

TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
EAST LoTHIAN
ANTIQUARIAN AND FIELD
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FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY

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APPENDIX—

OFFICE-BEARERS AND LIST OF MEMBERS

Sir William Arbuckle, who contributed the first paper in this volume of the Transactions shortly before he died, gained experience as teacher and inspector of schools before joining the Scottish Education Department, of which he ultimately became Secretary. Yet he contrived to retain his interest in historical research. An inveterate hill-walker, he had a remarkable knowledge of the regions of Scotland and a particular interest in their ancient monuments. Possessing a memory that never failed him, a cogency in argument and a felicity of expression which convinced rather than overcame opposition, he was deservedly much in demand as a public speaker; members of this Society will recall with sadness mingled with pleasure his contribution at the 1966 Annual Dinner of a scholarly address on Alexander Somerville. — D.B.H.

SCHOOL EXERCISES OF THE 17th CENTURY FROM PRESTONPANS

The paucity of references in the local church records to the grammar school founded at Prestonpans by John Davidson, minister there from 1595 until his death in 1604, and the fact that not until the eighteenth century do these throw any light on the actual work of the school lend particular interest to two exercise books used at the school between 1668 and 1673 which afford first-hand evidence both of the scope of the work and of the high standard of the teaching.

References in the presbytery records¹ show that there was a school at Prestonpans before the end of the sixteenth century, and it is not clear whether the grammar school described as "founded and endowed" by Davidson was the same school enlarged in its functions or a separate establishment, although the former seems the more likely arrangement. An act of 1606 for the erection of Prestonpans into a separate parish, in ratifying the foundation of the school, states that "the said umquhile Mr Johne Davidsoun hes foundit in prestounpanis ane schole for teiching of Latine, grek and hebrew towngis and Language, and for Instructing of youth in vertue and learning; and that he hes dotit to the samin his heretage and all his moveable and frie gudis, for ane perpetuall stipend to the Maisteris at the said schole." Entries in the session records in 1604-5 show that steps were being taken to build a new school,² and this must have been Davidson's foundation. The subsequent history of the endowment is obscure, but the original value of the mortification appears to have been £1,400 Scots, the revenue from which came in time to be a burden on the estate of Preston. The managers appointed by Davidson to administer his endowment are said in 1615 to have been his surviving executors, the laird of Preston, the minister of Prestonpans, and the principals of the College of Edinburgh and of St. Leonard's College, St. Andrews, Davidson's own old college.³

Probably because the salary was in part secured by the endowment, the school was able to attract masters of outstanding ability. Alexander Hume,

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appointed in 1606, had been master of the High School of Edinburgh and before that had spent sixteen years teaching in England including two as a private tutor at Oxford.⁴ Of some note in his day as a scholar and writer, he also produced a Latin grammar which he completed in 1608 when at Prestonpans and which, following an enquiry ordered by Parliament into the harm done to Latin studies by "the want of the uniform teaching of all the parts of grammar," was prescribed by authority in 1612 for use in all schools.⁵ Of his successors at Prestonpans, William Spence became master of the High School of Edinburgh in 1641, as did also Andrew Rutherford in 1669 after some years spent as master of the grammar school of Jedburgh.⁶ Rutherford's successor at Prestonpans was Archibald Guillane, who at the end of 1669 was specially selected by the town council of Perth to be master of the grammar school, a post in which he showed great vigour and ability. He, too, became master of the High School of Edinburgh in 1679, and, although he died within a year, was noted for the "extraordinary pains" he bestowed on his pupils.⁷

The two school exercise books which are the subject of the present article belonged to two brothers, John and Peter Wedderburn, the sons of Sir Peter Wedderburn (1616-1679),⁸ who on becoming a Lord of Session in 1668 assumed the title of Lord Gosford from the estate which he had acquired in 1659. The boys can hardly be regarded as typical pupils since, besides having apparently enjoyed the advantage of having a private tutor, they came of a family with a considerable degree of education and culture. Their father, the son of James Wedderburn, town clerk of Dundee, was educated at St. Leonard's College, St. Andrews and after a successful career as advocate served as Clerk to the Privy Council before being raised to the bench. He had been helped to purchase Gosford by his uncle Sir John Wedderburn,⁹ a distinguished physician of the day, also educated at St. Leonard's, who had spent considerable periods both abroad and in England, where he numbered Jeremy Taylor among his friends. He was appointed physician to Charles II but spent his last years in retirement at Gosford, bequeathing to Aberlady church the four inscribed communion cups which are still in use. His literary interests are reflected in the large number of poems by John Donne which are copied in his commonplace-book and in the collection of books, still preserved in St. Andrews University Library, which he presented to his old college, St.

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Leonard's. Family correspondence¹⁰ shows that the Wedderburns were on friendly terms with many prominent men of the day, such as Sir George Mackenzie, Lauderdale, Tweeddale, and Rothes, and these relations are reflected in some of the Latin exercises.

Of the two exercise books, that of the younger brother, Peter, has been used almost entirely for Latin exercises. Unlike his brother's, it contains no references which expressly relate it to Prestonpans, but there is a strong presumption that both boys attended the same school, and one of several names which appear in the margins of Peter's book is of a person belonging to that neighbourhood. John's book is much more varied and interesting in its contents. Besides containing school exercises of a more advanced kind — Latin and Greek verses on a wide range of subjects, sometimes with local references — it was also used for further classical exercises and for notes on ancient history, apparently when the owner was studying at St. Leonard's College, St. Andrews, which he entered in the autumn of 1670. The book has also served as a common-place book, with copies of letters, sets of verses, amorous and satirical, some of which appear to have been composed by Wedderburn, and such miscellaneous items as a list of a collection of books and a summary of the rental of Gosford. Groups of these different types of item succeed each other throughout the book in a completely haphazard order, but the dates borne by many of the school exercises together with differences in the style of the handwriting make it possible to distinguish fairly definitely between items assignable to the Prestonpans period and later ones.

One entry which serves as a link between the stages of school and university is a copy of a Latin letter written in January, 1671 to John Wedderburn, then at St. Leonard's, by Thomas Nicolson, a former fellow pupil at Prestonpans, at that time attending Glasgow University. A reference to his uncle as the professor of theology enables the writer to be identified as Thomas Nicolson, the son of the laird of Trabroun in what is now Gladsmuir parish. In his letter Nicolson expresses his special indebtedness to his tutor, Mr David Anderson, in terms which imply that Anderson was at that time at St. Andrews. One David Anderson, who graduated at Edinburgh University in 1665 and was later a regent at St. Leonard's, is known from a letter of his to Sir John Wedderburn in 1676 to have acted as tutor to both the Wedderburn brothers while they attended the College.¹¹ But as Nicolson had gone

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to Glasgow University, Anderson could have been his tutor only at Prestonpans and it seems probable that Anderson's services were shared between the Wedderburn and Nicolson families, the boys being boarded with him in the neighbourhood of the school in accordance with what was a not uncommon arrangement at the time.

The two exercise books are of almost exactly the same dimensions, 8 inches by $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches and $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in thickness, bound in leather, with a double line stamped close to each edge and a verticle double line $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches from the spine. Peter's book has the initials P W stamped in the centre of each board, and on John's what appears to be an astronomical diagram consisting of a series of circles has been roughly incised. Peter's book now contains 54 leaves but there are traces of at least three more having been torn out. John's now has 79 leaves with traces of at least eleven more.

The grammar schools of that time provided for pupils between the ages of approximately ten and fourteen and were generally organised in five classes, which were numbered from the highest downwards. Instruction in English and such arithmetic as was professed was given at the "English" school, at which Alexander Hume had recommended that pupils should remain until they reached the age of ten.¹² The curriculum of the grammar school was given up almost entirely to Latin, with some Greek in the final year, the aim being to enable pupils by the end of the course to read, write and speak Latin with ease and to be able to follow disquisitions in it as they would require to do at the universities, where lectures were still delivered in Latin. Except in the early stages of the course, teaching was in Latin and pupils were required under penalty always to converse in it both with their teachers and among themselves while in the school precincts. The texts read covered a wide range of classical authors, both in prose and in verse, together with such Renaissance Latinists as Erasmus and Buchanan. Exercises took the form of translation from Latin into English and back into Latin, using as far as possible the vocabulary and syntax of the original, with considerable memorization of passages of verse.¹³ From this constant practice, Latin became almost a second vernacular in which a remarkable facility was acquired.

Since John Wedderburn's exercises bear dates ranging from August, 1668 to April, 1670, and since he entered St. Leonard's in the autumn of the latter year, they must represent work of the final two years of the school course, as

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is borne out by the predominance of fairly ambitious Latin verse composition and by the appearance of Greek only among the latest exercises. As John was born in January, 1657, his age at the time would be between $11\frac{1}{2}$ and $13\frac{1}{2}$.¹⁴ It is not quite certain whether Peter Wedderburn was born in 1659 or 1660,¹⁵ but as his exercises, although not dated precisely, fall within the years 1671 to 1673, they might have been expected also to represent the work of the two final years. In fact they are clearly of a more elementary character and probably belong to the two preceding years. This accords with the fact that Peter did not enter St. Leonard's until the autumn of 1674, four years after his brother. While John would be taught in the two highest classes by the master, Archibald Guillane, Peter, in the two lower classes, would probably be under the care of his assistant, the "doctor," who in 1672 was Walter Buchanan.¹⁶

The exercises in Peter's book number 125 — more if certain verses are reckoned separately. Translations from Latin are headed "Thema vernaculum" and translations into Latin either "Thema," or, more rarely, "Thema Latinum." The earliest exercises are based on fables, each with a moral appended. The following example is given.

Thema vernaculum

Of the agle and the crou

The agle fliing down from a high rock cliques away a lamb out of all the flock, which thing when the crou sau, being moved with envie flies upon a rame with a great noise and shaking, and plants her claus soe upon the fleece of the rame that she could not unried herselfe, with the motion of her wings. When the shepherd sees him hankerd he runs up and catches the crou, and having cut his wings, gave him to the boys to play withall. Which when a certain man asked the crou what for a foul he was, the crou says: formerly indeed as tuching my prid I was a Agle, but nou I knou to my sad experiens that I am but a crou.

Mor. The fable signifieth that he who adventures on any thing beyond his pour brings himselfe oft tims into adversity and shoes himselfe a fool.

Thema

De aquila et corvo

Aquila celsa ex rupe devolans agnum ex omni grege accipuit, quam rem cum corvus conspicatur, aemulatione motus, vehementi cum strepitu ac stridore, devolat in arietem atque ungues in arietis vellus ita implicat quod inde etiam motu alarum se explicare non potest. Nunc pastor cum ita implicatum vidit, accurrens corvum comprehendit, atque alarum pennis incisis, pueris suis pro ludibrio dedit. Verum enim, cum quispiam corvum

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rogaret quaenam volucris esset, corvus ait: prius quidem quo animum, aquila fui, nunc vero me corvum esse certo cognosco.

Mor. Fabula significat quod qui supra vires quippiam audet, hoc solum efficit, quod in adversa saepius incidit ac se vulgo ridiculum exhibet.

It will be noted that the vernacular rendering includes some Scots vernacular in "cliked," "unried" and "hankerd," just as a translation of another fable about a countryman seeking to cross a river opens with the words "A landward man about to pass over a speet." Such lapses are perhaps pardonable: Alexander Hume in the few "English" renderings of Latin words which he designed to give in his grammar included "I greet" for ploro, "sweir" for piger, and "bourdes" for sales.¹⁷

The exercises based on fables are followed by a group of considerably greater difficulty based on Latin letters, which from internal evidence can be identified as coming from the correspondence between Angelo Poliziano, or Politian, the fifteenth century humanist, and other scholars and notable figures of the day, including Pico della Mirandola, Pope Innocent VIII, Lorenzo de' Medici and Ludovico Sforza. All the extracts used in the exercises are found in a volume entitled *Angeli Politiani et Aliorum Virorum Illustrum Epistolarum Libri XII*, printed at Hanover in 1604, and the master of the school must have possessed a copy.

In the example given below it is instructive to compare the excerpt from the letter as printed, which is given first, with the pupil's vernacular rendering, and also with the Latin version he made from this, presumably without the aid of the original. In the second last line of the vernacular rendering confusion between "Medicum," the genitive of the proper name "Medici," and "medicum" the accusative of "medicus" a doctor, has produced the howler about "a Phisition building his nest in the sacred laural tree."

Baccius Ugolinus to Robertus Salviatus

Merito te Roberte docti diligunt, quos miro quodam ardore coluisti semper, et studiosi omnes amant: quos non modo opera sed etiam impensa iuvas, ut commodius proficiant. Ego vero etiam si nec doctis nec studiosis quidem annumerandus, plurimum tamen tibi debere me fateor, quod per te nobis, vel remotioribus copia facta sit divini admodum operis, editi nuper a Pico Mirandula, viro sane prae omnibus qui sint, quique fuerint, admirando: quem recte non iam Picum, sed suum vocat Phoenicem, in sacra Medicum lauro nidificantem Politianus meus, aliud aetatis nostrae miraculum.

O Robert, all learned men deservedly love the, whom thou hast all ways

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supported and ardently loved, and all students whom not only thou helps by thy pains but also by thy bounty that they may the better perfect there studies. But I, although I be not worthy to be numbered amongst learned men and students, never the less confess that I owe much to you because by thy means we though far distant have had the freedom of an excellent book set out let by Picus Mirandola, a man to be admired beyond all that are or have been, whom my Politianus rightly calls not picus but his Phoenix, a Phisition building his nest in the sacred laural tree and other miracle of our age.

Merito te Roberte docti diligunt, quos miro quodam ardore semper coluisti, et studiosissimos amant, quos non modo opera sed et impensa iuvas ut commodius studia perficiant. Ego vero etsi nec doctis nec studiosis quidem annuimandus, plurimum tamen me tibi debere fateor, quod per te nobis remotioribus copia facta sit divini admodum operis editi nuper a Pico Mirandula viro sane prae omnibus qui sunt quive fuerint admirando, quem recte non jam Picum sed suum vocat felicem in sacra medicum laureo nidificantem mens aetatis nostra miraculum.

There follow over forty exercises based on anecdotes, each generally conveying some moral point, about classical personages, Antigonus, Philip of Macedon, Alexander the Great, Pompey, Augustus, Diogenes, Solon, Socrates and others. As all of these are found, often in the same consecutive order, in the *Apophtegmata* of Erasmus either that work or some popular adaptation of it must have been used in the school.

The remaining exercises consist mainly of translations from Latin authors, including Cicero *De Officiis*, which gradually increase in length up to two pages or more of 35 lines each. About the middle of the book short exercises in verse appear, first in elegiacs and then in other verse forms, but never extending beyond a few lines. The last few pages of the book are crowded with miscellaneous items—several drawings, more or less complete, of the "tree of Porphyry," a diagram of ontological categories attributed to the third century philosopher of that name, a verse of the 137th psalm "By Babel's streams we sat and wept," a number of Latin phrases with their English equivalents, some figuring, and the inevitable doodles. Among several names which appear in the margins is that of Alexander Wedderburn, the younger brother of John and Peter and himself the father of Peter Wedderburn, Lord Chesterhall, and the grandfather of Alexander Wedderburn, Baron Loughborough, who became Lord Chancellor of England.

The exercises in both books have been reproduced as they were written, with all errors in spelling or syntax. Especially in the verse excerpts which follow, however, the punctuation has been brought into line with modern

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usage where necessary for the sake of intelligibility. The fairly numerous errors in Peter's book, together with the cramped arrangements and crabbed handwriting, suggest that the exercises are first attempts. None of the errors has been marked or corrected.

John Wedderburn's book contains in the part attributable to his final two years at Prestonpans exercises of a much more ambitious type written in a much larger and better formed hand than his younger brother's, and obviously fair copies. The earliest examples, dated June 20th, 1668 and signed "Joannes Wedderburne, aetatis 12^{mo}" show the degree of skill in versification expected of a boy of eleven.

Once Nanus bravely mounted on an Ant
And falling thence was jeared while belou
At length com'd to himself he says I grant
Thus did I fall and Phaetone fell so.

Formicae Nanus consessor decedit inde
Delusus dixit decedit et Phaeton.

A poet and a pot differ but in a letter
Hence it is that the poet love the pot the better.

Quod vas et vates parvo discrimine distant
Est quod amet vates pocula Bacche tua.

In the following August John's skill was applied to a purpose which every schoolboy must have approved, that of presenting the customary petitions to the local laird and the ministers of Prestonpans and Tranent to grant the summer holidays. Sir Thomas Hamilton of Preston,¹⁸ a veteran of Dunbar and Worcester, is addressed in magniloquent terms. "Equiti et summo Maecenati, splendido honestiorum studiorum Fautori, candido ingeniorum alumno, D. Tho. Hamiltono, inclytissimo juxta ac spectatissimo. S.P.D."

Heros praelustris generoso sanguine natus
Ducis ab antiquis nobile nomen avis.
Quae tua sit virtus Sabrinae flumina norint;
Et Regi et cunctis illa probata fuit.
Longa dies Regum gemmas consumet et aurum
At tua non ullo tempore fama cadet.
Dignus es usque cani prestantum Carmine vatium
Dignus et aeterno semper honore coli.
Virgea sceptrum gerens metuendus Ludimagister
Verberibus multis tergora nostra premit.
Sunt socii et comites fletus gemitusque dolorque
Noctes atque dies anxia cura labor.

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Pomifer Autumnus aestatis terga lacescit;
 In campo viridi floret et alma Ceres:
 Sit requies vires reparans concessa precamur
 Suppliciter lassos ut relevare velis.
 Si modo praeberis faciles auresque serenas
 Nos erimus memores nominis usque tui.
 Floreat et vigeat soboles tua tempus in omne:
 Prestonum perstet saecula cuncta. Vale.

Sir Thomas was no doubt flattered by the tribute in the second couplet to his valour in the service of his royal master at Worcester, and in that age of stern discipline the "dreaded schoolmaster" of the fifth couplet would probably accept as his proper due the picture that follows of backs aching under the birch, a recurrent theme in all the six sets of verses of this kind in the book. In the Sapphic verses addressed to "Mr^o Patricio Cook,¹⁹ Salinensi pastori, Patrono admodum colendo," the delights of leisure are feelingly dwelt on and Horace's "neque semper arcum tendit Apollo" is pressed into service.

.....

Membra sit tandem licitum levare
 Fessa Sextili et recreare lassos
 Spiritus nostros neque semper arcum,
 Tendit Apollo.
 Otium cunctis placidumque gratum,
 Otium musae capiunt amenae
 Otio suavi vicibusque gaudent
 Saepe Camenae.
 Otium summos relevat labores
 Otium vires renovat caducas
 Otium tristes minuit dolores
 Robora firmans.
 O sciens sacri reverende pastor
 Libera mentes, juga sint reposta:
 Laude te dignum prece clara ad usque
 Astra feremus.

Another school occasion of a less reputable kind, which survived in some districts into the last century, is recalled by a set of verses headed "Carmina ad impetrandum lusum ante pugnam gallorum, 14 Feb. 1670." These relate to the ancient custom whereby on Fastern's E'en (Shrove Tuesday) the pupils brought cocks to school which were pitted against each other, the owner of the champion bird being sometimes awarded a crown, while the fees charged

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for admission together with any cocks which were killed or broke off the fight ("fugies") became the perquisite of the schoolmaster. In a classical dress the barbarous character of the occasion is decently veiled and even acquires a certain Arcadian air. The words in italics are in Greek in the original, and the play on words in the third couplet turns on the fact that the Greek words for "school" and "leisure" are the same and that they differ only in a single letter from the word for "bile" or "anger".

Thespiadum de fonte tuis qui flumina promiss
 Discipulis, cui sunt regia sceptrata schola
 Atque in Parnasso tibi somnia dexter Apollo
 Concessit, reddas otia grata precor.
 Namque *scholē* atque *cholē* parvo discrimine distant
 Absque *scholē* studium vertitur in *cholēran*
 Aptentur Galli terrentes voce Leones,
 Sic erimus prompti legibus usque tuis.

Besides occasional verse of this kind the exercises include translations into Latin verse of passages of such varied origins as the twelfth chapter of Ecclesiastes, "Remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth," the so-called Golden Verses of Pythagoras from the English translation of 1657 by John Hall, the first stanza of Sir Walter Raleigh's poem, "Give me my scallop shell of quiet," and the epitaph in the form of a sonnet composed by James VI on the death in 1595 of his Chancellor, Sir John Maitland of Thirlestane. This epitaph is also carved on a marble slab on the west wall of the Lauderdale Aisle in the parish church of Haddington, but the version used in the exercise has clearly been derived from that contained in Spottiswoode's *History of the Church of Scotland* (1655), p. 411, to which it corresponds very closely.²⁰ Other exercises in the form of verse epitaphs have been inspired by the deaths of local personages including Lady Jean Boyd, daughter of the seventh Lord Boyd and wife of Sir Alexander Morrison of Prestongrange, John Hamilton of Easter or Little Fawside, and Alexander Henderson, the bailie of the barony of Preston. Though these include a few individual touches—the piety of Lady Prestongrange, the social qualities of John Hamilton—they are in the main exercises in conventional elegiac sentiment. Two examples follow.

Epitaphium in obitum Nobilis et vere
 piae D. D. Joannae Boid
 Dominae a Prestongrang

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Illius eximiae cum lugent funera Musae
 Quis maesto effundet pectore digna metra?
 Nobilis heu cecidit divina volumina callens
 Prima cui Deus, et cura suprema fuit.
 Exemplar morum, pietatis splendor amenae,
 Innocuae vitae palma decusque jacet.
 Proh pietas, probitas et spectatissima virtus
 Longaeva hic nequeunt prosperitate frui
 Sed rapiunt celsi coeli ad radiantia templa
 In queis aeternae gaudia pacis habent.

In obitum
 Joannes Hamilton a Faseid
 Epitaphium

Erige Melpomene maesto de pectore carmen,
 Triste canat pariter devia carmen avis.
 Flete senes cum queis bene vivere saepe solebat,
 Sustulit e medio saeva senecta senem.
 Non illo melior quisquam nec amantior aequi,
 Degebat vitam qui sine labe suam.
 Non pietas, non prisca fides tenuere cadentem,
 Sed secuit vitae stamina Parca suae.
 Sic quondam minuit Tithonum longa senectus,
 Fatorum rapida vi modo cuncta cadunt.
 Vita fugit, breve tempus abit, cita deperit hora,
 Invida namque rapit more Iuvenesque senes.

Equally topical was an exercise set on 29th March, 1670 on the old Scots weather saw about "the borrowing days," the last three days of March, which, being generally stormy, were said to have been borrowed by March from April in an attempt to extend his wintry influence. In the second line "yon" was originally written "thon" but was corrected.

Vigesimo Nono Martii 1670

March says to Apryl,
 I see three hogs upon yon hill
 If you'll lend me days three,
 I shall cause yon hogs to die,
 But when three days were past and gone
 The Sillie hog's came hirpling home.
 Nomine de Martis Mensis sic ore locutus
 Aprili Mensi, cui Venus alma Dea est
 Esto Memor Nostri Thalami, concedito ternos
 Signiferi motus Solis in axe rotae
 Verveces cernis tres celso in Vertice montis
 Pan Deus Arcadiae queis tribus orbus erit

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Tres, ubi Luciferos radians praemisera Eos
Lanigeri tendunt serpere septa sua.

Besides exercises like those preceding which might have been set to all the pupils in the class there are a number of Latin epistles addressed to John's father, Lord Gosford, and his great-uncle, Sir John Wedderburn, together with sets of verses to persons of note with whom his family were on friendly terms, such as Sir George Mackenzie, Sir John Nisbet of Dirleton, the Earl of Lauderdale (as he then was) and the Chancellor, at that time the Duke of Rothes. These could not have been set to the whole class, and they may possibly represent private studies carried on out of school hours under the supervision of the tutor, David Anderson.

Of the family letters, the earliest is addressed to the writer's great-uncle, Sir John, who had now reached the age of seventy and was living in retirement at Gosford. The writer apologises for the presumption of one of his tender years in addressing someone so learned and venerable but says that he has been concerned at reports of illness. He hopes that his great-uncle will soon be restored to health and expresses the wish that he may live as long as Nestor.

