These craftsmen existed, therefore, more or less under a system of patronage, and for this reason a joiner's account book kept by William and Robert Foord of East Barns from 1806-1815 (now preserved in the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland) makes interesting reading as showing something of the transition from a craftsman under patronage to a craftsman as an independent businessman. It is hoped to make this, and a series of later joiner's account books from Broxburn, the subject of another article in these Transactions.

Finally, what sort of food did people eat in those days? The fact that wages were largely in kind—oats, barley, pease—indicates well enough a diet in which oatmeal and broth bulked large. Added to this were butter and eggs, cheese (rather hard because of the prevalent custom of skimming the cream off the milk)<sup>70</sup>, and herrings in the coastal districts. No doubt an occasional hare from the warrens on the links, or a pigeon strayed from a laird's doo-cot, or other game, provided welcome variety.

Early travellers had no great respect for the Scots kitchen. In 1661, John Ray said in East Lothian that the Scots had neither good bread, cheesc, nor drink, "they cannot make them, nor will they learn." Their butter was poor—it was probably oily and full of hair—and they ate much pottage made of "keal," and sometimes broth of decorticated barley<sup>71</sup>. Until Fletcher

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of Saltoun started his barley mill in 1711, pot barley was made in a "knockin' stane," i.e. a stone with a deep hollow, in which the grain could be rubbed or pounded with a stone or mallet.

When potatoes came into widespread use after the turn of the eighteenth century, they formed about a third of the vegetable food of East Lothian workers from August till May. According to Buchan-Hepburn, "they are boiled every morning, and the children have them always at command." They were also "stewed" with suet made of refined sheep's tallow<sup>72</sup>.

East Lothian had so many natural advantages from early times, and spread its improving influence so widely, that it is only natural to examine the early agricultural economy of East Lothian as a prelude to studying that of the rest of the country. Unfortunately, there is little documentation before the last decade of the eighteenth century, and much research will be needed amongst estate and other papers, before anything like a full picture can be built up. An attempt has been made in the preceding notes to provide an outline of the changing situation from the seventeenth century onwards, but many gaps will be evident.

One of the documents that helps to fill some of the gaps is a farm-account book in the National Library of Scotland<sup>73</sup>, dealing with the farms of Congalton Mains and Carperstane from 1729 till 1770, with a few later entries. From it, much concrete information can be got of a kind not otherwise readily available, and therefore it must be regarded as a document of some considerable importance. Farm account books about the period and district are hard to find, and it is hoped to publish a transcription of it in a later volume of these Transactions, with the present notes serving as a general introduction.

[Footnote: Thanks are due to my colleagues in the National Museum and to Dr

Michael Nash, lecturer in agriculture, and Dr W. Ferguson, lecturer in Scottish history at Edinburgh University, for reading the typescript and making valuable comments and suggestions.

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## BOTHANS KIRK

FOR centuries the main currents of life in East Lothian have run among the richer lands of the valley of the Tyne and along the shores of the Firth of Forth, but in the dawn of history men chose rather to live upon the grassy slopes of the Lammermuirs. All along the line of the hills from Humbie to Cockburnspath may be seen the grass grown forts which were the homes of early man. When the richer and deeper soils were undrained and choked with rank and impenetrable growth this stretch of country offered a home and a livelihood for pastoral families, as did also the bare summit of Traprain and the sandy links along the sea. Even into historical times this survived. The old pattern of life was not suddenly swept away and men tended to dwell in the old homesteads and to cultivate their ancestral fields.

Thus the distribution of parish churches and the curious boundaries of their parishes, which became more or less stabilised early in the twelfth century, are an anachronism today, and reflect land ownership and settlement as it was in the twelfth century and, indeed, in years long before that age. The churches are commonly set where grazing land met the beginnings of early cultivation and the parishes stretch far back into the hills. Besides the parish churches existing today, more numerous in relation to population in the hill country than in the modern centres of population, there were formerly others. Keith Marischal was united with Keith Hunderby to form Humbie; Baro was early united to Garvald; a chapel also existed at Duncanlaw and in the thirteenth century had its own pastors though the name of one alone, Radulf or Ralph, appears to survive.

In the heart of this hill country is the village of Gifford, rebuilt upon its present site towards the close of the seventeenth century. As an early example of simple town planning it has an unpretentious dignity and attractiveness, the broad village street ending where the parish church stands in its kirkyard. After the fashion of its time Yester Kirk was built in the shape of a T, to accommodate a long communion table stretching its full length, with a laird's loft halfway along one side, the pulpit symmetrically placed oppo-

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site in the middle of the long wall and, outside, a square tower of good proportions. Scottish taste, if simple, had not yet been corrupted by alien influences and eclectic ways. The kirk is said to have been erected in 1710 but in the Tweeddale gallery is a wooden panel bearing the date 1687 and the letters I.H.S. beneath an earl's coronet. This is said to have been removed from the earlier church, yet above the tower doorway is a date said to have been 1707 but now, though much erased by rough weather, suspiciously like 1687.

Almost the only ornament of the interior is a good seventeenth century pulpit similar in type to those at Spott and Pencaitland. At Yester in the late seventeenth century and the early eighteenth patron, minister, and congregation were all Episcopalian in sympathies so this apparently typical Presbyterian kirk represents the outlook of the second episcopate. One certain survival from the earlier building is the long-waisted bell which hangs in the tower; 17 $\frac{1}{8}$  inches in diameter and 13 $\frac{1}{2}$  inches high, it bears the inscription, "O MATER DEI MEMENTO MEI ANNO DOM M CCCC LXXXII." On the ridge of the roof stands a finial also brought from the older church and two coats of arms built into the outer parapet of the tower look as though they shared the same origin.

Before the modern church and village were built their predecessors bore the name of Bothans and stood in the immediate vicinity of the great house of the parish until changed days destroyed the older social intimacy and urged lairds to remove their dependants and tenants to a convenient distance. Though all trace of the older village has gone a good part of the church of Bothans still remains and is not without interest.

As has so frequently happened where an older parish church has later been converted into a collegiate church, and as may be seen at Seton, the nave, which had probably survived from the original church and was correspondingly older and poorer in construction, has now vanished, but the choir and transepts remain though altered and, in places, defaced. Into the south skew of the east gable is built a fragment of two grotesque animals with a human head above. Within, each portion is roofed with a heavy stone barrel vault which, as the walls originally lacked buttresses, has required supporting walls some four feet thick. The effect, though not unpleasing, is somewhat clumsy and cumbrous. The transepts, measuring thirteen feet wide

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and seventeen and eighteen feet long within, have each a three light window in their gables. The east wall of the north transept has a piscina with a head formed of an ogival arch enriched with crockets, but the basin, as so often happens, is now almost completely broken away. A shield bears the arms of Hay and Fraser. A wider arch has been substituted for the original one at the crossing and a loft may well have existed as there is an opening, now filled in, in the north wall of the south transept close to the crossing arch and a doorway high up near the apex of the roof. The choir, it seems, has been shortened, since it has a length of only thirteen feet seven inches as against a width of eighteen feet ten inches, while the eastern ribs attached to the vaulting would terminate at the gable before reaching the springing level. Some confirmation of this is found in the date 1635 on a window, high in the east wall, containing late tracery.

In the course of the centuries this church acquired a spurious dedication because of the similarity of its name to St. Bathans on the southern slope of the Lammermuirs. Even in the late middle ages the name of Bothans became transformed into St. Bothans but there is clear evidence that the original dedication was to St. Cuthbert. Dedications to St. Cuthbert abounded in the south east of Scotland and are a testimony, not so much to any wanderings or evangelism of the saint himself but to the influence, power, and possessions of Durham in the days when the power of the Northumbrians stretched far beyond Tweed to Edinburgh itself. It is told in the Lanercost Chronicle that in 1282 the woodwork of the choir "of the church of Bothans in Lothian" was being carved at the expense of the rector "in honour of St. Cuthbert, whose church it is." On the 19 March, which was the vigil of St. Cuthbert's day, the rector was anxious that the scaffolding, made of "huge, rough beams," should be removed in time for the Easter celebration which was at hand. A workman climbed the scaffolding and unloosed the upper lashings so that the structure became unstable; while he hesitated and looked for a safe way to descend, the whole scaffolding crashed and carried him with it. "A great shout arose, for the men supposed that he was crushed to death, seeing that he had fallen upon a stone pavement, but on removing the beams they found the man not a bit the worse, even making fun of it with his rescuers. Thus did the saint renew his ancient miracles at the time of his translation in the scaffolding of this vaulted building."

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In the last quarter of the twelfth century the revenues of the parish or income of the rector could be assessed at the value of 30 marks; a century later in the new valuation made by Baiamond de Vitria the same figure was accepted and at the close of the fourteenth century it was unaltered. For the time it was a considerable figure and indicates a good stage of agricultural development. Between 16 August and 11 November 1241 David de Bernham, Bishop of St. Andrews, visited the parish and consecrated the church. This was the first of a number of such acts which he did in East Lothian. It does not imply that there had been a complete rebuilding in the immediately preceding years, for a new consecration would normally follow considerable alterations or additions, though after any interval.

A reference to the church in the time of the war of independence is found in the papal registers when on 6 December 1305 a dispensation was granted to Peter de Donvico (Peter of Dunwich) who was already the prebendary of Old Roxburgh as a canon of Glasgow Cathedral. He further held the church of Valisham in the diocese of Norwich, and on resigning it was to receive the benefices of Westleton and Wridlington in the same diocese and also Bothans in the diocese of St. Andrews. He was to be permitted to retain these benefices along with his Glasgow canonry upon condition that he was ordained priest within the space of a year. He was already in minor orders but the requirement that he be made priest was by this time little more than a device to conceal the fact that he was unlikely to be ordained to the priesthood any earlier than he could avoid. This pluralist was, indeed, a man of many parts. From 1296 he had been a financial agent for Edward I in the lands north of Forth, but he was also a military man and on 8 September 1296<sup>1</sup> Edward I appointed him captain of the castle of Yester. In the year after Bannockburn when, presumably, his enjoyment of his Scottish benefices had ceased, he was again on record as raising archers for the service of Edward II in Norfolk and Suffolk. Bothans, like his English benefices, though it probably saw more of him since he would be obliged to reside at the castle for most of his time, was no more than a source of income to him since the duties of the parish church would be performed for him by some ill paid deputy or vicar.

By the close of the century a rector with a more Scottish name, John

1. *Rotuli Scotiae*. i, 30b, 141b.

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Thomson, held the rectory. In 1389 he petitioned the Pope for a benefice in the gift of Dunfermline Abbey and again in 1394 he petitioned for a canonry with the expectation of a prebend in the cathedral of Glasgow, "notwithstanding that he held the church of Bothans in the diocese of St. Andrews, which has an annual value of thirty marks." His name appears as a witness to an instrument recounting a claim to lands in Duncanlaw made in the court of the Lady of Yester held in the kirk of Bothans on 5 February 1397/98, and along with him was John de Strathavane, rector of the neighbouring kirk of Morham.

From an early date the parish had belonged to the family of Gifford, but in 1418 with the death of Sir John Gifford the male heirs of the family failed and the estates descended to four sisters, when Joanna, the eldest, who had married into the family of the Hays of Tweeddale, thus transferred Yester into the ownership of the ancestors of the marquesses of Tweeddale. A change in the status of the kirk of Bothans was now planned. It was to be made a collegiate church.

The modern Scot usually thinks of a church as being in the charge of one cleric, but from earliest times it had been commonplace for churches to be served by a group of clergy, frequently living a common life together under some form of rule. From this origin developed the Austin Canons, distinguished from the monks by the fact that they were essentially priests and liable to be engaged in the service of the church among the laity. Secular canons were clergy, not living under a rule, but holding such appointments in some great church. Thus St. Andrews Cathedral was served by Austin Canons while those of Glasgow were secular. The collegiate churches developed from the same type of origin and in England the oldest collegiate churches were the minsters of Anglo-Saxon times, with communities of clergy for the service of the parish or a group of parishes. Both in England and in Scotland some, such as Dunbar, may well have been survivals from the evangelistic missions of early days which, whether from Iona or from Canterbury, involved a measure of common life. Such were Ripon and Beverley, and others less famous. In Dunbar the ring of dependent churches strongly suggests the same survival. This East Lothian example is the earliest in Scotland for which a foundation charter survives but St. Mary's on the Rock at

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St. Andrews and Abernethy were other instances with a long history behind them.

Bothans lacked such a history; it was one of many cases in the century and a half before the Reformation where the character of a small country parish church was radically altered by the new foundation. The name of a collegiate church vaguely suggests to modern readers an institution of learning or teaching, and the number of its clergy equally suggests that this was an organisation for the better service of the religious needs of the lay people of the parish. Neither conception has any foundation; the collegiate churches of mediaeval Scotland were groups of clergy whose sole duty was the celebration of masses for the souls of the departed by whom or for whom the endowment had been made. In the great days of monasticism when generous endowments had been made it had been customary to stipulate that the donor or his kinsmen would be remembered in the prayers of the monks. Now that monasticism had lost its first zeal and no longer held the same place in popular estimation these bequests, once Scotland began to recover from the devastation of the War of Independence, were given to collegiate churches which, being within the lands of the donor's heirs, were more likely to fulfil the terms of the bequest and no other object.

Varying greatly in size, these churches were staffed by a provost or dean, a number of canons or prebendaries, a clerk, and some singing boys. Sometimes, as at Trinity College in Edinburgh, a hospital was attached, or, more commonly, a song school for the boys. In England and in some Scottish foundations the original intention of the founders was partly defeated through their own generosity, for rich canonries fell into the hands of pluralists such as Columba Dunbar. At Bothans, the provostry, despite the intention of the founders, soon fell into this category and early was marked out as a possible sinecure, but the small endowments attached to the canonries preserved them from the like fate.

On 1 August 1420 a petition<sup>1</sup> was addressed to Henry Wardlaw, Bishop of St. Andrews, in name of the four co-heirs — Sir William Hay, Sheriff of Peebles, Thomas Boyd, Eustace Maxwell, and Dougall McDowall — craving that Bothans be made a collegiate church for a provost and four prebendaries. On 12 April 1421<sup>2</sup> the rector of Bothans, John Richardson, heard

1. Yester Write 53.

2. Ibid. 54. C.P.R. XII, 346.



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the petition formally read by Lady Alice Hay, Lady of Yester, in his room at Bothans Castle and gave his consent. The bishop's formal consent followed on 22 April. Richardson's consent had been secured by the grant of a pension.

All the parochial revenues of Bothans kirk were thus made payable to the provost. Out of this twenty-eight marks were earmarked for the payment of two of the chaplains or canons, fifteen marks to the one and thirteen to the other; payment was to be made quarterly at Whitsun, St. Lawrence's day, All Saints' day, and the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Each was to have a suitable manse. The third was assigned the land of Kirkbank, worth four and a half marks, the mill at Kirkbank, worth two marks, and a manse with a garden worth a further mark. To increase this income the donors bestowed five husbandlands and five cotlands at Duncanlaw worth five and a half marks. Thus he, too, was to have an income of thirteen marks. In due time a fourth chaplainry was to be endowed from Morham kirk, and its holder was to be responsible for the work of that parish. Four altars for the chaplains were now to be provided by the founders, together with all other ecclesiastical requirements. Arrangements were made for regular celebrations of mass and prayers for the souls of the founders. All the clergy were to be resident, to hold no other cure, to be of good life and conversation, and qualified to read and sing. The obit of each founder was to be marked with *placebo and dirige*. Absence from duty was to be punished. The bishop reserved to himself the right of instituting and inducting those who should be nominated as clergy of Bothans. He noted that Morham was not to be allowed to slip into disuse and that its parishioners were to be buried in Morham kirkyard and not at Bothans. John Richardson, the former rector, became the first provost, and two chaplains, William Knollys, a Haddington man, and Alan Pilmuir, were appointed. This provision did not err on the side of generosity. The clergy were by no means overpaid and — unless the full rights of the rectory had not previously been paid — the founders contributed comparatively little to the new arrangements. Even so, objections were raised.

On 6 August 1440 Stephen Ker, provost of Bothans, complained that one of the patrons, Boyd, had been hostile to the foundation and that the endowments were inadequate<sup>1</sup>. If this should not be remedied the erection

1. Hist. MSS. Com. Reports. Milne Home MSS. 55.

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was to be cancelled. On 20 February 1442/43 Sir David Hay of Lochquhorwort<sup>1</sup> augmented the prebend of Morham in Bothans kirk, now held by John de Strathaven as chaplain, with a piece of land to the south of the kirk, with the Orchard Croft, and grazing for a horse and two cows with their followers for a year in Gamelston. Two minor points in the deed are references to the ditch which still bounded the kirkyard and to a stone cross. Among the witnesses were Master Stephen Ker, the provost, and Richard Knollis, vicar of Bothans. On 30 July 1443 Alicia de Hay, widow of Sir William Hay of Lochquorwort, granted an annual rent of six marks from her lands of Blans to the chaplain at the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary<sup>2</sup>.

The income of this chaplain was further augmented on 8 August 1447 when Sir David Hay, Robert Boyd, Lord Kilmarnock and Dougall McDowall assigned to the altar a piece of land lying between the east end of the church and the water. Among the witnesses is found a previously unnamed chaplain, William Spens. This policy of piecemeal augmentation is fully exhibited in a charter of 23 February 1447/48<sup>3</sup> by which Lady Alice Hay grants to the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary and its chaplain "an annual rent of six marks furth of the lands of Blanse in the constabulary of Haddington and sheriffdom of Edinburgh; an annual rent of fourteen shillings scots, furth of the land or tenement commonly called "lie pentisse" lying in the burgh of Haddington on the north part thereof, near the market cross, between the lands of the late John Androsoun on the west and the common vennel which leads to the North gate on the east; an annual rent of eleven shillings four pence scots furth of the lands of Thomas Johnsoun, lying on the south part of the said burgh, between the lands of Robert Philips on the east and the land of John Nicolson on the west; an annual rent of five shillings scots furth of the land of the said late William of Dene lying also on the south part of the said burgh, between the lands of Thomas Edwardsoun on the east and the said land of Robert Philipsoun on the west; an annual rent of ten shillings scots, furth of the lands of Thomas Edwardsoun, also lying on the south of the said burgh, between the land of Andrew of Crumby on the east and the land of the said William of Dene on the west; an annual rent of seven shillings six pence scots, out of the said lands of Andrew Crumby also lying in the said burgh between another land of the said Andrew of Crumby on the east, and

1. Yester Writs. 89.

2. Hist. MSS. Com. Reports. Milne Home MSS. 75. Yester Writs. 85.

3. Yester Writs. 87.

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the said lands of Thomas Edwardsoun on the west; also a yearly pension of two marks to the chaplain of the said altar till he be infest in another annual rent of two marks furth of a competent place; also her land with houses built thereon which Sir David Hay, Lord of Yhestir, her son and heir, granted to her by his charter and sasine, for a dwelling to the said chaplain and his successors, lying near the said collegiate church between the water on the east and the mansion of sir John Strathavane, rector of Morham, on the west and the brewland in which Marjorie Milnaf now dwells on the south and the cemetery of the said church on the north<sup>1</sup>." Sir Robert of Morham<sup>2</sup> now appears as a chaplain among the witnesses.

On 13 October 1449 the Bishop of St. Andrews issued a precept to the dean of Haddington commanding him to give collation to sir John Brice, presbyter, of the prebend of Blans<sup>3</sup>, "of new founded by a noble woman, Alice de Hay, Lady of Yhestir, with all rights, rents, and pertinents thereof."

Stephen Ker, provost of Bothans, had been one of the earliest students of St. Andrews<sup>4</sup>, where he graduated as Bachelor of Arts in 1413 and as Master in 1414. On 3 March 1440 he petitioned the pope as a canon of Dunkeld to hold his canonry and the subdeanery there, of value not exceeding eight pounds sterling, together with the provostry of Bothans and the vicarage of Dalry in the diocese of Glasgow, for which he already held a papal dispensation. Bothans and Dalry were said to have a combined value of £44. He also held canonries of Aberdeen and Moray, and was described as being "of a race of barons." The dispensation mentioned above was originally issued on 8 February 1435/36, and describes him as "perpetual vicar of St. Margaret's, Dalry, Master of Arts, and Bachelor of Canon Law." The next day the pope reserved for collation to him a canonry of Glasgow and "the prebend called Glasgow Primo of the rectory therein, value not exceeding forty pounds," but on 23 January 1444/45 Thomas Penven successfully claimed this prebend from him. In November 1448 Ker was engaged on another dispute for his canonry at Aberdeen. Thus within a score of years from the original foundation of the collegiate kirk the provision that the clergy should hold no other cure was effectively flouted and by no less a person than the provost himself.

1. R.M.S. II. 322.

2. Also Yester Writs. 89.

3. Yester Writs. 92.

4. Early Records of St Andrews. (S.H.S.) 1, 3.

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By 1454 Stephen Ker was dead. On 28 May 1454 sir David Ramsay<sup>1</sup>, rector of Carrington, was provided to the provostry of Bothans, vacant by the death of Master Stephen Ker, last possessor of the same, but he did not live long to hold office for on 7 August 1455 he was spoken of as deceased. He belonged to the Ramsays of Dalhousie. Thus from the start there was a tendency for the provostry to become the benefice of some educated and well connected cleric of upper class background, while the chaplaincies, less well endowed, fell to the lot of local priests of humbler origin and smaller prospects. On Ramsay's death his family added to the endowment of St. Edmund's altar in Bothans Kirk by the gift of land in the Sydgait of Haddington<sup>2</sup>. This small donation is not without significance, for while the original endowments of the church had come from the family of the founders a succession of small benefactions were to be made by the clergy of the church. Evidently the rights of the patrons were valued, for when Robert Boyd of Kilmarnock resigned his fourth part of the lands of Yester, Duncanlaw, and Morham to Sir David Hay of Yester in 1452, he specifically reserved his right of advocacy to the provostry of Bothans when his turn should come<sup>3</sup>.