Epistola ad patruum

1669

Spectatissime et venerande Domine

Martii 5 Iduum

Iamdudum ad te scribere in animo fuit sed non me latuit minime decere indoctum docto, balbutientem facundo, ineptulum seriis occupatissimo literis non perpolitiss molestiam exhibere: verum cum te non bene valere audiverim incredibilis in me excitatus est moeror, quem nec dictis nec scriptis exprimere nec me a scribendo cohibere queam: ita de salute tua sum anxius et te non prospera frui valitudine tanto dolore affectus sum. Deum Opt. Max. suppliciter et ardentem rogo, ut tibi pristinam restituat valitudinem et te diu incolumem servet; quod non solum meum quum etiam quamplurimorum tibi devinctorum (inter quos ego praecipuus) votum est. vale, et me ut prius ama.

Longaevi quis non optet tibi Nestoris annos,

Vota facit vatum qualia vulgus iners.

Annum non annos tibi plures opto, sed annus

Hic, mea si valeant vota, Platonis erit.

Tui observantissimus pronepos

Joannes Wedderburne

Salinis,

4 Calendas Dec.

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Of the two conflicting dates, that which follows "Salinis" (Salt pans) at the end of the letter is in the same hand as the letter, whereas that at the head of the letter appears to be in a more adult hand. The first may represent the date on which the original letter was written, and the second that on which it was copied into the book, the date perhaps being added by the tutor.

Letters from John to his father, dated only 1669, are in much the same vein of formal compliment and are heavily larded with quotations from Horace, Ovid and Juvenal. One ends with a metrical assurance that the letter is the writer's unaided production—

Crede mihi qui sis vir consultissimus aequi
Haec mihi scribenti non tulit ullus opem.

A letter of June, 1670 to Sir John Wedderburn includes quotations from Greek as well as Latin authors. A set of verses headed "Epistola ad patrem de mutandis vestibus tempore verno" opens with an echo of Horace,

Diffugere nives redeunt jam gramina campis,

and continues, rather surprisingly in that age, with a warning about the importance of changing into lighter clothing as the warmer weather approaches.

The verses addressed to public figures are generally of an occasional character inspired, in the case of Sir George Mackenzie, by gifts of a bible and of a copy of Epictetus. They dwell on Sir George's eminence in the law and his love of letters; on Lauderdale's noble descent and on the talents which have won the respect of his countrymen; and on the gloom cast on the Scottish scene by Rothes's temporary departure for England.

The exercises in Greek, which can be assigned to John's last year at school, are of a more elementary and formal character of the kind illustrated here, where an English sentence is rendered in Greek with the use of several different constructions. There are also, however, sets of Greek verses in the more common metres and sometimes on the same subjects as some of the Latin verses—on the Roman Empire, on the Delphic oracle, on Happiness and so forth. The study of Greek in the grammar schools was at this time viewed with a somewhat jealous eye by the universities, who were inclined to regard it as an encroachment on what was properly their peculiar territory. Indeed, a decree of the Privy Council in 1672 forbade all persons, not publicly authorized, to teach philosophy or the Greek language as tending to "the prejudice of Universities and Colleges."²¹

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John Davidson had intended that the grammar school which he endowed should teach Hebrew as well as Latin and Greek, but although Hebrew was taught in some Scottish schools, e.g. those of Aberdeen and Perth, even before the Reformation, its study appears to have been gradually discontinued in the following century, and it seems unlikely that it survived for long at Prestonpans.

Of the two Wedderburn brothers, John, after concluding his education at St. Andrews, succeeded to the estate of Gosford on his father's death in 1679, the same year in which his great-uncle Sir John also died. Appointed a member of the Privy Council in 1683, when barely twenty-six years of age, he also acted as a Justice of the Peace for the shire of Haddington, a Commissioner of Supply and a member of Parliament.²² The family correspondence shows that he spent a good deal of time in London and was debating whether to seek a career at Court or in military service.²³ There is some evidence that in 1684 he commanded a Scottish unit in the service of the King of Denmark, but in the following year he was back in Scotland as major in command of a troop of horse engaged in suppressing Covenanted conventicles. His notebook, incidentally, contains some satirical verses on the presbyterians, including a decidedly brutal one on the execution in 1678 of the covenanter James Mitchell, who had ten years earlier attempted unsuccessfully to shoot Archbishop Sharp. In June, 1686, he was deprived both of his place on the Privy Council and of his military command by James II, possibly because he was among those who had shown opposition to the King's first moves in favour of Roman Catholicism. He died from drowning at Calais in 1688, leaving a natural son, David.

On John's death, the estate of Gosford passed to his brother Peter,²⁴ who, after completing his education at St. Andrews, had served for some years in the army. He was created a baronet of Nova Scotia in 1697. He had married in 1694 Janet, eldest daughter of Sir Charles Halkett of Pitfirrane, near Dunfermline and succeeded to that estate in 1705, assuming the name of Wedderburn-Halkett. He does not seem to have taken much part in public affairs but he lived until 1746, to become in that year the subject of a remarkably fine portrait by Allan Ramsay, now in the National Gallery of Scotland.

Of the brothers' teachers at Prestonpans, Archibald Guillane's later career has already been described. The tutor, David Anderson, became a regent at

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St. Leonard's College, but in 1679 he was presented to the living of Dunbarney, near Perth. A year later he became minister of the second charge at Perth, serving there until the Revolution, when he refused to recognize the new rulers and was deprived by the Privy Council on 3rd September 1689 to the great regret of his congregation and of the Town Council. He was described by Bishop Sage as "a good natured man and a very good preacher." After his deposition he took up his abode in Gowrie House and conducted a private school there for some years, dying in 1697 at the age of about 52.²⁵ His second son, Andrew, was the ancestor of the family of Anderson of St. Germaines.

Although Prestonpans grammar school maintained a high reputation well into the following century, the provision for the schoolmaster in Davidson's endowment was affected by rising prices. In 1675 the Presbytery of Haddington noted that the master of the grammar school "had but a mean provision" and that 80 merks which had been previously paid to him by the heritors were now withdrawn.²⁶ Fifty years later, Lord Grange, who as the owner of Preston estate was one of the principal heritors, observed in a letter of 1725 to Wodrow that, although the original annual income from the endowment of £1400 Scots, which he puts at ten per cent., was "pretty good, with the cheapness of those days," the £70 Scots "which was the present annual set" and which he paid to the schoolmaster out of his estate, "was too mean." Moreover, the schoolmaster was getting the worst of both worlds: for "the heritors seem not inclined to give him the ordinary allowance out of their estates since by this mortification he is provided."²⁷

Grange adds that the school had flourished until about sixteen or seventeen years before but was now declining. Nevertheless, Alexander Carlyle of Inveresk, who was brought up at Prestonpans, speaks highly of the state of the school in the 1730's²⁸ and it received a very favourable report when inspected on behalf of the Presbytery in 1739.²⁹ Greek had now disappeared, but Latin was taught in the four highest classes, where the visitors were equally impressed by "the diligence and skill of the Master and the proficiency of the scholars."

[The writer is greatly indebted to Professor T. Erskine Wright for assistance on points arising on the Latin and Greek texts].

W. F. ARBUCKLE.

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3. Educational Endowments (Scotland) Commission, 4th Report (1887) 528-30. R. McCrie *Life of Andrew Melville* 2nd ed. (1824) 510.
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8. Wedderburn, A.D.O. *The Wedderburn Book*, vol. i, 363-70.
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12. *Grammatica Nova*, Ad Parentes, Tutores et Praeceptores Juventutis Scotiae Paraenesis. second page (unnumbered).
13. Ibid., sixth, seventh and eighth pages (unnumbered).
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17. Hume, *Grammatica nova*, pp. 5, 6 and 38.
18. Hamilton, G. *The House of Hamilton* (1933), 699-701.
19. Patrick Cook, minister of Prestonpans from 1654 until his death in 1672. (*Fasti* vol. iv, 389).
20. For the various forms in which this epitaph has survived see *The Poems of King James VI of Scotland*, edited by Dr James Craigie, vol. II, S.T.S. Third Series, 26, (1958) pp. 166-7, and 250-4.
21. R.P.C. 3rd series Vol. III, 450.
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28. Alexander Carlyle, *Autobiography* (ed. 1910), 34 (note) and 64.
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A NOTE ON THE EMPLOYMENT OF THE MILITARY IN HADDINGTON, 1831

Public disorder caused by reforming opinion in Scotland during the Reform Bill crisis, and the conduct of those responsible for dealing with it, are subjects about which contemporary comment is unlikely to be wholly objective. They are, however, well illustrated from a reforming point of view by a letter from James Abercromby, Lord Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer in Scotland,¹ to the Lord Chancellor, Lord Brougham, of 29 May, 1831, relating to the employment of the Military in Scotland.² The letter describes an incident at Haddington arising from the General Election of May, 1831, which, in itself, is sufficiently curious to deserve notice: but its main interest lies in Abercromby's views on the strength of reforming opinion in Scotland, and the dangers of using troops to repress it. Also of considerable interest are his comments on the conduct of the Sheriffs and Lords Lieutenant in the situation.

The text of the letter is as follows:—

Copy

Edinburgh May 29. [1831]³

Private

My dear Chancellor

You will probably hear that matters are rather unsettled at Haddington. I hope it will end well and I should not have adverted to it but that it is an apt occasion for stating that which is strongly impressed on me by what has recently passed here. At Stirling and Lanark the Sheriffs called out for troops. The persons who were reasonable and opposed were the Gentry. It will always be so while the Sheriffs are the *Chief* Conservators of the Peace and have no notice. They have no nerves, no knowledge of men and no resource but in red Coats and sabres. At Haddington the Sheriff had been engaged for some hours in examining persons supposed to have been concerned in carrying off a Lauder Baillie to prevent his voting against the Reform Candidate.⁴ The people do not look upon this as a moral offence — they know

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that there are enough of precedent for such proceedings and they consider that the motive was sufficient to justify the measure. The Sheriff I doubt not from what I hear conducted the inquirey [*sic*] in a tedious and vexatious way. The people became impatient and in conclusion they found the place in which the accused had been put and rescued them.⁵ When the Sheriff was allowed to leave the Town, which the people did not permit till next morning,⁶ he came to Edinburgh and represented to Jeffrey⁷ that he could not recapture the people who had been rescued without Troops. To this, Jeffrey having no other resource assented but happily he saw Lord Tweedale the Lord Lieutenant of the County⁸ who would not hear of Troops and engaged to execute the warrants without them. With difficulty they got one of the Men⁹ and next day Lord Tweedale persuaded one or both of the others to surrender to Jeffrey who has discharged them there being no evidence against them. Now the question is about arresting the people who effected the rescue. The people of Haddington are resolved apparently to resist the arrest. Lord Tweedale says they have organised themselves in a surprising way and even he who was bent upon not allowing the troops to enter his County has agreed that they shall be tomorrow at Gladsmuir near to Haddington while he with the civil power, that is a sort of posse Comitatus attempts to take them. Now you will see that if the men had been left with the Sheriff the Troops would have been employed and perhaps blood would have been shed and even with the Spirit and good sense of Lord T [weedale] it is not clear that it can be avoided.¹⁰ If this happens in agricultural Haddington what might you not expect in Glasgow and the west. It proves that, of which there can be no doubt, that the people have adopted Reform with an intensity that will not brook disappointment. This is foolish conduct on the part of the people, and they reason ill in the particular case, but there is no bad spirit or object. It is only that they see no harm in protecting those who are promoting as they think the great measure of the people. I still hope that it will end well¹¹.....

Hapily [*sic*] the Troops have only been employed against those who have not been engaged in processions — if any Sheriff had been allowed as some of them would have done but for the Gentry to act against a procession the whole country might have been in a state of insurrection. The fact is, the troops are few, the Spirit of the people is sound, and a conflict except when the general feeling sanctions the interference of the military would end in

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defeat and serious evils. This being the case I view the conduct of the Sheriffs with anxiety and I certainly do feel that it would be right and with little delay to consider whether something might not be attempted in the way of notice so as to avert the danger which must follow from an indiscreet use of Military force by the Sheriffs. The Sheriffs are very good in their own trade but they are not fit to be at the head of a County. I feel this strongly and seeing how new and [space] the people of Scotland will be in the conduct of popular Elections and seeing the bad spirit of some of the aristocracy and Gentry and the resolute spirit of the people I do think it deserves consideration. The lawyers I fear will never moot the question in earnest. They will allow you to abuse a particular Sheriff in a particular case but you must not say a word about the body, for by doing so you are supposed to weaken the power of the Par[liamen]t House.* If you think there is anything in what I say you may send this Letter to Lord Melbourne as it may serve to prepare him for any thing he may hear on the subject from others.

Yours ever

(sigd) J. Abercromby.

One difficulty I believe is, that the respective powers of Lords L[ieutenant] and the Sheriffs are not properly defined so that when necessity for action arises there is more chance of collision than of co-operation between them.

* That is the Scotch Bar.

GEOFFREY B. A. M. FINLAYSON
(University of Glasgow).

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1. James Abercromby (1776-1858). Entered Parliament as Member for Midhurst in 1807. Member for Calne, 1812-1830. In 1830, appointed Lord Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer in Scotland, an office abolished in 1832. Returned in the reform interest for Edinburgh in 1832. In the Parliament of 1835, chosen as Speaker, retaining this position until 1839. On retiring, created Baron Dunfermline of Dunfermline in the county of Fife.
2. *Earl Gray's Papers, 2nd Earl, Papers relating to Scotland*. Copy of letter dated 29 May (1831) from J. Abercromby to the Lord Chancellor. (The Prior's Kitchen, The College, Durham. My thanks are due to Mr J. E. Fagg, Reader in Palaeography and Diplomatic in the University of Durham, for his permission to publish this copy, and for his help in connexion with it).
3. The year does not, in fact, appear at the top of the copy, but it is given on the outside.
4. The incident to which Abercromby refers took place at Lauder during the General Election of May, 1831. Lauder was a member of the district of burghs which com-

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- prised Haddington, Dunbar, North Berwick, Lauder and Jedburgh. At a Parliamentary election, the municipal council of each burgh within a grouping of this nature elected a delegate to a convention, and it was at this convention that the member to represent the district was chosen. [E. and A. G. Porritt, *The Unreformed House of Commons. Parliamentary Representation before 1832.* (Cambridge, 1903) II, 116.]. The position in this district of burghs in May, 1831, was that Haddington and Jedburgh had been secured in the reform interest by R. Steuart of Alderston, and Dunbar and North Berwick secured in the opposite interest by Lord Maitland, on behalf of Sir A. J. Dalrymple. The representation of the district, therefore, turned on the election of a delegate for the burgh of Lauder. The occasion of the election itself, on 4 May, 1831, caused a great deal of local excitement, the more so since it was generally understood that the town council of Lauder was equally divided. When Lord Maitland's voters were walking from an inn to the town hall for the election, it appears that the crowd which had assembled closed upon them, threw down Lord Maitland, and carried off one of his voters, Charles Simson, of Thriepwood (or Thorewood). Lord Maitland was rescued, having suffered certain injuries, but Simson was found some four miles to the south. He was not brought back to the council meeting. After peace had been restored, the meeting took place, and a delegate in favour of Steuart was elected. (*The Scotsman*, 7 May, 1831; 23 November, 1831. *The Glasgow Herald*, 9 May, 1831). Steuart was returned to represent the district, but on petition being made against the return, a Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to examine it. The report of the Committee was to the effect that Steuart was not duly elected, and ought not to have been returned to serve in Parliament for the burghs; and that Sir A. J. Dalrymple was duly elected. [Hansard's *Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd Series, V, 1105 (10 August, 1831)]. Steuart was, however, returned unopposed in 1832 for the district.
5. The *Scotsman* of 28 May, 1831, and the *Glasgow Herald* of 30 May, 1831, give full accounts of the inquiry and the "rescue." The inquiry was set on foot by Lord Maitland to discover those responsible for the proceedings at Lauder on 4 May, 1831. As a result of investigations carried out by the Sheriff of Berwickshire, three men from Galashiels were arrested to answer for their conduct at Lauder, and afterwards released on bail. During these investigations, however, it appeared that certain persons from Haddington were also implicated in the matter, and the Sheriff of Haddington was, accordingly, entrusted to carry out a precognition. This lasted for several days, during which one of Lord Maitland's men was brought from Lauder as a witness against two persons from Haddington. He identified them, and they were placed in the Sheriff court room until they could be conveniently removed to the county jail. When it became known that they were to be imprisoned, a crowd gathered, and at this, the Sheriff ordered the prisoners to be confined in the strong room of the Sheriff house. The crowd demanded the release of the prisoners, and, on the Sheriff's refusal, broke down the iron door of the strong room with a battering ram. The prisoners were released, and the Sheriff escaped from the crowd. The Lauder witness hid in a "press" of the Sheriff court house. The door was locked on him, "and there he lay quaking in fear for the remainder of the night, while the mob searched the house for him." (*The Scotsman*, 28 May, 1831). The released prisoners were meanwhile carried in triumph to the cross, and a run made on the Sheriff's house to break his windows. This was, however, prevented by Provost Dunlop, with some assistance, and there was no further trouble that night. Lord Maitland's man escaped the following morning before six o'clock; as the *Scotsman* remarked, he was unlikely to "show his face again." (28 May, 1831).
 6. When the crowd heard that the Sheriff was about to leave Haddington for Edinburgh in his carriage, the toll bar was occupied to prevent his departure until the prisoners had time to escape. (*The Glasgow Herald*, 30 May, 1831).
 7. Francis Jeffrey (1773-1850). At this time, Lord Advocate of Scotland.
 8. George Hay, 8th Marquess of Tweeddale (1787-1876). Lord Lieutenant of the county of Haddington, 1824-1842.
 9. The civil officers, after a search, succeeded in securing one of the persons who had been released, and took him to a carriage. They were, however, immediately attacked

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by a crowd, which made every effort to free the prisoner, even to the extent of hanging on to the horses' necks. The officers in charge threatened that they would first shoot the prisoner, and then defend themselves to the last extremity. The crowd hung on to the carriage for over two miles, stripping off their coats to increase their speed. The prisoner was, however, taken, although one of the officers was severely injured in the process. (*The Glasgow Herald*, 30 May, 1831).

10. It appears that there was less trouble than Abercromby feared. One of the two troops of the fourth Dragoon Guards stationed near Gladsmuir was ordered to advance into Haddington to protect the civil officers. A search was made, and so effectual were the means taken to prevent escape, that finally two persons, supposed to be the ring-leaders in the riot, voluntarily surrendered. They were immediately taken to Edinburgh, and after being examined before the Sheriff, were fully committed for trial. They were, however, later admitted to bail. (*The Glasgow Herald*, 10 June, 1831).
11. The sequel was that in August, 1831, the High Court of Justiciary in Edinburgh met to proceed to the trial of George Murray, Samuel McLauchlan, William Badger and Robert Brown from Haddington, and Alexander Clapperton, John Henderson and Thomas Turnbull from Galashiels, for the abduction of Charles Simson of Thriepwood (or Thorewood) at the May election. Owing to the absence of the Sheriff of Berwickshire, however, the trial was continued until after the circuits. Samuel Graham, who was in the same indictment, was outlawed for non-appearance. (*The Glasgow Herald*, 5 August, 1831). The trial was conducted in the High Court in Edinburgh on 21 November, 1831. McLauchlan and Badger were accused of mobbing, rioting and assault at Lauder on 4 May, 1831, and pleaded not guilty. Brown pleaded guilty to having been concerned in the abduction of Simson: he was the driver of the carriage in which Simson had been taken from Lauder. George Murray, Alexander Clapperton, John Henderson and Thomas Turnbull were outlawed for non-appearance. The jury found Badger not guilty, and the libel against McLauchlan not proven. Brown was sentenced to nine months' imprisonment: "their Lordships, in passing sentence on Brown, dwelt strongly on the point, that reform was mockery if election was not free." (*The Scotsman*, 23 November, 1831, where the trial is reported. There is no reference to the trial of any persons concerned in the "rescue" from the Sheriff's inquiry at Haddington).

THE BEGBIE FARM ACCOUNT BOOK, 1729-70

In the last issue of these Transactions, reference was made to an early farm account book in the National Library of Scotland, catalogue number Acc. 2900.¹ The greater part of it appears in the transcription below, those parts only being omitted that are too fragmentary to be made intelligible. The notebook itself consists of 81 pages, 6" x 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ " and the entries have been made from both front and back, working in towards the middle. This arrangement has been retained in the transcription. The few later entries dating from the 1790s have also been included and are marked in the text.

The Account Book deals largely with crops and wages on the farms of Congalton Mains and Carperstane in East Lothian, though it is often impossible to say to which farm an entry specifically refers. Some land was also worked on the Old Mains of Carberie. The laird to whom rent was paid seems to have been Sir James Suttie of Balgone. 50 bolls of oats were paid as part of the rent in 1729, and in the following year Sir James received £202. 2 Scots (£67. 0. 11 Sterling) and 49 bolls of oats. In 1763, two thraves of wheat straw thatch were delivered to the laird.

Farming was carried on by the Begbie family, of whom George, William, Charles, Patrick, and Mrs Elizabeth Begbie are mentioned by name. Internal evidence points to William as the writer of most if not all of the Account Book. His brother George was married in 1737, on which occasion William lent him money to cover expenses, and purchased from him "drawers and beoard" (a chest-of-drawers and a table), and two folding beds. Little of the personality of the writer obtrudes. His one philosophical comment, that "God was in a mask of confuson befor ever the worlld was mad or ordained," no doubt indicates that he had been impressed by a book or sermon. In 1770 he paid 1/- sterling for a seat in the kirk in the fore-pew. He must have suffered from deafness, since three cures are given, and the cure for cramp may imply that this trouble occasionally kept him awake at night.

The later entries in the 1790s are by a second William Begbie, no doubt a

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son of one of the other Begbies. He engaged to be servant with a Mr Corbet in 1792.

The contents of the notebook provide an important record of the details of eighteenth century cropping in this part of East Lothian, of the wages of farm servants, and to a lesser extent of everyday life and contemporary dress. A number of forgotten names for rigs or groups of rigs are preserved, and personal names come to the considerable total of just under 160, reflecting to some extent a fairly quick turnover of farm servants. The following notes attempt to analyse the information in the Account Book and to place it in a wider setting, where this has not already been done in the article in the previous issue of these Transactions. No attempt has been made to work out the Begbie family history from Kirk Session Records and similar sources.

Everyday Life. References in the text to the "moor," the "broom" and so on make it clear that the farm-buildings were surrounded by a great deal of unimproved land. Clustered around were the infield groups of rigs like those at the back of the byre and at the north side of the barnyard at Congalton Mains, and further groups, rather more scattered, were to be found on the outfield areas. On these groups the old Scotch plough with its team of 4 or more animals would have been at work in autumn and spring, and in spring too the harrows would have been following the plough, and the sowers stepping out with their sowing sheets full of grain, casting the seed rhythmically as they walked along.² The rigs were no doubt previously manured by lime from the kiln at Carperstane, or by good honest farmyard and town manure, the virtues of which were so well recognised that in addition to home supplies; cart loads were bought elsewhere at 6d each. On one occasion 50 loads were carted from Dalkeith to the Old Mains at Carberie, where the Begbies seem to have had at least two fields.

In due season the shearers would have been seen wielding their sickles on the rigs of oats, red and white wheat, bere, and pease, their numbers augmented by labourers, many of them perhaps from the Highlands, paid by the day or by the piece. This was as yet before the days of cheap seasonal labour from Ireland that was inaugurated by the development of cross-channel steamboats, starting with the *Greenock* in 1816³. The sheaves, when gathered and bound, were stooked in groups of twelve, ready to be carted home to the barnyard, and to be threshed in the barn by the swinging flail of the tasker.

The only other field crops were lint, beans, and meadow hay, of which a

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cart load was delivered to Musselburgh in 1759. At this time hay was cut with the scythe, not with the sickle, which was reserved for grain crops. The cutting of grain with a scythe did not come into general practice till after the first decade of the 19th century. Though turnips and potatoes were certainly known, even if only as garden crops, no mention is made of them anywhere in the Account Book, though Sir George Suttie of Balgone, the son of the laird, was said to have been the first to introduce turnips as a regular field crop in East Lothian, shortly after 1750.⁴

The rigs on which the grain crops grew were in the main unenclosed except for the remains of fold dykes. Nevertheless dykes were not unknown, for in 1732 or 1733 a dyker, Thomas Hanann, was employed to build 50 roods (275 yards) of dykes at 1/2 scots (1½d) per rood. Presumably this was a permanent dyke, such as would be needed round a kailyard or barnyard to keep out the cattle and sheep.