On this vacancy arising the right of patronage passed to the fourth patron and he nominated to the provostry his kinsman, Master Fergus McDowall, a graduate<sup>4</sup> of St. Andrews in 1451 and 1455. McDowall<sup>5</sup>, true to the general run of the provosts, was well educated, well connected, a pluralist and a benefice collector. Having acquired Bothans in 1455 he became Scottish collector for the Apostolic Camera and a secretary to the king. In 1466 while engaged on business at Rome he took advantage of his position to inform against William Douglas, prior of Whithorn, secure his deposition on a charge of immorality, and receive the benefice himself, though not a member of the order which held Whithorn. Incidentally he had collected canonries at Dunkeld, Aberdeen, and Moray. There is no evidence and little likelihood that Bothans ever saw him.

On his death in February 1471 Sir <sup>6</sup>David Hay nominated his son Andrew to the vacant provostry. A younger son, Nicholas, already held a

1. Yester Writs., 110, 116.

2. Ibid. 116a.

3. R.M.S. II. 521

4. Early Records of St. Andrew's. 30, 32.

5. His acquisition may be traced in the Calendar of Papal Registers. cf. 8 May 1466. 20 April 1466, 14 February and 21 March 1467. A younger namesake who became Official of the Chapel Royal should not be confused with him.

6. Yester Writs. 161, 162.

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chapelaincy. Continuing the tradition of pluralism, the new provost received a papal dispensation from Sixtus IV on 16 August 1476 to hold another incompatible benefice along with Bothans. Andrew Hay died in 1495 and was succeeded by Thomas Young<sup>1</sup>, a non-graduate.

From 1480 onwards a small but significant change in the endowment of the kirk can be detected. Until this year the family of the founders and their relations had created the endowment, either by the transfer of existing church revenues or the creation of new ones through donations. This had declined to vanishing point but in its place there commenced a series of very small donations, obviously from persons of small income and limited means, and while a number of local people contributed this was mainly due to benefactions by the chaplains at the altars of Bothans. This commenced with Nicholas Hay who, being both a chaplain at Bothans, and a younger son of the Hays, held an intermediate position. Over a decade he can be traced acquiring a number of small rents, and the purpose became evident on 6 February 1489 when he endowed the chaplain serving the altar of Holy Cross in Bothans with seven small rents, "the north half of a yard in Bothans which the Lord of Yester granted to the chaplain's house, an acre of arable land in Gamelstoun with pasturage of one cow and a sucking calf and faggots for fuel from the wood of Gamelstoun"<sup>2</sup>.

Early in 1494 sir Robert Morham, one of the chaplains, died and his executors<sup>3</sup> paid over to Bothans, presumably as a bequest, an annual rent of 10/- due to him from one of the small properties already bestowed by Hay. Similarly in 1495 the executors of sir Thomas Lempetlaw<sup>4</sup>, another chaplain, acquired an annual rent of 6/8 payable from a tenement in Haddington and transferred this to the prebendaries. Another annual rent of 7/- from a Haddington<sup>5</sup> tenement appears in 1512 and there are similar small annuals evident from time to time which, because of their small amount, identity in value, and the payability from Haddington properties, it is difficult clearly to distinguish.

Naturally the divided patronage of the collegiate church tended to pass from the hands of more remote successors of the original benefactors to those

1. Ibid. 239a.

2. Yester Writs. 229.

3. Ibid. 235.

4. Ibid. 239a.

5. Ibid. 339.

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resident at Yester. An instance is the abandonment of his rights in Bothans in favour of those in Morham by the Earl of Bothwell<sup>1</sup> in October 1512. Following such resignations the Lords of Yester may periodically be found nominating clergy to fill the vacancies created by death<sup>2</sup>. The tendency to increase the endowments in the name of the chaplains is seen again in a deed of 29 August 1520 wherein Andrew Dalrymple, a chaplain of Bothans, transferred another small annual rent to the church on condition that the provost and prebendaries celebrate twice yearly the office for the dead, for the souls of "the said sir Andrew and his predecessors"<sup>3</sup>. The disaster of Flodden where John, Lord Hay of Yester, died beside his king, caused a somewhat belated increase of the endowments at the hands of his widow and son in 1523<sup>4</sup>.

Meantime a new provost had succeeded Thomas Young in the opening years of the new century. By way of contrast with his predecessor Robert Walterson<sup>5</sup> was a man of academic distinction who had studied at the university of Paris. A Haddington man by birth, Walterson also held appointments at different times in the churches of Dunbar and Haddington, where he was the first provost of St. Mary's after it became collegiate. Though a pluralist, there is every sign that he was more or less resident and attentive to his duties as his forerunners had not been. In 1498 his name is found among the records of Paris as receiver for the "nation of Germany" in which all Scottish students were enrolled, since national hostility prevented their enrolment in the English nation. Some years later in 1508, Walterson acted as a Regent of Montaigu College, Paris, with his fellow countryman and great contemporary, John Major of Glegornie, whose letters sometimes make friendly mention of him. Other East Lothian men were among his friends at Paris, such as Robert Galbraith, later rector of Spot, a member of the Court of Session, and the author of several works on logic, Ninian Hume of Spot, and George Hepburn of Hailes, later abbot of Arbroath and bishop of the Isles before he fell at Flodden. Walterson was a churchman of the older school, a scholar, and one who gave his full loyalty to the church, but the times in which he lived were changing. In 1538 he resigned Bothans<sup>6</sup> to take

1. Ibid. 341, 350.

2. Ibid. 399.

3. Ibid. 394.

4. Ibid. 402, 403, 404, 405, 429.

5. Miscellany S.H.S. VI. 105 Yester Writs. 354, 394, 475, 482, 488, 517.

6. Ibid. 541.

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up his appointment at Haddington, his native town, and on 28 February 1558 he died at a great age just in time to avoid seeing the collapse of the mediaeval church in Scotland. He left to the Observatine Franciscans, the stricter portion of their order and one of the few groups who resisted the Scottish Reformation, a legacy; it was a sure sign of where his sympathies lay. Throughout his life he had augmented the endowments of Bothans by small sums at intervals<sup>1</sup>.

Thomas Hay<sup>2</sup>, Walterson's successor in Bothans, also died in 1558 and Andrew Hay<sup>3</sup>, one of the chaplains, took his place. By this time the office had become little more than a sinecure for some junior members of the Hay family. The end of the old regime was at hand. For the time being the Reformed Church was desperately short of ministers so that Yester, Garvald, Bara, and Morham, were at first served by Readers. The endowments of the church at Bothans were considerable, and in the accounts of the collectors the "thirds" of the endowments of Bothans were valued at some £71-6-0<sup>4</sup>; this included Morham and thus placed Bothans higher in value than other benefices in the county apart from those relating to the other collegiate churches of Dunbar and Haddington. Not unnaturally the Hays of Yester, who had provided so much of the original endowment, felt that the income should revert to themselves now that the original function of the endowment had ceased to be served, but no distinctions were made between such gifts and the smaller benefactions gradually received from other hands.

On 21 October 1566 John Hamilton, archbishop of St. Andrews, presented to Gilbert Broune<sup>5</sup>, minister of the Trinitarian Friars' Kirk of the Holy Cross at Peebles, and one of the few protagonists left to the Roman Church in Scotland, the provostry of Bothans upon the presentation of William, Lord Hay of Yester, and on 13 May 1567 the new provost granted his patron a tack of the rents and emoluments for five years for an annual payment of £100 Scots. This was greatly less than their value, but it was a bargain of a type now familiar. Until well on in the opening decade<sup>6</sup> of the following century presentations were still being made to prebends of Bothans but this had ceased to be anything more than legal pretext for securing the income in appropriate hands.

1. Especially, Yester Writs. 522.

2. Ibid. 598, 501, 602, 605, 655, 673.

3. Ibid. 682, 684, 685.

4. S.H.S. Thirds of Benefices. 28.

5. Yester Writs. 741, 751.

6. Ibid. 1001, 1004, 1005, 1025, 1031, 1034.

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The Reformed Kirk felt itself entitled to succeed to all the endowments of its predecessor but the landed proprietors seldom shared this opinion. It was natural that they should see no reason why their ancient rights of patronage should now be abrogated and where they succeeded in enforcing them a solution to the problem of endowment was found. The payments could now be made to the kinsmen whom they nominated.

In 1576 Walter Hay, a son of Lord Hay, became minister of the parish of Yester and received the revenues of Bothans as its provost. Hay was an original character and soon got into trouble with the newly founded Presbytery of Haddington. In August 1587 the Presbytery declared him unfit to be a minister and in October the Commission of Assembly deposed him. In point of fact, the Reformation had as yet scarcely touched the home land of John Knox; the old had been swept away but little positive had been set in its place. To the minister of Haddington, a Protestant of different calibre, Hay stated that he would not have remained at Bothans were it not in the hope of succeeding his brother, Lord Hay, in the estate, as the latter's son was sickly. After some time he was restored to the ministry, but in 1603 various accusations were brought against him. He was charged with farming land, practising medicine, and distilling whisky, breach of the Sabbath, absence from his pulpit and ridiculous conduct in the parish. Further charges of immorality were preferred against him in 1606 and he was suspended by the Presbytery, to quote the resounding ecclesiastical language, "to the end that the kirk of God be purgit of sic rotten and filthy members to the terror of the wicked and the encouragement of the godlie." He was deposed from the ministry, went to France, and died in 1609, still provost of Bothans. In March 1608 Lord Hay<sup>1</sup> granted the surviving income of the prebend of Kirkbank to John Herries, the family tutor, and when Walter Hay died the provostry was also given to Herries. So the endowments of the collegiate church became no more than an economical way of maintaining a family retainer.

This was the death of an institution. The collegiate churches, first founded by landed families and later maintained by the guilds of the towns or private donors had, apart from the preaching friars, been the most vital and characteristic phenomenon in the last two centuries of the mediaeval church in Scot-

1. Yester Writs. 1059, 1065, 1203.



## BOTHANS KIRK

land. The nation had rejected all for which they stood though ancient loyalties and memories still maintained some fragment of their organisation for a few decades.

Three stages may be distinguished in the history of the mediaeval kirk in Bothans. In the first it existed as a normal country parish church, served by one priest whose primary obligation, humanly speaking, was to his parish and his flock. In the second stage it became a collegiate church served by a small group of clergy whose primary function was to act, in the words of Dr D. E. Easson, "as praying societies for the dead." Thus was made explicit a tendency which had gradually but steadily been developing through the whole western church for several centuries.

Religious life had become steadily less directed towards the moulding and government of life in this world while it concentrated on the thought of judgement to come and developed a fixed attention on life after death; in some respects, though not in all, a comparison can be made with contemporary spiritualism. In this second stage the initiative clearly lay with the local landed family, some of whose members provided the financial basis and the rules for its expenditure while the remainder of the family circle co-operated or acquiesced with varying degrees of reluctance or cordiality. Less distinct but of interest is the third stage. In this the character of the institution was unchanged, but as the generosity of the founding family was withdrawn the clergy who served the church, out of incomes which left little margin, made their own small contributions towards the increased endowment of Bothans and the maintenance of its functions. This was not the work of the provosts, upon the whole. They tended to be born from a somewhat higher social circle and to have a higher standard of education as well as of income, pluralists whose concern with Bothans was financial or professional. In contrast, the lesser clergy serving the chaplaincies showed a distinct devotion to the kirk and its functions. Clearly it held their devotion and loyalty. A parallel can be made with the prosecution of Walter Mylne in 1558 when the higher clergy had long abandoned the attempt to persecute; Archbishop Hamilton reluctantly saw the prosecution begin, and the driving force behind it was a group of the lower clergy comparable to the chaplains of Bothans. Zeal for the declining mediaeval church existed most strongly among the poorest paid and least educated and respected of her clergy.

## BOTHANS KIRK

Bothans, it should here be noted, was the background of the life of John Knox. His youthful associations were certainly with the district to the south of Haddington. While a measure of uncertainty remains with regard to his birthplace — the over confident identification by Carlyle of Knox's house can be dismissed — it is to be noted that well informed contemporary sources described the Reformer as "Giffordiensis" or "Haddingtoniensis." Outside of Scotland the name of Gifford meant little and it was more natural to name the burgh town. Morham lay within the orbit of Haddington and formed part of the ecclesiastical area — though not the parish — of Bothans Kirk, so there is every probability that Knox was born into the family of that name in Morham parish. As such, growing up as a young man with the intention of entering the priesthood, it would be Bothans Kirk in which he saw the pattern of mediaeval church life, and to which he proposed to give his life service.

The provosts of Bothans came from a wider circle but the chaplains bear East Lothian names; they were the sons of the district, born not from the older landed families but from homes of lesser status. Such was the background of Knox. As a young priest it is likely that his hopes and ambitions did not rise above an appointment to serve an altar at Bothans. Until this should come his way life as a notary and tutor would serve to keep body and soul together. But the appointment did not come his way and he remained a penniless, unbeneficed priest. His mind took another bent and his future was cast in a larger role.

Whatever our estimate of Knox there is no need to attribute this to small motives; it is an error to suppose that the men who drove forward great revolutions have been affected only by trivial personal motives and not by the strong passions which disturbed their age. Knox's conceptions of the faith and life of the Christian Church had been violently overturned in the early years of his priesthood. The well known passage in which the dying man spoke to his wife of a chapter in the Gospel of St. John is one indication, but another may be found in the passion with which he denounced the mediaeval pattern of the mass before Bishop Tunstall. This was the pattern which he had seen in Bothans and against which he so violently reacted; he came to regard this cult of the dead with bitter resentment as a perversion of the Christian faith. As he saw him carry the twohanded sword before George Wishart at

## BOTHANS KIRK

Haddington in January 1546 Robert Walterson must have been heartily thankful that this young firebrand had never been given an appointment on his own staff at Bothans.

Of those who ministered in the old kirk at Bothans by far the most distinguished was Laurence Charteris, who was inducted in 1654 under the Commonwealth. After the Restoration he gladly conformed to episcopacy and worked to reconcile many of his brethren to the changed regime. Gilbert Burnet, whom he had instituted in Saltoun and who later became Bishop of Salisbury, writes of him in highest praise. In 1675 Charteris left Yester to become professor of Divinity at Edinburgh University. Men of less note followed him until the new church was opened in Gifford while the old kirk at Bothans lay empty and disused after so many years.

JAMES BULLOCH.

# INVENTORY OF THE RECORDS OF THE CRAFTS OF HADDINGTON ALONG WITH EXTRACTS FROM THE MINUTE BOOK (1707-1761) OF THE CORDINER CRAFT

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Haddington had nine craft guilds — Masons, Wrights, Weavers, Hammermen, Skinners, Shoemakers, Baxters, Fleshers, and Tailors — and evidence from the early nineteenth century suggests that each incorporation had its own appropriate insignia though it is doubtful if they ever had proper armorial bearings. At the head of each incorporation was an elected deacon by whom the craft was represented in a properly constituted court whose convener and nine deacons exercised considerable power and influence in the burgh.

The earliest records of these craft guilds have disappeared, but it seems reasonably certain that most, if not all of them, existed by the middle of the sixteenth century and it may be that the Baxters, which are thought to be the oldest, became incorporated as early as 1500. They all went out of existence in the nineteenth century by which time changing conditions of manufacture and of marketing as well as more speedy communications rendered the functions of the old trade incorporations obsolete.

The records are not complete over the period of some 300 years during which the guilds were in existence in Haddington, but the following inventory lists the available records so far as they are known at present (July 1962).

## INVENTORY OF CRAFT RECORDS

### (A) BAXTER CRAFT

1. Minute Book 1582-1684 (Scottish Record Office: Haddington Burgh Records).
2. Minute Book 1677-1743 (Mr Todrick, Burnhouse, Duns, Berwickshire).

INVENTORY OF RECORDS OF CRAFTS OF HADDINGTON ALONG  
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3. Seal of Cause of Incorporation 1551 (Todrick).
4. Letters by baxter craft granting privileges to sons of deceased member of craft 1575 (Todrick).
5. Papers relating to thirlage and multures and the Assize of Bread. 1743-1832 (Todrick).
6. Papers in the action by the Incorporation against Cochrane, Begbie and Johnston. 1794-1797 (Todrick).
7. Papers in the action against James Smith, baker in Nungate. 1805 (Todrick).
8. Account Book of bread delivered to Haddington Barracks 1805-1809 (Todrick).
9. Accounts and Correspondence. 19th Century. (Todrick).

(B) CORDINER CRAFT

1. Minute Book. 1605-1755 (Scottish Record Office: Haddington Burgh Records).
2. Minute Book. 1707-1761 (Scottish Record Office).
3. Minute Book. 1799-1861 (Scottish Record Office).
4. Copy Interlocutor George Muirhead and The Shoemakers of Haddington. 1798 (Scottish Record Office).
5. Answers for James Craies late deacon of the Incorporation of Shoemakers of Haddington and other members of said Incorporation to the Protests of David Bail and others. 1806. (Scottish Record Office).
6. Seal of Cause of the Town Council of Haddington to the Cordiners renewing their privileges. 12th August, 1635. (Scottish Record Office. Douglas Collection).
7. Extract act of Haddington Town Council on petition by the Cordiners for the support of a currier in Haddington. 5th June, 1697. (Scottish Record Office. Douglas Collection).

(C) HAMMERMAN CRAFT.

1. Minute Book. 1627-1661 (East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalists' Society).
2. Minute Book. 1662-1747 (E.L.A. and F.N. Society).
3. Minute Book. 1747-1806 (E.L.A. and F.N. Society).

## INVENTORY OF RECORDS OF CRAFTS OF HADDINGTON ALONG WITH EXTRACTS FROM MINUTE BOOK OF CORDINER CRAFT

4. Letters by baillies and council of Haddington on complaint by the Hammermen regarding the exercise of their trade by others than members of the Incorporation. 29th August 1691. (E.L.A. and F.N. Society).

### (D) FLESHER CRAFT.

1. Minute Book. 1741-1836 (Scottish Record Office: Haddington Burgh Records).
2. Memorial for the Incorporation of Fleshers of Haddington. 1760 (Scottish Record Office. Douglas Collection).

### (E) WRIGHTS and MASONS CRAFT.

1. Minute Book. 1616-1751 (Scottish Record Office: Haddington Burgh Records).
2. Minute Book. 1749-1783 (Scottish Record Office: Haddington Burgh Records).
3. Account Book. 1677-1751 (Scottish Record Office: Haddington Burgh Records).
4. Account Book. 1737-1748 (1763) (Scottish Record Office: Haddington Burgh Records).
5. Account Book. 1762-1807 (Scottish Record Office: Haddington Burgh Records).
6. Papers and Accounts. 1533-1915 (Scottish Record Office: Haddington Burgh Records).
7. Extracts decret arbitral finding that the Masons and Wrights shall have the image and offering of St. John, the Evangelist, to be their patron. 1st April, 1530 (Scottish Record Office. Douglas Collection).
8. Extract act of the Burgh Court of Haddington as to payment by craftsmen of weekly penny for St. John's altar in the parish kirk. 30th June, 1530 (Scottish Record Office. Douglas Collection).
9. Notarial instrument in favour of the Wrights and Masons of Haddington as to the support of the altar of St. John in the parish church. 16th July 1533. (Scottish Record Office. Douglas Collection).
10. Seal of Cause renewing privileges. 25th September, 1647. (Scottish Record Office. Douglas Collection)

## INVENTORY OF RECORDS OF CRAFTS OF HADDINGTON. ALONG WITH EXTRACTS FROM MINUTE BOOK OF CORDINER CRAFT

11. Minute anent admission of two coopers. 18th July, 1736. (Scottish Record Office. Douglas Collection).
- (F) SKINNER CRAFT.
1. Minute Book. 1682-1801 (Scottish Record Office: Messrs Montgomerie & Co. Papers).
- (G) INCORPORATED CRAFTS.
1. Minute Book (32 pages) 1683-1689 (Scottish Record Office. Douglas Collection).
  2. Minutes etc. 1758-59 (Scottish Record Office. Douglas Collection).
  3. Letters from the Provost of Haddington anent precedence in processions of crafts. 27th May, 1532. (Scottish Record Office. Douglas Collection).
  4. Extract act of Haddington Kirk Session on petition by trades as to their seat in the parish church. 21st December 1647. (Scottish Record Office. Douglas Collection).
  5. Extract act of agreement between the provost and baillies of Haddington and the Deacons of the crafts as to the "leiting and electing" of magistrates. 13th October, 1658. (Scottish Record Office. Douglas Collection).

### PRINTED MATERIAL ON HADDINGTON CRAFTS

1. "The Incorporation of Baxters of Haddington" by James H. Jamieson. (Transactions of East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalists' Society. Vol. 1. Part 2. pp. 13-37).
2. "The Incorporation of the Hammermen of Haddington" by James H. Jamieson. (Transactions of E.L.A. and F.N. Society. Vol. 2. Part 2. pp. 97-111 and Vol. 2 Part 3. pp. 182-203).
3. "Insignia of The Incorporated Trades of Haddington" by James H. Jamieson. (Transactions of E.L.A. and F.N. Society. Vol. 2 Part 3. pp. 204-206).
4. "Reminiscences of the Royal Burgh of Haddington" by John Martine. pp. 139-157. Chapters on Baxters, Cordiners, Weavers, Hammermen.
5. "A Short History of Haddington" by W. Forbes Gray and J. H. Jamieson. pp. 106-118. Chapter on crafts, trade and industry.

## INVENTORY OF RECORDS OF CRAFTS OF HADDINGTON ALONG WITH EXTRACTS FROM MINUTE BOOK OF CORDINER CRAFT

### EXTRACTS FROM THE MINUTE BOOK (1707-1761) OF THE CORDINERS OF HADDINGTON

There is great similarity in the records of all the craft guilds and the extracts printed below may be taken as typical. The minute book (1707-1761) from which they come is a volume thirteen inches by eight, bound in vellum and containing eighty-four leaves written on both sides. Across the middle of the front cover is embossed, "W. S. Deacon" (the initials of William Simpson who was deacon of the cordiners several times) and in the middle of the lower half of the front appears, in handwriting, the name of George Gray who also held the craft's principal office.

Much of the minute book records routine business — the Boxmaster's handling of the guild funds, the arrangement of "essays" (tests of proficiency) for apprentices who wished to become journeymen. There are records of the admission of new members, of the sums given to charity, of the election of craft officials, of quarrels among members and of unfair trading by non-members. Many entries concern the maintenance of craft rules and of the privileges of the incorporation.