It is not possible to form a picture of the stock of animals. Horses must have been needed for the carts, which at this time were often drawn by pairs of horses yoked one in front of the other. In 1751 there is a reference to 27 wethers, all that were left out of 40, indeed "a great loss." Dairying can have played little or no part in the economy, or there should have been little need to buy a 9 lb. cheese at 30 pence (2½d sterling) the pound in 1769.

The appearance of the farm buildings can only be inferred. Thatch of wheat straw was used on some if not all of the roofs. In 1741 a chimney weighing 13 stones 7 lb. was made by John Winllan, presumably a blacksmith or joiner, in Kingston.⁵ It was furnished with "galloses" or braces, probably of iron, and cost £39 16 Scots (£3. 5. 1½ sterling).

Iron was a valuable commodity, appearing as an item of purchase several times, essential for making plough-shares and coulter, the rings for the wheels and naves of carts, and so on, hence the expense of the chimney. In 1730, 12 double trees (= timbers) and a small tree were bought for the repair of the barn, along with 6 deals of which a barn-door was made. The buildings at Congalton Mains consisted of a dwelling-house, a barn, and a byre, with a dyke-enclosed barnyard and doubtless a kailyard or garden in which cabbage plants, both the common and early varieties, were grown.

Fuel for the fire no doubt included peat, but coal was common enough. Two cart loads in 1749 cost 5/- sterling, and the carters had 2d for liquid

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refreshment, which was evidently regarded as a perquisite since the Buchan-Hepburn Journal for 1787 records, for instance, the payment of 3d. sterling to William Forgan, "to drink going to Cockenzie this day (20 January) with a cart."⁶ The cost of coal was down to 2/- a cart load in 1770.

Food for the household included a good deal of oatmeal, as was common throughout Scotland. 25 bolls of oats were made into meal for the house in 1729, at least 10½ bolls in 1730, 16 bolls in 1753, and so on. The large quantities of salt bought in November 1771 and September 1772 is likely to have been used for salting meat for winter provision. It was only after turnips came to be cultivated as a field crop, well through the 18th century, for winter fodder for animals, that fresh meat became readily available in winter. Very little food was purchased, though in the 1760s there are accounts that include a lamb's leg at 4/- (4d. sterling) twopenceworth of butter, a herring for a halfpenny, the 9 lb. cheese, and a shilling's worth of flour.

The contemporary rather small-scale herring fishing in the Forth, from open boats, meant that at certain seasons herring was available as a cheap food, and one of the Buchan-Hepburn manuscripts recorded that in September 1784, 2600 herrings were purchased for the cottars at 1/4 per 100, and in August 1785, 3750 for the cottars at 1/4½ per 100, and 300 for family use.⁷ The single herring bought by the Begbies does not suggest that it was a favourite article of food with them, and indeed, the widespread eating of herring goes hand in hand with the rather later development of the potato as a general crop. A pint of whisky was obtained, if not consumed, on the 28th March, 1750. The overall impression is that apart from these small luxuries, the Begbies were practically self-supporting, as their peers were throughout Scotland in the days before travelling vans and easy communications, and before ready cash became easily available for casual purchases.

In the matter of cloth, clothing, and footwear, the occasional references to lint imply that a certain amount of linen was home-made. A clothing list of 1741 referred to 25 coarse shirts, 6 linen shirts, 22 fine and 18 coarse stocks, 6 pairs of sleeves, and 14 necks (neck cloths). 10 shirts and 14 neck cloths appeared in 1751, and then in the 1760s buying became more of a commonplace. William Begbie bought a gown for "Pegie," a cloak, shirts, stockings and caps, and white soap either for washing the clothes or for personal cleansing. Many of these items were bought from, or repaired by, a lady called

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Helen Greg. William Begbie saw to the digging of her "yard" (garden), and was skilled as a cobbler. On occasion he mended the shoes of Helen Greg and her son. A pair of shoes cost 3/- sterling in 1750, and two pairs cost 5/- in 1763. Soling of a pair cost 2½d. in 1765, and three years later a pair of bend soles cost 4d., and the soling and "heel topping" of another pair cost 3d. The "modes" mentioned in one account were small-headed studs for protecting the heels.

Farm Servants' Wages. Wages in the Account Book were paid at the end of each "hailler" (half year). Over the 20 year period, 1739-59, there was a slow but gradual increase that brought the highest wage rates up from £11 Scots (18/4 sterling) per half year to £13 Scots (23/4 sterling) in 1758, with a sudden jump to £36 Scots (60/- sterling) in 1759. The only clear reference to payment in kind occurred in 1740, when 14 bolls of oats were supplied to the hinds at Congalton.

In 1656, an Assessment of Wages made by the Justices of the Peace for the Shire of Edinburgh⁸ set out the maximum wages of the whole range of farm-servants. The hind, half-hind, herd or shepherd, and tasker (when employed all the year round on a large Mains farm) were paid in kind, and occupied cot-houses. The other servants, not living in cot-houses, were the domestic or "inservant", getting 40 merks Scots (£26. 13. 4 Scots or £2. 4. 5 sterling), the "halfling" and able woman servant, each getting 20 merks Scots, and the lad or lass, getting 10 merks Scots, all per annum. At the end of the 18th century, Buchan-Hepburn estimated the wages of a cottager or hind (converting what he got in kind) at about £20.⁹ In 1805, a hind was getting about £25 sterling per annum.¹⁰ It has, of course, to be remembered that the annual value of wages in kind varied considerably according to the current market value of the grain. What the hind got might be worth a good deal one year, and much less another, but his interest was in subsistence, not in cash equivalents. Wages were still being paid in kind in the middle of the 19th century, though they had then increased, according to the minister of Whitekirk, by the value of five Linlithgow bolls of grain.¹¹ By these standards, both of the mid-17th century, and the late 18th-19th centuries, the wages in the Begbie Account Book were low, and indeed, for the earlier years, below the 1656 level. It is likely that the wages of those farm-servants who were not paid in kind had varied very little from the mid-17th to the mid-18th century. This matches to some extent current grain prices. In 1656 the highest fiars'

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prices for wheat, barley, oats, and pease were $13/4$, $11/1\frac{1}{2}$, $7/9\frac{1}{2}$ and $6/8$ respectively; in 1750 they were $13/6$, $10/2$, $9/2$, and $8/4$. If grain prices had changed so little (except for occasional fluctuations mainly due to political or climatic circumstances), there was no reason for wages to change, and it is only in the later years of the Account Book that the tendency can be seen for wages to start rising. The early 19th century evidence shows that this process was carried on, and since little Government intervention was involved it must reflect the changing conditions and increasing prosperity brought about as the Agricultural Revolution took firmer hold.

Cropping. The crops grown on the two farms were oats, bere, wheat, pease, beans, and lint. Common cabbage and early cabbage are referred to in 1772, and green kail in 1765, no doubt as garden crops.

These crops were grown on largely unenclosed rigs or groups of rigs, many of which have their particular names. The Account Book brings out very clearly the scattered nature of the cultivated strips and patches.

(1) In 1730, on Carperstane, the statistics were as follows: The wheat crop was spread over more than 33 rigs in 11 places, specified as the North side, the South side, the fauch, where the pease were (wheat here following pease), the rindes, the wester bases well, the east bass well.

(2) The oat crop was similarly spread over the middle shot upmost, the rinds, the back of the meadow, the under middle shot, the east and west rigs at the lime kiln, the butts and rigs be-west the latter, the loach, the berlly know, and the head of the muir, where 5 bolls of the east barns oats produced 38 thraves, i.e., a yield of c. 180 sheaves to the boll. On this basis, the 298 thraves of oats referred to implies a sowing of about 33 bolls, a thrave amounting to 24 sheaves. The 1740 oat crop on Carperstane was only a little less than this.

(3) The bere crop was spread over carper rig, at the east end of the bog, the rigs in the broom at the back of the meadow, part of the muir, part of the meadow, the phenfures ackre, hangcarle, the rigs in the bank, the rigs in the blind wall, the whinknow, the east side of the middle shot and the butts. The number of thraves again implies a sowing of 33 bolls.

The number of thraves of wheat is not given for 1730, but in 1740, 219 thraves of both white and red wheat were grown, presumably from 29-30 bolls. Assuming that the cropping areas had not changed much in those 10

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years, it would appear that oats and bere, each with 33 bolls, and wheat, with 28-30 bolls, were sown in almost equal quantities on this farm.

The crops on Congalton Mains were as follows:—

(1) In 1743, 72 thraves of white wheat were grown on the ground at the back of the byre, the east and west rigs at the Quarrie Brow, and at the north side of the barnyard, representing a sowing of about 11 bolls. 43 thraves (= c. 6 bolls) were grown at the south side of Mount Fair in 1740.

(2) In 1741, 72 bolls of oats were sown in the sandie hole, be-east the broom, above the broom, at the watering place, at the Market Gett, at the back of the byre, at the north side of the barnyard, in the broom lands, be east the houllt know, on the butts at the south side of the lint, on the folds at the headrig, beside the burn, on the back burn, on the east side of the green head, on the east and west lands, at the padiepill, in the daills be east the sandie hole, on the corslets, at the horse loan, and on the daill at the horse loan. The 1751 sowing amounted to 56 bolls 1 firloot.

(3) In 1732, 66 thraves of bere were grown on 16 rigs of the backside, representing 8-9 bolls sowing.

(4) In 1741, 24 bolls of pease were sown on the east side of the green head, on the east and west lands, on the back burn, at padiepill, in the daills be east the sandiehole, upon the corslets, at the horse loan, and on the daill at the horse loan.

Judging from this, and bearing in mind that there is no guarantee that the record is complete, Congalton Mains seems to have concentrated on oat production, and may, therefore, have had not quite so much good quality infield land about it, at this period, as Carperstane, with its more equal division of crops.

A certain amount can be gathered about the sales and disposal of the grain and pease crops, though it is not easy to relate this to the amounts sown, partly because it is rarely made clear from which farm the sales were made, partly because dates do not always match, and partly because there is no means of knowing how complete the record is. Where the place of production is specified or can be inferred, the following facts can be tabulated.

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TABLE OF CROPS

Date	Place	Crop	Amount disposed of	Average price	Fiar's Prices		
1730	Carperstane	Wheat	7 bolls	10/9	1. 13/4	2. 12/2	3. 11/1 $\frac{1}{2}$
1733	"	"	31 bolls 1 firloft	11/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	1. 7/8	2. 7/2	3. 6/8
1740	"	Oats	66 bolls	16/2	1. 15/-	2. 13/4	3. 11/8
1740	Congalton	"	87 bolls	16/3	1. 15/-	2. 13/4	3. 11/8
1741	Carperstane	"	52 bolls 1 firloft	10/-	1. 10/-	2. 9/2	3. 8/4
1742	Congalton	"	34 bolls	7/7	1. 7/8	2. 6/8	3. 6/2
1729	Carperstane	"	118 bolls 1 firloft	8/11	1. 10/10	2. 9/4	3. 7/8
1742	Congalton	Bere	130 bolls	10/8	1. 11/6	2. 10/4	3. 9/10
1730	Carperstane	Pease	16 bolls 1 firloft	4/9	1. 5/4	2. 4/8	3. 4/2
1740	"	"	8 bolls	£1.4.2	1. £1.2	2. £1	3. 18/4
1741	Congalton	"	18 bolls 1 firloft	9/2	1. 9/0	2. 8/0	3. 6/8

It is most unlikely that the amounts disposed of here comprised the entire return. If about 33 bolls of oats were sown at Carperstane in 1740, it is hard to believe that this yielded only the 66 bolls referred to above, since the quality of the grain was sufficient to attract prices well up to or beyond the highest fiars' prices. A seed yield ratio of 1:2 is low even by the low standards of the time, and a more likely picture is given in one of the Buchan-Hepburn MSS: 12

Year	Barley	Oats	Pease
1764	1: 6/7	1: 3	1: 4
1765	1: 7/8	1: 3	1: 3
1766	1: 9	1: 4	1: 2/3

The amounts in the Account Book, therefore, must refer chiefly to sales, and in fact the amounts of grain disposed of for payment of rent, in payment of the wages of servants like the hind and tasker, and for household use, form an insignificant part of the whole. The old saying about a three to one return, "Ane to saw, ane to gnaw, ane to pay the laird witha' " does not hold good here, or there would have been no surpluses for sale. It was the cash returns from these surpluses that allowed the Begbies to pay the farm servants in cash, to pay part of the rent in cash, and to have enough left over for occasional luxuries.

ALEXANDER FENTON
(National Museum of Antiquities).

BEGBIE FARM ACCOUNT BOOK 1729-70

GLOSSARY

Atill, except for, all but.

Boll, boue, a measure=6 imperial bushels.

Bauck, originally an unploughed ridge in a cultivated area, or a strip of unploughed land serving as a boundary between farm or neighbours' lands in the run-rig system. These were later tilled, but kept the name. They could often be recognised by their rising above the rest of the field.

Butts, a piece of cultivated ground which does not form a proper rig, which is separate from the rest of the group of rigs.

Coft, bought.

Crowd, probably a form of "curd."

Daill, a piece of land, one of the parts into which the common arable lands were periodically subdivided—a practice that had gone out by the end of the 18th century.

Divot, a sod, turf.

Fauch, a part of the outfield on which fallow was practised.

Ferm, a payment in money or in kind as rent.

Firlot, the fourth part of a boll.

Fog, moss.

Fogches, probably=foggage, rank grass.

Galloses, a chimney brace (=gallows).

Haller, a half year.

Houllt, =houlet, owl.

Keep, =cap.

Lone, a strip of grass serving as an access road through arable land.

Lume, chimney.

Melder, the quantity of grain taken to a mill to be ground at one time.

Modes, small-headed studs for the heels of boots or shoes.

Plack, 4d. Scots, i.e., $\frac{1}{3}$ of a penny.

Sharin, muck, dung.

Shott, a division of lands usually a third part of the infield.

Stoack, a stiff, close fitting neckcloth.

Stook, a group of 12 sheaves set up for drying, half a thrave.

Tasker, a barnman, the man responsible for threshing the grain with the flail.

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Thack, thatch.

Thrive, = thrave, 24 sheaves of grain.

REFERENCES

1. T.E.L.A.N.H.S. 1963. IX 21. This article was intended to provide a background to the Begbie Account Book.
2. There is a contemporary representation of just such a scene on a table tombstone in Liberton Churchyard, Edinburgh. See *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* 1904-5. XXXIX. III, for illustration.
mmmbmmmmmm
3. J. E. Handley, *The Irish in Scotland*, paperback edition, 1964 7 ff.
4. G. Buchan-Hepburn *Survey of the Agriculture of East Lothian* (Edinburgh 1794) 55-57.
5. The greater part of the contents of Kingston Smiddy, worked since the 19th century by the Cowan family, is now in the National Museum of Antiquities.
6. This journal is one of a number of Buchan-Hepburn manuscript journals and Account Books now in the possession of Haddington Town Council. I am indebted to Mrs Miller, Prora, for bringing them to my notice, and to Mr Hugh Craig, Haddington, for allowing me access to them.
7. Buchan-Hepburn MSS No. VI Cash Book 1783-7.
8. C. H. Firth *Scotland and the Protectorate* (S.H.S. 1899) 405 ff.
9. G. Buchan-Hepburn *Survey of East Lothian* (Edinburgh 1794) 90 ff.
10. R. Somerville, *Survey of East Lothian* (London 1805) 207-8.
11. N.S.A. 1845. II 35.
12. Buchan-Hepburn MSS., Crop Book 1764-76.

TRANSCRIPT OF THE BEGBIE FARM ACCOUNT BOOK

NOTE: Numbers in brackets show the pagination of the original.

23 of February 1739 10 firlotts wentt to Dunbar

James William Hoog in penston

72 f--ll of ----- coalls (1)
for iorn . . . llings sterlling and
7s. Scotts

I got from William Low the sum of 29 lb scots 17 day of Aprill 1729
The pan wood of coalls 8 lb. and 20s. scots and 6 pecks of bear—

Itm. 4 ston 10 lb. pound weight of iorn 35s. scots the ston.

The crop 1729 years

We have solld 14 bolls of oatts and a firllot and six bolls we have made the
year 1729 and 15 bolls for the house and 7 bolls for the tasker. (2)

boll and 2 bol

and a halff solld bolls we have mad . . . 6 firlotts att 5 lb. 5s.
the boll and 10 firlotts at 5 lb 6s. the boll and 6 bolls and a firllott solld for
changed seed 5 lb. 7s. the boll. Solld in Markett 6 bolls of oatts att 5 lb. 12s
the boll and 5 firlotts.

Mrs Rankin gott 5 lb. 12s. the boll and 10 bolls for the houses use and 50 bolls
payed of the ferm the year 1729.

January 19 1731

Recivve 2 ston of iorn 5 lb. weight and a halff a pound. (3)

[Ca]rper[ston] Dec. Pattrick Storie on halff - - - of pies from the strau
50s. and he gott halff a boll of pies box dried 55s. scotts a boll in the haille
recived. Solld of pies 5 bolls to Geo. Begbie 5 lb scots the boll one boll
nannie wady got 5 lb. 10 firlots solld in markett 3 firlots to the wever in north
berewick a boll Robin griv gott counlton 5 lb. & cotts 1729. George Begbie
gott 10 firllotts 4 lb. scotts 15s. the boll George Begbie boughtt 5 firlotts of
pies att 4 lb. 12 s. Davvid Simm gott a boll of pies 4 lb. 12 s the boll. George
Begbie boughtt 3 bolls of bear att 5 lb. 18 s the boll and 5 bolls of pies att
4 lb. 3 s the boll.

Jeanet Godrie bought half a boll at 50 s Jean Breody bought half a boll att
40 s the boll and 4 bolls pies. Solld in the market att 4 lb. the boll and 5
firlots solld 5 lb. 16 s. (4)

We solld to Robe fford (?) 10 bolls 6 lb. 12 s

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We sold to Alex: burtn 10 bolls 6 lb. 7 s this was the price thatt the year the price is above each quanty and 6 bolls sold in the market of bear year 1729 of wheat 9 firrlots of wheat att 6 lb. 16 s the boll and 10 firrlots 7 lb. 10 s the boll and 10 firrlots att 7 lb. 6 s the boll and 10 firrlots att 7 lb. the boll. 4 bolls of wheat a till a firlott att 7 lb. 6 s the boll.

George Begbie 8s. sterling of mony att on tyme and 13 lb. attill tupens and a guine of mony att another time. (5)

An account of oatts the year 1730 soold

George Begbie 3 bolls and a firlott att 5 lb. 6 s the boll and 4 bolls and a half of oatts 5 lb. 6 s the boll and 5 bolls in the market 4 lb. 6 s and 4 bolls attill a firlott in the markt 4 lb. 13 s scotts and 10 bolls oatts and a half to the mill to the house use and 3 bolls and a half of oatts and 15 firlots sold in the market att 4 lb. 5 s the boll. Sold in the market 10 firlots of pies 3 lb. the boll, 10 firlots of pies sold in the market 3 lb. the boll and 10 firlots of pies sold in the market att 4 sh. sterling and 6 s scotts the boll and a booll of beans att 3 lb. the boll and 10 firlots off pies sold in the markt att 3 lb. scotts the booll, paid of oatts 49 boolls the year 1730 for ferm. (6)

The crop the year 1730.

of wheatt sold in the market 5 firlots 6 lb. 6 s the boll sold in the market 3 bolls 7 lb. 3 s the boll and 9 firlots in the market 7 lb. the booll, and 5 firlots bought in the market from James Meek 8 lb. 16 s the boll and four riges in the north side and 3 in the south side of itt and half a boll in the bear measure 9 s sterling which shu (sowed) 2 riges of the fauch and 3 riges where the pies was and two in the rindes and a pice James Meek shue 2 Riges in the rindes and two riges ends. Crop 1730.

Pies price.

Sold in the markt 5 firlots att 4 Shillings sterling 6 pence, 10 firlots at 58 s. scotts the booll and 10 firlots sold in the market for 3 lb. scotts. Patt youert 2 bolls off bear shue all crperrig att the east end off boog which it shew 5 riges in the brom att the back off meadow (7)

The crop the year 1732.

In the wester basseswell 16 thrive of bear. Thomas Hanann ffor 50 roods off dyks 1s scots & 2d pines which the rood price which amountts tto 58 s. scotts and a pllack. The year which was the year 1733 John Yeaman got 5 firrlotts off rid wheatt att 6 lb. and a groatt which comes tto 7 lb. 15 s sold off wheatt the year 1733. 17 boolls off wheat in whitt att 6 lb. 12 s 10 firrlotts off whitt wheat att 6 lb. 18 : 6 firrlotts 6 lb. 14 the booll all whitt wheatt and 3 boolls off rid wheatt att 6 lb. the booll and 6 boolls of rid wheat at seven pound and a groatt the booll and a firlott.

The crop of wheat 43 thrvs of wheatt grow att the south side of mont fair. (1740). (8)

The crop of oatts 1733

Sold 5 boolls att 4 lb. 14 s the booll and 6 boolls att 4 lb. 11s and 12 boolls

TRANSCRIPT OF BEGBIE FARM ACCOUNT BOOK

wantting a firllott 4 lb. 6 s and 6 boolls att 4 lb. 6 s. Solld 9 boolls att 4 lb. 16 s the booll. Solld of pies 10 firlots att 4 lb. and 10 firllotts solld att 4 lb. 8 shillen 10 firllotts solld att 3 lb. 5 shillen the boll. The year above menttioned solld off oatt 3 boolls the price 4 lb. 16 shillen the booll. Solld in the marktett 6 Boolls off oatts all which price 7 lb. 5 s the booll. Will. Clark 6 firllotts of oatts att 4 lb. 16 shill. 1731: and 6 firllotts off oatts 4 lb. 6 shill. 1732: 14 lb. restten the last accountt 2 years pastt att meikllmes.

Ittm tto Hellewn Baxtter half a booll off pies 55 shillen scotts in which insttence 5 lb. 10 s the boll.

29 day November 1735.

(9)

Solld wheatt crop 1734

22 Bolls wheat tto Allxr. Taitt at 8 lb. the booll solld tto Robert Hoog 10 boolls off wheat att 8 pound scotts & 8 shillen the Booll. Solld to Robert Sttorie 6 bolls of whitt wheatt 8 lb. 4 s the Booll 10 firllotts of rid wheatt, solld in the marktett att 7 lb. 12 s 6 firllotts of rid wheatt solld in the market att 8 lb. the booll and 4 boolls and a firllott sold in the marktett att 7 lb. 4 s and a booll solld tto the tasker Allx. Mortten att 8 lb.

George Begbie received from Wm. Begbie his brother 5 pound sterlling & 5 lb. scotts the year 1737 in Aprille and ffor his Contrack off Charges one pound sterlling 14 Shillings sterllings & 10 shillings more att the agreeing off the marige & 32 lb. scots more & 8 s Scotts ffor your drawers & beoard. (10)

George Begbie you received from my oun sellf 5 guiens of goolld at once upon 11 day off May 1737 and 15 lb. Scotts for the 2 ffoldding beds 20 pound Scotts you received from me upon the 16 day of May 1737.

In the lasst ffriday off May 1737 I bought a bar of Iron which cost my sellf 5 pound scotts & elleven shillen scotts. I received from George Begbie 5 gunines att one time and 31 shillings sterlling att another time.

Solld tto Robert Sttorie 30 bolls off whitt wheat att 7 lb. sixpence and 10 firllotts solld att 7 lb. 7 s scotts & 15 firllotts solld att 7 lb. 12 shillen scotts solld in Hadinttoun market & 3 boolls John Yeaman gott in countt off the farm 1737 & one bow of more iron cosst 52 shillen and 6 pinnens since May & other ttwo bows of iron which 5 lb. scotts since May a Bar of iron I coft from cornillous Nillson 3 stton 10 pound weight att 28 s scotts the stton 5 lbs. scotts 30 pinines scotts one bar of iron from Cornilous which weight 3 ston 3 quarters which cost 5 lb. 5s in wholle. A bow of iron which cost 52 pence. (11)

Crop 1737

Solld in the market 8 Boolls of oats the price five pound scotts & seven shillens scotts the booll the crop of bear 1737 solld to Mr. Suanton 25 bolls bear the price 6 lb. scots 16 shillens the Booll one boll of pies sold to James deans merchant in north berwick the price (not given).

Bought of pies 2 Boolls the price six pound scotts & one shillen sterling the booll from Robert Storie the year 1738: two boolls of bear solld in the market which price 6 lb. 14 shillen the booll solld of the crop 1737: 4 boolls of oats the price 4 lb. 2s scots at the Whittsunday.

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The Winter Hailer 1740

	lb.	s.	d.	
Itm to John Blackburn pyd	12	0		
" Wm: Whiett pyd	8	00		
" James Haie "	5			
" James Mecllinnen pyd	4	10		
" Robert Miller "	11	0		
" Andrew Broke "	11	0	0	
" James Reid "	10	0	0	
Robe Whithead	1	10		(12)

The wintter hailer 1739

	lb.			
John Blackburn	11	00	00	pyd.
Hugh Huntter	9	10		"
William Whiett	7	10		"
James Haie	4	10		"

32 lb. Scots.

The Sumer Hailer 1740

John Blackburn	11	00	pyd
John Hunter	10	00	"
Will: Whiett	8	00	"
Ittm. to Geo: Smith	6	00	"
" " James Haie	5	00	"

40

The Sumer Hailer 1741

Itm. to Will: Whiett	10 lb.	10 s	pyd
" " Archbald Young	11 lb.	00	"
" " James Haie	5 lb.	10 s	"
" " Patte Reid	5 lb.	scots	"
" " Robert Hoog	8 lb.	scots	"

39

18

87 lb.

(13)

The winter hailer 1742

Ittm. to William Littster	11	00	00	pd.
" " James Ried	10	"	"	"
" " James Haie	05	10		pd.
" " George Russell	03	pd.	00	
" " John Wood	11	pd.	00	
" " George Scoghall	08	10	pd.	

The sumer hailer 1742

William Littster	11	payed
John Jaffrie	11	"
Hugh Blackburn	05	payed
James Haie	06	"
James finlson	05	"

TRANSCRIPT OF BEGBIE FARM ACCOUNT BOOK

The winter hailler just now entered at Martmis 1742

William Littster	11	payed
John Jaffre	11	"
James Haie	6	10 s
George Pringle	11 lb.	payd
Wille Carnes	4 lb.	"
Robe Whiethead	1:10 s	"
	<hr/>	
	44 lb.	Scots

(14)

The summer hailler 1743

Itm. to John Jaffere	12 lb.	pd.
" " George Pringle	12	"
" " James Crooks	06	"
" " William Goodalle	10	"
" " James Haie	06 10	"

The winter hallier

John Jaffre	12	pyd
George Pringle	12	"
James Croks	06 . 10	"
James Crafford	12	"
James Haie	07 . 12	"
	<hr/>	
	49	

The summer haillier 1744

John Jaffre	12	pyd.
James Craford	12	"
" Haie	07 : 10	"
" Crooks	06 : 10	"
John Lauther	05 : 05	"
	<hr/>	
	42	

(15)

The winter hallier 1744

John Jaffre (pd)	12
George Pringle "	12
James Haie "	08
James Crooks "	07
Charells Alpeston for the hailr.	3. 10 pd.
Charls. Alphstson for the hailr.	3.10 for a year. pd.

I owe John Jaffre twenty four pound scots past at martmis last

I owe John Jaffre 12 lb. scots at the whittsday 1745 which is 3 pound strling.

I owe him of his wages in wholle wrought for payed.

TRANSCRIPT OF BEGBIE FARM ACCOUNT BOOK

The summer haillier 1745

John Jaffre	pd.	12	
George Pringle	"	12	
James Crooks	"	07	: 10
James Hackerston	pd.	06	
John Jafre	I owe him 12 lb. scots at martmis 1745		

(16)

The winter haillier 1745.

	lb.	
John Jaffre	12	pd.
James Eketon	12	"
George Pringle	12	"
William Oglevie	07	.10 "
Charlle Alphston	04	.10 "
Charlle Alphston	05	:00 pd.

The sumer hailler which the number of his wages is the line above.

George waits son is hierd to me 6 lb. the winter hailler.

John Jaffre a firlof of bear 1744

George Pringle 10 firlofs of oats at 6 lb. 12 sterling the booll.

the lad of pheriegethire 7 lb. 10 s

I John the tasker heentn upon 23 day of feburay his wages 10 lb. scots.

I wanted 5 days & a half as to our bargain.

(17)

The summer hailler 1746.

George Pringle	12	. 00
James Ekton	12	. 00
Wille Waitt	06	. 00
Andrw Ellder	07	. 10
Robert Rooss	12	: 00
	49	. 10

The winter hailler 1746

Robert Rooss	12	. 00
George Pringle	12	. 00
Willie Waitt	06	. 10
Andrew Ellder	08	. 00

Charlle Allphston hired for one year enters at martmis first his wages 5 lb. 10 the sumer hailler and 5 lb. the winter hailler. Charells Allphston paid the winter hailliers wage 5 lb. which he gets 5 lb. 10 s the winter haillier coming. payd.

(18)

The sumer hailler 1747

George Pringle	payd	12	. 00
Robert Ross	"	12	. 00
James Haie	"	12	lb. scots
Willie Waitt	"	6	. 10
Thomas Finllson	"	4	: 00

TRANSCRIPT OF BEGBIE FARM ACCOUNT BOOK

The winter hailler 1747. (This is scored out).

Thomas Finllson hierd for a year the hailler.

Charells Alpthston hierd for a year 5 lb. 10 s the winter hailler and 6 lb. the sumer hailler 1748.

Robert Rooss	pyd.	12 : 00	
George Pringlle	"	12 : 00	
George Wait	"	3 : 00	
— Henderson	"	5 : 00	
John Jaffre	"	12 : 00	(19)

The Sumer hailler 1748

Robert Dobie	pyd. & 10 s referd	3 . 10
James Hendrson	payd.	6 . 00
Wille Wait	"	7 . 00
James Haie	"	12
James Crooks	"	12
John Jaffre	"	12

one shill. sterll. payd.

The winter hailler coming

James Haie	12 : 00	
Robert Roos	12 : 00	
Robert Pures	06 : 00	
Patt. Bain	07 : 10	
Alexander Wood	12 : 00	(20)

The sumer hailler 1749.

Robert Rooes	12 : 00
James Haie	12 : 00
Alex: Wood	12 : 00
Pat: Bain	07 : 10
Robe Pures	06 : 00
John Stivenston	04 : 10

The summe 54

The winter hailler coming

Robe Rooes	12 . 00 : 00
James Haie	12 . --
Allx: Wood	12 ---
Robe Pures	07 ---
John Stivenston	04 . 10
Will : Morton	: 06 : 00

William Begbie.

(21)

The summer hailler 1750

Robert Roos	pyd	12 . 00
Thomas Wright	"	12 . 00
Robin Pures	"	07 : 10
Wille Morton	"	05 : 10
John Stevenston	"	05 . 00

TRANSCRIPT OF BEGBIE FARM ACCOUNT BOOK

The winter hailer 1750

Edom Whitthed	12 . 00	
Shar. Whight	12 : 00	
John Whiet	08 : 00	
Alex. Wait	08 : 00	
James Harly	05 : 10	(22)

The sumer hailer

Adam Whithed	payd	13.
Allx. Wait	"	8 : 10
John Thomson	"	13 : 00
John Whiet	"	8 : 00
Andrew Waitt	"	5 : 10
James Houton	"	
		<hr/> 15

and 3 shillings sterling for a pair of shuees.

81 lb.

The winter hailer 1752

John Thomson	13 : 00	
John Whitt	8 : 00	
Andrew Waitt	6 : 00	
Andrew Fraser	20 : 10	(23)

This is a memerandum that I have made a bargin with Alexander Feremer for sixty boolls bear att six pence above the hiest ffeirs which I have received ffifteen pounds sterling of the summ upon the 15 day of November 1751.

July 1 10 Shirts
 14 Neck Cloths

(24)

The sumer hailer 1752.

John Thomson	pd.	13 . 00
Andrew Freser	"	13 . 00
John Whiet	"	08 : 00
Andrew Wait	"	06 : 10
James delie	"	06 : 00

The sumer hailer 1753.

John Thomson	13 : 00	payd.
Alexander Wood	13 : "	"
John Whiet	08 : 00	"
James Muggall	07 : 10 . 00	"
	William Begbie	

James Spittle

(25)

TRANSCRIPT OF BEGBIE FARM ACCOUNT BOOK

The winter halir 1754.

Mathew Willimson	pd.	13
James Muagall	"	08
John Dickson	"	13
John Whiett	"	08

John Clark	3 lb. pd.	42
Sumer hailler :		18

1754 60

Matheu Willimson	pd.	13 : 00
John Dickson	"	10 : 00
James Mugall	"	8 :
John Whiet	"	8 : 00

The sumer hailler 1755.

Will Whigham	pd.	13 : 00
Joh: Morton	"	10 : 00
Will: Craford	"	4 : 10
John Whiett	"	8 : 00

(26)

The winter hailler 1755.

Will Whighame		13 : 00
John Morton		10 : 10
Peter Jamson		10 : 00
Will Craford		6 : 00

The winter hailler 1757

John Morton		13 : 00
Peter Jamson		10 : 00
Wm. Craford		7 : 00
John Houden		4 : 10

The sumer hailler 1757

This is	}	Simpson	12 : 00	
scored		Whitsdy come a year hired	Petter Jamson	10 : 00
out		John Houden		5 : 00

(27)

The sumer hailler 1758

Mongoue finllson		7 : 10
William Whigem		7 : 10
Petter Jamson		10 : 00
John Dickson		13 : 00
John Houden		5 : 10

		43 : 10
Allex Ducankn	20 lb. scotts	18
Petter Dickson	14 lb. "	
Mung finllson	9 " "	61
John Houden	6 lb. " & 10 s	

(28)

TRANSCRIPT OF BEGBIE FARM ACCOUNT BOOK

ffor the sumer hailler 1759.

Patt Dickson	18 : 00
Monge ffinlson	09 : 10
Will : Craford	09 : 00
James Bell	05 : 10

The winter hailler

Will Crafford	11 : 00
James Bell	6 : 00
Frank Larg	15 : 00
Pettr Jams	8 . 10

(29)

1759.

Ane account of the Lairds of money	7 lb. 10
two boolls of oats	00 . 00
a booll of oat meall	00 . 00
half a booll of bear	00 . 00
for one cart liding of hay to muslbrugh	3

shillings strling

Mrs. Strachan upon the head of the bow

Marchant

Mrs. Strachan upon the head of the bow marchant.

William Begbie 1766 years.

May 18	5 shirts	
	3 Neck clothes	
	3 pr. stockings	1 vest
	2 Hankerchifes	1 ceap

(30)

	Sh.	d.	
David Person	02	: 00	This last
Alex Triplin	01	: 06	month
Charls Christe	01	: 06	counts
heie rods	01	: 06	against
poors money	01	: 02	Octobr the
Cubie	00	: 10	tenth day.
Wattson	03	: 00	

I have received 4 shillings already of the month
(line scored out)

for a fish	00
Helen Greg	1 : 6
Officer	1 : 6
Christe	1 : 6
peck of meall	1 : 0
for wooll	1 : 6
	9 : 6

7 : 4 : 6
1 : 0

8 : 4 : 6

(31)

TRANSCRIPT OF BEGBIE FARM ACCOUNT BOOK

Salt officer 1765 shilling

Mr. Thomson received 4 of 20 ---

Received 2 shillings

" 2 "

Ane account of Charlls Broun

This Moneth of March begins Payment one shilling sterling each moneth by our bargine.

An count of Hewelln Greg for labrouing of her yeard one shilliens sterling there is for mending shooes and solling two shillings and sixpence.

March. Mrs Hempseed I wrought six hours one thursday 5 hours one friday 4 hours one sattrday 8 hours one munday 5 hours one tuesday 4 hours one thursday 6 hours one munday. (32)

I have gott of muck from James Brews 7 cartfull.
Thoms Mafet 3 cartsfull Thoms Mackmilln 1 cart.
one cart full coft 6 pence.

Brewes	7 cartfull	
Brewes	2 cartfull	16 : 1
Brewes	2 cartfull	15 : 1
Brews	1 cartfull	15 : 3
		<hr/> 37 : 1

The Bouchers	5 cartfull	
The Boucher	8 cartfull	
Brews	6 cartfull	
Brews	6 cartfull	
Maffett	2 cartfull	
Mackmilln	2 cartfull	(33)

Brews 2 cartfull
Mafet 2 cartfull
Mackmilln 4 cartfull
Merandom
Memardom

Thrives of wheat grow upon the felld att the oldd mains seventy thrives
seventy thrives of wheat grow upon the feilld att the drain.

50 carts full of muck I dreve out of Dellkith to the oldd mains of carberie
march 23

(34)

TRANSCRIPT OF BEGBIE FARM ACCOUNT BOOK

	1792.	Wm. Begbie	sh.	d.
June 3	paid for washing		1	8½
30	do.		1	4
July 13	do.		1	2
21	"		"	1
28	"		"	6½
Aug. 4	"		"	9½
11	"		"	5
18	"		"	6
25	"		"	7
Sep. 1	"		"	5
8	"		"	8
15	"		"	6

(A later entry).

(35)

Sold of wheat the crop 1760.

James Craig 16 boolls one firlof wheat.

18 day of september.

James Craig fiftten bools on firlof 7th of october.

" " eleven " of wheat 18 of ocother

" " 14 " " " 1st day of November 1760.

" " 5 " " " 8 " " "

" " " " " " fifteen " " "

" " ten " " " 2nd of Decembr

" " " " " "

(36)

I entert upon the 20 day of November to the work 1762.

a shet of stampes a sheete of post paper William Begbie
Ingaged to be Mr. Corbet Servt. Friday July 6th 1792

[March 10th 1763

Recived of Willam Begbie full of all demands of ther
hous rent for the year 1763 according to a Griement befor
these witnesses] — this scored out.

(37)

Itt for a quarter of a year wages.

	£.	sh.	d.
Ittm for Kichen	1	9	0
Ittm for two pair of shues	2	12	0
" " three firlots of meall	0	5	0
	0	12	0
	4	18	0

March 10th 1763.

Recived of Willam Begbie full of all Demands of their house rent
according to Griement befor these wittneses — Alexr: Buchan. Andreu Burnet,
and Discharges the above by me Robt. Anderson.

22 Sept. paid for washing

29 do.

27th Oct do.

5

4½

5

} apparently a later entry.

(38)

TRANSCRIPT OF BEGBIE FARM ACCOUNT BOOK

The state of the quarters day
 The tenth of ocothber is one quarter day
 The " " January one " "
 " " " Aprille " " "
 " " " Jully " " "

Ittm to Hlen for Pegies gouns

	P.	S.	d.
for a gown	1	10	00
for Mr. Robeson	0	16	00
Ittm for meall	0	13	00
Ittm for bread millk	0	04	00
" " a Lamb Leg	0	04	00
" " Lint and othr things	11	00	

(some numbers omitted here). (39)

The laird two thrivs of wheat straw thack. John Douglas one thriv of thack and a stouk.

I was absent from my quarters upon Wedensday after breakst till fridays morning.

I entert upon my beoard wages upon munday being the 22nd day of November 1762.

David Thomson five pound
 (some numbers omitted here)

(40)

The crop of oats 1756

	price	Shil.	sterling
4 B. 3 f. :		14	
6 B. :	"	14	pence
2 B. 2 ff	"	13	8
3 B.	price	36	: 12 pence
2 Bolls 2 f.	"	5	: 10
4 B. 2 f	"	12	: 6 the booll
for mending shos and bread		01	: 6
for sope and to Collse		02	: 6
for brande and tillirs		2	: 6
for floure		1	: 0

(41)

Conglton mains ocothbr 2d 176-

I William Begbie has made a bargin with Allexander Feremer of all the bear that I can spare which the price that him and I his agreed on the hiest fears in east Loiden which I have received five pounds sterling money in part of payment not withstanding I must have seven pound before the delivery

(some figures omitted here)

(42)

TRANSCRIPT OF BEGBIE FARM ACCOUNT BOOK

Ane account of William Plumer 5 lb. 10 shillings was
our bargaen for the perks fogches.

a croun bouered from Petter Burns in Gosford.
for at [sic] apron 18 pence

(43)

Twopence for Butter
one penine for a cap
hapine for a herion
one pinine for whit sop
hapine for modes for shues

Ane account Barbry Waitt

Ittm two pair of stockins one shillen sterling one pair for your son of
stockins sixpence for yearn sixpence for three shirts one shillen sterling
thripns for a pair of stockins fitten.

Account Hellewn Greig

	£	S	d.
Ittm for shirts	00	9	00
" " stockins	00	12	00
" a pair of stockins	00	12	00
" for a cllock	00	12	6
" " " pair stockins	00	00	8

(44)

The crop of oatts 1755. Solld ten firlots of oats the price 5 lb. 15 s
4 boolls & a half of oats the price 5 lb. 15 s 4 boolls & a half the price 5 lb.
15 s solld six boolls oats the price 6 lb. 8 s. three boolls of oats the price 6 lb.
thre boolls the price 6 lb. 10 s four boolls the price 6 lb. 9 s four half boolls
of oats the price 6 lb. 10 s. I oue Rob. Dickson 5 shillings sterling.

Mrs. Elizabeth Begbie. 14 Sept. 1798.

The crop of bear 1754.

Sold to James Carnage 30 boolls bear at 6 lb. the boll solld to James
Thomson 10 boolls bear at 6 lb. solld to Cornills Nillson 10 boolls bear at 5 lb.
16 s solld to Wm. Swinton 20 bolls bear at 5 lb. 14 s. the booll.

The crop of wheat 1755.

Sold to James Craig 36 boolls wheat 8 lb. the booll.

	s.	d.
Mary Shoes	2	8
I oue John Wood 7 Shillings sterling		

(46)

The crop of oatts 1754.

Soldd of oats four boolls & a half the price five pound scots & 4 pence
the booll solld three bols of oats the price is 5 lb. 3 s. Solld to Rich. Liberton
11 boolls oats the price 5 lb. 14 the booll sold 4 boolls & a half the price 5 lb.
4 s.

I oue William Bouie five Pound sterling eight shillings sterling 11 day of
Jully 1759.

Deafens with a dry ear.

Mix Crowd & sueet oill. dip black woll in this and put in into the ear when
it grous dry wash it well in brandy dip it and put in again.

(47)

TRANSCRIPT OF BEGBIE FARM ACCOUNT BOOK

The crop of wheat 1754.

Sold to John Simson four boolls wheat at eight pound scots.

November 16 : 1754 :

Mr. Wadethll received 12 bolls wheat Mr Wadell received 12 boolls wheat & a half & 5 firlots sold in the market att 8 lb. 6 pence sold in the market at 2 boolls wheat the price 8 lb. 2 s 5 firllots sold in the mark. the price 8 lb. 8 s. sold 10 firlots of wheat the price 8 lb. the booll and 7 firlos [sic] came of the stack.

(48)

An account of John Aichison February 6 1753 a firLOT of bear for barly 6 pence the making & 3 firlots bear for the mill the whole booll comes to 8 lb. & 6 pence & 2 pecks more of bear & a firLOT of pies is 40 s scots then is another account of John Achisons November 30. 1753. there was 6 pecks of bear went for barly & 6 pence the making & 6 pecks of bear for grinding & half a booll of pies at 7 lb. the booll the bear was 8 lb. at the time the price & 12 lb. Scots yeir couret.

(49)

The crop of wheat 1753. Soold of wheat 13 boolls att 8 lb. 9 s the boolls. William Bouie got a booll of wheat the price 10 lb. the booll.

1753.

Sold thrity boolls of wheat to James Craig in dyprine the price is 8 lb. 14 s the booll. Sold to John Simson in citeen 9 bolls wheat, sold to Mr Wadell 30 bolls wheat the price 9 lb. scots.

The year of god 1755. Itm half a boll of bear for barly 3 lb. 3 s and a 12 s Ster: the making.

(50)

The crop of oats 1753 six firlots of oats 7 lb. 7 s the booll which is 11 : 00 : 6. There was 16 boolls went of oats to be a melder. Sold six firlots att 7 lb. 4 s the booll and four bolls of oatts sold and a half sold att 7 lb. 10 s the booll and 22 boolls of oatts sold at 7 lb. 3 s the booll nine bolls of oatts sold at 7 lb. 8 s sold six firlots att 6 lb. 14 s sold 3 boolls at 11 shillans the booll.

(51)

The crop of bear 1753 two bolls bear sold to John Wood 8 lb. 16 s 00d. Ittm 10 boolls bear att eight pound scotts the booll.

Sold to James Darg in dirlton 20 boolls bear the price is 7 lb. 16 s the booll. sold to Mr Swinton 20 bolls bear the price 7 lb. 10 s sold to James Gibet 10 bolls bear the price 8 lb. 6 s.

Cornilleus Nillson 10 bolls bear 7 lb. 10 s sold to Mrs Huchion 10 bolls bear the price 8 lb. 6 s.

(52)

The crop of bear 1751.

Sold to John Gray 20 bolls the price 6 lb. 12 s the booll John Couper got from me 20 bolls bear the price 7 lb. 18 s. John Wright 10 boolls bear the price 7 lb. 14 s. Alexander Fermer 20 bolls bear Corniles Nillson 16 boolls bear. The crop of pies 1753 sold six firlots of pies at 7 lb. 15 s the booll six firlots sold at 7 lb. the boll 5 firllots of pies sold 7 lb. the boll half a boll of pies sold at 3 lb. 6 s.

(53)

TRANSCRIPT OF BEGBIE FARM ACCOUNT BOOK

Soldd the crop of oats 1752. Soldd six boolls oats the price 6 lb. 12 s soldd 6 booll oats the price 6 lb. 12 s soldd six boolls of oats the price 7 lb. 2 s soldd the crop of oats 1752 a 11 boolls of oats went to citen the price a 11 shillings the boll soldd in hadingtoun 6 boolls of oats the price 7 lb. 2 s the boll soldd in hadington 6 bolls the price 7 lb. 4 s soldd in hadingtoun 9 boolls the price 7 lb. 8 s soldd in hadingtoun three boolls the price 7 lb. 4 s John Whiet got 5 booll the price 7 lb 4 s Charls Broun 4 boolls 7 lb. 10 s & booll to their horse 7 lb. 10 the booll.

(54)

The crop of bear 1750.

Soldd 18 boolls at — 5 lb. 00s.

The crop sown 1751.

Sown of oats att mount fair 10 boolls 3 firlots sown of ots at burn side 7 boolls of oats sown at the lairds march 4 boolls 3 firlots sown att the wattrin holle 10 firlots of oats sown att the east side of the park dike & sandie hole 7 boolls & a firlot of oats. sown upon the meadow 3 boolls of oats 4 boolls of oatts sown upon the fog divet lie 3 bolls of oats sown upon the east end of the Long meadow.

(55)

The crop of bear 1750. Soldd to John Gray 20 boolls at 6 lb. 6s soldd to Cornils Nillson 16 boolls barly the price [blank]. Soldd to Rob: Hoog 20 boolls bear the price 5 lb. 14 s scots 46 boolls bear soldd to Rob: Hoog att the price 5 lb. 14 s scotts the booll & 20 bools soldd to James Thomson of bear the price is 6 lb. the booll. And six boolls soldd in the market the price 6 lb. 6 s Scots.

(56)

The crop of wheat 1750.

Sold to Rob. Hoog 8 booll of whit wheat 8 lb. & 6 firlots to Ro : dondson 8 lb. 12 s str. Rob. Hoog bought 20 boolls of rid the price 7 lb 4 s scots.

The crop 1751.

George Begbie his got eight boolls wheat & 10 boolls of whit wheat & 15 boolls of whit wheat & a firlot 16 boolls of wheat and a half and 15 boolls of wheat and a half.

John dods I have 27 weathers out of 40 weathers 27: which I had great loss.

(57)

Account of Hewlln Greg one shillen sterling for labrouing of her yeard for mending her sons shoes and solling them and fourpence for weding her beds which was a mistake two shillings sterling for mending her sons shoes & solling them the year of god 1768 for mending a pair of shoos three pence for putting on a pair of beend solls 4 pence to her son.

An acount of Hellewn Greg. Ittm. for Labouring the yeard 00 : 12 : 00. 1767. Ittm for solling your son shoes. 00 . 00 . 3. 1768. Ittm, for two pair shoes solinge 00 . 00 . 4. 4th day of December 1768 Itm Hewelln Greg a pair of stockins working ninepence. December 24. 1768 Ittm. a pair of stockins working seven pence. December 18 1768 Ittm. a pair of shues solling & hell toping three pence.