The handwriting varies from the almost illegible to near copperplate. Generally the records were written by a paid clerk who was often at the same time clerk to the Town Council and to several of the craft guilds — John Smith, P. Slieth, J. Ainslie, W. Gray, John Sibbald. The handwriting of these men can be read with comparative ease, but some of the records were written by the craft deacons and other members of the guild whose skill with the pen was not great, though there is a marked improvement towards the end of the book: Thomas Forrest, who was deacon in 1753-1754, wrote as well as any of the clerks. On the other hand, many members could do no more than write their names with difficulty and several could make only marks.

In the extracts printed below abbreviations have been extended but original spelling has been retained and headings of entries provided only where they are provided marginally in the manuscript minutes.

Haddingtoun the 11th of August 1707 years.

Received by the shoemakers craft from John Main present deacon there and Andrew Simpson boxmaster full and compleat payment of two years



# INVENTORY OF RECORDS OF CRAFTS OF HADDINGTON ALONG WITH EXTRACTS FROM MINUTE BOOK OF CORDINER CRAFT

box pennies preceeding the date hereof and discharges them thereof viz.  
from the eight of September 1705 to this day inclusive.

Att Hadingtoun the 27 December, 1711.

James Simpsons offer	The quhilk day Thomas Simpson deacone and remanent bretheren and friemen of the shoemaker craft within the said burgh being conviened compeared personally James Simpstone shoemaker in Nungate as he who mairried Margaret Maine second lafull daughter to John Maine lait deacon of the said burghe and craved that the craft would accept of his offer and injoyne ane essay to be a friemane which offer the craft accepts of and injoyns a pair of mens and womens shoone a pair of slippers and a pair of turned pumps to be essay to be made be him betwixt and Pasch next and appoints George Coldoun and James Simpstone to be essay masters and appoints eight pundis scots to be his friedome money and a dinner to the craft. De super actum.
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Hadingtoun 12 Aprile 1712.

James Simpstone freeman	The quhilk day Thomas Simpson deacon and remanent bretheren and friemen of the shoemaker craft within the said burghe being conviened within the tolbuith thereof admitts and receavs James Simpson above named to be a freman of the said craft in respect the essay injoynd to him was found sufficient as was verified by the essay masters one oath and that for eight pundis scots for his friedome money quhairof foure pundis payed to the deacone and foure pundis scots to be payed into the box again Lambes next and the said James gave his oath de fideli. De super actum.
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Att Hadingtoun the fourt of September 1712.

Deacon and others elected	The quhilk day Thomas Simpstone and remanent friemen and bretheren of the shoemaker craft within the said burgh geing conviened within the tolbuith thereof be their maniest vots have elected and choisen and be these
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# INVENTORY OF RECORDS OF CRAFTS OF HADDINGTON ALONG WITH EXTRACTS FROM MINUTE BOOK OF CORDINER CRAFT

presents elects and choises for the year to come the said Thomas Simpson to be deacon William Watt to be box-master John Jonstoun and Andrew Simpson to be key-keepers and quartermasters and James Simpson elder and George Coldoun to be adjutant quartermasters who being all present and acceptand their offices gave their oath of fidelitie and servecie. De super actum.

Hadingtoun 15th November, 1715.

William Simpsons ticket I William Simpson be these presents grants and acknowledges that I am dew to the Incorporation three pounds fourteen shilling scots as witnes my hand and date for said W S.

William Bairds ticket The samen day I William Baird be these presents grants and acknowledges that I am dew to the Incorporation the somme of four pounds ten shilling scots as witnes my hand and date for said W. B.

Hadingtoun 19 March 1717.

William Kellie Journyman The samen day William Kellie is booked journieman to Thomas Simpson for serving the said Thomas from fourth March instant to the 4th November nixt for which Thomas Simpson is to pay five shilling for makeing each pair of womens shoes and six shilling for each pair of mens shoes to the said William Kellie his journieman and the said William has paid the crafts dues.

Hadingtoun 26th August 1717.

The which day the deacon and remanent bretheren of the shoemaker craft being conveend in the Tolbooth of this burgh, the Deacon represented that some tyme ago there was 4 (?) pieces of lether taken which was suspected to have been cutt off some honest mans hydes by John Spears currier and was left by him in William Simpsons house and was putt in John Baird then boxmaster his custody by the craft to be an evidence against John Spears when the matter was more fully tried and examined in to. And that so it is that the said deacon was now informed that John Baird had now destroyed the said pieces of leather, that the

## INVENTORY OF RECORDS OF CRAFTS OF HADDINGTON ALONG WITH EXTRACTS FROM MINUTE BOOK OF CORDINER CRAFT

best means of probation against John Spears might fail to be removed Which he thought a great fault and conivance in John Baird with John Spears his said unwarrantable act and practice And that therefor the said John Baird ought to be punished thairfor To which it was answered by the said John Baird that he acknowledged he got the said pieces of leather to keep but denyes he had any hand in disposing of or desrtoying it, alleadging and declareing that one day when he was from home John Spears came to his house and drank hard with his servants and made them cutt the leather and make it for the said John Baird his owne use without any order from him and submitts his punishment to the deacon and craft and craves that action may be reserved to him against John Spears for his dammages. Which matter being duely considered by the said deacon and craft, they all in one voice fyne the said John Baird in five pounds scots for unwarrantably disposing of the leather putt in his custody by the craft in manner forsaid and ordaine him to remain in prison till payment thair of, reserving action in form of law against the said John Spears for the said five pounds and other damnages he has sustained throw the said John Spears his default. This done with the concurrence of the whole magistrates craved by and given as to John Main deacon. De super actum.

Haddingtoun 28th Apryle 1718

The which day the deacon and remanent bretheren of the shoemakers by their maniest votes enacted and hereby enact that any journyman that leaves his masters service befor the time he fies to shall lose the benefits of their indentur if they served apprentice to any freeman and shall not be admitted freeman of the craft otherways than any stranger.

Hadingtoun 25 July 1720

The samen day James Simpson deacon of the shoemaker craft of this burgh represented in presence of the whole craft (except John Main absent) that Thomas Simpson was absent from a fourty shilling buriall to witt from the buriall of (blank) Blaikie sone to George Blaikie in Morhamhags and that John Baird was also absent from the same tho lawfully warned thereto and also abused the deacon and took a servant without his knowledge and also that William Baird and James Simpson

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younger refused to go with the said deacon as coligues at the last conveyers meeting tho the deacon himself desyred them Therefor the said deacon with the consent of the craft fyned and hereby fyne Thomas Simpson William Baird and James Simpson each of them in twenty shilling scots and John Baird in five pounds scots and with concurrence of William Hay one of the baillies of the burgh ordains them to be kept in prison while payment.

Hadingtoun 20 August 1720

The deacon and craft hereby fyne and americiat James Simpson younger in five pound scots for saying the deacon and some of the Incorporation had robed the box and with the concurrence of William Hay ordaines him to be kept in prison till payment thair of.

Eadem Die

The deacon and craft fyne John Baird in five pound scots for abusing the deacon in presence of severalls of the craft and with the above concurrence ordaines him to be kept in prison till payment.

3rd September 1720

The deacon and craft fyned and hereby fyne John Baird in fourty shilling for being absent from the election yesterday tho fully warned thairto as he confest at the barr and fynes John Main in fourty shilling for being absent from this meeting and with concurrence of Baillie McCall ordaine them to be kept in prison till payment.

19th November 1720

Henry Stevenston officer declares he warned John Main at his house to a meeting this day and the warning is proven by George Coldone offerring John Mains quarter accompt who declares he got it from the said John Main but the said John tho called failzied to compear at this meeting Therefor the deacon and craft with concurrence of Baillie Nicolson fynes the said John Main in fourty shilling scots for his contumacy and absence and ordaines him to be imprisoned till payment.

13th May 1721

The deacon and craft with concurrence of John Nicolson baillie fyne Thomas Simpson in fourty shilling scots for enticeing John Lindsay from Pat Anderson his master service and ordaines him to be kept in prison

INVENTORY OF RECORDS OF CRAFTS OF HADDINGTON ALONG  
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till payment.

Hadingtoun the elevent day of June 1722

The same day the deacon and bretheren of the shoemaker craft of Hadingtoun being conveyen within the Tolbooth of the said burgh and there being a complaint made by William Simpson and William Coldoun upon Andrew Simpson one of the said Incorporation for incoleuring (?) and allowing Thomas Stevenstoun shoemaker in Nungate to work in his shop as if he had been ane freeman or journeyman which is contrair to the acts of their books The said Andrew Simpson being present confessed he did allow the said Thomas Stevenstoun to work in his shop which he confessed was contrair to their acts and priviledges in their books and came in the trade will for doing thair of The said deacon and bretheren haveing considered the above written complaint and confession of the said Andrew Simpson thay being there with well and ryplied (?) advised fyned and hereby fyne the said Andrew Simpson in the somme of five pounds scots money for his said malversation and transgression and ordains him to be kept in prison till payment.

Hadingtoun 22 August 1722

The samen day in presence of the said deacon and craft compeared Rob Baird shoemaker thrid lawfull sone to the deceast John Baird shoemaker burges and freeman of this burgh and craved to be received a freeman of the craft upon his fathers right which the craft thinking just appointed him a pair of men shoes and a pair of women shoes a pair womens slippers and a pair of turnd pumps for his essay to be ready betwixt and the twenty nynth instant and nominat William Simpson and William Coldon to be his essay masters who gave their oaths de fidei. De super actum.

The samen day in presence of the deacon and craft compeared George Simpson sone to (blank) Simpson currier in Musleburgh and craved to be admitted shoemaker freeman of the said burgh as haveing served his apprenticeship to James Simpson younger shoemaker Which the craft by plurality of voices was satisfied to do and appointed him a pair of men shoes a pair of women shoes a pair slippers for a woman and a pair of turnd pumps for his essay to be ready betwixt and the twenty

## INVENTORY OF RECORDS OF CRAFTS OF HADDINGTON ALONG WITH EXTRACTS FROM MINUTE BOOK OF CORDINER CRAFT

nynt instant and nominat George Coldon and John Johnstoun to be his essay masters who gave their oaths of fidelity. De super actum.

Hadingtoun 20 November 1725

There being a complaint made to the craft upon Thomas Simpson for making a pair of shoes which were shapen by William Watt and taken out of his shop The said Thomas confessed he made the shoes but sayt he sought liberty from William Watt but cannot say that he granted him the liberty It was putt to a vote of the craft and they unanimously declared the same to be a fault and fyned him in five pound scots and ordaines him to be kept in prison till payment.

22 November 1725

Thomas Simpson alleadged the above act is wrong and that he did not make the above confession whereupon the deacon in presence of Baillie Wilson offered to prove the above complaint by the said Thomas his oath and he being solemnly sworn depones that he nor no other by his order made the pair of shoes to Mrs Paton that were shapen by William Watt and this he declares to be the truth as he shall answer to God.

Hadingtoun 20 August 1726

The quhilk William Simpson deacon complained to the craft on John Baird one of their number for calling him pissbed yeasterday in Thomas Simpsons house and the said John present confest same but that he did not condescend on the tyme when he did it but ment that he did it when a child Which being considered by the craft they declare that the forsaied expression is vilipending and thairfor fynes the said John Baird in five pound scots and ordains him to be kept in prison till payment.

Hadingtoun 25 May 1728

Thomas Simpson boxmaster has counted for and payd all his intrusions with the crafts boxpenny preceeding this date at least for Belten quarter which with the coblers money and quarter compts is all paid into the box and discharged of for payment of the craft debt as follows Payd to Mistres Higgins in full of the election dinner last year 1727 ten pound twelve shilling scots and there is still resting to her an account whereof some due befor and some since last election.

# INVENTORY OF RECORDS OF CRAFTS OF HADDINGTON ALONG WITH EXTRACTS FROM MINUTE BOOK OF CORDINER CRAFT

Quarter Day 23 November 1728

The craft haveing considered the account due by them to Widow Higgins and her mother and compared them with their receipts they find that there is resting to them only preceeding this date thretty pound eight shilling scots and allows the deacon to attest her account accordingly suscribed by order of the craft by me J. Ainslie, Clerk.

Hadingtoun 1 March 1729

The craft discharges Wm. Baird Boxmaster of his intromissions with the crafts monay preceeding this date by order of the craft signed by me J. Ainslie Clerk.

The deacon has got payment of eighteen shilling scots for a ten pint of barrell drunken by the craft in harvest last.

Hadingtoun 11 November 1729

Act against	The deacon and craft considering a complaint against
William Hog	William Hog late servant to William Simpson younger
and also against	for engaging with severall of the craft and going from
engageing or	one to another without counting and parting fairly with
entertaining other	his present master and that the said complaint is proven
mens servants	against him They therefor fyne the said William Hog in
	fourty shilling scots and with concurrence of the craft
	baillie ordaine him to be imprisoned till payment and
	discharges any of the craft to entertain another mans
	servant till he first enquire at the master upon what
	grounds he left him and that the deacon give his consent
	to his engageing with another conform to their gift and
	with certification that the transgression against this tack
	in tyme comeing shall be punished and fyned in the
	terms of the gift and the severall acts of the craft without
	feud or favour.

Att Hadingtoun the thrid day of September seventeen hundred and twenty eight years

Act against	The which day the deacon and remanent members of the
spending the	shoemaker craft being conveyened within the Tolbooth
crafts money	thereof in presence and with the concurrence of William
	Hay trades baillie considering of time past the crafts

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money which ought to be imployed to the subsistance of the poor has been imbazelled and squandered away to the scandall of the trade wherefor they enact statute and ordain that in all time comeing any money due to the trade shall be paid in presence of them att a publick meetting and immediately putt in the box and none of the said money shall be spent or disposed of without consent and allowance of the trade in a meetting and any accounts or debts contracted otherways are declared to be no debt of the craft but of the contractors as also the said craft considering the crafts books have been in bygone times exposed as they ought not to be they therefor ordain the said books to be putt and lye in the box in all time comeing never to be taken out but in presence of the craft and the said baillie interpones his authority to the above act.

15th November 1729

The samen day William Simpson elder paid in to the box all money intromitted with by him and due to the craft att and befor Halymass quarter.

The samen day the craft enact that in all tyme comeing no journyman shall pay any booking money but that hereafter journyemen shall acquaint their masters fourty days befor they leave thair service that they are to do so.

Haddingtoun 22 November 1729

The which day in presence of the shoemaker craft of the said burgh convened with concurrence and also in presence of John Baird trade baillie compeared William Watt deacon of the said craft and complained on Thomas Simpson one of their number for detracting backbyteing and slandering him yesterday in the publick mercat by saying he was a robber for borrowing money out of the crafts box to bury his wife and not paying it again Which is false and calling the said William Watt a lyer in presence of the craft on the 15th instant which is contrair to severall acts of the craft and particularly against the act dated 11th



## INVENTORY OF RECORDS OF CRAFTS OF HADDINGTON ALONG WITH EXTRACTS FROM MINUTE BOOK OF CORDINER CRAFT

September 1652 And craved the said Thomas Simpson may be fyned in five pound scots for the said fault conform to the said act.

The complainer offers to prove the said complaint by Thomas Simpsons oath The said Thomas refuses to depone saying he is not obliged to depone upon this complaint but alleadges that whatever words he exprest in the mercat yesterday he was provoked thereto by William Watt giving him ill names. William Watt insisted and offered to prove his lybell and complaint and declared that he should answer when Thomas Simpson complained on him to a proper judge Rob Brown and Pat Anderson two of the craft present being sworn depone they heard Thomas Simpson in presence of most part of the craft on the 15th instant call William Watt deacon a lyer and this is the truth as they shall answer to God.

The shoemaker craft with concurrence of the baillie having considered the within complaint and proof find it proven that Thomas Simpson called the deacon a lyer which is a slander contrair to the act withinment and therefor fyne the said Thomas Simpson in five pound scots and ordain him to be kept in prison till payment.

Haddingtoun 18 July 1730

Complaint  
against  
Andrew Hay

The which day William Watt deacon of the shoemaker craft complained to the craft that yesterday being the mercat day, he discharged all the freemen that live in the country to sell any shoes befor the mercat bell was rung under the pain of five pound scots unless they would pay up their quarter counts Notwithstanding whereof Andrew Hay in Prestonpans in contempt of the said order refused to comply and sold shoes befor the bell rung albeit he owes a great many quarter counts and therefor desired the craft to determine in this affair as they shall see propper.

Henry Stevenston present declares he by order of the deacon discharged Andrew Hay to sell shoes in terms of the above complaint.

Andrew Hay present confesses he exposed shoes to sell befor the mercat bell was rung.

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The corporation with concurrence of John Baird baillie fyne the above Andrew Hay in five pound scots for the above contempt of the deacons authority and ordain him to be kept in prison till payment.

Thereafter Andrew Hay payd up all his quarters accompts and all other sums clags and claims the craft has to lay to his charge befor this date.

Hadingtoun 22 May 1731

The which day William Watt deacon represented and complained to the craft that William Simpson boxmaster had yesterday incroached upon the said deacons power and office by searching the mercat and fyneing and uplifting fynes at his owne hand Upon which he being examined confest his being guilty of the said fault and referred himself to the mercy of the craft who haveing considered what above unanimously fyned and hereby fyne the said William Simpson in five pound scots for the said fault and with concurrence of John Baird trades baillie ordain the said William Simpson to be kept in prison till payment of the said sum.

1 July 1731

Complains William Watt deacon upon John Baird elder for deforcing him and counteracting his authority in so far as when William Ross scribbler complained to him for a pair of shoes made to him by William Simpson younger and that were insufficient and that after he the said deacon designed to have them judged the said John Baird took and kept the said shoes and therefor the deacon craved the said John Baird might be punished by the craft. John Baird protested he took the shoes because he was informed that the affair was befor determined and decided Wherefor the craft with concurrence of Baillie Gray fyne the said John Baird in five pound scots and ordain him to remain in prison till payment.

4 September 1731

Deacon Watt has payd in to the box two pound sixteen shilling scots of coblers accounts for Lambas quarter and also the money got by him from Robert Hog for his entry.

The same 4 September 1731 Deacon Watt represented that at his entry the

## INVENTORY OF RECORDS OF CRAFTS OF HADDINGTON ALONG WITH EXTRACTS FROM MINUTE BOOK OF CORDINER CRAFT

craft was owing a great dale of debt, that he has now the pleasure of telling that the craft is free of debt and having ordered the money in the box to be told it appears there is two pound nyne shilling and five pence sterling of money in the box, Notwithstanding of which increase of their money he paid out liberally to the poor; from which he desired the craft to consider what the crafts revenues might come to if rightly managed, that now his term of deaconcy was near expired and recommended to his successor whoever it should be to manage the crafts business better and he might be asured to have also much pleasure as he at present has whereupon the whole craft gave him their thanks.

Hadingtoun 11 December 1731

The deacon represented to the craft that at last meeting John Baird elder and John Baird younger did detract him and some other of the craft and that on that account he had ordered them to be detained in prison during pleasure Notwithstanding whereof they refused to stay in prison and went out as soon as any of the craft And desired the craft to consider if it was a fault and what punishment should be inflicted on them thairfor and the fault being proven and voted by majority of the craft to be a fault they fyne and hereby fyne each of the said John Baird elder and younger in five pound scots and ordain them to be kept in prison till payment.

4 March 1732

There is half a croun given to Marion Anderson and seven shilling 6d scots to Charles Redpath for keeping the trades seat and sixpence in full of his wages befor this day.

10 June 1732

William Watt made compt and payment for thretty one country shoe-makers boxpenny and for four coblers money which he uplifted in May quarter and whereof he is hereby discharged in presence of the craft all his disbursements being allowed him.

(The same day the craft) gave John Claperton freeman for present liveing at Gifford three pound scots of supply and have putt in William Watts hands to be given him. Thereafter they gave William Watt two pound scots to be given to William Kirkwood of supply.

# INVENTORY OF RECORDS OF CRAFTS OF HADDINGTON ALONG WITH EXTRACTS FROM MINUTE BOOK OF CORDINER CRAFT

Hadingtoun 11 February 1733

James Erskine           The which day James Erskine sone to James Erskine late  
apprentice               provost of the said burgh is booked apprentice to William  
                              Watt freeman for five years after his entry which was on  
                              the second instant conform to indenture of this date read  
                              befor the craft and the craft dues are paid into the box  
                              being ten merks scots.

25 August 1733

The which day Clerk Ainslie gave in the Touns old gift to the Cordiner  
Craft with a clean copy on fyne parchment and they are putt in the box  
but the clerk wants payment till another occasion.

Hadingtoun 24 September 1733

William Simpson       The which day Thomas Simpson complaind on William  
elder fyned           Simpson elder for intyceing his servants to witt Thomas  
                             Pearson and Robert Wright by offering them more wages  
                             than he gives contrair to the acts of the craft  
                             William Simpson present confesses that he being drunk  
                             Saturday last did offer more wages to Thomas Simpsons  
                             servants than he pays but says it was in jeest which com-  
                             plaint with the confession being considered by the craft  
                             they with concurrence of John Herriot baillie given to  
                             William Watt deacon fyned and hereby fyne the said  
                             William Simpson elder in fourty shilling scots and  
                             ordaine him to be imprisoned till payment.

17 November 1733

Charles Redpath has gott sevenpence sterling as his quarters fie for keep-  
ing of the crafts seat in the Kirk befor this date.

10th June 1734

Att a meeting of the shoemaker craft of Hadingtoun the 10th June 1734  
there being a complaint by James Kesson journeyman to John Baird  
younger upon his said master and both parties being examined the craft  
ordered both parties to quitt one another and accordingly the said James  
Kesson is allowed to serve any other person he pleases and John Baird  
is ordained to give him up his work looms and sevenpence halfpenny  
sterling he owes him after compt and reckoning.

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Thereafter being complaint on said John Baird younger for vilipending the craft in so far as he said all the craft were bunglers and blockheads and he being present denyed and the witnesses afternamed were ordered to be deduced to witt John Craighead journyman shoemaker to James Simpson freeman declares he heard John Baird younger say about 14 days ago that the whole shoemaker craft were bunglers and coblers and severall other vilipending expressions cannot write (i.e. which cannot be written). Ninian Waddell servant to Pat Anderson freeman declares he heard John Baird younger say that the whole incorporation of shoemakers in Hadingtoun were bunglers and coblers and that he could work better than any of them.