(58)

TRANSCRIPT OF BEGBIE FARM ACCOUNT BOOK

Mr. Fall his count comes tto twenty shillings sterling upon eight of march 1769 you have received from Alexander Tripline two shillings sterling and sixpence upon the 14th day of Aprille 1769.

Recived from James Meerer two shillings sterling and sixpence upon the 16teen day of Jun. 1769.

God was in a mask of confuison befor ever the worlld was mad or ordined.

Recived by Charells Broun by your hand five shillings sterlling money att Carberie.

(59)

An acount of Hellewn Greeg. To William Begbie.

Ittm. for two pair of stockings	00 ; 14 . 00
" " " " " stockings feetten	
and a Keep	00 . 9 . 00
A cloack	00 . 18 . 00
A pair of stockings	00 . 12 . 00
Off yearn spinning seven shillings sterlg.	
Ittm six shirts	00 . 18 . 00
" a pair of stockings	00 . 07 . 00
6th of May 1769	
Ittm two pair of stockings	00 . 16 . 00
" " shirts sheuing	00 . 00 . 06

Upon the 1st day of September

I cue Helewn Greg 12 shillings butt a penie.

We recived a cart full of coals upon the ninth day of september 1770 thrity penins for coalls.

(60)

James Thomson in Dirlton recived from me four gallons of sallt the price is eighteen pence the day and datte 14teen of Feburay 1770.

Recived one gallon of sallt 4 pence hapine in Agust 4th day 1770.

Recived half a bushell of sallt the price 16 pence upon the 25 day of Agust. March 2nd 1772 a gallon of sallt 4 pence hapine a hunder of comen cabesh 3 pence half hunder of early cabesh 3 pence July 24.

A bushell of sallt the price two thrity pence the bushell the year 1771 six gallons of salt the price is sevn twinty pence november 30 day 1771 your servant recived two shillings sterlling for sallt (six gallons of quainty) upon the 18 day off September 1772. Recivd by James Crooks half a bushell of sallt 16een pence James Thomson recived half a bushell of sallt upon the twenty day novr. 1773 16 pence.

(61)

We recived a cart full of coalls upon the ninth day of septr. 1770 we recived a cart of coalls upon the 27 of october 1770 & 4 & a hapine for coalls two shillings for each cart full thrity penie worth of coalls for coalls six twenty pence worth a cart load 27 day of novr. 1770.

Prpans August 27 day 1774

James Thomson in Dirlton recived half a bushell of sallt the price sixteen pence.

5 shirts at mending, March 14.

(62)

TRANSCRIPT OF BEGBIE FARM ACCOUNT BOOK

Ane account Willm Begbie.

Ittm. a pair of shuess six shillings sixpence

Ittm. two pair of stockins two shillings. Ittm. five shirts seven shillings. Ittm one shillen sterling for a seat in the kirk the forepue paid upon the 27 day of october 1770.

Charles Begbie

May 6th 1769

I sent in with Jame Whinton one shillen sterling money.

Jun 17 day 1769

I sent in with James Whinton one shillen sterling money upon the ii day of Novr. we recived half a booll of meall recived a chise 9 pound weight 30 pines the pound 22 pence & a hapene upon the 16 day of novr.

(63)

John Achison gott half a booll of pies att 54 shill. Scotts the half booll booll of pies 40 s which he got upon the 28 day of March 1750 which I have got a pint of whiskie.

The year 1750 upon the 30 day of Junn I los'd 4 cars of coalls to Mr Bouie which they coast 9 shillens sterling & tupins Wm. Baie got 3 lb. & he got a gunie which is 15 lb. one shillen sterling of ane oxs price.

I oue Cornilles Nillson four boolls of pies the price is to be 8 lb. each booll and four shillings sterling & 6 pence the price is payed.

(64)

The crop of pies 1749.

Sold 5 boolls of beans six shillings the booll . . . boolls of pies at 6 shillings the booll 10 firlots at 4 lb. 6 s the booll 2 boolls pies at 4 lb. 6 s the booll which the laird got them.

John Achison gott half a booll of pies att 54 shill. Scotts the half booll which was upon the 13 day of Febury 1751.

John Achison got from me a booll of bear the price is 8 lb. 8 s the year 1752 & conglton mains Febry 1753.

John Achison gott from me a firLOT of bear for barly 6 pence the making & 3 firLOT of bear grin for meall & the price of the bear is 8 lb. & 2 pecks more bear & a firLOT of pies 40 s the firLOT.

(65)

The crop of wheat 1749 three boolls of whit wheat & three firlots six firlots of rid wheat which is five boolls & a firLOT & 12 boolls of rid wheat & 20 boolls rid wheat 12 boolls of white wheat & 13 boolls & a half of whit wheat. The number of boolls is just 62 boolls & 3 firlots.

(calculation omitted here).

(66)

The crop of oats 1749 six boolls oats 5 lb. 10, 33 lb. 00 s ; nine boolls oats 6 lb. bit 2 s the booll the whole sum is 54 atill 18 pence 4 boolls and a half of oats at 5 lb. 16 pence the booll & 11 boolls and a firLOT at 5 lb. 16 pence the booll six boolls & a half of oatts 5 lb. 2 s scots the booll five boolls of oatts at 5 lb. the booll six boolls of oats at 5 lb. scots the booll & five firlots 4 lb. 18 s the booll.

10 firlots of oats at 5 lb. 3 s the booll, 18 boolls of oats the 5 lb. 10 s. 7 boolls & a half of oats 5 lb. 18 s the boll & 7 boolls & a half at 6 lb. the booll 7 boolls & a half of oatts at 6 lb. 3 s.

(67)

TRANSCRIPT OF BEGBIE FARM ACCOUNT BOOK

The crop of wheat sold 1741. 3 boolls rid wheat 7 lb. the booll 3 boolls whit wheat coft at 9 pound scots the booll which is 6 pound scots a difference of the ear (?) due.

The crop of wheat 1742.

Sold to Patter Cape 6 boolls of whit wheat & a firloft and 3 boolls of rid wheat the price of the white wheat was 6 lb. & 4 pence the Bl. the rid wheat's price 6 lb. scots the booll & 6 firlofts of whit wheat the price was 6 lb. 6 pence the booll sold in the market & 6 firlofts of rid wheat the price 5 lb. 8 pence the booll sold in the market.

Sold the crop 1743 to Wm. Bathrston ten boolls & 5 firlofts of whit wheat at 6 lb. the booll sold to John Shirf 6 boolls rid wheat & a firloft at 5 lb 8 s the booll.

(68)

The year Ocotber 13 1741.

25 course shirts & 6 llinen ones. 22 fine stoacks

18 course stoacks. 6 pair of slives 14 necks.

The year 1742 sold of oats the price of six boolls 4 lb. 10 s the price of six boolls 4 lb. 15 s. as comes to the booll above four boolls of oats & a half of 5 lb. & a pine the booll 6 boolls of oats sold at 4 lb. 12 s the booll 6 boolls of oats sold at 4 lb. 17 s the booll and 3 boolls of oats sold at 4 lb. 17 s the booll & 3 boolls of oats sold at 4 lb. 12 s the booll.

The crop of wheat in whit 1743. 50 thrivs of whit wheat grow upon the pice ground at the back of the bayr & the six east & west rigs at the quarie broo & 22 thrivs & a stouk of whit wheat grow in the north side of barn yeard.

(69)

The crop sown in Coughlton Mains the year 1741 : 6 boolls sown in the sandie holle of oats 10 firlofts sown upon the seven rigs be east the broom of oats and nine boolls of oats sown upon the 20 rigs above the broom.

and 3 boolls of oatts sown upon the 8 rigs & a half and at the watrin holle 4 boolls and a half of oats sown upon the six rigs att the market gett and 4 boolls 3 firlofts of oatts sown att the back of the bayr and 5 boolls and a half sown of oatts upon the 14 rigs att the north side of the barn yeard 5 boolls 3 firlofts of oatts sown in the broom lands 3 boolls of oatts sown upon the 13 rigs be east the houllt know and 3 boolls & a half sown upon the butts the south side of the lint & 3 firlofts sown upon the follds & half a booll of oats sown at the headrig beside the burn and sevn boolls of oats sown in 6 rigs upon the back burn.

The year & Ocotbr 18 : 1749.

I loisd 2 carts of coalls which cost me 5 sh. strling ther was 13 loads betwix the 2 carts & tupins they drank qhen they delivered your coals that is upon Wm. Bouie's account.

(70)

1740. The crop of oatts in Conglton sold of oatts 5 boolls att 10 lb. scots the booll sold to Andrew Wood four Boolls & half of oatts at 9 lb. scots the Booll sold of oatts 6 Bolls of oats the price 9 lb. scots & 14 s scots the booll sold of oatts 4 boolls & a half at nine pound scots & one shillen sterling & 10 boolls & half of oatts to the house use & 14 boolls of oats to the hindes & a half sold of oatts 6 boolls att 9 lb. scots the booll sold 6 boolls of oatts at eight pound scots & sixtten shillens scots the booll 3 boolls of oatts sold att 9 lb 10 s scots the Booll 4 boolls & a half sold at ten pound scots & 6 boolls

TRANSCRIPT OF BEGBIE FARM ACCOUNT BOOK

of solld at ten pound scots and nin pence 7 boolls & half solld at ten pound scotts 6 boolls solld of oats at ten pounds scotts & ten shill. scots & 3 Bolls of oats solld at ten pound scots & eight shill. scots. (71)

1740 The crop of oatts in Carperston. Solld of oatts ellven bolls & a half att 8 lb 12 shill. scotts & elleven firrlotts of oats solld att nine pounds sixpence the booll for the house use 13 boolls of oatts 4 boolls and a half solld to Andrw Wood 9 lb 18 s the booll & 10 boolls & half to Andr. Wood 10 lb. scots. Wm. Forest coft 6 boolls of oatts att 10 lb. scots the booll 4 boolls & half att 10 lb. scotts & wanting 2 s 4 boolls & a half solld 9 lb. 12 s 4 boolls of oats & a firrlot solld att 10 lb scots the booll. Solld to Andrew Wood 3 Boolls of oatts at 9 lb. scotts the booll, solld to Allx. Craig 6 Boolls & a half at 9 lb. & 12 s scots the Booll one Boll a half of oats att 9 lb. 12 s solld of oatts 6 boolls ten pounds scots & 9 shill. scots. (72)

The crop of bear in COUNGLTON 1740 66 thrivs of bear grow in 16 riges of backside.

The crop sown of pies in COUNGLTON 1741, seven bolls of pies sown upon the east side of the green head 3 boolls & half sown upon the 10 riges east & west lands 10 firrlotts sown upon the back burn 3 boolls sown at padiepill 3 boolls sown in the dails be east the sandie holle 3 boolls sown of pies upon the 12 riges upon the corslets and 5 firrlotts of pies sown upon the 8 riges at the horse lone & 3 firrlotts sown upon the daill at the horse lone.

Solld of bear the crop 1742 6 lb 12 s solld to Robert Hoog 20 boolls 6 lb. 12 s solld to Anna Lauther 20 boolls solld to Charles Fall 20 boolls 6 lb 15 s Solld to Robert Swinton 50 boolls the price was betwixt nine shillen and ten pence which I got from him 6 lb 9 pence for each booll. Solld to Robert Swinton 30 boolls the price 6 lb scots the booll. Solld to Rachell Hunter 10 boolls 6 lb. 4 s. (73)

The Crop of wheat in Carperston 1740 : 15 thrives of wheat grou in Phenfurs & a stouk of whit 24 thrives of whit wheat grow in the 8 riges in the south side of the muier 15 thrives of whit wheatt grow in the 7 riges att the meadow 58 thrivs of rid wheatt & a stouk grow in the whine know bauck & 5 stouks of whit wheat 28 thrivs of rid wheat grow in the 14 riges in bauck atill 5 thrives 43 thrivs of rid wheatt grow in the 15 riges of the midll shot 24 thrivs of rid wheat grow in the 12 riges of the middle shot, 8 thrivs of rid wheat grow at the head & 6 shivs

A settled deafnes.

Take a ried onion pick out the core fill up the place with of roassted almonds let itt stand a night then bruise & strain it drop three or four drops into the ear morning eving and stop it with black wooll. (74)

The Crop of oatts in COUNGLTOUN 15 thrives of oatts grow in the butts att mount fair well 37 thrives of oats atill 4 shivs grow in the 12 riges of the corslets 85 thrivs of oats grow in long meadow 66 thrivs of oatts grow upon the pice of ground bewest the Ceger (or beger) know 29 thrivs of oatts grow in the 8 riges at the horse lone.

The crop of pies 1741.

Solld of pies three boolls at 5 lb. 10 s, half a booll at 3 lb. scots.

Three boolls pies solld at 5 lb. the booll is 15 lb scots three boolls pies solld at 6 lb. scotts and three boolls pies solld at 5 lb. 12 s scotts & half Boll

TRANSCRIPT OF BEGBIE FARM ACCOUNT BOOK

at 3 lb. scots four boolls of pies & a firrlot at 5 lb. 10 s the booll 10 firrlots of pies soll'd at 5 lb. 12 pence scots the Bcoll 3 boolls of pies sooll'd at 5 lb. 3 s 3 boolls of pies soll'd at 5 lb. 4 pence.

The Cram[p] to cure.
tie your gartin smoth and tight under your knnee at going to bed for cramp stretch out the lime immediately or chafe the part with hungary water. (75)

The crop of oatts in Carperston 1740.

29 thrivs of oatts atill 3 (s)hives grow in the whine know 71 thrivs of oats grow in the broom & a stouk 29 thrivs of oatts grow in the folldens 39 thrivs oatts grow in the muier 15 thrivs of oatts grow in the blind wall butts 64 of oats grow in the basewall.

Counglton mains Janwary 8th 1741. John Winllan in Kinstoun made us shimeny which wieght was 13 ston & 7 pounds wieght all in haill shimeny & galloses which the price of the whole was nine and thritty pound scots & sixteen shillen scots.

A merandom 1765 :

A mideum for worms amongst green kaill take cou sharin and rob them when you set them or cous-wash or beff brine or lume suit.

Deafnes with headack & buzzing in the head, Peell a clove of garlick dip in hony and put into your ear at night with a little black wooll lie with that ear upermost put the same in the other ear nixt night do this if need be eight or ten days. (76)

1740. The crop of bear in Carperston 51 thrivs of bear grow in the rinds. Soll'd in the 1740 years in Carperston 18 boolls of bear sooll'd att the price 11 lb. scots & 10 s scots.

The crop of pies 1740 soll'd to Andrew Trumill three boolls of pies att 14 lb. scots & 15 lb. scots.

The crop of oattes 1741, soll'd 13 boolls & half att 8 pound scots the booll, soll'd 6 Boolls atill a firrlot at 6 lb. 4 pence the booll soll'd 6 boolls att 5 lb. 16 s — sooll'd 6 boolls att 5 lb. 18 s soll'd of oatts 6 boolls att 5 lb. 10 s soll'd of oatts 6 boolls at 5 lb. 11 s 3 boolls sooll'd of oatts att 5 lb. 13 s 6 boolls of oatts soll'd att 5 lb. 13 shill: scots.

I Wm. Begbie ouing Pat Storie threty seven pound scots & a pine counted the 1st day of Febury 1743 years.

Agnes Housen got from me 7 lb. atill a pine scots 7 day of March of the above acount. 1744. (77)

The year & crop 1737. 22 Boolls of whytt wheatt and 5 Bolls of rid wheatt and 15 boolls of rid wheat and 6 firrlots of whit wheatt & 11 boolls and a firrlot of rid wheat which I received from John Achison 6 firrlots of rid wheatt which I have putt in my self. Which I recived from Alex. Didge -- 32 Boolls of ried wheat in the month december 1737 which is payed the price 7 lb. 3 s the booll 15 firrlots of ried wheat I putt in myself 9 boolls of ried wheatt atill a firrlot 13 Boolls & a firlott ried wheatt 10 boolls of ried wheatt atill a firrlot.

I Patrick & Wm. Begbies ouing to Patrick Storie one & ffifty pound scots & seven shill scots money Jun 9th day 1739. 4 shillings sterling resting for Coalls. The count above is discharged. (78)

TRANSCRIPT OF BEGBIE FARM ACCOUNT BOOK

Carperston 14 May 1731. Then recived from Mr Yeaman one pice of goold 25 shillings sterling and 3 guines which makes 4 pound 8 shillings sterling.

Itm to Anna Hoog a ston of Iorn which is three shillings sterling.

Itm to Ana Hoog 2 son (sic) of Iorn and 6 pound wieght and 12 ounce weight the price 4 lb. which I gott itt in the month of July 1731.

In the year 1730 we payed for timber 12 doubell trees 22 s scotts the pice which is 13 lb. and 4 s and a small tree 15 s and 6 daills 10 s the pice which is a crown all for the barn, which we made a barn door off these daills.

Itm to Anna Hoog a ston 14 pound weightt and a half pound weight of iorn 33 s the stton.

Ittm to Baldy Miller for 8 singll tres which is a 12 s scots (scored out) sterlling the pice.

Itm to Ana Hoog for bows of iron 51 s scotts gott the 4 day of May 1733. (79)

John Heirst in Hadinttn gott our hay att 3 and a farthing the year 1730.

1 weight	22 weight	40 weight
3 "	23 "	41 "
5 "	24 "	42 "
4 "	25 "	43 "
5 "	26 "	44 "
6 "	27 "	45 "
7 "	28 "	46 "
8 "	29 "	47 "
9 "	30 "	10 Bolls and a half resten
10 "	31 "	ferem the year 1730.
11 "	32 "	
12 "	33 "	Payed off wheatt the
13 "	34 "	year 1730: 10 boolls:
14 "	35 "	payed off bear the year
15 "	36 "	1730: 58 bolls.
16 "	37 "	
17 "	38 "	
18 "	39 "	
19 "		
20 "		
21 "		

(80)

The crop 1730 years.

18 thrivs and a stouk of bear in the mur a[nd] 11 thrivs in the meadou of bear and 4 thrives of bear in the acekre and 17 thrives and a stouk and — 16 shives of bear in phenfures ackre 30 thrives of bear and a stouk grow upon hangcarle. 22 thrives of bear and a stouk in the ten rigs in the bank. 25 thrives of bear in the 8 riges in the blind wall 45 thrives of bear in the whin-know 28 thrives of bear in the east side of the midle shott 10 thrives of bear in the butts 16 thrives att the east side of the carper rig 10 thrives of bear and a stouk at the 8 rigs bisede the muir. Solld in the year 1730: 30 bolls off bear.

(81)

TRANSCRIPT OF BEGBIE FARM ACCOUNT BOOK

..... in the bande them 10 thrivs of wheat in sondail 14 riges in haill. 9 thrives of wheatt in the wester bases well and a stouk. 21 thrives of wheatt in the east bass wiell and a stouk 9 thrives of oatts in the so ... the spott of griss. 6 thrives of oatts and a stok just beside itt 11 thrives of oatts the 6 riges of midle shott upmost 6 thrives of oatts in the rindes and a stouk 44 thrives and a stouk in the bake of the meadou 9 thrive in the onder midle shott 20 thrives in the east and west riges att the lime kill and 18 in the butts and the riges bewest them. 33 thrives of oatts in the loach 80 be-east the way 7 thrives oatts and a stouk att the berlly know.

(82)

Itm to Geo. - - -

Itm to James Jafrae

- - - 26. 16 0 Scots

Itm to Sir James Suttie

202 lb. attill 2 s scots.

-- Three firrlots of bear which ... gott upon the 11th ocotober 1729 .. ston 8 pound weight and a half.

1730 79 thrives of bear in westr --ell h--ll

Wm. Begbie. 13 thrives in carprig of oatts old seed.

38 thrive of oatts in the head of the muir after 5 bolls sown of the east barns oatts.

G B

(83)

LIST OF REFERENCES TO THE PRE-REFORMATION ALTARAGES IN THE PARISH CHURCH OF HADDINGTON

INTRODUCTION

In connection with the proposed restoration of the parish church of Haddington (St. Mary's), the town council commissioned Dr J. S. Richardson to write a brochure on the church reconstruction, and requested the Scottish Record Office to compile a list of references in the burgh records and elsewhere relating to the pre-reformation altarages of the church. A version of this list, slightly condensed and revised, is given below.

The main source of the list was the series of Haddington burgh court books, but all the Haddington burgh records prior to 1570 were consulted. A few references were also found in volumes of a later date. Apart from the burgh records, other sources included were three series of public records: the Register of the Great Seal, the Register of the Privy Seal, and the Special Retours from the constabulary of Haddington. Private collections deposited in the Scottish Record Office which yielded material were the Douglas Collection, the Yester Collection, the Wallace-James Notebooks, documents deposited by Messrs Montgomerie & Co. (referenced as GD.1/1/39), and documents deposited by C. W. Rogers (referenced as GD.1/1/199). The only original documents included which are not in the Scottish Record Office are three in the possession of Mr J. Waterston. Transcripts of all three exist in the Scottish Record Office. The Haddington kirk session records listed in 1905 by T. Burns, *Benifice Lectures*, p. 221, were then in local custody, are not yet in the Scottish Record Office, and in any case date back only to 1629. They have therefore not been included in this list.

Only references to specific altars in the parish church of Haddington have been included. Chaplains are mentioned only when attached to some particular altar. There is some doubt as to the patron saint of the fleshers of Haddington.

PRE-REFORMATION ALTARAGES IN HADDINGTON

St. Bartholomew is generally regarded as the patron of tanners, butchers and bookbinders, and was the patron of the incorporation of glovers of Perth. But J. M. Mackinlay, *Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland*, does not include Haddington among the places where St. Bartholomew was commemorated. In view of the insufficiency of the evidence, two entries, one relating to the fleshers' altar (1572), and the other to the altar of SS. Bartholomew and Severus (1520), have been put under separate headings. Entries relating to the altar of the incorporation of tailors of Haddington and St. Anne's altar have however been placed under the same heading, even though there is no one entry where they are mentioned as being synonymous.

Abbreviations

Haddington town council records:

P.B. of A. Symson	I	Protocol book of Alexander Symson	1529-1544
	II		1539-1542
	III		1542-1544
P.B. of T. Stevin	I	Protocol book of Thomas Stevin	1548-1565
	II		1565-1574
HBC	I	Haddington burgh court book	1423-1514
	II		1530-1555
	III		1555-1560
	IV		1560-1571
	V		1571-1575
	XII		1615-1623
HTC	I	Haddington town council minutes	1554-1580
HTCR	181	Haddington town council records no. 181	

Other records:

RMS	Register of the Great Seal
RSS	Register of the Privy Seal
Wallace-James misc.	Wallace-James notebooks, misc. volumes
GD.1/39	Docts. re Haddington deposited in the S.R.O. by Messrs Montgomerie & Co.
GD.1/199	Docts. re Haddington deposited in the S.R.O. by C. W. Rogers.

Fleshers' Altar.

1572, July 11.

[HTC 1/65v.]

Council ordains that the treasurer shall glass rear kirk windows foreanent fleshers' altar, and big kirkstiles with steps so that no animal can get into the kirkyard.

High altar.

1515, May 10.

[HTCR 181/12.]

PRE-REFORMATION ALTARAGES IN HADDINGTON

Instrument of sasine by William Kemp, burgess of Haddington, in favour of chaplains of choir of Haddington and parish kirk, of 6/8 annually from tenement of John Kello in west part of lie Sydgait, for anniversary and obsequies at high altar in parish kirk, for souls of said William and Janet Cokburn, his spouse, on day of their deaths.

1520, April 30.

[HTCR 181/17.]

Instrument of sasine by George Artht, burgess of Haddington, with consent of Katherine, his spouse, to chaplains of choir, of annual of 10s. from tenement on west of Hardgait, for anniversary and obsequies on the day of their deaths, to be celebrated at high altar.

1520, May 2.

[Wallace-James transcripts, misc. 2/52]

Instrument of sasine by Robert Wilson, burgess of Haddington, with consent of Agnes Carrik, his spouse, to chaplains of choir, of annual of 7s. from two adjacent tenements in Smiddyraw, for anniversary of said Robert and Agnes, and their children, at high altar of church of B.V.M. of Haddington.

1522/3, March 5.

[HTCR 181/28.]

Judicial ratification by Janet Cokburn, spouse of Peter Douglace, burgess of Haddington, of gift of 6/8 from tenement in west part of Smydderaw, to chaplains of choir of Haddington, to do anniversary and obsequies on death of said Peter and Janet, at high altar, with resignation and sasine following.