The craft haveing considered the within complaint against John Baird for vilipending and declaration of witnesses They find the complaint proven and therefor with concurrence of John Herriot trades baillie they fyne the said John Baird younger in five pound scots and ordaine him to be imprisoned till payment.

Hadingtoun 27 August 1737

Clerk chosen

The whole members of the craft being eleven in number considering the confusion that their book is in by having severall clerks and sometimes persons who have no skill do therefor unanimously appoint John Ainslie Town Clerk to be clerk of the craft in all time comeing and ordain him to be warnd the night befor their meeting.

Thereafter the craft nominat Robert Wallace to be in all time comeing officer to their craft with power to the craft to elect another in case he refuses to attend them.

Hadingtoun 25th November 1738

Sederunt of the shoemaker craft

William Baird, Deacon

John Simpson

William Watt

William Simpson, elder

George Baird

George Gray

Robert Baird

John Baird, elder

Patrick Anderson

William Simpson, younger

John Baird, younger

John Begbie

## INVENTORY OF RECORDS OF CRAFTS OF HADDINGTON ALONG WITH EXTRACTS FROM MINUTE BOOK OF CORDINER CRAFT

The which day the deacon represented that he was informed that some of the merchant Councill were handing about a paper amongst the trades and procuring their supscriptions to it to show their desire to have a precise day appointed for their elections and therefor desired this meeting to give their oppinions whether they think proper to have a day sett as above or to leave it in the power of the deacon for the time to call an election any day he thinks proper as formerly Which being considered by the craft they in presence of John Cadell trades baillie unanimously enact and agree that it shall be in the power of the deacon for the time and succeeding deacons to call the election of his successor and other officers of the craft any lawfull day between the first and fifteen day of September yearly.

Hadingtoun 15 February 1734 (This is the date written in the original but the minute lies between one of 26 December 1741 and one of 3 April 1742. There is no evidence that these three minutes were not written in sequence and all are by the same hand. Presumably 1734 is a clerk's error).

The which day in presence of Pat Anderson deacon and other eight of the craft it was represented that John Baird had on Friday last overturned in the publick mercat a stand with shoes on it for sale belonging to Pat Nollange shoemaker in Tranent without any reason and also that he had called or taken away a countryman from Alexander Carmichael shoemaker in Tranent his stand to buy shoes from himself and desired the craft to consider how far the said John Baird was blameable for the said two severall faults and the said corporation of shoemakers in this burgh mett with concurrance of Archibald Pringle trades baillie having considered the above complaint and representation which was also confest by the said John Baird they unanimously found the said John Baird guilty of the said fault and therefor fyne the said John Baird in four pound scots to be applyed as the deacon and masters of the craft at the sight of the said baillie shall think fitt and ordain the said John Baird to be imprisoned till payment.

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Hadingtoun 3rd April 1742

The which day the craft enacted that in time comeing no more charges shall be given out of the crafts box on Pash Monday as has been in use hitherto, But that the crafts money be frugally managed for the use of the poor Thereafter there was a croun given out to buy cloaths to William Cowdon and three shilling sterling to James Simpsons relict.

12 September 1745

The same day the craft considering that there has some times past been great extravagance anent the election dinner and drink thereat they doe hereby statute and ordain that hereafter there shall be allowed to the deacon one pound sterling out of the box for the election dinner and everything anent it and no more shall be allowed and the said sum of one pound sterling is presently payed to the deacon for the expence of the ensueing election and after discompting thereof there is presently in the box four pound seven shillings sterling.

Hadingtoun 4 April 1747

The deacon and remanent members of the craft have agreed that none of the craft shall keep the boot trees more than eight hours unless that some of the bretheren need them then they are to give them back in four hours and if they do not they are to pay sixpence of penalty.

Hadingtoun 19th November 1748

The dues of the boot trees are set for one year after this day to James Erskine for sixteen shilling scots which he has instantly payed to the craft.

Hadingtoun 9 August 1749

Act and warrant  
for buying the  
conveeners seat  
in the church

The which day the deacon represented to the craft that James Erskine and John Burnet had at desire and by appointment of this Incorporation made ane agreement with the Deacon Conveener and Nine Deacons and bought their seat or loft in the church of Hadingtoun on the south side of the west end of the said church for the agreed price of sixteen pounds sterling payable at Martinmas first and that as there is not so much ready money in the box to pay that sum and other necessary charges about executeing that bargain desired

# INVENTORY OF RECORDS OF CRAFTS OF HADDINGTON ALONG WITH EXTRACTS FROM MINUTE BOOK OF CORDINER CRAFT

the crafts oppinion of the said purchase Which being considered by the craft they unanimously approve of the forsaid bargain made by the said James Erskine and John Burnet and appoint and authorise them in name and behalf of the craft to grant subscribe and deliver a bond for the forsaid sum of sixteen pounds sterling as the price of the said seat or loft payable at Martinmas first to the Deacon Conveener and his Nine Deacons upon their granting subscribeing and delivering to them for the behoof of this craft a full and ample disposition to the said loft or seatt and further appoints the boxmaster to pay any expences that may be necessary for compleateing the said bargain and paying for writing the forsaid bond.

Hadingtoun 20 August 1749

Officers fee regulated in time comeing	The craft agreed with Robert Dagger as their officer to attend all the business of the craft and the seat in the church for twelve shillings sterling per annum to commence from this day.
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9 December 1749

Charity given	The craft gave half a guines to help to defray the expences of the funerall of Margaret Simpson lawfull daughter of the deceased James Simpson one of the members of this craft.
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Boot trees set	Thereafter the dues of the boot trees are set for one year from this day to John Baird for one pound scots which he is to pay betwixt and this day eight days and if he pay in that time the craft is to take only eighteen shilling scots.
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Hadingtoun 3 March 1750

Contribution for the Touns coall payed	There was one pound one shilling sterling given of contribution by this craft to assist the Toun in search of a coall in Gladsmuir.
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INVENTORY OF RECORDS OF CRAFTS OF HADDINGTON ALONG  
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Haddingtoun 24 November 1750

Baillie Reids money ordered to be uplifted	The meeting considering that the conveener and nine deacons are makeing pressing demands on this craft for the sixteen pounds sterling due to them for the loft in the church bought be this incorporation they unanimously agree to uplift the ten pounds sterling owing to the craft by bond of Robert Reid and authorise the deacon and boxmaster to grant a discharge therefore in the name of the craft and which sum with the other funds in the box will very near make up the sum due for the loft and recommend to the deacon and boxmaster to acquaint the said Robert Reid of this resolution and to pay the price of the loft as soon as the said money can be raised.
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Haddingtoun 7 March 1752

The craft paid five shillings sterling to Walter Hastie as one years sallary due at Candlemass last for keeping the seatt in the church and three shillings sterling to Robert Baird officer as his quarters sallary also due at Candlemass last. Thereafter there was two shillings and sixpence sterling given to the clerk for extraordinary trouble and nine shillings sterling in charity to the three poor widows belonging to the craft.

Haddingtoun 29 May 1752

Unfree prentices fees fixed	The Incorporation considering that severall servants are entertained by the members of this incorporation who do not pay the usual dues to the craft do therefor enact and ordain that in all time comeing all prentices who are not bound for the freedome of this burgh shall pay three shillings and ninepence halfpenny being the dues payable to the box conform to use and wont and that within fourteen days after they begin to work and all clubs and clubmen shall pay the same dues.
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Haddingtoun 9 March 1754

The money owing by Robert Reid ordered to be	The craft delivered to John Watson boxmaster a bond due to the incorporation by Robert Reid mason in Haddingtoun for ten pounds sterling as also a bill due by the said Robert Reid to the craft for five pounds sterling
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# INVENTORY OF RECORDS OF CRAFTS OF HADDINGTON ALONG WITH EXTRACTS FROM MINUTE BOOK OF CORDINER CRAFT

got in                      and the meeting recommend to the said boxmaster to recover payment as soon as possible and the craft has given to the boxmaster ten shillings sterling to pay expences for which he is to be accountable to the craft.

Hadingtoun 6 Aprile 1756

The which day a complaint being made against Alexander Donaldson one of the freemen of this craft for giving to James Downie a pair of insufficient shoes at the price of three shillings sterling and the shoes being produced at the meeting and found insufficient by the oaths of George Anderson and Thomas Forrest therefor the meeting with concurrence of Baillie George Pirie ordains the said Alexander Donaldson betwixt and Thursday first at eight at night or Saturday thereafter to give and furnish to the said James Downie a pair of sufficient shoes such as shall be approven of by the deacon and fynes and americiates the said Alexander Donaldson in the sum of one pound scots and ordains him summarly to be imprisoned till payment.

2 September 1757

There was given out in charity five shillings sterling to Charity given out Alexander Donaldson a freeman of this craft who is at present in great distress by indisposition.

Hadingtoun 21 November 1757

A pair of shoes with the upper leathers of horse leather made by John Burnet being produced and they being found by the craft to be very insufficient both in workmanship and quality of leather the meeting therefore confiscate the said shoes for the use of the poor of the craft and also fyne and amerciate the said John Burnet in the sum of one shilling sterling and ordain him to be detained in prison till payment.

Hadingtoun 27 Aprile 1759

Complaint	The which day in presence of the incorporation of the
against David	shoemakers of Hadingtoun with Baillie William Pringle
Wallace a Chelsea	present George Anderson one of the freemen made com-
Pensioner for	plaint against David Wallace ane unfreeman in this
selling	burgh for haveing this day taken upon him to expose
	to sale before the mercate bell did ring some shoes the

# INVENTORY OF RECORDS OF CRAFTS OF HADDINGTON ALONG WITH EXTRACTS FROM MINUTE BOOK OF CORDINER CRAFT

unfreemans . . . . . property of Alexander Dunbar shoemaker in Nungate  
goods . . . . . whereby the freemen are much injured in their privi-  
ledges of haveing the only liberty of selling befor the  
mercate bell rings and also defrauding the incorporation  
of their boxpenny and the taxman of the customes of the  
mercate of his dues and craved that the said David  
Wallace might be fynd for such illegall practises And  
the said David Wallace being called before the meeting  
he declares that he this day did receive some shoes of  
Alexander Dunbar in order to sell which he upon receiv-  
ing them put them upon his stand before the mercate  
bell did ring but that immediately he took them off and  
put them below his stand and did not expose them to sale  
till after the mercate bell did ring and that he did not  
know that what he so did was of any injury to the craft  
and promises never to do the like in time comeing.  
(Wallace was fined "One pound scots in regard he trans-  
gressed through ignorance" and was discharged "from  
being guilty of the like practises in time comeing under  
the penalty of ten pounds scots toties quoties").  
David Wallace present paid in the above fyne to the  
craft by laying it down on the table.

Hadingtoun 1st May 1759

2nd complaint . . . . . The Incorporation considering that David Wallace has  
against David . . . . . not only come to reside in this burgh and exercise his  
Wallace for . . . . . trade as a shoemaker albeit he is not a freeman of this  
taking . . . . . craft but also has taken upon him to hyre and engage  
apprentices . . . . . journyemen and take apprentices whereby the incorpora-  
tion has been and may yet be much prejudged in their  
exclusive priviledge Therefore the craft hereby empower  
the deacon and boxmaster to raise a process before the  
magistrates against the said David Wallace for the forsaid  
encroachments on the priviledges of the craft above-  
mentioned or any others which may come to the know-

# INVENTORY OF RECORDS OF CRAFTS OF HADDINGTON ALONG WITH EXTRACTS FROM MINUTE BOOK OF CORDINER CRAFT

ledge of the incorporation and the craft appoints the  
expençe of that process to be paid out of the crafts funds.  
The craft recommend to James Erskine and John Begbie  
two of their number to assist the deacon and boxmaster  
in raiseing and carrying on the forsaid process.

Haddingtoun 17 July 1759

The which day Archibald Kerr shoemaker but ane un-  
freeman resideing within this burgh being conveyed  
Complaint against before the craft for encroaching upon their priviledges  
Archibald Kerr by heel lapping of a pair of old shoes and upon suspicion  
for heel piecing of makeing new shoes and for severall times working  
being an within this burgh formerly and receiving payment there-  
unfreeman fore and the said Archibald Kerr being present confesses  
the heel lapping of the old shoes and receiving payment  
for mending other old shoes formerly within this burgh  
but asserts that the new shoes are for the proper use of  
his wife and none other and submitts himself to the craft  
for his forsaid transgressions and promises never to be  
guilty of the like in time comeing.

Eadem Die

The craft haveing considered the above complaint with  
the said Archibald Kerrs judiciall confession they with  
concurrence of Baillie William Pringle find the complaint  
proven and therefore fyne and amerciate him in the sum  
of two shillings and six pence sterling and grants warrand  
summarly to imprison him till payment and discharges  
the said Archibald Kerr from practising within this burgh  
any part of the shoemaker trade unless employed by a  
freeman under the penalty of five pounds scots toties  
quoties in all time comeing.

Haddingtoun 12 June 1761

The which day the deacon and masters of the craft of shoemakers of  
Haddingtoun above named considering the great abuse and the loss which  
may happen to the leidges by unfreeman shoemakers resorting to this

## INVENTORY OF RECORDS OF CRAFTS OF HADDINGTON ALONG WITH EXTRACTS FROM MINUTE BOOK OF CORDINER CRAFT

mercate to sell shoes privately in houses befor the mercate bell rings to the great loss and hurt not only of the freemen of this incorporation but also the leidges may be imposed upon by putting into their hands shoes both of bad leather and bad workmanship as these shoes are not exposed to open sale in mercate time of day in order to be visited by this incorporation as to the sufficiency thereof and they haveing also caused at different times enquiry to be made in order to discover if such illegall practises were continued they found that John Allan shoemaker in Longniddry did this day before mercate time of day sell privately in the house of George Kemp indweller in Hadingtoun a pair of mens shoes to (blank) Wallace servant at Belton Miln and the said John Allan being present acknowledges he did so but sayes when he first came to frequent this mercate no rules were told him which he was to observe and never was acquainted with this particular till now and submitts to the craft.

The meeting haveing considered John Allans confession they in regard this is his first fault and has made ane open and free confession and has promised never to be guilty of the like in time comeing do therefore only fyne him in two shillings and six pence sterling which he has instantly paid and laid down on the table.

GEORGE MURRAY.

## THE TRADE OF EAST LoTHIAN AT THE END OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Today, Scotland faces west. The Clyde is the gateway to the markets of the world, and the city of Glasgow the undoubted centre of her commercial and industrial life. In the 17th century, Scotland, equally decisively, faced east. About two-thirds of her shipping traded into the Firth of Forth. The salt, corn, coal, fish and crude manufactures of the Forth towns and their hinterland purchased the bulk of what she could obtain (though less than she would have liked), from France and the North Sea markets. The county of East Lothian lay then, as she has never since, at the very centre of national trade.

It is true that the total volume of this Scottish trade seemed unimpressive, measured by the standards of contemporary Holland or England, whose spectacular commercial development had swept them far beyond the limits of the medieval world, and had made them the envy of the relatively poor and stagnant Scots. But if the volume was small, the importance of overseas trade in the everyday work and pleasure of the Scots was not. And there were signs, even in the 17th century, of change: much of which we shall speak here indicates the passing of an old, conservative, and semi-medieval life, and the fitful appearance of something more dynamic, more modern, and more industrial in the economy.

Our sources for the study of the trade of East Lothian are the county Customs Books, preserved in the archives of Register House, Edinburgh<sup>1</sup>. They have several drawbacks; firstly they are a very incomplete series; secondly, they seldom register ships sailing in ballast, and perhaps not often those exporting fish alone (a duty-free commodity); thirdly, their registration of cargo, thanks to the ingenuity and violence of local smugglers, was often extremely haphazard. Nevertheless, a historian using them with caution can discover in them a mine of valuable and interesting information.

*Prestonpans and Dunbar in the 1680's*

East Lothian was divided by the customs officials into two administra-

## TRADE OF EAST LOTHIAN AT END OF 17th CENTURY

tive areas: Prestonpans, which included all the ports between Fisherrow and Aberlady, and Dunbar which included all the ports between North Berwick and the Berwickshire border. Sometimes their books were kept separately: sometimes they were amalgamated for office convenience. It is only in the early 1680's that the totals of ships arriving into the two areas can be directly compared: then, an average of 58 boats a year entered the Prestonpans area, and 16 entered Dunbar—a proportion of 3 to 1. Departures averaged 73 a year from Prestonpans, and 17 from Dunbar — although the latter probably excludes a number which carried nothing but fish. These figures illustrate a fact of great significance in the economic history of East Lothian — the decline of the eastern half of the county, which had been famous for its trade in fish since the Middle Ages, and the rise of the western ports, where coal mines and salt pans pointed forward to the industrial development of modern times.

In the east, the decline of Dunbar first became evident at the end of the 16th century, Fynes Morison in 1598 speaking of it as recently decayed. In the first half of the 17th century, there may have been some improvement, as the Convention of Royal Burghs doubled its tax contribution between 1612 and 1649: nevertheless, another English traveller, Sir William Brereton, was very uncomplimentary about the state of its harbour in 1633. In the next fifty years, it lost any gain it had made previously: by 1692, it was paying less tax than it had done in 1612, in 1656, the Cromwellian Tucker called it a mere village, and finally Kirk, in 1677, summed it up tersely: "it is but little: has been famous for herring fishery"<sup>2</sup>. Though it remained one of the four towns best known in Scotland for landing and packing herring, the other centres — Crail and Anstruther in Fife, and Greenock on the Clyde — were evidently a good deal more prosperous. There is certainly little evidence in the customs books of a very vital commercial life to belie the scorn of these English travellers.

On the other hand, in the west, that characteristic complex of industrialization that meets (or offends) the eye of the modern motorist travelling along the coast road from Edinburgh — Morison's Haven, Prestonpans, Cockenzie, Port Seton — had arisen to some prosperity as early as 1650: "a small, or rather three or four small towns joining together", part of the region is aptly described by Tucker. It grew with the coal-mining and salt boiling industry

## TRADE OF EAST LOTHIAN AT END OF 17th CENTURY

of 17th century Scotland: Fynes Morison hardly mentioned it; Brereton 35 years later left a detailed description of the "infinite innumerable number of salt works here erected upon this shore"<sup>3</sup>. Local landowners on whose property the coal was found had from the start played a large part in this development — the Earls of Winton, the Johnstons of Elphinston, and the Prestons of Whitehill and Prestonpans<sup>4</sup>. After the Civil War, it was given further large stimulus by that interesting character, George, Fourth Earl of Winton, who held the title from 1650 to 1704 and was fulsomely described as "the greatest coal and salt-master in Scotland, who is a nobleman, and the greatest nobleman in Scotland who is a coal and salt-master; nay absolutelie the best for skill in both of all men in the nation"<sup>5</sup>. It was he who, with the help of a famous immigrant German engineer, Peter Bruce, built Port Seton to take vessels of up to 300 tons: in 1703, this harbour with its "hudge Pier of Stone" was admired as "one of the chiefest Ports, in all the Firth, for Coal and Salt"<sup>6</sup>.

A rough calculation and comparison with other customs books for the years 1680 and 1686 suggests that Prestonpans received something like 10% of all the shipping trading to Scotland from England and the Continent, and Dunbar about 2½%. One can safely surmise that Prestonpan's share either a century before or a century later, would have been incomparably smaller. If it was a period of atrophy for Dunbar, for these western ports it was a relative golden age.

### *The Foreign Markets of East Lothian.*

The table below sets out an analysis of 597 ships arriving, and 559 ships departing loaded at East Lothian harbours between 1680 and 1705<sup>7</sup>.

Percentage of ships	Arrivals	Departures
trading with:		
England	18½	34½
Holland	32	30
France	3	8
Hamburg & Bremen	1	2
The Baltic	5	6
Norway	40	4
Spain	½	1
Icelandic fisheries	0	14½



## TRADE OF EAST LOTHIAN AT END OF 17th CENTURY

These figures, which show several interesting and perhaps unexpected features, are largely explained in the sections dealing with exports and imports. Probably many who are familiar with the East Lothian harbours of today, with their little fishing craft and restricted horizons, would be astonished by the wide commercial ventures of the past. The boats that undertook such voyages in the 17th century were very small: they ranged from English cod-fishers of about ten to thirty tons, to colliers from Germany and Holland of upto three hundred tons; the characteristic Scottish trading vessel of the day was a Dutch-built "bush" of thirty to eighty tons, and at least two thirds of the boats in these ports fell into this last category. Our ancestors certainly did not lack courage in facing the storms of the North Sea and the Bay of Biscay in craft of this size but they were also too wise to tempt fate too far, and generally restricted their winter voyages to fairly short trips down the coast to Newcastle and beyond. The summer was the real season for trade.

### *The Exports of East Lothian*

The main exports from the East Lothian ports were bulky, crude and generally coastal. From Dunbar went the fish harvested from the migrating shoals of herring that every year passed along the coast of Scotland from Bressay Sound in the Shetlands to St. Abbs Head, and beyond. From the western harbours went the salt boiled from brine, and the coal dug in pits relatively close to the shore. To these may be added a certain amount of corn, especially in years of unusual plenty, some eggs, stockings and sometimes a few ells of cloth. By and large, however, the business of producing goods for sale abroad was a matter for the towns and villages of the coastal strip: it was of little direct consequence to the interior.

The fish exported were mainly *herring*, caught by the local "drave-boats" with a crew of seven or eight out of four East Lothian harbours — Cockenzie, Aberlady, North Berwick and Dunbar itself. It was landed at Dunbar, some was sold at once to the local country people, for whom it was a staple diet while the harvest was being gathered, some was sent uncured to Newcastle-on-Tyne, and some was salted down and cured as "white" and "red" herring for export to the Continent<sup>8</sup>. The main foreign markets were Catholic Poland and France, with a little to Spain: the Presbyterian fisher-

## TRADE OF EAST LOTHIAN AT END OF 17th CENTURY

men had no scruples about taking advantage of the "Papist superstition" of eating fish on Friday, though their sale was badly hit by the French prohibition on foreign herring imposed in 1688. In the Baltic, some of the last boats to pass the Danish Sound every year were Dunbar skippers hurrying to sell a cargo in Danzig before the winter storms set in<sup>9</sup>. Herring were not the only produce of the sea to be sold abroad. *Lobsters* were exported to Norway occasionally, and to England regularly — usually to Newcastle, the Yorkshire coast, and ports as far south as Yarmouth and London. The English generally came themselves to fetch them — "Reported the *Kings Fisherman* from London, William Ritchison Master, who depones that bulk is not broken here yett, being to the best of his knowledge no goods abroad except provisions, the ship being to take in Lobsters and this is the truth," runs a characteristic entry in the Report Book of Prestonpans for 1691. Some *oysters* were also shipped: thus in 1686, 12,000 were taken on an English vessel bound for Riga in Latvia, and another consignment loaded on an English "Whiring boat" for Newcastle. A few tons of *kelp* were also occasionally loaded for England, an early example of a Scottish trade that was to be of great importance later.