1530, July 28.

[HBC 2/21.]

Council ordains that Gilbert Robisone shall be held in his house for 20 days, and the Sunday thereafter in time of high mass shall offer to high altar a candle of 2lbs., and ask town's forgiveness.

1537, May 20.

[P.B. of A. Symson, 1/95v.]

Sir Mungo Millar, chaplain, came before high altar of college kirk of Haddington, at time of high mass, and there on his knees openly before the parish, asked forgiveness of sir John Tait, chaplain, at command of bishop's letters, for having said that said sir John had said of the Virgin Mary that she had no more power than any other woman to do anything for man.

1545, June 8.

[HBC.2/21lv.]

High altar chalice is to be restored within eight days.

PRE-REFORMATION ALTARAGES IN HADDINGTON

1572, March 21.

[P.B. of T. Stevin, 2/176v.]

John Fortoun of Alainesyde warned Alexander Sympson and Marion Ayton, his spouse, to compeir, 9 May 1572, in the parish kirk of Haddington, "in the place quhair the he altar usit to stand", to receive money due.

Holy Rood.

1518, Oct. 12.

[HTCR 181/13.]

Letters by bailies of Haddington at instance of sir Patrick Mauchlyne, chaplain of altar of Holy Rood in parish kirk of Haddington, following on process at instance of sir William Smith, priest, ordaining said sir Patrick to have possession of tenement on east part of Sydgait, for nonpayment of 8s. due as annual.

1518, Nov. 4.

[HTCR 181/15.]

Instrument of sasine by chaplains of choir of parish church of Haddington, in favour of sir Patrick Mauchlyne, chaplain of altar of Holy Rood in parish church, on tenement on west part of Sydgait, adjudged to said chaplains for nonpayment of 13/4 due as annual.

1531/2, March 4.

[P.B. of A. Symson, 1/30r.]

Process at instance of sir Patrick Mauchlyne, Rood priest, against (i) waste tenement on south side of Sydgait, between lands of deceased Patrick Argatt on south, waste tenement pertaining to Holy Blood altar on north; sasine is to be given to Robert Litstar, burgess of Haddington, and (ii) waste tenement in same gait on east side of said Robert.

1533/4, Jan. 27 - 1534, Oct. 13.

[HBC 2/46r., 50r., 53v.]

Sir Patrick Mauchlyne, Rood priest of Haddington, pursues process (first-third), for payment of annuals, (i) 2s. from tenement of deceased William Foross in Tolbuchtgait, (ii) 7s. from tenement in Strumpet Street.

1533/4, Feb. 25.

[HBC 2/48v.]

Letters by bailies and council of Haddington to sir Adam Broune, chaplain, promising him 8 merks yearly for doing service in choir of college kirk until a vacancy occurs therein, excepting altars of Holy Rood and St. Katherine.

PRE-REFORMATION ALTARAGES IN HADDINGTON

1535, Jun. 15.

[HBC 2/60v.]

Sir Patrick Mauchlyn, Rood priest, is to get £4.10s. for finding bairns and books in the choir for the year.

Sir Thomas Mauchlyn	£2 termly, with 2 merks for lights.
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Sir William of Cokburne	2½ merks
-------------------------	----------

Mr. George Kerinton	2½ merks
---------------------	----------

Sir Adam Broune	5 merks
-----------------	---------

Sir Alexander Henrysoun	£5
-------------------------	----

Summa; yearly to choir of Haddington	£19 10s.
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1539, May 31.

[P.B. of A. Symson, 1/119r.]

Sir Patrick Mauchlyne, Rood priest, with consent of bailies, council and community, patrons of Rood service of Haddington, resigns in favour of Robert Litstar, (i) tenement in east side of Syidgait, next to tenement pertaining to St. Salvator's altar, and (ii) tenement in same side, (i) then being resigned by said Robert in favour of Janet Litstar, his daughter.

1540, Oct. 8.

[HBC 2/134r.]

Sir Archibald Borthuik, prebendary of kirk of Haddington, called to King's service by signet letters, 4 Oct. 1540, narrated herein; his cure and service in choir which he ought to do as his part of the parish clerkship, is to be served by a substitute till his return.

1544, June 23.

[HBC 2/199r.]

Provost, council and community give sir Archibald Borthuik service of Rood chaplain in college kirk of Haddington, on decease of sir Patrick Mauchlyn, last chaplain thereof, with his stall in choir, and all oblations, emoluments, profits and ornaments.

1544, June 23.

[HBC 2/199r.]

Provost, council and community give sir Robert Symson, chaplain, 10 merks yearly pension, which sir Adam Broune had before, until he gets first vacant service, excepting Rood altar and St. Katherine's, or else to augment this with 5 merks more.

PRE-REFORMATION ALTARAGES IN HADDINGTON

1545, June 8.

[HBC 2/211r.]

Sir Robert Simson is given leave of absence for two years and is to find a substitute.

1545, June 8.

[HBC 2/211r.]

Provost and bailies give sir Archibald Borthuik Rood chalice of silver, having on foot *Johannes de Crummye et sponsa sua me fieri fererunt*, and in paten *Jesus*.

1552, July 30.

[HBC 2/230v.]

Petition by sir Robert Simson for next vacancy excepting Rood altar and Our Lady's, granted.

1556, Oct. 13 - 1557, July 27.

[HBC 3/67v., 77r., 87r., 94v., 96r.]

Sir Thomas Mauchlyne, chaplain, procurator for college kirk of Haddington, pursues process (leading to sasine), for payment of 14s. as annual from tenement of deceased John Hynd, to said Thomas as prebendary of Rood altar; 6/8 due to him from tenement of deceased Mr. Adam Hepburne in Sydgait; 16/8 (of which 10s. is due to prebendaries of kirk and 6/8 to said Thomas), from tenement of deceased George Cokburn in Sydgait, and 13/4 due to said Thomas from tenement of Robert Litstar in Sydgait.

Our Lady.

1463, June 23.

[HBC 1/11v.]

Instrument of sasine by William of Halyburtone, bailie of Haddington, and tutor, in name of chaplain of altar of B.V.M. in parish church of Haddington, with consent of sir John of Cokburn, vicar of Caldorcleyr, chaplain of said altar, to Robert of Greyndlaw, burgess of Haddington, of tenement in said burgh on west part of street of Hardgate.

1480, Oct. 24.

[GD1/39/4/2.]

Charter by Richard Cokburne of Harperdene, burgess of Haddington, for souls of James III, Margaret, his consort, their children, his own parents and

PRE-REFORMATION ALTARAGES IN HADDINGTON

others, to altar of Virgin in north aisle of parish church, of 15s. as annual from tenement of Thomas Wardlaw, burgess of Haddington, in Smyddy Raw, and appointing sir Alexander Cokburne as chaplain, in succession to deceased Alexander Cokburne, to do obit or anniversary at altar of B.V.M. for his lifetime, on day of death of Walter Cokburne, granter's father, and after his own death, on day thereof, with 8 chaplains and a clerk; what is left of money is to go to poor.

1530/1, Jan. 24.

[HBC 2/9v.]

Sir Thomas Mauchlyn, Lady priest in high kirk of Haddington, pursues process (first) for payment of 10s. as annual from tenement in Sidgait.

1532, Oct. 8 - 1533, July 16.

[HBC 2/33r., 36r., 40r., 42r.]

Sir Thomas Mauchlyn, Lady priest, pursues process (leading to sasine) for payment of 2s. from tenement called ?Cail Paryss, and tenement called the Well Towr.

1534/5, Jan. 7.

[HBC 2/57r.]

Sir John Lytill, as procurator for sir Thomas Mauchlyn, took act of court that Robin Wolsone and Adam, his son, granted that they had promised said sir Thomas, and he had given half of expense of apprising a tenement pertaining to William Edmonstoun for annual pertaining to Lady altar.

1534/5, Feb. 9.

[HBC 2/58r.]

Patrick Cokburne of Newbiging took act of court that process *re* annual due to Lady altar narrated above, should not hurt bairns of said William Edmonstoun.

Adam Walsone is to pay sir Thomas Mauchlyn 8s. as annual due to Lady altar from place apprised by him from deceased William Edmonstoun.

1535/6, March 22.

[HBC 2/68r.]

John Gothra is to pay sir Thomas Mauchlyn 12d. as annual due from his land in Nungait.

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1536/7, Jan. 23.

[HBC 2/77v.]

Sir Alexander Henrisoun, procurator for sir Thomas Mauchlyn, Lady priest, pursues process (first) for payment of [blank] as annual due from tenement in burgh of Haddington, between lands of deceased Richard Crummes on west, and Robert Walsoun on east.

1537, Oct. ?16.

[HBC 2/83v.]

Sir Thomas Mauchlyne, Lady priest, pursues process (second) for payment of [blank] as annual due from tenement on north side of tolbooth.

1538/9, Jan. 21.

[HBC 2/96r.]

Adam Wolsoun, son and heir of Robert Wolsoun, is to pay sir Thomas Mauchlyne, Lady priest, 8s. as annual due from house of deceased William Edmonstoun, on west side of Smedy Raw.

1540, April 27.

[HBC 2/123r.]

Sir Thomas Mauchlyn, chaplain of Our Lady service, protested for his annual due from tenement claimed by Patrick Cokburne in Powdrait.

1542, April 26 - 1543, April 10.

[HBC 2/165v., 176r., 179v.]

Sir Thomas Mauchlyn, Lady priest, pursues process (first-third) for 22d. as annual due from tenement on east side of Sidegate.

1543/4, Jan 22.

[HBC 2/188v.]

Sir Thomas Mauchlyne, Lady priest, pursues process (first) for payment of 21d. as annual due from tenement of deceased Thomas Burrall on east side of Sidegait.

1543/4, Jan. 22 - 1544, April 29.

[HBC 2/188 v., 195v.]

Sir Thomas Mauchlyn, Lady priest, pursues process (first, second) for payment of 21d. as annual due from tenement called Congiltounis land on east side of Sidegait.

1545, June 8.

[HBC 2/211r.]

Provost and bailies gave sir Thomas Mauchlyn chalice of silver overgilt with *hic calix Sancte Marie de Haidyngtoun* for service of Our Lady altar.

PRE-REFORMATION ALTARAGES IN HADDINGTON

1552, Dec. 20.

[HBC 2/237r.]

Sir Thomas Mauchlyn, chaplain, calls John Sadillar for annual of 4s. due to Lady altar in parish kirk of Haddington, from tenement on east side of Tyne water, bounded by land pertaining to Our Lady altar in Eddrem on east, lands of Knox on south, Commongait on west, and land pertaining to Bothanis kirk on north; this said John denied, but confessed that he and his mother paid it to said Thomas.

1557, Oct. 12.

[HBC 3/101r.]

Sir Thomas Mauchlyn, chaplain of Our Lady altar in parish kirk of Haddington, pursues process (first) for payment of 4s. as annual due from tenement of deceased John Dugion in Hardgait.

1558, April 27; Oct. 11

[HBC 3/127r., 137r.]

Sir Thomas Mauchlyn, chaipplan of Our Lady altar in college kirk of Haddington, pursues process (second, third) for payment of 6/8 as annual due from tenement of George Bathcat in Smedy Raw.

1628, Dec. 23.

See entry under: *St. Eloi*.

1692, April 30.

[Special retours, Haddington, no. 372.]

Joanna Lessels, spouse of William Gourlay of Kincraig, daughter and heir of John Lessels, provost of Haddington, seised in lands of Rottenraw and Gate-syde, with advocacy of chaplainry of Holy Virgin in parish church of Haddington.

St. Andrew's: maltmen.

1531, Aug. 9.

[HBC 2/17r.]

Robyn Norre delivered *St. Andrew's* chalice to Alexander Hepburn, bailie.

1531, Dec. 5.

[HBC 2/21v.]

St. Andrew's chalice given to Alexander Hepburne in keeping.

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1532/3, Feb. 4.

[HBC 2/37v.]

James Scheyll is to pay St. Andrew's altar a pound of wax, for failing to give his alms for upholding altar, and 8s. as annual.

1535, April 13.

[HBC 2/60r.]

Will Robinsone gave a box to St. Andrew's altar and was to be quit of payment of a 'plak' of each kilnful of malt for his lifetime.

1539/40, Feb. 12.

[HBC 2/118r.]

Complaint by deacons of craft of maltmen that they uphold altar in college kirk of Haddington, in honour of St. Andrew, and are severely hurt by others infringing their monopoly.

St. Anne?: tailors.

1530, Nov. 30.

[HBC 2/6r.]

Assize delivers that tailors shall have power to choose oversman of craft to collect weekly penny; each apprentice is to pay half a merk when they are bound, and 10s. for each upset (admission to trade); all craftsmen that have worked for a year within the town are to be made burgesses that are of substance to pay for this, at consideration of bailies and council.

1537, Oct. 14.

[HBC 2/83r.]

Craft of tailors ordain that none of craft set up 'bucht' in burgh of Haddington, that they pay 40s. to uphold of altar and to be exempt by craft if they can work and keep 'bucht' for town's profit and honour of craft, failing this they are to be expelled from the town.

1537, Oct. 14.

[HBC 2/83r.]

Craft of tailors ordain that from henceforth no apprentice shall set (?sit) on boards until 10s. be laid down to craft, under pain of a pound of wax, and 8s. to bailies.

PRE-REFORMATION ALTARAGES IN HADDINGTON

1537, Oct. 23.

[HBC 2/84r.]

Gilbert Robinsone granted that he had taken 11/4 from St. Anne's box, and agreed to make compt thereof to craft.

1543/4, March 18.

[HBC 2/194v.]

Provost, bailies and council ratify gift of Thomas Dykyson and William Gibsoun, bailies, to craft of tailors, and ordain that skinnners and furriers shall join them in upholding their altar.

1545, April 23.

[HBC 2/210r.]

Provost and council ordain that skinnners and furriers shall pay their weekly penny to tailors' altar.

St. Aubert's, (Towbert, Howbert): baxters.

1532, Nov. 5.

[HBC 2/34v.]

Ratification by bailies of act of baxters anent upholding their altar, so that principal of baxters shall furnish bailies with names of those that break act or curse any person.

1537, July 20.

[P.B. of A. Symson, 1/96v.]

Instrument of resignation and sasine by Robert Turnor, burgess of Haddington, in favour of baxters, to uphold St. Howbert's altar in college kirk of Haddington, of 13/4 as annual from his tenement on west side of Sidegait. Same day William Galbraycht gave to craft 13/4 as annual from his tenement in Fishmarket.

1543, Dec. 18.

[HBC 2/188v.]

Robert Turnour, deacon of baxters, pursues process (first) for payment of 13/4 as annual due from tenement of deceased Thomas Burnett on east side of Sidegait.

1544, April 29.

[HBC 2/196r.]

Patrick Reidpeth, deacon of baxters, pursues process (second) for payment

PRE-REFORMATION ALTARAGES IN HADDINGTON

of 13/4 as annual due from tenement of deceased Thomas Burrell, now belonging to James Fortoun, on west side of Sidegait, to craft and altarage.

1554, Oct. 9-1555, Oct. 16 [HBC 2/278r., 284r., 3/8v., 24v.]
John Douglas, deacon of baxters, pursues process (leading to sasine), for payment of (i) 13/4 as annual due from tenement of deceased Robert Turnour in Sidegait, now pertaining to James Fortoun, (ii) annual due from tenement on east side of Sidegait, (iii) 13/4 as annual due from tenement of deceased William Calbraycht.

1555, May 25. [HBC 3/9r.]
Martin Wilsone is to see decreet in action of withholding silver chalice, double overgilt, of baxtercraft of St. Towbert and altar of same.

1555, July 9. [HBC 3/10r.]
Said Martin failed to compeir and was therefore declared to be in an unlaw.

1555, July 11. [HBC 3/10r.]
John Fourrois, burgess of Haddington, becomes caution for said Martin.

1616, July 23. [HBC 12/38r.]
Craft of baxters pursues David Forest of Gimmersmylnes, heir of David Forrest of Gimmersmylnes, his father, who was heir of John Forrest, his father, who was cautioner to said Martin's restoring to said craft said chalice and a paten, or £40, with decision in favour of craft.

St. Eloi (Blaise): smiths.

1477, Nov. 12. [HTCR 181/4.]
Charter by Alexander Barcare, vicar of Petynane, to God, Jesus Christ, B.V.M. and St. Blaise, bishop and martyr, to maintain secular chaplain perpetually at altar of St. Blaise in parish kirk of Haddington, of (i) land on north side of high street, (ii) annual of 30s. from tenement of Archibald Loudoun on north side of high street, (iii) annual of 26.8d. from lands of

PRÉ-REFORMATION ALTARAGES IN HADDINGTON

John Malcome in burgh of Edinburgh, within tenement of deceased John Sheresmytht, on north side of high street, (iv) annual of 10s. from land of Robert Smytht, in said burgh, on south part of high street.

1477, Nov. 18.

[RMS 2/1333.]

Great seal charter of confirmation of charter above narrated.

1530, July 12.

[HBC 2/1v.]

Craft of smiths are to pay for the wax which was taken from Robin of Nisbit and all other duties expended on altar; Mungo Huntar is to be accountable for anything he has taken from altar or craft. Smiths are to uphold altar and have accustomed privileges, or altar shall fall into town's hands, and smiths will lose privileges.

1531, April 10.

[P.B. of A. Symson, 1/31v.]

Incidentally mentions that a tenement in Mydraw belongs to altar of St. Blaise in high kirk.

1534, April 22.

[HBC 2/51r.]

Smiths are to have privileges and freedom for upholding St. Eloi's altar under common seal.

1545, Oct. 26.

[HBC 2/213v.]

Provost, bailies and council present sir Ninian Borthuik, chaplain, to St. Blaise's altar in parish kirk of Haddington, vacant by decease of sir Thomas Carmychell, last chaplain thereof; he is then instituted therein and given possession of tenement in burgh pertaining to said altar.

1628, Dec. 23.

[Special retours, Haddington no. 124.]

Patrick Cockburn of Clerkington, son and heir of Sir Richard Cockburn of Clerkington, kt., is seised in acres in Haddington, and right of patronage of chaplainries and altarages of B.V.M. and St. Blaise in church of Haddington.

PRE-REFORMATION ALTARAGES IN HADDINGTON

St. James the Apostle.

1520/1, March 23.

[HTCR 181/22.]

Great seal charter of confirmation of charter, 8 Feb. 1515/6, by William Kemp, burgess of Haddington, with consent of Janet Cockburne, his spouse, to B.V.M. and St. James the Great, the apostle, and a chaplain to celebrate mass at altar of said St. James, in nave of parish church of Haddington, for souls of James V, James, duke of Albany, Robert, bishop of Ross, and those of said William and Janet, of a tenement in south street, with annual of 6/8 to said chaplain for upholding said altar, from tenement of deceased Richard Kello in Sidgait; donation thereto is to be by said William and Janet and their successors, whom failing, to bailies, council and community of Haddington; vacancy in chaplainry is to be filled within 15 days; the chaplain shall say mass daily for said souls, if he fails to do this for 15 days, post shall be vacant, *ipso facto*; chaplain must be resident; shall forfeit post if he is known to have a concubine; after death of said William, chaplain shall do placebo and dirige, with note, at said altar, on day of death, a requiem mass next day and service by nine chaplains of choir, and clerks, who are to get 12d., and four other priests (not from choir), 2s, *i.e.* 6d. each, and bell ringer 4d., in name of said William and Janet, with 12d. for wax; chaplain shall have vestments and ornaments for celebrating mass, and bread, wine, lights and other necessities; at the beginning of mass, chaplain shall exhort people and say one paternoster and one ave Maria, and shall say de profundis daily after celebration of mass. [Not in *R.M.S.*]

1541, April 9.

[P.B. of A. Symson, 2/94r.]

Instrument narrating contract between bailies, council and community of Haddington, and William Kemp, burgess thereof, whereby he delivers to town his mortification of St. James's altar in parish kirk of Haddington, and possession thereof, as patrons, with chalice, book and vestments pertaining to said altar, for £10 yearly; sir James Mauchlyne is to be infett in service of said altar, town reserving duties therefrom during lifetime of said William; after death of said sir James, if Thomas Wauss and John Kemp have any children qualified for service at said altar, it shall be given by town to one of them before the other to make service in choir as the other chaplains do; there-

PRE-REFORMATION ALTARAGES IN HADDINGTON

after said William resigned into hands of town, tenement at east end of burgh, on south side of market street, and chalice of altar, in favour of said sir James; bailie then gave sasine to him, and John Peirson, treasurer of burgh, bound himself to deliver to said sir James £10 yearly.

1545, June 8.

[HBC 2/212v.]

Provost and bailies gave sir James Mauchlyne, curate, St. James's chalice of silver, having on foot *Sanct James*, with mark of William Kemp and his spouse, written *Ora pro Willelmo Kemp et eius sponsa*, and in paten *Sanct James*.

1558, April 28.

[HTC 1/17v.]

Sir James Mauchlyne, chaplain of St. James's altar in college kirk of Haddington, resigns into hands of provost, bailies and council, power to set tenements in burgh, pertaining to him for his lifetime, and binds himself to do service in said kirk for his lifetime for £4 yearly.

1558, April 29.

[HTC 1/17v.]

Provost, bailies and council set to Betty and Alison Mayne, daughters of deceased Andrew Mayne, house pertaining to St. James' altar, for £5 maill yearly.

1560, Sept. 19.

[HTC 1/24v.]

Sir James Mauchlyne, chaplain of St. James's altar, is to get £6 yearly for service in college kirk for his lifetime.

St. John the Baptist.

1454, July 30.

[HBC 1/8r.]

Grant by Robert of Ingaldistoun, burgess of Haddington, and Anny, his spouse, to altar of St. John the Baptist in parish kirk of Haddington, and to a chaplain to do mass for their souls every Wednesday, for ordinary, of 20s. scots as annual from tenement on south side of market street, all annuals due from tenement being paid, *viz.* burghmail to King and to Lady altar in said

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kirk, 13s., to heirs of John Bowmaker, 1 merk; said Robert and Anny being patrons for their lifetime, and then to bailies and council of burgh; sasine given to Thomas Alansoun, kirkmaster of said kirk, in name of said altar.

1454, Aug. 2

[HBC 1/8v.]

Grant by Thomas Alansoun, burgess of Haddington, with consent of Margaret, his spouse, to altar of St. John the Baptist, in parish kirk of Haddington, of 40s. scots as annual from tenement in burgh of Haddington, on north side of King's street, and annual of 1 merk of said 40s. from another land on south side of said street, and 2 merks thereof from tenement of John Androsoun on south side of market street, to do 9 masses yearly for souls of said Thomas and Margaret, and his children.

Note that said Thomas has granted annual of 40s. to said altar from tenement of Nicol Bowmaker, an annual of 1 merk of said money from a tenement of his on south side of King's street, and 2 merks of money from tenement of John Androsoun on south side of market street, reserving liferent to said Thomas and Margaret; after death of Thomas, chaplain to be chosen by bailies and council of Haddington, sasine given to Robert of Ingaldistoun, kirkmaster, in name of said altar.

1454, Sept. 7.

[HBC 1/9r.]

Grant by Gilbert of Redpeth, brother of William of Redpeth, burgess of Haddington, to altar of St. John the Baptist in parish kirk of Haddington, of 20s. scots as annual from tenement in "uver" end of Sydgate on west side of pule of Poldrate, for service to be done at said altar, "as far as it will go", reserving liferent, bailies and council to be patrons after said Gilbert's decease; sasine given as in grant narrated above.

1475/6, Jan. 3.

[RMS 2/1215.]

Great seal charter confirming mortification of fixed (certis) annualrents within burgh of Haddington, mortified perpetually to altar of St. John the Baptist, and chaplain thereof. (Memo in reg. only; no more details given).

1530, Oct. 11

[HBC 2/2v.]

Sir William of Cokburn, chaplain of St. John's altar pursues process (fourth) for payment of 20s. as annual from tenement in Poldrait.

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1533, Nov. 18.

[HBC 2/45r.]

Sir William Cokburne, chaplain of St. John the Baptist's altar, and his successor, is to get 5 merks yearly for his service in choir, and 18 merks yearly if his service is not worth as much.

1543/4, Jan. 22 - 1545, April 21.

[HBC 2/188r., 195v., 201v., 203v.,
208v., 211r.]