Of the industrial exports of the western half of the county, raw *coal* was certainly the most important in terms of the shipping space involved: usually over half the boats entered in the customs books were colliers. Thus between November 1st, 1684 and November 1st, 1685, seventeen coal boats left for the Netherlands (nine of them to Zierikzee in Zeeland, five to Rotterdam, one to Veere where the Scots staple was, and two to unspecified ports), six to France (one boat each for Bordeaux, La Rochelle, Le Croisic, Le Havre, Rouen and Dieppe), three to London, one to Hamburg, and one to an unspecified destination. It is true that the *average* capacity of these boats was only thirty tons of coal apiece, and the total registered volume of exports came to less than 1,000 tons that year: on the other hand, in some years boats of ten times the capacity put in to Port Seton<sup>10</sup>, and there is no certainty that the officers entered the cargoes very exactly<sup>11</sup>. Nevertheless, it is probably fair to conclude that only a small proportion of the coal mined in East Lothian found its way overseas, and that most was either sent to Edinburgh to burn in the hearths of "auld reekie," or else burnt locally under the coastal brine pans to make salt.

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This *salt* was the other main industrial export of the county, and the only important article which can truly be said to have been manufactured. Before the Civil Wars, there had been a brisk sale to Holland and England, but after 1660 these two markets had both collapsed, leaving the manufacturers largely dependent on demand in slightly more distant areas: most of the vessels leaving Prestonpans for Germany or the Baltic carried salt as the mainstay of their cargo. Quite the most interesting salt trade, however, was with English cod-fishing boats that called into East Lothian on their way to the Icelandic grounds: these comprise the 14½% of all entries outward which figures at the bottom of our table. The boats were quite small, and their home ports ranged round the East Anglian coast from Kings Lynn to Aldeburgh, but particularly Wells-next-the-sea and Yarmouth. Presumably they used the salt just for preserving the catch on the homeward voyage, for the Scottish product had a poor reputation as a preservative for any length of time. At any rate they lend a touch of the exotic to the export books, with their destinations pleasingly described as "ye fisheing;" or "for Izland."

*Corn* was an export that featured only irregularly, although East Lothian was famous above every other county for its fertility, and regularly supplied Edinburgh with its annual surplus of wheat, barley and other grains. There were certain years, however, like 1679 and 1685, when the Lothians produced a glut while Continental countries had bad harvests: in these circumstances, there was a good price for the farmer willing to sell to the exporter, and a fair trade done. Thus in 1685, five boats left the eastern ports for Norway carrying grain, and others went to the Baltic, to Holland, to London and to France. In 1684 a boat even sailed with wheat to Portugal. There exists one letter, dated at North Berwick on March 27, 1684 from one Robert Sandelands to Andrew Russell, a Scottish factor at Rotterdam, consigning to him via "Robert Potter maister of the bark called the Alisone of Levin . . . Thrie hondreth and foure bolls good and sufficient Barlie bere for accompt of Mr James Grahame merchant of Edinburgh" — which proves that the initiative in East Lothian commerce did not always come from local merchants<sup>12</sup>.

Other exports were altogether less significant. *Eggs* for London witnessed to a trade on which profits must have been small after a rough passage.

## TRADE OF EAST LoTHIAN AT END OF 17th CENTURY

*Tallow* for Holland was easier to handle — so were *skins* (wool-skins, lamb-skins, hair-skins — even dog-skins), and a little *leather*, linen and woollen *cloth*, and a few dozen pairs of *stockings* and *gloves*. Except for the eggs, none of these exports were more than casual from East Lothian.

### *The Imports of East Lothian*

Broadly speaking, the imports of the county fell into two classes — bulky raw materials of the industries of the coast and the agriculture of the hinterland, and consumer goods and foodstuffs for the whole county. The import trade was therefore significant to more people in East Lothian than the export trade: thus many and probably most village taverns stocked wine, and most great houses baked currant puddings in the kitchens, but not every village or estate produced something to sell overseas. A great many of the light-weight imports must have come into the county by road from Edinburgh, which was an important distributive centre for Dutch, English and French wares — there was a tolerable cart road from the capital at least as far as Haddington, and many lesser ways on which a packhorse could travel with safety. Such imports cannot be assessed by the customs books, and fall outside the scope of this paper.

*Timber* was certainly the most important commodity in terms of volume to be directly imported into the country: 40% of the arrivals in our table were from Norway, whence the wood-fleet sailed in spring (either directly from Prestonpans in ballast, or after delivering coals in Holland). It arrived home in June and July, and for weeks the books contain little but cargoes of deals, single-trees, double-trees, barrell-scowes, laths and other timber products purchased in the little fjord ports of western and southern Norway and some at Danzig. The county itself was largely denuded of useful wood, which was still widely needed for a multitude of essential purposes — the coal miners of the west needed baulks to shore up their workings, the farmers of the hinterland for making carts and many of their implements, the building trade for a host of construction jobs and the fish-packers of Dunbar for making the barrells in which salted herring was exported. If the skipper had room in the hold after the main cargo, it was often filled with a few "fathoms of burnwood" — not for the salt pans, which were now fired by coal<sup>13</sup>, but for the householder who preferred a pleasanter alternative to dirty fuel.

## TRADE OF EAST LOTHIAN AT END OF 17th CENTURY

*Bar-iron* was another important raw material for which East Lothian looked to Scandinavia. Two or three boats a year from Sweden (Stockholm, Gothenburg or Norrköpping) could import what was necessary to repair the salt-pans and provide for a miscellany of agricultural and industrial uses. Quantities were small, but there were few imports less dispensible to the economy of the county, and of the coast in particular. Again there is evidence from a chance letter of the part played by Edinburgh men in local commerce: on 16 January 1686, Alexander Baird and Robert Turnbull wrote from Edinburgh to a partner in Holland with whom they had imported iron from Sweden: "That small parcell iron come to Dunbar is sold to Provest Sleight in Haddington at 26s a stone at six months [credit] — but will be 12 months before it be payd. He is to receive it at Dunbar." Such long credits were normal: "there is no cuir for it: we can sell non for redey money we most allways reckon 12 months befor money cum in after sale though we do not for ordinary allow 6 months"<sup>14</sup>.

*Flax* and *hemp* also came from the Baltic — from Danzig — and was used as the raw material of the domestic linen industry, and for making ropes for the Dunbar fishery. One or two ships a year sailed regularly to obtain the necessary supplies. *Pitch* and *tar* came in small quantities from Scandinavia, mainly for use of boat-menders at Dunbar. From Holland and England came those southern *luxury foodstuffs* for which Scotland was increasingly acquiring a taste — currants, raisins, figs and prunes; oranges and lemons; sugar loaf and sugar candy. Few ships came loaded to the waterline with them, but many brought a few hundred pounds in otherwise empty holds when they arrived for Lothian coal, and thus made an entry as "loaded ships" in the customs books. A small proportion of these goods was obtained in France and Spain, but most came as re-exports from Rotterdam or London. The English also sent *hops* for brewing, very often from Newcastle, and every autumn Dutch boats from Zierikzee came into Prestonpans with their holds full of *apples* and *onions* from the Zealand harvest. Normally goods carried on foreign ships paid double customs duty, as a form of flag discrimination in favour of Scottish ship owners: in 1702, however, the customs officials asked for permission to waive this rule for "two ships from holland bound for Berwick and Driven in by storm of weather . . . willing to sell the cargo being onions to Scotsmen provideing the

## TRADE OF EAST LOTHIAN AT END OF 17th CENTURY

same be entered for single duty." Their superiors replied, "wee doe suspect that there may be some Trick in the matter, and therefore desires you to expixat the same to the bottom. But rather than part with them, If you find their Designs be honest, we allow you to enter them at Single Duty"<sup>15</sup>. *Madder* and other dyestuffs also came from Holland, often in these boats from Zierikzee.

Most of the import of *wine* into the county was no doubt done through the Edinburgh wholesalers who imported bulk cargoes to Leith. Nevertheless there was some direct import from overseas, and not always from France. Thus in 1705, when Scotland was at war with Louis XIV, two ships came from Bergen in Norway with brandy, claret and "cherrie sack" among their deals and timber baulks<sup>16</sup>. A few bottles of Rhenish wine sometimes came on boats from Holland, and the occasional barrell of beer — "mumbeer" — from Germany. Some American *tobacco* was imported through English distributors.

Most of the remaining articles of import were manufactures, normally originating in either Holland or England. Some of these were plain necessities — *soap, bricks, glass, paper, rope* — prosaic goods that were hard to do without, and harder still to obtain so cheaply and so well made from local Scottish manufacturers. The same was true of the metal goods, classed by the customs officers as *wrought copper and brass, wrought iron and steel*, but covering a multitude of objects from Swedish copper kettles to Danzig "flowers of brass," iron cooking-pots from Rotterdam and fine tool steel from Newcastle. Other items were definitely luxury goods, like English *hats*, and English *gloves*, and Dutch *silk* and *whalebone*, useful for supporting the collars and crinolines of fashionable ladies, as well as Delft and Russia *leather* (the last from Danzig) which had yet to be made up into fine wares. A good idea of the miscellany of the London trade can be obtained from the Bye-books, in which noblemen's private imports were entered. Some of them are vivid — "In the Ship called the Ann of Prestonpans, William Melville Master, from London . . . for the use of the Earle of Levin: an collace with furniture value three hundr po: Scotts, a box with a hat wch my Lord wore at London, a box with nyn pounds Jaculat value 27 po: Scotts, two lanthorns, six pound Cannary seed for birds, two barrells apples, a box

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with twentie pound wax candles, a Bundle of trees''<sup>17</sup>. The cargo thus makes an interesting little vignette of social history, at least if you can judge a household by its purchases.

### *The Smugglers of Prestonpans*

As a postscript to this brief sketch of East Lothian trade as it is recorded in the customs books, it is worth saying something about that side of commerce that was not so recorded. Apart from its intrinsic interest, it may act as a warning against taking the official entries as the complete story.

East Lothian, and especially Prestonpans, had something of an evil reputation for smuggling. Thomas Tucker, when he was considering ways of tightening the Scottish administration for Cromwell's government, had bitter complaints of the free traders in both halves of the county, and of Prestonpans he remarked that the inhabitants had "a very opportune place for the carreying out and bringing in of goods unto or from any shippe that shal be lying in the roade, if not looked after"<sup>18</sup>. This was in 1656. Thirty years later, that aimiable autobiographer Mr James Nimmo was made customs officer at Prestonpans: at first he preferred to swim with the tide, conniving at certain illegal practices of the merchants, and presenting them with blank entries which they could fill up at their own convenience and discretion, until one day he was nearly caught out by his superior, the intinerant surveyor of Leith. However, being warned in advance by friends of his impending arrival, Mr Nimmo was able to climb into the office through the window, and alter the books before the surveyor came through the door: as he remarks, with touching piety — "the Lord wonderfully and marcifully guided me in this hurrie of surprise, praise, praise to him." Though obviously an easy going officer, he wrote sadly of his failure to become an elder of the kirk owing to the animosity of the local inhabitants — "we were taken as enemies to the most part of the paroch and they for the most pairt traders and maney of them indeavouring to run thr. goods privatlie ashoar wt. out entring and payeing the King's Customes"<sup>19</sup>

In 1699, this animosity came to a head, in a famous riot reported in detail to the Privy Council. Two customs-waiters, Messrs William Forrest and Robert Hunter, were sent from Leith to search for "several anchors of Sack and Brandy and Matts of Tobacco" on which they had information as

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smuggled into Prestonpans. They found them, right enough, "hid in ane obscure place within the dwelling house of Robert Mitchell, skipper", and carried them off to the customs house: their triumph, however, was short-lived, for on their return "they were attacked by a great multitude of men and women to the number of two hundred who fell desperately upon these waiters, and did Beat, Bruise and Bleed them to an admirable hight and Robbed them of ffourteen pound Scots money and Took their papers, and wold actually have murdered them, had not the Collector and some others come up to divert them, and one of the waiters who came back with many wounds upon him is still under the Chirurgeon's hands"<sup>20</sup>.

It is sometimes suggested that smuggling was a past-time the Scots took up after the Union of 1707, as a kind of patriotic protest at the administration of the Southron. Three good Scots, Mr Nimmo, Mr Forrest and Mr Hunter, would have expressed themselves forcibly about that perverted view of history.

T. C. SMOUT.

1. Scottish Record Office, Exchequer. Customs books for East Lothian ports are not numerous until after the Restoration, and from 1707 to 1755 the series is broken again. A similar study to this could be made for any period after the latter date.
2. P. Hume Brown (ed.) *Early Travellers in Scotland* (1891) pp. 81, 135, 165. *Tours in Scotland, 1677 and 1681* (1892), p. 9. *Records of the Convention of the Royal Burghs of Scotland* (Edited J. D. Marwick), 1597-1614 p. 567. 1615-1676 p. 332. 1677-1771, p. 161.
3. P. Hume Brown, *Early Travellers*, pp. 82, 136, 166.
4. J. U. Nef, *The Rise of the British Coal Industry*, (1932), Vol. II, p. 6.
5. G. Seton, *A History of the Family of Seton* (1896), Vol. I, pp. 234, 238-9.
6. *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, 3rd series, Vol. VI, p. 383 ff.
7. As well as in the customs books, details are found in Scottish Record Office: Exchequer, Mint, Bullion Books of Prestonpans, and Edinburgh University Library, Laing MSS II, 491, Bullion Book of Prestonpans.
8. National Library of Scotland: MS 33.5.16. Sir Robert Sibbald's "Discourse anent the Improvements may be made in Scotland for advancing the Wealth of the Kingdom" (1698) p. 87.
9. Rigsarkivet, Copenhagen: Oresundstoldregnskaberne. A printed analysis of these remarkable customs records, which contain information of value for Scottish local history, was edited by N. Bang and K. Korst, *Tabeller over Skibsfart og Varetransport gennem Oresund* (Copenhagen, 1909 et seq.). A copy of this is available in the National Library and is more easily understood than many might believe.
10. *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, 3rd series, Vol. VI, p. 385.
11. A certain scepticism is justified: as we shall see below, the officers at Prestonpans were a pusillanimous lot in the 1680's, and the Earl of Winton, who had just built the harbour at Port Seton, was not a character who would lightly have brooked bureau-



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cratic interference. He was in a position of great local power, and a member of Privy Council.

12. Scottish Record Office: Papers of Andrew Russell, uncatalogued.
13. Originally, they had apparently been fired by wood, as the coal used for the purpose in the 17th century was invariably known as "pan-wood."
14. Scottish Record Office: Papers of Andrew Russell, box 259/2.
15. University Library of Edinburgh: Laing MSS, II, 490/2 Prestonpans.
16. Laing MSS, II, 491, Prestonpans bullion book, 1705.
17. Laing MSS, II, 491, Prestonpans bye book, 1692.
18. P. Hume Brown, *Early Travellers*, p. 166.
19. *The Narrative of Mr James Nimmo, 1654-1709*, edited by G. Scott-Moncrief, Scottish History Society 1889, pp. 96, 97.
20. Scottish Record Office, Acta of the Privy Council, July 1699 to May 1703, p. 7.

## RECORDS OF LORD BELHAVEN'S SERVANTS' WAGES AT BIEL FROM 1753-1766

The Society is greatly indebted to Sir David Ogilvy, Bart., of Winton Castle, Pencaitland, for making available for study and publication the documents to which this article refers.

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The documents dealt with in this article are:—

- (1) A receipt book of the 4th Lord Belhaven.
- (2) A statement of "Servants Wages etc. Commencing at Martinmas, 1764."
- (3) A statement of wages paid to servants in 1765 and 1766 by the 5th Lord Belhaven.

### (1) THE RECEIPT BOOK

This is a tidy, well-made volume, six inches by four and half an inch thick. Its 76 leaves of off-white, thickish paper with a slightly rough surface are unlined and it is bound in stiff cardboard covers over which white vellum has been stretched and glued. A flap, complete with 21 inches of tape to keep the book tightly closed is hinged at the edge of the back cover. The inside of the flap is lined and a small pocket is contained within both the back and front covers.

The first leaf (regarded as a fly leaf) is unused not even having the name of the owner, though the several handwritings of the discharges suggest that it was the property of successive stewards who paid the wages. After the fly leaf the pages are numbered from 1 to 60. The next three pages are used but not numbered and the remainder of the book, 43 leaves, is unnumbered and unused. Pages 19 to 23 constitute a gap: they are numbered but contain no entries.

Altogether there are 67 entries covering the period from 4th September 1753 to 20th November 1762 but they are not evenly disposed among the ten years of which the book provides a record. For 1753 there are only three

## LORD BELHAVEN'S SERVANTS' WAGES FROM 1753 TO 1766

entries and for 1762 only one. The best year is 1757 for which there are 15 entries.

These receipts demonstrate very fully the low wages that were current in the middle of the eighteenth century. They also show how irregularly they were paid and how frequently they were six months or a year in arrears even at the date of payment. Probably this explains the rapid turn over of household servants at Biel. Of all those whose names appear in these records only Peter Falconer, the coachman, remained in Lord Belhaven's service at Biel from 1753 to 1766 when the record ends, and during all that time his wages were not increased until Martinmas 1764 when they were raised from £5 per year to £7 - 10. In addition, when Falconer's name first appears in the record (page 2), he had not been paid for two years and even then remained a year in arrears. Not for other four years did he catch up. Several others were in similar case though less markedly so.

The usual period of engagement was a year beginning at either Whitsunday or Martinmas. Wages were paid normally at Martinmas in the month of November during which in this discharge book there are records of 39 payments. In May 10 payments were made and the remaining 18 are scattered about all the other months of the year except October. A few of the payments made at unusual times suggest that the recipients had chosen to leave or been dismissed before the end of the term, but most of them seem to argue that the servants could hold out no longer and demanded their wages. It is possible, of course, that some of them regarded their employer as a banker with whom their money was safe until they required it. The present record does not prove the case either way.

The form of words used in the discharges is almost identical in all 67 entries. Three typical examples are given in full and thereafter the entries are stated in tabulated form.

### *Typical Entries*

Biel 24th November 1753

Received from the Right Honourable the Lord Belhaven the sum of four pound sterling as a years wages from Martinmass Seventeen hundred and Fifty one to Martinmass Seventeen hundred and Fifty two years, as also Twenty shillings sterling for shoes and stockings dureing said space and discharges the same

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Petter P F Falconers Mark

Biell 16th November 1756

Received from the Right Honourable my Lord Belhaven the sum of one pound sterling as part of wages to pay my man Daniel Haggart for working under me in his Lordships kitchen from Whitsunday seventeen hundred and fifty six to Martinmass Do. being one half year.

£1 - 0 - 0

(Signed) Thomas Patterson.

Biell 6th June 1758

Received from the Right Honourable the Lord Belhaven the sum of two pound sterling as half a years wages from Martinmass last to Whitsunday last seventeen hundred and fifty eight years as also seven shillings and sixpence for shoes and stockings and washing during said time and five shillings and threepence for boots spurs and wheep for said half year and his Lordship is hereby discharged of the same and all demands preceding this date.

£2 - 12 - 9

(Signed) James Halliday.

# LORD BELHAVEN'S SERVANTS' WAGES FROM 1753 TO 1766

In the following table "Page No." refers to the pages of the original receipt book. In the column stating the period for which wages were paid, "W" represents Whitsunday and "M" Martinmas. In the "Total" column no entry is made except where a total is stated in the text of the discharge

Page No.	Date	Place of payment	Period for which payment is made
1	4 Sept. 1753	Edinburgh	M. 1752 — M. 1753
2	24 Nov. 1753	Biell	M. 1751 — M. 1752
3	24 Nov. 1753	Biell	W. 1752 — W. 1753
4	21 Feb. 1754	Edinburgh	W. 1753 — M. 1753
5	31 May 1754	Edinburgh	M. 1753 — W. 1754
5	17 Aug. 1754	Biell	W. 1752 — W. 1754
6	23 Nov. 1754	Biell	W. 1752 — M. 1754
6	27 Nov. 1754	Biell	M. 1753 — M. 1754
7	27 Nov. 1754	Biell	W. 1754 — "this date"
7	28 Nov. 1754	Biell	W. 1753 — "this date"
8	9 Dec. 1754	Biell	M. 1752 — W. 1754
9	20 Dec. 1754	Edinburgh	W. 1753 — M. 1754
10	31 May 1755	Beell	M. 1754 — W. 1755
11	7 June 1755	Biell	M. 1754 — W. 1755
11	25 June 1755	Woolmet	M. 1754 — W. 1755
12	20 Nov. 1755	Beell	M. 1754 — M. 1755
13	25 Nov. 1755	Beell	M. 1754 — M. 1755
14	25 Nov. 1755	Beell	M. 1754 — M. 1755
15	25 Nov. 1755	Beell	W. 1754 — W. 1755
16	27 Nov. 1755	Beell	M. 1754 — M. 1755
17	16 Nov. 1756	Biell	W. 1755 — M. 1756
18	16 Nov. 1761	Edinburgh	"full and compleat payment"
24	16 Nov. 1756	Beell	M. 1754 — M. 1756
25	16 Nov. 1756	Beell	W. 1756 — M. 1756
26	18 Nov. 1756	Beell	M. 1755 — M. 1756
27	23 Nov. 1756	Beell	for 10 mths. to M. 1756
27	23 Nov. 1756	Beell	M. 1755 — W. 1756
28	23 Nov. 1756	Beell	W. 1755 — W. 1756
29	23 Nov. 1756	Beell	M. 1754 — W. 1756
30	23 Nov. 1756	Beell	W. 1755 — W. 1756
31	2 Aprile 1757	Edinburgh	M. 1756 — "this date"
31	21 May 1757	Beell	W. 1756 — M. 1756
32	25 May 1757	Edinburgh	"for 3 mths, preceding this date."

# LORD BELHAVEN'S SERVANTS' WAGES FROM 1753 TO 1766

or is stated at the end. Similarly, the post held is not stated unless it is stated in the discharge. In the signature column, the letter "M" is added in brackets where the servant made only his mark.

Amount of wages	Extras	Total	Signature	Post held
£5			Charles Callam	
£4	20/- for shoes, stockings		Petter Falconer (M)	
£4	15/- shoes, stockings		Patrick Veith	
£3			William Brodie	
£3			William Brodie	
£4			Alexander Hay (M)	Cook's man
£7 - 10	including shoes, stockings		George Darling	
£4	15/- shoes, stockings		Alexander Callender	
£3	20/- for "my man"		Robert Webster	
£6	22/6 shoes, stockings		Patrick Veith	
£6	30/- shoes, stockings		Petter Falconer (M)	
£6	22/6 shoes, stockings, washing		John Hume	
£1 - 5			Jean Williamson	
£1	5/- shoes, apron		Jean Lyall	
£3			Elizabeth Murray	
£4	15/- shoes, stockings		Alexander Smith	
	5/3 boots "from W. to M. being at the rate of 10/6 per year."			
£6	£2 "my man"	£10	John Gordon	
	£2 "my kitchen stuff"			
£4	15/- stockings, shoes		William Johnson	
	10/6 boots			
£4	20/- stockings, shoes		Petter Falconer (M)	
£4	15/- stockings, shoes	£5-5-6	John White	
	10/6 boots			
£9		£9	Mary Lindsay	
of all my wages and board wages"			John Edwards	
£7	£1 - 1 boots	£8-1	Petter Jameson	
£1	"to pay my man"	£1	Thomas Patterson	
£4	15/- stockings, shoes	£5-5-6	William Johnson	
	10/6 boots, spurs			
£4-7-11	including stockings, shoes, boots	£4-7-11	William Culieson	
£1	5/- aprons, shoes	£1-5	Eurhan Dick	
£4	£1 stockings, shoes	£5	Petter Falconer (M)	
£3	15/- shoes, aprons	£3-15	Ann Cra(i)g	
£2	10/- shoes, aprons	£2-10	Babey Bath(g)ate	
£2 - 4	including stockings, shoes boots	£2-4	John Minto	
£2	10/- stockings, shoes	£2-10	Petter Falconer (M)	
17/6	including shoes, stockings, boots	£0-17-6	Thomas Steel	

# LORD BELHAVEN'S SERVANTS' WAGES FROM 1753 TO 1766

Page No.	Date		Place of payment	Period for which payment is made
32	26 May	1757	Edinburgh	W. 1756 — M. 1756
33	26 May	1757	Edinburgh	M. 1755 — W. 1757
34	18 Nov.	1757	Beell	One year
35	12 Nov.	1757	Edinburgh	W. 1757 — M. 1757
36	18 Nov.	1757	Beell	"One year preceding this date."
37	19 Nov.	1757	Beell	W. 1756 — W. 1757
38	23 Nov.	1757	Biell	M. 1756 — W. 1757
39	23 Nov.	1757	Biell	W. 1756 — W. 1757
40	23 Nov.	1757	Biell	W. 1756 — W. 1757
41	23 Nov.	1757	Biell	W. 1757 — "this date"
42	26 Nov.	1757	Biell	M. 1756 — M. 1757
43	8 Dec.	1757	Edinburgh	W. 1757 — M. 1757
44	18 May	1758	Biell	W. 1757 — W. 1758
45	19 May	1758	Biell	M. 1757 — W. 1758
46	23 May	1758	Biell	W. 1757 — W. 1758
47	26 May	1758	Beell	W. 1757 — M. 1757
48	6 June	1758	Biell	M. 1757 — W. 1758
49	12 July	1758	Biell	8 mths. from M. 1757 to this date
50	17 July	1758	Biell	8 mths. from M. 1757 to this date
51	15 Nov.	1758	Beell	M. 1757 — M. 1758
51	15 Nov.	1758	Beell	March 1758—M. 1758
52	20 Nov.	1758	Beell	W. 1758 — M. 1758
53	22 Nov.	1758	Beell	M. 1757 — M. 1758
54	22 Nov.	1758	Beell	W. 1757 — W. 1758
55	31 Mar.	1759	Biell	M. 1758 — W. 1759
56	23 Nov.	1759	Biell	M. 1758 — M. 1759
57	23 Nov.	1759	Biell	M. 1758 — M. 1759
58	25 Nov.	1759	Beell	W. 1758 — W. 1759
59	5 Dec.	1759	Edinburgh	M. 1758 — M. 1759
60	8 January	1760	Edinburgh	W. 1758 — W. 1759
61	20 Feb.	1760	Edinburgh	W. 1759 — M. 1759
62	7 Mar.	1761	Beel	M. 1758 — W. 1760
62	7 Mar.	1761	Beel	2 years preceding W. 1760
63	20 Nov.	1762	Edinburgh	"full and compleat payment of my wages and all other demands preceeding this date."

# LORD BELHAVEN'S SERVANTS' WAGES FROM 1753 TO 1766

Amount of wages	Extras	Total	Signature	Post held
£4	"together with one pound sterling got formerly which makes full and compleat payment for wages, kitchen stuff etc."	£4	Thomas Patterson	
£6	£1 - 18 - 3 stockings shoes, boots	£7-18-3	James Archibald	
£10	"being wages for my self and man and kitchen stuff."		Thomas Patterson	
£2	7/6 stockings, shoes		Dan Grierson	
£4	5/3 boots, spurs, wheep		Hugh Riddell	
£2	15/- stockings shoes		Eurhan Dick	
£2	10/6 boots, spurs, wheep		Mary Leubon	House Keeper
£2	10/- shoes, apron		Baby Bathgate	Dayrie Maid
£5			Ann Craig	
£2	10/- apron shoes	£2-12-9	John Mcfarland	
£2	7/6 shoes, stockings		Petter Falconer (M)	
£4	5/3 boots, spurs, wheep		Eurhan Di(c)k	
£1	£1 shoes, stockings		Ann Cra(i)g	Dayrie Maid
£2	5/- shoes, apron		James Hay	
£2	7/6 shoes, stockings, washing	£2-12-9		
£10	5/3 boots, spurs, wheep		Mary Leubon	
35/-	"including my allowance for stockings, boots, etc."		Thomas Steel	
£2	7/6 shoes, stockings, washing	£2-12-9	James Halliday	
	5/3 boots, spurs, wheep		John May	
£3-10	including stockings, shoes, boots, spurs		Thomas Steel	
£2 - 7	including shoes, stockings, boots, spurs		Patrick Wright	
£10	"wages for my self and man and kitchen stuff"		Vaillet King	Lanry Maid
£1 - 8			Jean Thomson	
£3			Petter Falconer (M)	Coachman
£4	£1 shoes, stockings		Babey Bathgate	Chambermaid
£2	10/- shoes, appron		John Carruthers	
£5			Adam Dickson	Gardiner Lad
£2			Petter Falconer (M)	Coachman
£4	£1 shoes, stockings		Charles Callam	
£10			James Hill	
£10	"for my self and man"		David Christie	
£5-5-6	"including boots, shoes, stockings and all other demands"		Charles Callam	
£5			John White	
	"full and compleat payment of 14 years wages"		John Dewar	
	"full and compleat payment of 2 years wages"		Alexander Gordon	



# LORD BELHAVEN'S SERVANTS' WAGES FROM 1753 TO 1766

## (2) "SERVANTS WAGES ETC., COMMENCING AT MARTINMAS 1764"

This statement, a record of the bargains made with the household servants at Biel, is contained in a home made booklet (8½ ins. by 6 ins.) of eight leaves ruled in red ink for headings, dates, entries and L.S.D. There are no horizontal lines. The cover is a piece of poor quality brown paper (17 ins. by 12½ ins.) folded to give a double thickness. Leaves and cover have been stitched together with black thread.

The first page contains a record, in carefully formed copperplate, of "Lord Belhavens Servants Wages commencing at Martinmas 1764 — per year."

		£	S.	D.
1764	John Hume Grieve	20		
	James Murray Gardiner	20		
Nov. 19	John Wilson Gardiners man	2	10	
20	Andrew Forrest Gardiners man	2	10	
	David Christie Butler	12		
	Petter St Clair his Lordships boy	5		
20	Thomas Manderson Groom for wages boots			
	britches shoes stockings and washing	9		
	Petter Falconer Coachman for Ditto	7	10	
	James Yorkston a boy for Ditto	2		
Nov. 6	Jane Miller House keeper	10		
21	Nannie Butchard Cook	6		
21	Janet Hastie Cooks maid	2		
	Janet Waugh Chambermaid	3		
	Margaret Gillie Lawndress	3		
21	Margaret Robertson Milch maid	3		
		<hr/>		
		£107	10	
		<hr/>		

Page 2 of the booklet is blank.

Page 3 records that on Nov. 25th 1765 "James Watson came to Beell this day at the rate of seven shillings a week as an overseer of the day labourers."

Listed below this statement are eleven payments of 7/- between

## LORD BELHAVEN'S SERVANTS' WAGES FROM 1753 TO 1766

November 30 1765 and 29 Aprile 1766. On 1st Feb. 1766 Watson was paid for "six weeks wanting one day" (£2 - 0 - 10); on 15th March for two weeks (14/-) and on 19th Aprile for three weeks (£1 - 1).

Page 4 lists three payments of 7/- during May 1766.

The rest of the book is unused.

The handwriting on pages 3 and 4 is poor by comparison with that on page 1. There is no indication by whom the book was kept. Since the fourth Lord Belhaven died on 28th August 1764, the first page was probably written for the information of his brother, James, who succeeded to the title as the fifth Lord Belhaven.

Record of the actual payment of the above wages exists only for the period W.1765 to M.1765 but in "An Accompt for the Family Expençe at Beell for One year or thereby According to the Begining of the Consumpt or payment of the Accounts from 17th November 1764 to the 11th Nov<sup>r</sup> 1765 Inclusive" there is an item "To House Servants Wages paid from Mart. 1764 to Do. 1765 — £69 - 10." A further item in the same "Accompt" allows £24 "for cloaths to 4 Livery servants at £6 each" but even the two together do not arrive at the previous figure of £107 - 10.

### (3) A STATEMENT OF WAGES PAID TO SERVANTS BY LORD BELHAVEN AT MARTINMAS 1765 AND AT WHITSUNDAY 1766

This double foolscap sheet (of which only pages 1 and 2 are used) provides a record of the actual payments from Whitsunday 1765 to Martinmas 1765. It will be observed that the grieve and the gardeners are omitted, that Janet Moffat has replaced Janet Waugh as chambermaid, that there is no mention of Nannie Butchard, the cook, and that the boy Yorkston has become the postillion who is paid 10/- a year more than he bargained for in "Servants Wages Etc." above.

"Wages Paid by My Lord Belhaven to his household Servants from Whitsunday 1765 to Martinmass 1765 half a year to Each per their Conjunct Discharges as below

	£.	S.	D.
To Mrs Miller House Keeper — half a year	5		
To Margaret Gellie Lawndress — Do.	1	10	
To Janet Moffat Chamber Maid — Do.	1	10	
To Margaret Robertson Milck Maid — Do.	1	10	

# LORD BELHAVEN'S SERVANTS' WAGES FROM 1753 TO 1766

To Janet Hastie Kitchen Maid — Do.	1	
To David Christy Butler — Do.	6	
To Petter Sinclair footman — Do.	2	10
To Thomas Manderson Groom — Do.	4	10
To Petter Falconer Coachman	3	15
To James Yorkston Postillion	1	5
	<hr/>	
	28	10

Att Beell 11th day of November 1765 We under Subscribers do hereby Acknowledge to have Received from the Right Honourable the Lord Belhaven Each of us our proportion of the above sum of twenty eight pound ten shillings sterling in full of our half years wages from Whitsunday last to this term of Martinmass 1765 and do hereby Discharge his Lordship of the same being in full of All demands witness our Subscription day and date as above.

Peter Sinclair	Jane Miller
Petter Falconer (M)	Thomas Manderson
Margaret Gellie (M)	James Yorston
Margaret Robertson (M)	Janet Hasty
	Janet Moffat (M)

An Accompt and Discharge of half a years wages paid by The Right Honourable Lord Belhaven to each of his Servants after named from Martinmas 1765 to Whitsunday 1766 conform to their Conjunct Discharge as under

	£.	S.	D.
To Mrs Miller Housekeeper — half a year for said period	5		
To Margaret Gellie Lawndress — Do.	1	10	
To Janet Moffat Chambermaid — Do.	1	10	
To Sarah Gellie Milkmaid — Do.	1	10	
To Janet Heastie Kitchenmaid — Do.	1		
To David Christie Butler — Do.	6		
To Peter Sinclair footman — Do.	3		
To Thomas Manderson Groom — Do.	4	10	
To Peter Falconer Coachman — Do.	3	15	
To James Yorkston Postillion — Do.	1	10	
	<hr/>		
	29	5	

## LORD BELHAVEN'S SERVANTS' WAGES FROM 1753 TO 1766

At Beel the 17th day of May 1766 We the Subscribers do hereby acknowledge to have received from the Right Honourable Lord Belhaven the several sums of money annext to our names in the above accompt amounting to Twenty Nine pound five shillings and that in full of half a years wages due to each of us from Martinmas seventeen hundred and sixty five to Whitsunday seventeen hundred and sixty six and therefor each for their own part hereby discharge Lord Belhaven of the said half years wages and all other demands preceeding this date.

Janet Heste  
Sara Gelle  
Margaret Gellie (M)  
Janet Moffat (M)

Jane Miller  
David Christie  
Thomas Manderson.  
James Yorston  
Peter Falconer (M)  
Peter Sinclair.

GEORGE MURRAY.

## SCHOOLS IN THE PRESBYTERY OF HADDINGTON IN THE 17th CENTURY

I — ABERLADY; BOLTON; GLADSMUIR; PENCAITLAND;  
PRESTONPANS; SALTON; TRANENT.

The main sources of information about schools in Scotland after the Reformation are the church records, both national and local — the records of general assemblies, synods, presbyteries and kirk sessions. The reasons for this are not hard to find. It was not by chance that the first policy statement of the reformers — the Book of Discipline of 1560 — laid such emphasis on education and entered into such detail in its proposals about the structure and organisation of schools and universities<sup>1</sup>; for the reformers recognised that it was in the careful conversion of the young to the new faith that would lie the permanent strength of their new establishment. The schools were to be the main instruments of that conversion and good and godly masters would, in consort with the parish ministers, inculcate (or, as a contemporary statement has it, 'insinuate') in their scholars adherence to the 'trew religioun'. Schoolmasters were recognised as important members of the new religious organisation — thus, the commissioner appointed by the assembly of 1574 to visit Caithness and Sutherland was instructed "to plant ministers, readers, elders and deacons, schoolmasters and other members necessar and requisite for erecting of a perfect reformed church"<sup>2</sup>. And the oversight of both schools and masters was, soon after, given to the presbyteries which were being established throughout the kingdom and to individual ministers and their sessions<sup>3</sup>.

A good many of the early local church records for East Lothian have survived and have been deposited in the Scottish Record Office in Register House, Edinburgh; they form the basis of this article. Prior to the 1630's,

1. See *John Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland* (ed. Dickinson), ii, 295-302.
2. *Booke of the Universall Kirke* (Maitland Club), i, 311.
3. See *Ibid.*, ii, 535 and iii, 856.

## SCHOOLS IN PRESBYTERY OF HADDINGTON IN 17th CENTURY

however, almost our only source is the Haddington presbytery register<sup>1</sup>, for there are no extant records for the kirk sessions of our seven chosen<sup>2</sup> parishes before then<sup>3</sup>. In these years references in the presbytery minutes to schools and schoolmasters are generally incidental to other matters; only seldom is a schoolmaster mentioned in connection with, and as a result of, his work as a teacher. Our information about schooling in the western part of the county in the late 16th and early 17th centuries is therefore meagre, yet it would be inprudent to claim that the actual provision of schools was no greater than that for which we happen to have evidence. And if the early notices of schoolmasters in the presbytery minutes are few, they are of especial importance and interest because of the contexts in which they are mentioned.

### 2.

On 11 June 1589 "James Stevisone scolemaistr at Saltoun" was cited to appear before the presbytery

"to ans<sup>r</sup> for sclandr comittit be hime of [intruseing<sup>4</sup>] himeself to reid in the kirk of Saltoun w<sup>t</sup>out admission or tryall."

He duly compeared on 2 July and was forbidden to usurp the office of reader at his kirk; but we hear no more of Stevinson nor of any of his immediate successors at Salton (if, indeed, there were any).

A similar charge was laid against the schoolmaster of Prestonpans, at a presbytery meeting on 20 February 1594.

"George Dicsoun scolemaistr in ye Pannis, accusit for entreing in ye ministrie w<sup>t</sup>out admission, copeirit and cofessit yt he had, at ye desyre of ye gentilmen of Pannis and specially of ye Laird of prestoun, red ye prayeris dayly in ane houss of ye Pannis and had gevin notts upon ye chapteris; yt yr was also collection gadderit to ye poure. In ye quilk premissis he cofessit he had don wrang

1. This begins on 15 September 1587 and is maintained, though with gaps, thereafter.
2. The selection was governed partly by the fact that the parishes are contiguous and form a large area of the western part of the county and partly by the fact that, as it happened, the present writer had completed his review of their kirk session records. It is hoped to deal later with the remaining parishes in the presbytery — Athelstaneford, Bara, Dirleton, Garvald, Haddington, Humbie, Morham, North Berwick and Yester.
3. Gladsmuir was not erected out of the parishes of Haddington, Aberlady and Tranent until 1692 and its records do not, of course, begin until that year. The Aberlady session minutes begin in 1632 but are missing from 1645 to 1698. Bolton's accounts and minutes proper are extant from 1663. We have minutes for Pencaitland from 1633 onwards. Only three account books have survived for Prestonpans, covering the years 1646-56, 1671-77 and 1689-1703. There are minutes and accounts for Salton from 1635 to 1646 and 1663 to 1695; and minutes for Tranent from 1651 to 1657 and from 1670 onwards.
4. The pages of the early record are fragmented and this seems the best reading of the word. Stevinson is referred to in the margin as a "pretendit redar."

## SCHOOLS IN PRESBYTERY OF HADDINGTON IN 17th CENTURY

and yt he had offendit god and sclanderit his kirk, craving god  
pardon yr for and submitting hiself to ye kirk. The presbytrie  
ordeins him to confess ye said failt in ye kirk of Tranent publicly"<sup>1</sup>.

Prestonpans had not yet been erected as a parish<sup>2</sup>, and we find that Tranent  
could boast of two schoolmasters at this time. The report of a visitation on  
21 March 1594 mentions not only George Dickson, who is described on this  
occasion as "schoill maister in the Pannis, clerk to the session off ye kirk of  
Tranent," but also "Johne Burnesyde schoill maister at Tranent."

Shortly thereafter the presbytery passed its only general act before the  
1630's which dealt specifically with schoolmasters as such. On 25 May 1596

"it was ordainit be ye presbytrie yt ye haill schoolm<sup>rs</sup> w<sup>th</sup>in yair  
bounds sould be chargit to compeir before yame yt yai myt not  
only know how yai wer abill to instruct ye zowt bot also charge  
yame to keip ye exercise yt thai myt be ye better frequetit w<sup>th</sup> ye  
grounds of religioun."

In fact only two schoolmasters attended the next presbytery meeting<sup>3</sup> —  
George Dickson and Mr Thomas Seggat<sup>4</sup> who was schoolmaster to Lord  
Seton's children. Dickson was therefore still teaching in Prestonpans in 1596<sup>5</sup>.  
By that date, however, it seems that John Burnside had been replaced by

1. At much the same times as these two schoolmasters were forbidden by the presbytery to encroach on the functions of the ministry, the ministers of two of our parishes were accused of allowing schoolmastering to interfere with their ministerial duties. Mr. John Ker had been both schoolmaster and minister in Haddington before his translation to Aberlady in 1587; at a visitation on 29 July 1589 he was accused of non-residence and of keeping a school (presumably in Haddington). Similarly on 17 December 1594, we find this minute: "Anent ye no residence of James Lambe at his parochie kirk of Bolton, the presbytrie ordanes ye said James to leive the schoole of Haddington sa soon as is possible to him and to mak residence at his awin kirk."
2. In August 1589 the minister at Tranent reported to the presbytery that he had over 2000 communicants; in March 1593 it was said that the minister there could not discharge his office in so populous a congregation; and in June 1596, that it was beyond his powers to deal with such "an extraordinarie charge." When Dickson was brought before the presbytery in 1594 the 'gentlemen of Pans' asked that he might still be given licence to read prayers to them "ane certaine day of ye ouk becaus of ye distentioun q<sup>l</sup>k stayis ane greit pairt of y<sup>t</sup> bounds frae y<sup>r</sup> paroch kirk." John Davidson apparently was officiating as minister at Prestonpans in 1595 and served the cure there for many years without payment; the vicarage of Preston was not reconstituted until 1597 and the parish was not erected out of the parish of Tranent until 1606, two years after Davidson's death. (*Fasti*, i. 387; *East Lothian Biographies*, 43).
3. There is no evidence in the *sederunts* of later meetings that they, or any others, were present at subsequent exercises.
4. Seggat was mentioned previously on 3 July 1594. His predecessor as pedagogue in Lord Seton's house was probably the "Steive Ballantyne" whom the presbytery discharged from teaching "onie youthe or scoll" on 28 March 1593 and excommunicated for papistry on 23 May following.
5. One of Dickson's predecessors at Prestonpans was, of course, John Cunningham (alias Dr Fian) who was executed for witchcraft in January 1591.

## SCHOOLS IN PRESBYTERY OF HADDINGTON IN 17th CENTURY

"Andro Makghe" as schoolmaster of Tranent<sup>1</sup>.