Sir William Cokburn, chaplain of St. John the Baptist's altar, pursues process (leading to sasine), for payment of 40d. as annual due from tenement of deceased William Robison, on north side of tolbooth gate.

1545, June 8.

[HBC 2/211r.]

Provost and bailies gave sir William Cokburn chalice of St. John the Baptist of silver overgilt, having on foot *Calix Sancti Johannis ecclesie de Haddington*, and a cross in paten.

St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist

1530, April 1.

[Douglas coll. 11/8.]

Extract decret arbitral between wrights and masons as one part, and sir William Cokburn, chaplain of St. John's altar in high kirk of Haddington, on other part, whereby arbiters decern that wrights and masons shall have image of St. John the Evangelist to be their patron, if they can find caution for upholding it in wax, mass-cloths, mass as sung and festivals, and shall make image of St. Doicho, to be put at altar of St. John the Baptist in excambion for St. John the Evangelist, and shall restore to said sir William 11/6 of offering taken at Yule on last St. John's day; all conditions are to be fulfilled by Yule. Extracted from burgh court book.

St. John the Evangelist: wrights and masons

1530, June 30.

[Douglas coll. 11/10²]

Decreet of council of Haddington that wrights, masons, cowpers and slaters

PRE-REFORMATION ALTARAGES IN HADDINGTON

and all that work of the craft in burgh of Haddington, shall pay weekly penny to box of said craft for augmenting God's service at St. John's altar in parish kirk of Haddington, to be collected by deacons and other collectors, and if any of said crafts comes to burgh, they shall pay weekly penny while they work in burgh; deacons and collectors are to have power to poind for payment. Extracted from burgh court book.

1533, July 16. [Douglas coll. 11/7; HCTR 257, a late copy: where it differs, alternative version is given in brackets.]

Instrument narrating that deacons of wrights and masons presented paper to bailies of Haddington, asking for the same privileges as the other crafts, for support and repair of altar of St. John the Evangelist, (lately) founded by said craft: assize agrees to this and allows them 6/8 for support of altar (for each first entry), with 13/4 from free craftsmen's first work in town, 1d. weekly from each master (freeman's wife), ½d. from each servant, and 1d. from every one who comes to work in Haddington, to sell wood or work in said crafts.

1534, Nov. 24. [HBC 2/55v.]

Council ordains that no timber is to be bought from unfreemen, except at market cross, or buyer shall give weekly penny to St. John's altar and all other duties, under pain of an unlaw.

1535/6, Mar. 22. [HBC 2/68r.]

John Cutlar is to pay St. John's altar "as pairtis (? painteris) payis in Edinburgh".

St. Katherine

1490/1, Jan. 20. [RMS 2/2005.]

Great seal confirmation of charter, 8 May 1490, by Robert of Grenelaw, burgess of Haddington, to George Grenelaw, eldest son of said Robert and Isabella Borthuik, his spouse, of tenement in Haddington, on north part of high street, and specified heirs, whom failing, to altar of St. Katherine the Virgin in parish church of Haddington, reserving liferent.

PRE-REFORMATION ALTARAGES IN HADDINGTON

1494, Nov. 12.

[HTCR 181/7.]

Grant by Marion Lausoune, relict of John Lausoune, burges of Haddington, to vicar, curate and parish clerk of Haddington, as patrons, of 8s. as annual from tenement of said John, in burgh of Haddington, for an obit and anniversary for ordinary to be done, *viz.* 7 priests and parish clerk of choir of Haddington, at St. Katherine's altar, to sing *placebo* and *dirige* and in morning mass of requiem with note, for 6/8 yearly, with two chaplains to say requiem for souls of James IV, her own and said John and John Lausoune, their deceased son, 8d., with 6d. for lights for *dirige* and souls' mass, and 2d. to bellman, obit to be done in high kirk on St. Mungo's day, 20 days after yule.

1520, Dec. 3.

[HTCR 181/19.]

Instrument of resignation and sasine by Marion Clerk, relict of Robert Trent, to chaplains of choir of Haddington, of 13/4 as annual from tenement in west part of Sydgait, for doing daily anniversary and obsequies at altar of St. Katherine in parish church of Haddington, on day of death of Margaret Crage, second wife of William Robisoun, burges of Haddington, and bailie, and on day of his death and on that of his other wife.

1542, April 26.

[HBC 2/165v.]

Protest in name of town that poinding by prioress of Haddington of tenement on north of tolbooth should not hurt town because land is in feu to St. Katherine's altar.

1545, June 8.

[HBC 2/211r.]

Provost and bailies gave Mr. George Keringtoun silver chalice pertaining to St. Katherine's altar, having on foot *Richard Crummye* with a cross, and in paten a hand.

St. Michael, Crispin and Crispianus: shoemakers.

1448, Oct. 17.

[HBC 1/6v.]

Instrument narrating disposition by John of Meneris, burges of Haddington,

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with consent of Janet of Meneris, his spouse, and Laurence Patonsoun, his heir, for souls of said John and Janet, and of deceased Isobel, his sister, of one merk as annual from tenement on west part of Sydgate, half to priest celebrating in divinis at St. Michael's altar in parish church of Haddington, if there is a priest infest therein, and if not to priests saying mass on anniversary of death of said John, and half to celebrate exequies of said John and Janet, with placebo and dirige on anniversary of his death and with mass de profundis on next day.

1448, Oct. 31.

[HTCR 181/2.]

Instrument of resignation and sasine by Janet of Meneris, relict of John of Meneris, and Laurence Patonsoun, following on disposition above narrated; sasine is given to sir John Doby, priest of said church, in name of said altar.

1470, June 27.

[HBC 1/101.]

Grant by John Patonsoun, burgess of Haddington, cordiner, to altar of St. Michael the archangel, of 13/4 scots as annual from tenement on south side of market street, for souls of himself, Laurence Patonsoun, his son, Ibby, Janet and Marion Patonsoun, his daughters, and his two wives, on anniversary of death of said John, with placebo, dirige and solemn requiem mass sung by 11 priests and a clerk, and as many masses as will draw in the whole to 10s., and 40d. to be given to poor folk in alms that day; bailies and council and vicar of parish kirk and heirs of said John are to be patrons, and to see that obit is properly carried out; annual is then resigned into hands of William Clerk, bailie, who gave sasine to Mr. James Gray, perpetual vicar of parish kirk, in name of said altar.

1498, May 13.

[HTCR 181/11.]

Instrument of resignation and sasine by John Broun, burgess of Haddington, with assent of Agnes, his spouse, to sir Peter Bornis, in name of altar of St. Michael, Crispin and Crispianus, of 5 merks as annual from his tenement on south side of high street.

1505/6, Feb. 8.

[HTCR 181/9.]

Charter by John Broun, tanner, burgess of Haddington, to altar of St.

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Michael, Crispin and Crispianus, in parish church of Haddington, in diocese of St. Andrews, for souls of king and queen, Agnes Caldraw, his spouse, and others, of 5 merks as annual from his tenement on south side of high street.

1505/6, Feb. 21.

[HTCR 181/10; RMS 2/2941.]

Great seal charter of confirmation of charter above narrated.

1514/5, Feb. 5.

[HBC 1/111.]

Grant by sir John Young, chaplain, to altar of St. Michael the archangel, and Crispin and Crispianus, of (i) annual of 5/5 from land on west side of Hardgate, (ii) 15d. from laird of Stentoune's land on north side of Cross, amounting in all to half a merk, for souls of deceased William Young and Elizabeth, his spouse, said sir John's parents, and soul of said sir John after his decease.

1514/5, Feb. 5?

[HBC 1/111.]

Grant by John Breware to chaplain of St. Michael of 5 merks as annual from tenement on south side of King's street.

1519, April 28.

[HTCR 181/16.]

Instrument narrating judicial ratification by Janet Lyell, spouse of John Samuell, burgess of Haddington, of disposition to sir John Young, perpetual chaplain of altar of St. Michael, Crispin and Crispianus in parish church of Haddington, of 20s. as annual from tenement of deceased John Gillzen' on west part of Sidgait, with right of presentation to shoemakers of Haddington after decease of said Sir John; resignation and sasine then given by said John and Janet.

1520, Dec. 10.

[HTCR 181/20.]

Charter following on ratification above narrated.

1521, Nov. 19.

[HTCR 181/24]

Process at instance of sir John Young, chaplain of altar of St. Michael, Crispin and Crispianus in parish church of Haddington, against tenement on west side of Sydgaith for payment of annual of 20s.; possession is given to him thereof.

PRE-REFORMATION ALTARAGES IN HADDINGTON

1521/2, March 19.

[HTCR 181/25 and 26.]

Charter *a me* by Andrew Ker, deacon of craft of shoemakers of town of Haddington, with consent of craft, and of sir John Young, chaplain of altar of St. Michael, Crispin and Crispianus, to John Burnett, burgess of Haddington, of tenement on west side of street of Sidgait; with sasine following.

1531, July 4.

[HBC 2/16r.]

Grant by bailies, council and community of Haddington that cordiners' dues for upholding their two altars in high kirk shall be per week: 1d. for each master, $\frac{1}{2}$ d. for each servant, one merk for each prentice when bound, each upset 10s. Those who will not pay are to be poulded.

1545, April 23.

[HBC 2/210r.]

Provost and council ordain barkars to pay weekly penny to bigging of the cordiners' altar.

1554, Oct. 9 - 1555, Nov. 19.

[HBC 2/277v., 284v., 3/2v.,
18r., 28v., 32r.]

Sir John Tait, chaplain of altar of St. Michael, Crispin and Crispianus, and George Brounhill, deacon of cordiners, pursue process (leading to sasine), for payment of annuals, (i) *blank* from tenement of deceased John Broun, (ii) *blank* from tenement of deceased John Scot in Sidegait, (iii) *blank* from tenement of deceased John Burrell in Sidegait.

1557, Oct. 15.

[HTC 1/16r.]

Cordiners' box was opened in presence of provost and bailies and 9s. found therein, so that Martin Wilson, surety for George Brounhill, sometime collector was charged to pay 43s. for the rest of the year.

1558, Nov. 1.

[HBC 3/139v.]

Cordiners' box was set by Archibald Kyle, deacon of the baxters, to Robert Thomson for one year, for 45s. to be expended on cordiners' altar; thereafter said Robert set box to George Brunhill, who bound himself to pay money to said Robert and Bernard Thomsoun, deacon of maltmen, with consent of provost, bailies and community of Haddington.

PRE-REFORMATION ALTARAGES IN HADDINGTON

1560, May 11.

[HBC 3/169v.]

Sir John Tait, chaplain of St. Michael's altar, made John Forrest and sir John Andersone, chaplain, his procurators.

St. Nicholas.

1545, June 8.

[HBC 2/211v.]

St. Nicholas's chalice is noted as being in the common kist.

St. Ninian the confessor

1471, Oct. 8.

[HBC 1/10v.]

Charter by bailies, council and community of burgh of Haddington, to Thomas Lytstar, co.burgess, and Elizabeth Broun, his spouse, for life, and then to altar of St. Ninian the confessor in parish church of Haddington, and chaplain thereof, for souls of said Thomas and Elizabeth, of piece of land in burgh, on east side of street of Hardgate.

1545, June 8.

[HBC 2/211v.]

St. Ninian's chalice is noted as being in the hands of Mr Alexander Lausoun.

Sts. Ninian and Nicholas.

1448/9, Feb. 25.

[HBC 1/71.]

Charter by John Nicholsoun, burgess of Haddington, to Janet, elder, and Janet, younger, his daughters, and specified heirs, whom failing, half of all lands, annuals *etc.* as specified to altar of St. Ninian in parish church of Haddington, and other half to altar of St. Nicholas. of templelands in town and territory of Drem, and tenements in Haddington, *viz*: (i) tenement in middle street of burgh, (ii) tenement on south part of burgh, (iii) tenement in middle street, (iv) lands in middle street on north part thereof, (v) lands in street called Poldrate, (vi) annual of 10s. from tenement of Allan Bowmaker'

PRE-REFORMATION ALTARAGES IN HADDINGTON

on north part of burgh, (vii) annual of 6/8 from tenement of Andrew of Crumby on north part of burgh, (viii) annual of 6/8 from tenement of deceased Radulphus Bowmaker', (ix) annual of 6/8 from tenement of deceased Alexander Henrysoun on north part of burgh, (x) annual of 11/4 from tenement of deceased Thomas Collane, (xi) annual of 5s. from tenement of John Cultellar', (xii) annual of 9s. from tenement of James of Berynis in middle street, and (xiii) annual of 5s. from tenement of deceased John of Meneris on east part of Sydgate, reserving liferent.

St. Peter.

1426, May 28.

[HBC 1/3r.]

John of the Furde gave a silver chalice weighing 12oz. and 8d. to St. Peter's altar.

1449, Dec. 3.

[HBC 1/8r.]

Instrument of sasine by sir John Doby, priest of parish church of Haddington, to Agnes Scot, daughter of deceased Hugh Scot, burgess of Haddington, in liferent, and to John Doby, her son, and his heirs in fee, whom failing to altar of St. Peter in parish church of Haddington, and chaplain thereof, of tenement on north side of high street, reserving his life interest.

Wallace-James transcribes a sasine in the same terms, giving "Harpar's protocol book" as his source. This protocol book does not appear to have survived.

St. Salvator (Holy Blood).

1520, Aug. 29.

[Yester coll. no. 394.]

Chapel of St. Salvator is stated to have been founded in parish church of Haddington by late Mr. William Wawane.

PRE-REFORMATION ALTARAGES IN HADDINGTON

1529, April 9, 10. [GD.1/199/-; docts. presented by C. W. Rogers.]
Charter with sasine following by sir John Young, chaplain of chaplainry founded by Mr. William Wawane, official of Lothian, at altar of St. Salvator on east part of parish church of Haddington, after high altar thereof, in north aisle, with consent of James Wawane, laird of Steynstoun, patron of said chaplainry, and William Wawane, his son and apparent heir, to Thomas Brounhill, shoemaker, burgess of Haddington, and his heirs, of tenement on south part of market street, given by said deceased Mr. William for his soul, under *reddendo* of 6/8 scots yearly.

1536, Aug. 28. [RMS 3/1616.]
Great seal charter of confirmation of charter, 25 Aug. 1536, by James Wawane of Stevenstoun to Mr. Henry Sinclair, of lands of Stevenstoun, with advocacy of chaplainry or altar of the Holy Blood in parish church of Haddington.

1537, Dec. 13. [RMS 3/1735; Laing charters, no. 418.]
Great seal charter of confirmation of charter, 5 Dec. 1537, by Mr. Henry Sinclair, son of deceased Oliver Sinclair of Rosling, kt., to James Sinclair, his brother, servant of king, of lands and advocacy as in charter narrated above.

1539, May 6. [HBC 2/101v.]
George Crossar took instruments that he asked inquest to declare him patron of St. Salvator's altar in parish church of Haddington, as he was heir of deceased William Crosar, his father, who was patron thereof, on donation by deceased Mr. Robert Young, heritable heir thereof, and could get no answer, and therefore protested, with protest by treasurer that said protest should not be to prejudice of town, as they desired said George to produce mortification, with a charter of donation by sir John Young, parson of Moreme, to Hud' Young and his heirs male, whom failing, to bailies of Haddington.

1540, Dec. 3. [P.B. of A. Symson, 2/83r.] *
Instrument narrating resignation by sir John Crosar, chaplain, in hands of George Crosar, patron of St. Salvator's altar in parish kirk of Haddington, profits and duties thereof, in favour of sir William Volsoun, chaplain, where-

PRE-REFORMATION ALTARAGES IN HADDINGTON

upon said George, by delivery of chalice, book and vestments of said altar, gave sasine to said sir William, for his lifetime, said George protesting that this would not hurt his patronage, as his father had presented once, and he twice. Same day, John Volsoun bound himself that said sir John should have 10 merks yearly from said altar during his life, for making such service as he does now.

1543/4, Jan. 22; 1544, April 29. [HBC 2/188v., 195v.]
Sir John Crosar, chaplain of Holy Blood within parish kirk of Haddington, pursues process (first, second) for payment of annual of 7s. due from tenement of deceased Thomas Burrell, on east side of Sidgait.

1544, Aug. 8. [P.B. of A. Symson, 3/101r.]
Resignation by George Crosar in favour of Mr. William Broun, provost of Haddington, and Jane Oliphant, his spouse, of tenement on west side of Sydgaith, and advocation, donation and right of patronage of St. Salvator's altar within parish church of Haddington.

1554, Oct. 9 - 1555, Oct. 8 [HBC 2/277., 284v., 3/5v., 21r.]
Sir John Crosar, chaplain of Holy Blood, pursues process (first-fourth) for payment of annuals, (i) 6 merks due from land of deceased George Crosar in Sidegait, (ii) 6/8 from tenement of deceased Robert Turnour, on east of Sidegait, (iii) 12/4 from tenement of deceased William Foullar, now pertaining to Robert Broun, (iv) 16/8 from tenement of deceased Laurence Getgude in Hardgait, (v) 10s. from tenement of deceased John Arthtis.

1555, July 9. [HBC 3/9v.]
Sir John Crosar, chaplain of Holy Blood altar, claims from Mr. Robert Broun, annual of 12/4 from tenement on west end of town, on north side of same, now reduced to 9/3 by act of parliament anent burned lands.

1555, July 9. [HBC 3/101r.]
Alexander Barnis confessed that his easter booth and westernmost loft owed annual of 6/8 now reduced to 5s., to sir John Crosar.

TRANSCRIPTION OF BEGBIE FARM ACCOUNT BOOK

1555, July 9.

[HBC 3/9v.]

Sir John Crosar, chaplain of Holy Blood in parish kirk of Haddington, pursues action against Janet and Margaret Barnis, heirs of deceased John Barnis, for payment of annual of 2 merks from tenement on north side of Tolbucht-gait, due for 6 years, said sir John having been in possession thereof for 30 years, excepting last 6.

1555, July 23.

[HBC 3/11r.]

Action deferred.

1555, July 30.

[HBC 3/13v.]

Sir James Mauchlyne, chaplain, depones that 2 merks were paid to said sir John since deceased of sir Adam Crosar, chaplain of Holy Blood, until coming of Englishmen to this burgh.

Sir Thomas Mauchlyng depones that he saw said sir John being given annual from tenement but knows not how much.

Sir William Cokburn depones that he saw said sir John receive 2 merks yearly till Englishmen came.

1555, Oct. 8.

[HBC 3/14v.]

Said Janet and Margaret are warned to compeir.

1555, Oct. 16.

[HBC 3/24v.]

Mr. William Broune, patron of Holy Blood altar, protested that whatever process was led against said tenement, it should not be prejudicial to his rights as patron.

1555, Nov. 12.

[HBC 3/29r.]

Said Mr. William alleged that said sir John should not pursue process against tenement in Sidgait, as he had demitted patronage of St. Salvator's altar, *alias* Holy Blood, in hands of sir William Wilsone, chaplain. Said sir John admits this, but protests that he had reserved fruits of said altarage for his lifetime.

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1555/6, Jan. 26 - 1557/8, Jan. 26. [HBC 3/76r., 86r., 100r., 113v.]

Sir Adam Broun, chaplain of Holy Blood altar, pursues process (leading to possession), against (i) tenement of deceased *blank* Artht in Hardgait for payment of 10s. as annual, (ii) tenement of deceased Lawrence Getgud in Hardgait, for 16/8 as annual, (iii) tenement of James Fortoun in Sidgait for 6/8 as annual.

1556/7, Jan. 25.

[P.B. of T. Stevin, 1/163v.]

Mr. William Broun, burgess of Haddington, patron of Holy Blood altar in college kirk of Haddington, presents sir Adam Broune, chaplain, thereto, vacant by death of sir John Crosar, last chaplain thereof.

1558, Oct. 8.

[HBC 3/136r.]

Thomas Fylder bound himself to pay Mr. Alexander Levinstoun, chaplain of Holy Blood, annual due from tenement on south side of the burgh, which used to pay 5 merks annually before it was burned, now minus a quarter, which was rebated by act of parliament, and also bound himself to big said tenement so that it was poindable.

1564, July 11.

[HBC 4/278r.]

Thomas Broun bound himself to pay Mr. Alexander Levintoun, chaplain of Holy Blood altar, sometime situated in parish kirk of Haddington, annual due from his tenement.

1565, May 5.

[P.B. of T. Stevin, 1/431v.]

Jane Oliphant, relict of Mr. William Broune, conjunct fiar of donation of chaplainry of Holy Blood altar in parish kirk of Haddington, with consent of John Broune, son and apparent heir of said Mr. William, instituted sir Alexander Henderson, chaplain, as chaplain thereof, vacant by decease of sir Adam Broune, last chaplain thereof.

1565/6, Jan. 22.

[HBC 4/314r.]

Sir Alexander Henderson, chaplain of Holy Blood aisle in parish kirk of Haddington, pursues process (second) for payment of 16s. as annual due from tenement on east side of Hardgate.

PRE-REFORMATION ALTARAGES IN HADDINGTON

1568, Sept. 24.

[P.B. of T. Stevin, 2/74v.]

Sir Alexander Henderson, chaplain of Holy Blood altar, gave William Broun, called the cowper, indweller in Haddington, 2 contiguous roods of waste land on east side of Sidegate.

1569, Aug. 31.

[RMS IV 1881]

Great seal charter of confirmation of charter, 22 and 23 Sept. 1568, by Robert Lauder of Popill, kt., son and apparent heir of Robert Lauder of Bass, to William Maitland, younger of Lethington, secretary to King, and Mary Fleming, his wife, lands of Stevinstoun, with advocacy of chaplainry of altar of Holy Blood, once situated in parish church of Haddington.

1569, Sept. 30.

[Transcribed by Wallace-James, & called
'Coalston writs, no. 15']

Charter by sir Alexander Henderson, chaplain of altar of Holy Cross (? or rather Blood), with consent of John Broun, patron thereof, to William Broun, natural son of William Broun of Haddon, of a tenement.

1572, Mar. 18.

[P.B. of T. Stevin, 2/176v.]

Provost gave sasine to sir Alexander Henderson, chaplain of rood (or rather Holy Blood) altar, of tenement of James Fortoun, on east side of Sidegait.

1573, April 14.

[HBC 5/44r.]

Mr. Alexander Henderson, chaplain of Holy Blood, was adjudged tenement of deceased John Artht, on west side of Hardgate, for nonpayment of 10s. as annual.

1574, Sept. 11.

[P.B. of T. Stevin, 2/212v.]

Sir Alexander Henderson, chaplain of Holy Blood, sometime in kirk of Haddington, with consent of John Broun, patron thereof, resigned to Andrew Broun and Isobel Henschaw, his spouse, waste tenement of James Fortoun, on east side of Sidegait.

PRE-REFORMATION ALTARAGES IN HADDINGTON

1584, May. 22.

[APS 3/322a.]

Revocation by parliament of lands pertaining to deceased William Maitland of Lethington, younger, including revocation of gifts to Robert Hepburn, son of Patrick Hepburn of Wauchtoun, of lands of Stevinstoun, with advocacy of Halibluid altar, sometime situated in parish kirk of Haddington.

1662, Nov. 3.

[Special retours, Haddington, no. 263.]

Sir Robert Sinclair of Steinstoun, kt., bt., son and heir to Mr. John Sinclair, fiar of Steinstoun, is served heir to his said father in lands of Steinstoun, with advocacy of chapel and chaplainry of Holy Blood in college kirk of Haddington.

Sts. Severus and Bartholomew.

1520, Sept. 24.

[HTCR 181/18.]

Instrument of resignation and sasine by James Yalloseis, burgess of Haddington, with consent of Margaret Boltoun, his spouse, in favour of sir James Mauchlyne, curate, as procurator, of 6/8 as annual for doing daily anniversary at altar of Sts. Severus and Bertillomeus, within parish church of Haddington, for souls of John Foular, burgess of Haddington, and Elizabeth Rychardsoun, his spouse, and their children, on day of their obit, from tenement of said James and Margaret on north side of high street.

St. Thomas.

1538, Oct. 29.

[HBC 2/92v.]

John Halyburtoun granted that he owed half a merk to box of St. Thomas.

Three Kings of Cologne.

1522, Oct. 20.

[GD. 1/39/1/21.]