From this time until the second quarter of the 17th century only the school of Prestonpans is mentioned in the presbytery minutes. When John Davidson, the first minister there, died in 1604, he mortified all his moveable goods as a perpetual stipend to the masters of the school he had already founded in the parish<sup>2</sup>. The procedure of instituting a new master in 1606, as described by the presbytery clerk, shows a marked similarity to that used at the admission of a parish minister.

"25 June 1606. The qlk day Mr. J<sup>n</sup> Ker minister at ye Panis pducit ye pnta<sup>3</sup>ne of Mr. Alex<sup>r</sup> Hooome to be schoolm<sup>r</sup> of ye schoole of ye Panis foundit be Mr. Jo<sup>n</sup> Davidsonsone for instructioun of ye zouth in hebrew, greek and Latine subscrivit be yais to quhome Mr. Jo<sup>n</sup> Davidsonsone gave power to noiate<sup>4</sup> ye man; qlk pnta<sup>3</sup>ne ye prie<sup>5</sup> allowit, and ordeanit y<sup>r</sup> moderator and clerk to subscribe ye samine in y<sup>r</sup> names, qlk yay did. As also ordeanit yt ye said kirk of ye Panis suld be visited upon ye eight day of July nixt to come for admissioun of ye said Mr. Alex<sup>r</sup> to ye said office . . .

9 July 1606. [Report of visitation held the previous day] . . .

Last, anent ye plantatione and admissioun of Mr. Alex<sup>r</sup> Hooome to be scholm<sup>r</sup> in ye schoole of ye Panis foundit be Mr. Jo<sup>n</sup> Davidsonsone according to ye presenta<sup>3</sup>ne of ye said Mr. Alex<sup>r</sup> producit befor ye prie, the haill paroschons being poisit how yay lycket of ye said Mr. Alex<sup>r</sup> w<sup>t</sup> uniforme consent, being pticularly injwinit<sup>6</sup>, schow y<sup>r</sup> guid lycking of him and yr willingness to accept and receive hm to ye said office. Qer upon ye said Mr. Alex<sup>r</sup> was admittit to ye said office: in token of ye approba<sup>3</sup>ne both of visitors and of ye prischons pnt<sup>7</sup> both ye ane and the uther tuick ye said Mr. Alex<sup>r</sup> be ye hand and the haill magistratis gentlemen and remat<sup>8</sup> parischons pnt faithfullie pmisit to cotinew for ye furtherace of ye work yt zit

1. Hadd. Presb. Mins., 5 August 1595. Perhaps this was the son of, and successor to, Thomas Makghe minister at Gullane (later Dirleton) parish from 1576 onwards; Andrew was appointed assistant to his father there in 1597. (*Fasti*, i. 359).

2. *A.P.S.*, iv. 302.

3. presentation.

4. nominate.

5. presbytery.

6. enjoined.

7. present.

8. remaining.



## SCHOOLS IN PRESBYTERY OF HADDINGTON IN 17th CENTURY

restis to be done to ye said schoole, as also to kept ye said Mr. Alex<sup>r</sup> and his schollers skaithles<sup>1</sup>. Finallie, for further authorizing of ye said, it wes thought meitt yt ye haill visitor<sup>s</sup> and parischons pnt suld enter ye said Mr. Alex<sup>r</sup> into ye said schoole and yr heir him teache, qlk also wes doone."

Hume is mentioned again in the presbytery minutes on 23 July 1607 but not at all thereafter. The Privy Council Register<sup>2</sup> refers to him as "maister of the Grammar Scoole at Prestoun" in October 1611 and July 1612 and it has been said that he remained at Prestonpans until he became schoolmaster of Dunbar in 1615<sup>3</sup>. Perhaps Hume left earlier than that, however, because we read in the presbytery record on 16 March 1614 of "Mr. Jhon Dezeil schoolmaist<sup>r</sup> in ye Pannis"<sup>4</sup>: it seems unlikely that Dalziel taught another school in Prestonpans or that he would have been referred to as schoolmaster if he were an assistant to Hume in the school there.

### 3.

Not until October 1628 do we find any further notice of schools in our parishes in the presbytery minutes; but we know, from another source, that three of them at least had schoolmasters in the previous year. Among the accounts of the forty-nine parishes whose returns to the government enquiry of 1627 survived and were published last century<sup>5</sup> are those for Pencaitland, Salton and Tranent.

In the account of the parish of Pencaitland it was stated: "Thair is a school bot sustained by the labouraris of the ground, thair is great necessitie of a schoole. No foundatioun nor maintenance for it, quhairfore of necessitie it will decay excep it be provyded with ane hundreth poundis"<sup>6</sup>. The wording of the return from Salton<sup>7</sup> was almost identical with this, but the Tranent

1. i.e. faultless.

2. R.P.C., ix. 272-3, 275, 414.

3. *East Lothian Biographies*, 79.

4. Dalziel asked the presbytery for the privy exercise — a first step to being licensed to preach and to the ministry. He was admitted as minister at Prestonkirk in 1619. (*Fasti*, i. 415).

5. *Reports on the State of Certain Parishes in Scotland in . . . 1627* (Maitland Club). The inquiry was part of Charles I's scheme to settle the problem of the teinds. In a letter of 26 January 1626 he had made known his desire "that there shall be competent maintenance for the ministers and office bearers of all the churches built or to be built in the Kingdom and that colleges, schools and hospitals shall be sufficiently endowed." One part of the information required by the Commissioners of Teinds in these statistical reports concerned the existing endowment for schools, hospitals and almshouses in each parish (see R.P.C., (2nd series), i. xvii, 573).

6. *Reports on . . . Parishes*, 127.

7. *Ibid.*, 131.

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reply announced: "Thair is no skuill nor hous for the samin nor stipend thairto within the said parochie. Excep ane voluntar quha is Reidar at the kirk of Tranent upoun the charge of the parochinars"<sup>1</sup>.

All three parishes, then, unite in a uniform complaint about the lack of settled salaries for their schoolmasters who were 'voluntaries' because they had no retaining fee and depended wholly on what they could get from their scholars' parents. In an age when a single bad harvest brought privation and distress and a succession of bad years meant famine and starvation, the schoolmaster's living was always precarious. The inquiry of 1627 was in fact a review of the state of the patrimony of the kirk, out of which it had earlier been hoped that both ministers and schoolmasters might be sustained: the parish returns must have shown this to be a false hope, at least as far as schools were concerned—schoolmasters who were receiving payment from the rents of property or had other secure maintenance were rare indeed. A Privy Council Act in 1616<sup>2</sup> had recommended the establishment of a school in every parish and the "interteynment" of its teacher "upon the expensis of the parrochinnaris according to the quantitie and qualitie of the parroche"—an arrangement which appears to have been practised in Pencaitland, Salton and Tranent. Frequent and recurring dearths must have shown it to be an unsatisfactory way of maintaining continuity of schooling, particularly in the less populous and poorer parishes<sup>3</sup>, and when the Privy Council Act was ratified by Parliament in 1633<sup>4</sup> it was added that the bishops should, on agreement with the majority of parishioners, "set downe and<sup>5</sup> stent upon everie plough or husband land according to the worth, for maintenance and establishing of the saids schooles." This first attempt to lay the financial burden of a stipend on the heritors was without doubt intended to provide greater security for the masters of schools—of those already in existence as well as those still to be established.

The report from Tranent in 1627 implies that it was unusual for the

1. *Ibid.*, 134.

2. *R.P.C.*, x, 671-2.

3. The return from Kirknewton (Midlothian) in 1627 stated that "thair is a school in the narochoun bot lyiklie to dissolve the nixt terme for want of maintenance"; and of Ednam (Roxburghshire) it was said "the most pairt of the parentis is not able to pay their school waidgis" (*Reports on . . . Parishes*, 82, 195). The years 1621-3 had been particularly bad: on 3 July 1627 the presbytery ordered a fast to be observed because of the threat of "a fearfull famyne upon this land."

4. *A.P.S.*, v, 21.

5. i.e. *ane*.

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reader of a parish also to teach the school there. The conjoint holding of these offices was elsewhere not merely known but expected. The earliest minute in the Aberlady kirk session records, for 11 March 1632, explains why in that parish the current reader was to be discharged and the schoolmaster appointed in his stead:

"Upoun the qlk day ane full sessione conveniand with the principall nobill men of the parischone concerning the reider of the kirk and uther causs, the qlk being dewlie advysed and considerit, that in former tymes thay who had ye instructiōne of the scoole had that office of ye kirk. Q'foir it was thocht meit that it should be so heirafter in respect yat the benefice of ye scoole was never sufficient to intertein ane it self. And John Smith reider for the present being fitter for uy<sup>r</sup> labo<sup>r</sup> than for y<sup>t</sup> calling was depoised, and W<sup>m</sup> Pringle schoolem<sup>r</sup> resavit in his place; and that with consent and appointment of ye haill sessione . . . . ."

The Aberlady heritors anticipated — in intention if not otherwise — the recommendations of the 1633 Act, for on 11 November 1632 they agreed that "sa soon as thay wer at a poynt anent the augmentatione of ye ministers stipend thay wold be content that, according to the number of husbandlands, everie herito<sup>r</sup> be stainted and a certaine meines modifiet" to William Pringle and his successors as readers and schoolmasters.

Pringle may have been schoolmaster for some time before 1632; there is no indication of when he first took up that post in Aberlady. And the school had certainly been in existence before his appointment, for the session minutes record<sup>1</sup> "Gilbert Lithgow and Colin Kinross who was schoolemaisters befoir" him. Thus Aberlady joins Tranent, Salton and Pencaitland in having a school before the 1630's. What of Prestonpans and Bolton? It would be extremely unlikely that the school of Prestonpans, more especially since it had a settled provision, should have lapsed in the 16 years after the notice of Dalziel's mastership; but it is not mentioned again in the presbytery minutes before 1656 and not elsewhere until the session accounts open in 1646. A presbytery minute of 23 March 1636 contains the first reference we have to the existence of a school in Bolton, taught probably by the William Brown who is noted as schoolmaster there in 1637<sup>2</sup>: a school had

1. On 29 September 1633.

2. Hadd. Presb. Mins., 29 March 1637.

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been established before then, however—on 6 April 1636 the heritors agreed at a visitation to pay the master “ye old provision established by my Lord of Lauderdale.”

Thus, certainly five out of the six parishes — and perhaps all of them — had schools before the passing of the Act of Parliament in 1633 and possibly for some time before that date. The Act appears not to have been needed, in the western part of the county at least, in order to establish schools; but it did stir the presbytery into a short period of activity intended to ensure the settlement of stipends on the schoolmasters there. In 1635 this matter was twice referred to the synod<sup>1</sup>. And on 19 October 1636 the presbytery clerk records the hope “that ye bishop wold give an ample warrant and assistance to gett ye schooles provydit, and for Pencaitland in particular . . .” Stipends had, by then, been agreed by the heritors for the masters at Aberlady. (November 1632), Bolton (April 1636) and Salton (March 1636) — in these last cases, doubtless, as a result of pressure from the presbytery, which had earlier instructed the minister at Salton “to extract ye acts of parliament made thereanent, naimlie ye provision of schooles and readers”<sup>2</sup>. The heritors of Pencaitland had agreed in principle on 24 August 1636 to make a settlement on the schoolmaster, “bot refused to nominat a particular sowme or establish any course at the tyme for ye payment of ye same in regard of ye Laird of Ormiston's absence who had speciall entresse” and may have avoided finalising that maintenance until 18 May 1642. Meanwhile, nothing is to be found in the presbytery minutes about the stipends for Prestonpans and Tranent—a sign that all was well in these parishes rather than anything else; when small and relatively poor parishes in the presbytery had schools and agreed stipends for them, it is inconceivable that these two large and populous parishes could be without either<sup>3</sup>.

For the parishes we have under review at present, then, it cannot be said that the 1633 Act was “notoriously ineffective<sup>4</sup>”: as an instrument for

1. Ibid., 6 May, 21 October 1635.

2. On 22 April 1635.

3. The presbytery laid down on 27 Januray 1647 the proportions due from 13 of its parishes (Garvald and North Berwick were to be united to the presbytery of Dunbar for this purpose) for the payment of the bursar's yearly allowance of £100 Scots, and has thus provided us with a valuable index of their relative wealth: Haddington — £16; Prestonpans — £15; Tranent — £15; Aberlady — £9; Dirleton — £9; Salton — £7; Pencaitland — £6; Humble — £5-10; Yester — £5-10; Bolton — £3-10; Bara — £3-3-4; Morham — £3-3-4; Athelstaneford — £2-3-4.

4. See Henry Grey Graham: *Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* (2nd ed.), 418-9. Graham's views have been generally accepted by later writers.

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securing the initial establishment of schools it was very probably not needed; as a lever, used by the presbytery in obtaining stipends from the heritors (who here showed little or none of that strenuous objection to stenting of which they have, as a class, so often been accused), it was immediately — if it was not permanently — successful.

### 4.

The "certaine meanes" which the Aberlady heritors said they would afford William Pringle in November 1632 must either have been small or not well paid. On 26 March 1637 it was reported to the session that he had "renounced and overgaven the office [of ye kirk and<sup>1</sup>] schoole, becaus of ye waikness of ye benefices yrof, also having better occasioun offerit unto him in another place. Whairat it was requyrit of him be ye nobill men qt he wold [treat<sup>1</sup>] or desyre to continue still in his said offices, and yai wt ye rest of ye nobill men of ye parochin wold contribute ye samein. The qlk ye said William Pringle askit of ym half ane chalder of q<sup>t</sup> and beir zeirle or els ye pryces yrof as it gives in ye countrie or ells ane certaine pryce yrof, to continue for ever to be furthcummund ye said W<sup>m</sup> and his successor<sup>s</sup>, qlk was ane hundreth marks at tua tua<sup>2</sup> termes to be payit zeirle Witsonday and Mertimes and ye first termes payt begin a Witsonday nixtocum, zeir of God forsd. Qlk yai condescendit unto . . . . . And if he be refused of anie of ye nobill men yat was absent, it was lesum<sup>3</sup> to ye said W<sup>m</sup> Pringle to remove or seik ane better occasioun q<sup>r</sup> hee may have it."

The next meeting of the session and the heritors agreed "that ye reidar and schoolemaister could have fourscore marks be zeir for his services and that to be payit be the nobillmen of the parochin zeirle at tua termes"<sup>4</sup>. Pringle did not stand out for the other twenty marks; the session minutes make no more reference to his stipend and he seems to have remained as schoolmaster of the parish until his death<sup>5</sup>.

Within ten years, the salary of a hundred marks here demanded of the Aberlady heritors was made the statutory minimum. The 'Act for founding

1. The session record has faded badly at these points.

2. sic.

3. i.e. permitted.

4. Aberlady K.S. Mins., 9 April 1637.

5. Hadd. Presb. Mins., 10 March 1659.

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of Schooles in everie parochie', passed by Parliament in 1646<sup>1</sup> required the provision of "a commodious hous for the schole" and "a stipend to the scholemaster which sall not be under ane hundereth merkis nor above tua hundereth merkis to be payit yeirlie at tuo termes." The more stringent measures, set out in the Act, to ensure that a stent was made, and that the heritors met their responsibilities, indicate one important reason for its being passed so soon after its predecessor.

The Act of 1633 had been followed immediately by two poor harvests and had coincided with a rise in taxation which fell particularly on the land-owners; the burden of taxation was to be much increased after the Bishops' Wars opened in 1639 and in the period of the Civil Wars, while the years 1641-44 were marked by bad weather, a succession of poor harvests and plague<sup>2</sup>. In these circumstances easy implementation of the provisions of the Act was unlikely and seems, indeed, generally not to have been achieved. Another act was proposed in 1639 but got no further than an unrecorded draft<sup>3</sup>. The General Assembly in 1641 warned Parliament that "the meanes hitherto named or appointed for schooles of all sortis hath been both litle and ill payed"<sup>4</sup>. In early 1646 the Assembly demanded that, "according to the frequentlie reiterat desires of this kirk, the act of his maties first parliat concerneing schooles be enlarged and made effectuell for founding and manteining schooles in everie congregation"<sup>5</sup>.

Yet the evidence we have suggests that in the western part of East Lothian the parochial schools may have been in continuous existence between the mid-30's and mid-40's and the agreements over schoolmasters' stipends consistently honoured by the heritors. William Pringle, having agreed to stay in Aberlady in 1637, was schoolmaster there at least until 1649<sup>6</sup>. The salary of a hundred merks "freely offered" to Mr. Hew Somerville

1. A.P.S., Vi. pt.i, 554.

2. See *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, ii. 74, 85, 144, 156. On 22 January 1646 the Prestonpanns kirk session gave £55 Scots to their clerk "in recompence of the losse he sustained by wanting of a schoole the space of halfe ane year or therby the tym that the plague was in the parishe."

3. A.P.S., V. 594, 610.

4. *Ibid.*, V. 646.

5. *Ibid.*, Vi. pt.i, 552.

6. "Elspeth Pringle the late schoolmaisters daughter at Aberlady" appeared before the presbytery on 10 March 1659 to give evidence about money collected for the town of Kelso, last seen in her father's possession. The presbytery had received a letter requesting the collection in June 1649 but "considering the great dearth and the burthen of the peopl, thinks ther would be litl or no thing gotten"; they postponed it until after harvest-time.

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at Salton in 1636 was confirmed by the heritors in 1639; Somerville is not mentioned by name thereafter but the session records contain payments of poor scholars' fees to the reader and of accounts for work to the school each year from 1635 until 1646<sup>1</sup>. For the other parishes we have to rely on the presbytery minutes and our information is much less full. For Bolton, where William Brown was named as schoolmaster in 1637, we find a reader noted in 1638, 1642 and 1644<sup>2</sup>; it is very likely that he was schoolmaster as well. The school at Pencaitland was mentioned in 1636 and then not again until 1642 when William Wallace agreed on a stipend with the heritors; an unnamed schoolmaster was discharging his duties faithfully there on 26 July 1647. For Tranent and Prestonpans our evidence is again especially thin and the possibility of their not having constant schools equally scant; a visitation of Tranent on 21 July 1647 gives the first notice, in the presbytery minutes, of a schoolmaster since 1595; the Prestonpans school is not mentioned in the presbytery books from 1614 until 1656, but when its session accounts begin in 1646, we find George Crawford and James Scott are respectively schoolmaster and doctor there<sup>3</sup>. Thus where we have full session records for this period — for Aberlady and Salton — the schools in those parishes obviously had a continuous existence. For the rest, our evidence is not conclusive. The negotiations over the schoolmaster's stipend at Pencaitland in 1642 are outstanding in the presbytery minutes because so little else concerning schools in our parishes is to be found there; this lack of presbyterial activity may very well indicate that none was called for.

Having apparently ensured that each parish had fulfilled the requirements of the Act of 1633, the presbytery seems to have been in no hurry to have the new provisions of the 1646 Act implemented<sup>4</sup>. Not until 26 July 1655, when there was a visitation of Pencaitland and the heritors were asked to provide "a maintenance to the schoolmaster conforme to the act of parliament," is it mentioned in the presbytery minutes. True to form, the Pencait-

1. Salton K.S. Mins. (1635-46), *passim*.

2. Hadd. Presb. Mins., 18 July 1638, 30 March 1642, 9 October 1644.

3. Ibid., 3 April 1656; Prestonpans K.S. Accts., 22 January 1646, 5 February 1646.

4. The requirement that heritors should provide a schoolhouse is not mentioned in the presbytery minutes. We have seen that Davidson's school in Prestonpans was being built or repaired in 1606; the session accounts frequently refer to repairs of the school from 1647 onwards. Salton is the only other parish for which we have firm evidence of the provision of a schoolhouse before the middle of the century; repairs are consistently noted from 1635 onwards in the session minutes and on 22 March 1640 we find "a motioun being maid anent the three houses mortifiet to the kirk at the kirk dyke, quhither all sould be possessit be the schoolm<sup>r</sup> or an sould be possessit be the clerk and reservit for him."

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land heritors stated their willingness to augment the stipend in November 1655 and August 1656 but delayed a positive agreement — raising it from £50 to £80 Scots—until 9 November 1657. The only other provision which we know to have been below the new legal minimum was the 80 merks granted to the Aberlady schoolmaster; the presbytery showed no concern over his salary until 1659 when it was quickly increased to £100 Scots, nearly twice the previous amount<sup>1</sup>. Meanwhile the schoolmaster of Salton, Mr. David Veitch, was petitioning the presbytery in 1655 and again in 1659 to assist in having his maintenance enlarged (with what effect we do not know). For the other parishes, there is nothing recorded about the scale, or the payment of, their stipends until the 1670's.

Indeed, there is a rarity of reference of any kind to schools or schoolmasters in our parishes in the presbytery minutes in the quarter-century after the Act of 1646. Evidence of a substantial kind is found only for those parishes for which we have good local records. But the ease, and swiftness, with which we find that deposed, deceased or otherwise departed masters were being replaced — when we have more than fragmentary information about the succession—makes continuity of schooling in our parishes a reasonable supposition<sup>2</sup>.

1. Hadd. Presb. Mins., 31 May 1655, 28 June 1659.

2. References to the schools in the period 1646-72 are as follows:—

Aberlady — 20 October 1647; 3 February, 6 April 1659; 26 September 1672. (On 21 May 1656 the minister represented to the presbytery "the condin of the parish through want of a grammar school", probably only an indication that the current schoolmaster was not able to teach Latin).

Bolton — nothing before the session minutes begin in 1663; from that date until his deposition in 1679 there is constant reference to Ninian Miln as schoolmaster.

Pencaitland — 2 June 1647; 28 May 1648; 30 October 1654 (when Mr. Robert Ford was appointed; he may have stayed until he became minister at Garvald in 1667; it was stated that the session clerk's place had "been nou for a longe tyme vacande." yet on 5 March 1654 the session had made an act forbidding the holding of any schools in the parish but one); 8 April, 26 July, 1 November 1655; 20 January, 27 January, 3 February, 7 August 1656; 9 November 1657; 29 October 1665.

Prestonpans — at least one reference to the school in the session accounts each year from 1646 to 1652; 3 April 1656. (Mr. Andrew Rutherford was schoolmaster in 1661 — see *A.P.S.* vii. 196.)

Salton — 26 July 1646; 31 May 1655; 28 January 1659. The session minutes restart in 1663 and the school is noted at least once in each year from that time onwards; Andrew Tofts taught there from 28 May 1665 to 4 November 1669; John Haliday from 11 February 1670 to 27 August 1671 when his death is recorded; Thomas Wood from 5 November 1671 — the session wanted to appoint a master who could teach Latin but were not able to find one at that time — until his death, 25 November 1687.

Tranent — 21 July 1647; 26 April, 7 June, 22 November 1648 (when Mr William Anstruther was elected); 18 November 1651 (appointment of Mr Adam Kilgour); 11 January, 15 February, 6 December 1670.



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### 5.

The early 1670's seem to have been particularly unpropitious for schoolmasters in the presbytery. Tranent kirk session on 15 February 1670,

"considering the great paines and the little profit of the schoolmaster and doctor of the schoole in teaching the youth, especiallie those whose parents are so poor that they are not able to pay their quarter payments, do therefore appoint twentie pounds Scottis to be payed to each of them yearlie by the session."

In nearby Salton two years later<sup>1</sup> the minister got his session to agree that "fourtie shill. Scotts may be aded to the readers allowance for this halfte year upon considera<sup>u</sup>n yt he had very small incouragement for the winter qrtr."

The situation soon moved the presbytery to action: on 1 May 1672, "it being represented by som of the brethren that the schools in their parioches wer much decayed, the brethren wer all desired to think on such overtures as may be fit for the thriving therof." Almost their first interest was in the maintenances afforded the schoolmasters. Having been given the bishop's permission "to resolve on such courses as may tend to the bettering the condition of schools"<sup>2</sup>, the presbytery warned all the schoolmasters in their bounds to appear at the next meeting "and ther to giv in under ther hand ane accompt of what provision they hav for teaching the schools." On 26 September 1672 the masters of Salton, Aberlady and Bolton obeyed this ordinance. In a flurry of visitations in 1674 and 1675 — apparently, for several parishes, the first for almost 20 years — all but Aberlady of our parishes were examined.

In Bolton it was affirmed that the schoolmaster had 100 merks of stipend and that there was a schoolhouse and a dwelling house for the master, both mortified by the heritors<sup>3</sup>; at Salton the heritors were "recommended" to repair the schoolhouse<sup>4</sup>; at Prestonpans the presbytery was informed that "ye master of ye gramer school hath but a mean provision, and that 80 mrks qch hav bein formerlie payed by the heritors to the schoolm<sup>r</sup> are now withdrawn"<sup>5</sup>; in Tranent it was discovered that the school and the schoolmaster's house were repaired not by the heritors but out of the session poor-box<sup>6</sup>; at

1. Salton K.S. Mins., 21 April 1672.

2. Hadd. Presb. Mins., 8 August, 5 September 1672.

3. Hadd. Presb. Mins., 25 June 1674.

4. Ibid., 30 July 1674.

5. Ibid., 23 September 1675.

6. Ibid., 24 June 1675.

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Pencaitland it was complained that the schoolhouse was too small for the numbers attending the school<sup>1</sup>.

Meanwhile, the ministers had been busy preparing 'articles' for the better ordering of schools: in November 1672 the bishop wrote of his approval of their efforts and on 20 February 1673 the rules they had decided on were copied out in the presbytery book:—

"1. Appoints that each minr (when parents com to giv up ye names of yr children to be baptised) use his utmost endeavours wt them to put such of the children to school as are com to age. And tak them obliged to performe the same duetie unto these children who are then to be baptised, as soon as they shall be fitt for it.

2. That each minr tak up yearlie ane exact list of all ye children within his paroch above six years of age and yt he deal wt ther parents to put them to school. That such as are poor have books provided for them and yr quarter money payed out of ye session box. That those who are at to great a distance from ther oun school be desired to put ther children to anie other school that is nearest. That if anie cannot be moved by the intreatie of the minr to put ther children to school, ther superiors, heritors or magistrates of the place be desired to interpose ther authoritie for that effect.

3. That ye schoolmaster teach ye children once in ye week, on Saturday forenoon, ye grounds of religion and ye forms of prayer and of blissing God befor and after meat which are injoynd by the Synod, togiddr with such passages of Scripture as are prescribed unto them. That on Monday morning they tak accompt of all the children concerning ther keeping church and attention to ye sermon. That they punish all such as swear, curse, lye, speak profanelie, are disobedient to ther parents or irreverent in time of divine worship.

4. That each minr with tuo or three of ye elders and when the school is more considerable wt anie of his neighbour minrs (who are heirby appointed at his desire to giv him ther assistance), visit ye school within his parioch tuise in ye year, once in sumer and once in winter. That he then tak accompt of the childrens proficiencie in reading, that he heir som of them rehearse ther forms of prayer and

1. Ibid., 5 August 1675.

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grace, and examin them in the grounds of religion, and that he enquire if ye schoolmaster performe the forsaid things injoynd unto him.

5. That no schoolmaster be absent for a wholl day without leav asked and obtained of ye minr and that ye time of vacance be determined by ye minr and session.

6. That ther be no school within anie parioch of ye prbrie but what is allowed by the session''<sup>1</sup>.

The spate of visitations in 1674 and 1675 was stimulated by the bishop and synod. As well as transcribing the rules for schools on 20 February 1673, the presbytery clerk also wrote out directions for the visitation of parish churches which had been sent in a letter from the bishop. These directions are remarkably comprehensive and in the sections which concern the parochial schools, the questions to be asked obviously owe a good deal to the Haddington rules with which the bishop had stated his satisfaction some months before<sup>2</sup>. Further letters from the bishop then ordered visitations to be held at specified kirks<sup>3</sup>.

But the ministers of the presbytery of Haddington were apparently still not satisfied that the scheme of visitation ensured the 'better ordering of schools' which they wanted; and on 8 April 1675 it was decided to ask the bishop's permission that

"at ye visitation of each church ye schoolm<sup>r</sup> himself be interrogated concerning his attendance on ye school and his diligence in performing ye dueties of his office, and yt, he being removed, ye

1. The rules were ordered to be read at every church and inserted in all the session registers.
2. The fifth point of the principal directions was: "If as often as parents resort to him [i.e. the minister] for the benefit of baptisme to ther children, he put them in mind . . . of ye obligan lying on them . . . in due time to put them to schools?" And further interrogation was to include these questions: "If ther be a school in the parioch? In what condition it is? What encouragement ther is for ye schoolmaster? What diligence is used for moving those who hav children com to age to put them to school? If anie thing may be allowed to ye schoolmaster out of the poors money for teaching poor schollars? If the schoolmaster be faithful and diligent in his employments? If he cause all ye schollars learn ye catechisme? If he put them once in ye week to repeat ye Lords Prayer, the Comands and the Belief wt ye more necessarie parts of ye catechisme? If he injoyne them to use ye form of prayer for morning and evening and of blessing God befor and after meat prescribed by ye synod? If he chastise them for cursing, swearing, lying, speaking profanelie, for disobedience to parents and other vices that appear in them? . . ." In conclusion, it was ordered "that if, after tryall, it appear that ther is no school nor sufficient provision of a schoolmaster . . . etc. . . . that ye heretors be dealt wt and, if need be, other endeavours used for amendment of these defects . . ."
3. Hadd. Presb. Mins., 21 May 1674; also Dunbar Presb. Mins., 3 June 1673, 9 June 1674.

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minr and elders be interrogat anent his diligence in his charge and anent his life and conversation. And yt at ye visitation of each church and school intimation be made to ye people from ye pulpit upon ye Lords Day befor ye visitation forsd, that all who hav anie thing to say concerning ye school and schoolmr be present and declare it publickie or acquaint the minister in privat therwith. And yt after ye visitation of the school the minr be ordained to make report and yt if ye schoolmr be found to be deficient in his duetie, the prebrie may be empowered to censure him even to deposition, if they find he doe deserv it."

Their request was allowed and, indeed, within a year had been repeated almost word for word in an act of synod, these proposals being added to the other rules for visitation<sup>1</sup>. And the session records for Bolton, Salton and Tranent show that care was being taken within the bounds of the presbytery to meet the regulations; particular attention was paid to the provision of books and fees for the children of the poor, to regular visitations of the schools by the parish ministers and their elders<sup>2</sup> and to exhorting parents to send their children to be educated<sup>3</sup>. Moreover, the schoolmaster at Bolton was deposed in 1679 for — among other things — not keeping one of the new presbytery rules<sup>4</sup>.

The synod next became active in educational matters in the early 1680's when all schoolmasters were ordered to take the Test, and those who refused

1. The act was copied into the presbytery minutes on 17 February 1676.
2. The synod had passed an act — written into the presbytery register on 17 July 1673 — ordering each minister to visit his school at least once a year. The session minutes of Salton do not record the visitations after December 1685; the clerk at Bolton noted them until July 1680 and only in February and December 1693 thereafter.
3. The doctor at Tranent school prepared for the minister there "an list of the young boyes within the town of Tranent to be put to schoole." (Tranent K.S. Mins., 15 June, 29 June 1675).
4. "23 March 1679. This day (the heritors being present wt the elders) called and compeared Ninian Milne, reader and schoolmaster, and being charged wt diverse gross misdemeanors, as particularly his great neglect of the school, his going to games and pastimes on the children were in school and maintaining yt he might do so, his scandalous tynling and drinking, his having refused to keep the act of the presbyterie appointing him not to goe away for a whole day wtout the ministers leav, his having found and maintained yt he would not be accountable to the minister in things belonging to his office, his great neglect in not filling up the registers of baptisms and marriages for more yn six years togetherr and other faults of the like nature, none of qch he could deny. It was thought fit vt he having several times before promised by word of mouth to the minister vt he would amend but had not done it, he should now giv under his hand a confession of the sd his faults obliging himself to amend ym for the time to come: all qch was drawn up in a paper qch was read in the hearing of the heritors and approved by ym but he refused to subscribe ...." (Bolton K.S. Mins.). He refused again on 6 April and was dismissed as from Whitsunday 1679.

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to sign were ordered to be dismissed<sup>1</sup>. There is no evidence that any schoolmaster in our parishes was removed from office at this time for any reason connected with the Test. The records, indeed, show that there was relatively little change in personnel among the schoolmasters in the last quarter of the century; the period is more remarkable for the length of their service. At Bolton, Ninian Miln was replaced in 1679 by the schoolmaster of Earlston — Walter Scot—who was still teaching there in 1700<sup>2</sup>. Mr. John Brown, first noted as schoolmaster of Pencaitland in 1673, demitted office in 1699 in favour of Mr. Thomas Dobie<sup>3</sup>. At Salton, Thomas Wood taught the school from 1671 until his death in 1687; Andrew Kirkwood, who had been schoolmaster at Longniddry, was appointed in his place in 1688 and was still there seven years later<sup>4</sup>. James Reid is first mentioned as master of the English school at Prestonpans in 1674 and was teaching there at least until 1698; Mr. Walter Buchanan was doctor of the grammar school in 1672, Mr. George Brown its master in 1681 and Mr. John Thomson its master in 1690-1<sup>5</sup>. Mr. William Watson was doctor of the school of Tranent in 1670 and master at least from 1675 until 1680, and William Webster doctor there from 1675 (or earlier) until he was replaced by Mr. Alexander Goodall in 1684 or 1685; Mr. John Seton held the mastership in 1684<sup>6</sup>. For Aberlady we have no extant kirk session minutes for this period, and no reference to a school there in the presbytery books—again a sign rather that a school existed and was legally maintained than that there was none. That all our parishes maintained schools in the last twenty years of the century and that the schools were not unduly

1. Hadd. Presb. Mins., 1 June, 5 August, 10 October 1682; 22 February 1683; 1 May, 15 October 1684. On the last mentioned date the minute contains a transcription of an act of synod which claimed that some parishes in the diocese did not have 'able and godly' schoolmasters as they should have and ordered the ministers of such parishes to remedy this deficiency.
2. Bolton K.S. Mins., *passim*.
3. Pencaitland K.S. Mins., 16 December 1673; February 1699. (There is a long break in this record from 1673 to 1684).
4. Salton K.S. Mins., *passim*.
5. Prestonpans K.S. Accts., 1671-77; 1689-1703, *passim*.
6. Tranent K.S. Mins., (1670-80; 1684-1701) *passim*; Hadd. Presb. Mins., 25 February, 18 March 1675; 3 August 1676; 6 September 1677; Salton K.S. Mins., 18 May 1679; 11 July 1680.

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neglected nor allowed to lapse is hardly to be disputed<sup>1</sup>.

If one were to generalise on the basis of the provision of schools in this part of East Lothian in the 1690's, there would seem to be no obvious need for a further Act of Parliament which repeated the provisions, and the wording, of the Act of 1646. Yet in 1696 such an act was passed<sup>2</sup>. In fact, from the time of the Restoration, the legal demands on the heritors were those enacted in 1633 and not those of 1646, because all legislation passed by the 'pretended parliaments' from 1640 to 1648 had been rescinded<sup>3</sup>. From 1661 until 1696 neither the commodious house nor the minimum stipend of 100 merks was required in law.

It is clear that, in some areas at least, a new act was much needed to ensure the provision of schoolhouses and of more-than-meagre salaries,<sup>4</sup> and this must have been the principal consideration in having the 1646 Act repeated after a space of fifty years. Even in areas where good stipends and accommodation had once been afforded, the privation and distress of the 1690's—affecting, as it did, all classes in the community — may well have caused them to be reduced or withdrawn; with only a vague obligation to establish and maintain a school, both the temptation and the opportunity to

1. Only one complaint about stipends was recorded in this period, when the session at Salton gave Thomas Wood "fourtie shilling at this tyme because his salary is ill payed to him by the heritors." (K.S. Mins., 24 April 1687). Wood died shortly afterwards and within a few years the payment of the schoolmaster's maintenance had been rearranged. The minister told the session on 1 January 1693 that he would "for the good of the parroch" give £14 Scots yearly for teaching the children of the parish who lived outwith the barony of Salton; on 29 April 1693 a mortification in favour of the schoolmaster was registered in the session minutes — Andrew Fletcher granted "the tythes of Gilkerstone (being six bolls of beir six bolls oats together with the burden of the minrs stipend belonging thereto)" to Andrew Kirkwood and his successors "for teaching all the children within the barronie of Salton to read, write and arithmetick."

The session minutes of Salton also bear witness to the parish's determination not to be without a school even for a few months. When Kirkwood was appointed schoolmaster on 2 February 1688 it was found that he was committed to remain at the school of Longniddry until Lammas of that year; whereupon, "the inconvenience of having the school so long vacand being complained of by many of the parrocheners, the minr and elders obleadged the forsd Andrew Kirkwood to teach the school by anoyr for a quarter" and eventually gave him £1 sterling to cover his expenses in providing a deputy. (K.S. Mins., 28 July 1689).

2. A.P.S., X. 63.

3. *Ibid.*, vii, 86-7.

4. See *Munimenta Alme Universitatis Glasguensis* (Maitland Club), ii, 549 for a report on schools in Ayrshire and Renfrewshire in 1696.

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economise in this way were present<sup>1</sup>. There is, however, no evidence that the heritors of our parishes did not hold at this time to their earlier agreements with the parochial schoolmasters.

### 6.

Pencaitland was a small parish and the 'school at the kirk' must have been well within reach of at least the majority of its households. Here the principle of universal education was compatible with the existence of only one school. Furthermore, the holding of schools in addition to the parochial one would, because of the relative fewness of the parishioners, be detrimental to the living afforded the public schoolmaster. When, on 5 March 1654, the Pencaitland kirk session "statute and ordained that yair sould be no mo schooles in the paroch but one", the intention would have been to ensure to him as many pupils and as considerable a livelihood as possible. Salton, another small and compact parish, seems also to have had no need of schools beyond the parochial one. Bolton, on the other hand, though of limited size, was rather long and narrow with straggling and uneven boundaries; moreover, the kirk-town was at the north-eastern extremity of the parish and the parochial school there would not be easily reached from the more distant farms. There is, however, no mention of a school other than the parochial establishment *within* the parish: what we do find is the kirk session paying the quarter-fees of several poor scholars to "the schoolmaster of Newtoun", to "James Rodger, schoolm<sup>r</sup> in the west end of Yester parochie" and to the teacher of "Gifferhall school"—that is, these children crossed into the parish of Yester and attended school there<sup>2</sup>.

In more populous and larger parishes provision for universal education depended on there being more than one school. As we have seen already,

1. It is notable that, whereas the Act of 1646 was intended for the 'founding of Schooles', its 1696 edition was entitled an 'Act for Settling of Schools': it is possible that this change of title signified a change of emphasis — in 1646 parliament expected to promote the general establishment of schools *ab initio* but in 1696 the need was to secure what was, or was expected to have been, established. In two respects the new act went beyond mere repetition of the 1646 requirements. The heritors now did not carry the whole burden of the stent for a school and for a master's maintenance: half was to be paid by their tenants — an attempt to soften the blow of reintroducing the more exacting demands of the previous act? And the way was closed in 1696 to parsimonious heritors who wished to avoid paying the full, stated stipend by deducting from the agreed sum those fees which a schoolmaster would receive from his kirk session for service as reader and clerk — clearly implying that this stratagem had been successfully tried in earlier days.
2. Bolton K.S. Mins., 16 October 1664; 27 May 1665; 1 June, 16 November 1685; 8 October 1686; 27 February 1687; 19 November 1693; 15 August 1697.

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Prestonpans had an 'official' English school as well as its grammar school, at least after 1674. The books of session-accounts show frequent payments of fees to private teachers who admitted the children of the parish poor to their classes: the teachers were to this extent 'recognised' by the kirk session. Elizabeth Gullan received quarter-payments consistently from 1675 until the end of the century<sup>1</sup>; George Horsburgh, Janet Straton, Isabel Gullan, Elspeth Russell, Margaret Wedderburn, Catherine Laurie, Anna Blackburn, James Dunbar and Eupham Donaldson are all mentioned as receiving poor scholars' fees in the 1690's<sup>2</sup>. Catherine Laurie taught her school in Dolphinton; where the others were situated is not shown.

Prestonpans was very populous, but a relatively small parish nonetheless. Tranent and Aberlady were considerably larger, with sizeable centres of population some distance from the 'toun' which gave those parishes their names; in each, schools were maintained locally for the benefit of these communities and were 'official' and 'public' in that their teachers usually received salaries from the heritors or the session or both.

On 3 December 1643, at an Aberlady session meeting, "the schoolmaster of Ballincreefe gave in ane memorandum to gait ane collectione for his help as he was wont to gait" and the elders of Ballancrief were directed to give him "yair pairt of ye box"<sup>3</sup>. When the presbytery visited Aberlady on 20 October 1647, it was said that the parish "had a scoll in Bancrif and yt the sessione pays him 16 lib whereof he [the minister] desyr they may be liberat"; it was then apparently agreed that the responsibility for its maintenance lay on the local landowner for "my lord Elibank promiseth it shall not be taken of the sessione." We next read of the Ballancrief school in the session minutes of 1702 but it may well have been in existence throughout the intervening years.

Tranent kirk session maintained schoolmasters or schoolmistresses in Cockenzie and Seton, paying house-mail to them and stipulating what they might ask by way of quarter-payments; "the honest men of Cockaine" seem to have paid half the rental of the school house there while the session was

1. In 1698 and 1699 the payments to her were for as many as 21 or 22 poor scholars.

2. Prestonpans K.S. Accts., (1689-1703), *passim*.

3. Alexander Smith, one of the elders, protested that the schoolmaster — James Scot — was not worthy to receive any payment, because he caused his pupils to steal iron with which he could build himself a chimney.



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responsible for its repair<sup>1</sup>. By 1704 the village of Elphingston had its own schoolmaster who was also receiving payment from the session for teaching the poor<sup>2</sup>. And, although there is no mention of it in the Tranent minutes, there was a school—probably a grammar school—in Longniddry in 1688, several years before that part of the parish was disjoined at the erection of Gladsmuir.

Although this new parish was formed in 1692, it was not until 1707 that it was provided with a legal parochial school<sup>3</sup>. But this is not to say that until that date the parishioners of Gladsmuir were without schools for their children. An early session minute, of 19 July 1692, "appoints the elders in the toune of Penstoun to advise the people there to put their children to the school" and this direction was repeated the following year. Six years later the inhabitants of Penstoun petitioned that they might be provided with a schoolmaster and, within a week, we read that "the session hath granted them a schoolmaster and the Laird of Lamingtoun hath granted a house to teach the children in"<sup>4</sup>.

Samuelston also had a school whose master was given the customary 10 marks a year for teaching poor scholars. In August 1703, when the people there complained that they could not get a sufficient person to teach the school for lack of encouragement, the local heritor and the session combined to provide a remedy: two months later Thomas Hog, on his appointment, was promised £6 Scots plus a boll of bear and a boll of oats from Lady Haddington and double the previous salary from the session<sup>5</sup>.

These two schools, like that of Longniddry, were probably already in existence in 1692 and were taken over by Gladsmuir kirk session at that time. They exemplify what must have been a quite usual feature of the educational history of this western part of East Lothian — that the landowners not only

1. Tranent K.S. Mins., 8 June 1652; 25 January, 8 February 1670; 28 November 1676; 2 December 1684; 16 April, 14 November 1704. On 19 April 1684 the session discharged "all privat schools holden by men or women in Tranent who teach boyes passing the single catechisme" and ordered all parents to send these children to the grammar school in the town.
2. Ibid., 11 July 1704; 2 September 1705.
3. Gladsmuir K.S. Mins., 13 June 1697; 12 October, 16 October 1698; 25 June, 23 July, 4 August 1707 (when Mr William Douglas "present master of the Latin school in Longniddrie" was appointed with a stipend of £80 Scots).
4. Ibid., 15 October 1693; 11 June, 18 June 1699. On 7 November 1703 the session instructed the master at Penstoun to admit the poor children of Macmerry to his school and allowed him 10 shillings quarterly for each of them.
5. Ibid., 22 November 1696; 11 June 1699; 17 October 1703. A school at "Elvingston (alias Traebroun)" had also been established by 1706.

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paid their proportions for the legal parochial school but were active also in providing lesser establishments in their own localities where these seemed to be required. Indeed, the common assumption that the summit of the educational achievement of any parish in the 17th century was the provision of a single school — and that even this provision was frequently not made — is not borne out by the evidence for our seven parishes. In this area the obligations placed on the heritors by successive acts of parliament were quickly met by them and often surpassed.

D. J. WITHRINGTON.

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