Instrument of resingation and sasine following on charter, 20 Oct. 1522, by

PRE-REFORMATION ALTARAGES IN HADDINGTON

David Fowross, burgess of Haddington, with consent of William Fowross, his son and apparent heir, in hands of bailie of Haddington, for possession to be given to images of B.V.M. and three kings who lie in Culene, situated at north west altar and chapel within parish church of Haddington, constructed by said David, and to chaplain serving said altar, for souls of James IV, James V, himself, Agnes Lausoun and Isabel Dikesoun, his spouse, of 14 merks as annual from tenements in Haddington, *viz.* 5s. from tenement of deceased John Ridpacht on west part of Sidgait, 10s. from tenement of deceased John Greynlaw on south part of market street; *viz.* from front part of tenement pertaining to Gavin Cokburn, 6/8, and from back part pertaining to John Akynsoun 40d.; 40d. from tenement of deceased Robert Doby in same street; 6s. from tenement of Patrick Fysswrycht in same part of same street; 19/8 from two tenements of deceased Thomas Andersoun, adjacent, on north part of market street; 5s. from tenement of John Steyne on same part, extending to cross towards north; 11s. from tenement of Henry Congiltoun on north part of high street; 12s. from tenement of George Archer, beyond *lie gryip*; 8s. from said tenement of John Cokburn; 13/4 from tenement of deceased Robert Boltoun on south part of market street; 13/4 from tenement of Robert Lausoun on same part; 13/4 from tenement of Laurence Flemying on same part; 4 merks from tenement of John Getgud on south part of said street; 6/8 from tenement of Patrick Congiltoun in said street; 6/8 from lands of deceased Morris Deyncastell; 5s. from tenement of John Burne; 20s. from tenement of John Hind in end of fish market; said William Fowross as procurator resigned said annuals in hands of John Wawss, bailie, and Mr. George Sydsarff, chaplain, asked instruments thereon.

1527, Mar. 26.

[HTCR 181/30.]

Instrument of resignation and sasine by Christine Bowmalkere, relict of John Clark, and Marion Clark, his daughter, with consent of Michael Ramsay, spouse of said Marion, in hands of Thomas Sinklar, bailie of Haddington, of 13/4 as annual from tenement of deceased Thomas Sinklar, burgess of Haddington, on west part of south street, in favour of sir James Mauchlyne, curate of Haddington, in name of choir, for obsequies and anniversaries to be made

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on day of death of deceased David Fowrouss and Isabel Dijkisoun, his second spouse, at altar of three kings of Cologne, founded by said David in parish church of Haddington, on north part in west end thereof.

1533/4, Feb. 25.

[HBC 2/49r.]

Continuation of action between sir John Grenlaw and Henry Cokburne, until said sir John produces mortification and writs of annual given by David Forross to altar of three kings of Culene.

1553, July 15.

[GD/1/39/5/3.]

Instrument of resignation by Mr. Alexander Forrest, provost of college kirk of St. Mary in the Fields, Edinburgh, son of deceased David Forrest, in hands of John Forrest, (his nephew,) burgess of Haddington, patron of altar of three kings of Cologne in parish church of Haddington, chaplainry thereof, in favour of sir John Anderson, chaplain.

1553, July 16.

[GD.1/39/1/37.]

Instrument narrating that John Fowrois, son and heir of deceased William Fowrois, heir and successor of deceased David Fowrois, and thus patron of chaplainry of three kings in college kirk of B.V.M. in Haddington, gave in-fetment therein to sir John Andersone, chaplain.

1556, Oct. 14.

[HBC 3/67v.]

Sir Thomas Mauchlyn appoints Patrick Martine as procurator for three kings of Culane in name of altarage and chaplain thereof.

1557, May 4.

[HBC 3/86v.]

Sir Thomas Keryngtoun, chaplain of altar of three kings of Culene, pursues process (first) for payment of annuals, (i) 40d. from tenement of Thomas Fylder in Trongait, (ii) 20s. from tenement of deceased John Hynd, (iii) 5s. from tenement of deceased John Redpethe in Sydgait, on west side thereof.

1557, June 29.

[GD. 1/39/1/40; P.B. of T. Stevin, 1/179v.]

Instrument narrating that John Forrest, burgess of Haddington, patron of chaplainry of three kings in college kirk of Haddington, instituted sir John

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Andersoun, chaplain, therein, in place of sir Thomas Keryngton, chaplain, who had resigned.

1558, Oct. 11 - 1560, Aug. 6.

[HBC 3/136v., 144v., 149v.,
158r., 178r.]

Sir John Andersoun, chaplain of aisle called three kings of Culayne in parish kirk of Haddington, pursues process (first, leading to sasine) for payment of annuals, (i) 20s. from tenement of deceased John Hynd on north side of merket gait, (ii) 40d. from tenement of deceased Thomas Fylder on south part of said gait.

1566, July 17.

[P.B. of T. Stevin 2/26r.]

Sir John Andersoun, chaplain of aisle called three kings of Culane in parish kirk of Haddington, with consent of John Forrest, patron thereof, dispoised waste tenement on north side of Crocegait called Hinds Land, to John Wilsoun, son and apparent heir of Martin Wilsoun, burghess of Haddington, for 13/4 yearly.

1587, May 6.

[GD.1/39/1/70.]

Instrument narrating resignation by John Andersoun, chaplain and present possessor of rents and profits of chaplainry of altarage called altar of three kings of Colone, sometime situated in parish kirk of Haddington, in hands of David Forrest, burghess of Haddington, patron thereof, of said altarage.

1587, May 6.

[GD.1/39/1/71.]

Letters of donation by David Forrest, burghess of Haddington, patron of chaplainry or altarage called altar of three kings of Colone situated and founded by his predecessors in parish kirk of Haddington, to George Hepburne, brother of Mr. Patrick Hepburne of Smetoun, of said chaplainry, vacant by resignation of John Andersoun, last chaplain thereof, for his lifetime.

1587, May 6.

[GD.1/39/1/72.]

Instrument narrating institution by David Forrest, burghess of Haddington, patron of chaplainry of three kings of Colone, of George Hepburne, brother of Mr. Patrick Hepburne of Smetoune, following on donation above narrated.

PRE-REFORMATION ALTARAGES IN HADDINGTON

1595, May. 19.

[GD.1/39/2/7.]

Presentation by David Forrest, elder, burgess of Haddington, patron of altar of Three Kings of Culane in parish kirk of Haddington, in favour of David Forrest, younger, his son, in succession to George Hepburn, last chaplain thereof, now deceased.

1595?, May 28.

[GD.1/39/5/9.]

Presentation by David Forrest, elder, burgess of Haddington, patron of chaplainry of Three Kings of Culin in kirk of Haddington, to David Forrest, younger, his son, chaplain of said altar, of all dues therefrom enjoyed by George Hepburn, the previous chaplain.

Trinity.

1532. May 23.

[Docts. pres. to R. Waterston; transcript in
Wallace-James, misc. 1/2/23.]

Charter *a me* by John Getgud, son and heir of deceased John Getgud, burgess of Haddington, with consent of Agnes Congiltoun, his mother, to Mr. Robert Waltersoun, provost of Bothans, chaplain of chaplainry of Trinity, founded by him in parish church of Haddington, in south aisle, on west part thereof, and his successors as chaplains there, of an acre in lie Harmanschott, on north side of Haddington.

1532, May 23.

[Docts. pres. to R. Waterston.]

Tack by Mr. Robert Walterstoun, provost of college kirk of St. Cuthbert of the Bothanis, founder of Trinity aisle on south west part of parish kirk of Haddington, with consent of Mr. Patrick Cokburn, chaplain thereof, to John Getgud and Agnes Congiltoun, his mother, and his heirs, an acre disposed in charter above narrated, paying to said Mr. Patrick and his successors as chaplains, 26/8 yearly, and 5s. to bailies or small customers of Haddington.

1532, May 24.

[Docts. pres. to R. Waterston; transcript in
Wallace-James misc. 1/2/55.]

Sasine folowing on charter narrated above, and resignation in favour of said Mr. Patrick Cokburn, chaplain of Trinity altar.

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1539, April 8.

[RSS 2/2991.]

Precept under privy seal for charter narrated *infra, gratis*.

1539, April 8.

[HTCR 181/33; RMS 3/1962.]

Great seal charter of confirmation of charter, 8 Oct. 1521, by Mr. Robert Walterstoun, *Haddingtoniani*, provost of college kirk of Bothans, rector of Petcokkis, for souls of James V, Patrick, earl of Bothuile, and Adam, his son, and others, to maintain chaplain in choir and at altar of Holy Trinity in parish church of Haddington, of 2 adjacent tenements in high street, called lie Hardgaite, an acre in lie Harmanshot, on north part of town, held by Patrick Congiltoun, and 8 merks yearly as well from common kist of community of burgh, until chaplain is infeft in another 8 merks yearly; donation after death of said Mr. Robert, is to go to bailies of Haddington.

1539, Aug. 18.

[P.B. of A. Symson, 1/120v.]

Mr. Thomas Hay delivered a mortification to bailies of Haddington of Trinity altar in kirk of Haddington, and made town patrons thereof.

1545, June 8.

[HBC 2/211r.]

Provost and bailies gave sir John Fresar Trinity chalice of silver double overgilt, having trinity on foot with *Mr. Robert Waltersoun* written above and his arms, and in paten *Jesus*.

1557, Dec. 15.

[GD.1/39/1/41.]

Charter *de me* by John Forrest, burgess of Haddington, to sir Adam Broun, chaplain of chaplainry of altar of Holy Trinity in college church of B.V.M. in Haddington, of 2 acres in freedom of burgh, one in field called lie Myllschott, and the other in field called lie Medow Akeris. Document cancelled.

1563, Sept. 17.

[HTC 1/33v.]

Council grants chaplainry of Trinity aisle in parish kirk of Haddington to Mr. Patrick Cokburne at town's pleasure. Sasine is given at principal manse, now occupied by Margaret Burnet.

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1563, Sept. 21.

[P.B. of T. Stevin 1/373v.]

Provost, bailies and council as patrons, give institution of Trinity aisle and chaplainry thereof in parish kirk of Haddington, to Mr. Patrick Cockburn, vacant by death of sir Adam Broune, with annuals belonging thereto, (5 merks from acre of Henry Crumbell in Harmanflat; another 2 acres there, acre in Medow Akeris, 5 merks from acre of John Swyntoun in Myllflatt, acre there occupied by said sir Adam) as patrimony of said chaplainry.

1563, Sept. 29.

[Fasti 1/311.]

Patrick Cockburn, son of Cockburn of Langton (or alternatively, son of Christopher Cockburn of Choicelea in the Merse), granted Trinity aisle. (In 1567 he had a stipend of £vi^{xx}, and died in 1568).

1564, March 31.

[HTC 1/37v.]

Provost, bailies and council ordain that £58 received from John Forrest, for redemption of 2 acres, be laid out on land or annual rents, with advice of Mr. Patrick Cockburn, possessor and chaplain of Trinity aisle, for utility of him and his successors.

1565, Aug. 10.

[HTC 1/42r.]

Council ratifies assignation by Patrick Getgud to John Forrest, of acre in Harman flatt pertaining to Trinity aisle, and approves resignation of eastmost of 2 acres in Harman flatt, occupied by said John, by said Patrick to him.

1566, Aug. 9.

[HTC 1/45v.]

Mr. Patrick Cockburn, possessor of Trinity aisle, constitutes Bernard Thom-soun as procurator, to collect annuals pertaining thereto, being comptable therefor to said Mr. Patrick.

1567, May 15.

[HTC 1/48r.]

Bailies agree that William Broun, natural son of deceased sir Adam Broun, shall have feu mail of £10 due from tenement on east side of Hardgait, "being ruinous and dekeit", reduced, and ordain him to pay 10 merks for

PRE-REFORMATION ALTARAGES IN HADDINGTON

said tenement to chaplainry of Trinity aisle in parish kirk of Haddington, and he will get a new feu charter, including acre in Harmanflatt, occupied by him, also pertaining to said chaplainry, paying 40s. feu mail yearly.

1567, Oct. 9.

[HTC 1/50r.]

Charter by Mr. Patrick Cokburn, rector of Petcokkis, *minister verbi* in burgh of Haddington, in favour of William Broun, burghess of Haddington, following on agreement above narrated.

1570, May 26.

[P.B. of T. Stevin. 2/111r.]

Provost and bailies, patrons of Trinity aisle by decease of Mr. Patrick Cokburn, last possessor thereof, discharge Henry Cambell, burghess of Haddington, of £58 in redemption of annual of 8 merks due from 3 acres of land in freedom of burgh in "schott" of land called Mylneflatt.

General.

1566/7, March 24.

[HTCR 149; RMS IV/1776.]

Great seal charter in favour of burgh of Haddington, of all lands, churches, chapels, annuals; obits, anniversaries whatsoever, pertaining to any chapels, altarages or college within burgh, reserving liferent to chaplains; prebendaries and friars who were in possession thereof before the alteration of religion.

1571, Nov. 29.

[HTC 1/62v.]

Provost, bailies and council ordain that all annuals of chaplainries and altarages in burgh are to be collected and applied for the use of a schoolmaster or reader for teaching bairns, or of an exhorter in the kirk.

1572, April 9.

[HTC 1/64v.]

This is repeated.

BARBARA L. H. HORN
(Scottish Record Office)

PRESTONGRANGE AND ITS PAINTED CEILING

by

GEORGE MURRAY, M.R. APTE AND IAN HODKINSON

Summary

The recorded history of Prestongrange begins in the 12th century when the lands were granted to the monks of Newbattle by Robert de Quincy. At the time of the Reformation they passed to Mark Ker, abbot and later commendator, who died in 1584, and thereafter to Mark Ker younger who was created Earl of Lothian in 1606 and died in 1609. At the latter's death Prestongrange was sold to John Morison whose heirs held the lands until 1746, to be succeeded by the Grant (later Grant Suttie) family, who retained possession until 1958.

The existing house was built in the second half of the sixteenth century but may incorporate earlier work. It was extended by Sir James Grant Suttie in 1830 and 1850.

A painted ceiling was discovered in the hall at Prestongrange in 1962 and has since been moved to Napier College, Edinburgh. This ceiling is dated 1581 and is the earliest dated ceiling known. There are also traces of a second painted ceiling in the room to the east of the hall, and substantial remains of a painted mural, including the monogram of Mark Ker, on the walls of one of the bedrooms on the floor above.

Acknowledgements

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The figures are from material surveyed, drawn and prepared by Mr T. Borthwick, Mr Robert L. Snowden, Mrs Thea McDonald, and Mr W. Norman Robertson.

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PART I — HISTORY

by George Murray

The name, Prestongrange, appears to be associated with a grange of the monks of Newbattle to whom these lands were granted by Robert de Quincy some time before 1189¹. But some doubt is thrown upon this derivation or at least upon the late 12th Century date of it by the fact that the Charter itself grants the "grange of Preston" to the monks, suggesting that the name Prestongrange preceded the grant by Robert de Quincy. The boundaries, as set forth in the charter, stretched from the Whytrig Burn on the East, to the marches of the Abbot of Dunfermline's lands of Inveresk and Pinkie on the West. On the south side, ditches were dug to mark the boundary between the monks' lands and the De Quincy territory of Tranent. In addition, the monks had the privilege of grazing 600 sheep and the oxen necessary to work their land on the Tranent Common. They had, as well, six acres of Tranent meadow and the right to 20 cartloads of peats and fuel for the grange.

Some years later, Seyer de Quincy, the son of Robert, confirmed his father's charter without alteration² but, afterwards, increased the grant to include half of the march on the Whytrig burn side and the rights to the coal and quarry workings within their lands down to low-water mark on the sea boundary to the North³.

According to the Rev. John Struthers, the parish minister of Prestonpans in the middle of the 19th Century⁴, "the lands belonging to the monastery of Newbattle were early cultivated by the monks and a mansion and grange erected by them shortly after the twelfth Century." No evidence has been found to support this claim but it is reasonable to suppose that buildings were erected by the monks about this time. Certainly they continued to work the coal down the centuries and in 1531 were making arrangements with their neighbours, the monks of Dunfermline in the lands of Inveresk and Pinkie, for the draining of water from their pits.⁵ In 1526 they added to the existing facilities of their estate the harbour later known as Acheson's Haven or Morrison's Haven where they had authority to charge all the customary dues "as in the port of Leith."⁶

At the Reformation, Preston Grange, as part of the extensive lands of Newbattle, passed into the hands of Mark Ker, Commendator of the Abbey, "a wyse honest man."⁷ Mark Ker was the second son of Sir Andrew Ker of

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Cessford and his wife, Agnes, daughter of Robert, second Lord Crichton of Sanquhar. Sir Andrew fought at Flodden under Lord Home and two years later was appointed warden of the Middle Marches in spite of being "a young man without wisdom and substance."⁸ By 1517 the same authority, an Englishman, concedes that he could find no fault in him except that "he is some deal forgitfyll and rakles."⁹ Probably it was his recklessness that finished him: he was killed in a feud with Scott of Buccleuch in 1526. He was succeeded in Cessford by his eldest son, Walter, who in 1552 avenged his father's death by heading an affray in the High Street of Edinburgh in which Sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch was killed.

By this time, Mark, the second son of Sir Andrew, was Abbot of the Monastery of Newbattle to which he had been appointed in 1547.¹⁰ The "Preface" to the Chartulary of Newbattle argues that the date of this appointment cannot be accurately determined but agrees that it was before 1555.¹¹ Certainly from about 1555 and more especially after 1560 Mark Ker, Commendator of Newbattle, played a busy and important part in the life of the nation.

The first mention of him at this time¹² records that he was involved along with the laird of Coldingknowis in the "slaughter" of a French officer and in "hurting and wounding (a corporal) in sundry parts of his body, and other Frenchmen; committit at Newbottill in April last. Comperit Maister Mark Ker in the presence of the . . . Justice-deputis and desyrit to be replegit, as he that wes ane Kirkman, to his Juge Ordinare." A long dispute followed as to whether the Commendator came under the jurisdiction of the diocese of St. Andrews or that of Glasgow. In the course of this argument, Mark Ker "producit ane testimoniale of his ordour of Crownebonnet berand that he wes scolare in the dyocy of Sanctandris" and alleged further that "he wes born within the said dyocy, in the castell of Edinburgh, and maid residence continwalie within the samin dyocy, viz. within the place and toun of Newbottill or Edinburgh." In addition, he "demittit the Benefice of Massindew in Jedbrucht" and consequently could claim that he had "na benefice within the dyocy of Glasgow." So Mark Ker escaped trial by Archbishop Beaton of Glasgow. Unfortunately no more is heard of the case.

By 1560 Mark Ker's name appears among the 49 signatories of the document drawn up at Edinburgh on 27th April, 1560 . . . "Ane contract (The

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Last Band of Leyth) of the Lords and Barons to defend the Liberty of The Evangell of Christ." "This contract and band came not only to the eiris, bot allsua to the sycht of the Queen Dowager; quhairat sche stormit nott a little." And little wonder that she stormed for, with the help of an English army, these lords and barons "quhais namis ar underwrittin haif promittit effectuellie (to) concur and joyne togidder . . . for expulsion of the said strangeris (the French) oppressouris of oure libertie, furth of this realme, and recovery of our ancient fredomis and liberteis."¹³ Three months later, Mark Ker was present at the Parliament of 1st August, 1560 which approved "the confessioun of faith professed and believed be the protestants within the realm of Scotland, publischeit be thame in parliament and by the estaitis thair of ratifeit and appreivit as hailsome and sound doctrine groundit upoun the infallibill trewth of God's word."¹⁴ Of this meeting John Knox¹⁵ writes bitterly that many lords both spiritual and temporal "contemptuously did absent thame selffis; and yit the chief pillaris of the Papisticall Kirk gave their presence, sick as the Bischoppis of Sanctandrois . . . the abbotis of Lendorse . . . Newbottill . . . and dyverse otheris quham we observit not."

Meanwhile, in his more private life, Mark Ker had apparently acted with some ruthlessness in evicting four of his tenants and was summoned before the Privy Council to answer their charges.¹⁶ He was ordered to pay "ilkane of thame yeirlie in tyme cuming . . . the soun of tuentie pundis for thair sustentation, leving and furnessing." Five years later, in November 1567, he was again before the Privy Council to answer the complaint of James Giffert younger of Sherefhall that he had been dispossessed of "the eist and west mylnis of Newbottill with the mylne landis, multures, suckin, and thair pertinentis" which he and his predecessors had held "thir mony yeris begane" for "Mark now commendature of Newbottill, on his maner, hes gevin and set in fewferme to his spouse and bairnis . . . the said mylnis ower the heid of the said James . . . without ony just caus or occasioun." The decision of "my Lord Regent and the Lords of Secrete Counsall" is not recorded.¹⁷

In spite of these events, Mark Ker continued among those who directed the nation's affairs. He was regularly present at meetings both of the Parliament and of the Privy Council of which he became a member in 1569 as well as an Extraordinary Lord of Session. He was a man of wide experience who

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had, in 1563, been one of those charged with administering the Act of Oblivion¹⁸ and, in 1567 a member of "Ane commissioun . . . to consider sic articklis as is committit to thame and to report the samin again in the nixt Parliament."¹⁹ He was present, too, at the Privy Council which decided to hold "justice aires ower all this realme" so that "justice mycht be execute upon (offenders) for thair demerits in exempill of utheris."²⁰ He was at the council which met at Kelso to consider various matters relative to the peace of the Borders,²¹ and at the meeting on 15th April 1569 which "concludit that James, Duke of Chestellarault salbe committit to ward within the castell of Edinburgh in default of fulfilling of his part of the pacification of Glasgow."²²

In the years of the "troubles" that followed the battles of Carberry Hill and Langside, Mark Ker played a significant though not a major part in national politics. When the Pacification of Perth, in February 1572, made a serious effort to remove "the publict troubles and civile weare within this realme sa lang continewing thairin,"²³ Robert, Lord Boyd, Sir John Bellen-den of Auchnowle and "Mark, Commendatere of Newbottill" were appointed commissioners to try "all attempts against the abstinence besowth the watter of Tay."²⁴ Throughout the regency of Morton (1572-1578) the Commendator was in frequent attendance at meetings of the Privy Council and, on the fall of Morton, continued as one of the extraordinary council appointed to carry on the government in the King's name,²⁵ and, when Morton had seized Stirling Castle, Mark Ker was one of the four delegates sent to arrange terms of reconciliation between Morton and his enemies, Athole, Glamis, Argyle and Montrose.²⁶ In April 1580 Mark Ker was among those appointed to hear trial of the "haill quarrellis, deidlie feidis and caussis debaitabill" between "his Hienes subjectis of the surnames of Gordoun and Forbes"²⁷ and a year later was one of the six privy councillors appointed to hear the application for full pardon and restoration of Sir James Balfour of Pittendreich ("Blasphemous Balfour" according to Knox) who had been implicated in the murder of Darnley.²⁸

When the Lennox-Arran administration replaced that of Morton in December 1580, Mark Ker continued his attendance at the meetings of the Privy Council with great punctuality up to November 1581 and constantly enough afterwards²⁹ but the Ruthven Raid in August 1582, for a time, put an end to his attendances for he was a loyal supporter of Lennox and did not approve

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of the Earl of Gowrie's government. Indeed, when the Ruthven Raid government ordered Lennox to leave the country, the Commendator was one of those who supported him in a desperate but unsuccessful attempt "to seaze upon the palace of Halyrudhous and the toun of Edinburgh unawars."³⁰ Yet, two months earlier, when the Gowrie government was attempting to widen its basis of support, Mark Ker was invited to join the Privy Council again and was in regular attendance after October 1582.³¹ On the other hand, when the Gowrie administration fell (July 1583) Mark Ker must have found considerable pleasure in his attendance at the Privy Council held in Holyrood on 7th December, 1583, which declared that the Ruthven Raid was "a crime of lese majesty" and ordered the justification of it (19 October 1582) "to be deleted from the books of the Council."³²

Such were the activities of the man who was the owner of Preston Grange in 1581, the date of the painted ceiling recently discovered there. His wife, Lady Helen Leslie, second daughter of George, fourth Earl of Rothes, bore him four sons and a daughter, of whom the eldest, Mark, succeeded both as Commendator and as privy councillor when his father died in August, 1584.³³

The new owner of Preston Grange was already well known in both court and government circles before his father's death. In 1580 he is listed as "Mr Mark Ker of Prestongrange" among thirty people appointed "to attend on the king's person"³⁴ and in the same year Parliament ratified to him the grant of the office of Commendator of Newbattle with all the "fructis, proffitis and emoluments thair of during his lyf tyme"³⁵ in succession to his father who retained a liferent. A further act of 1584³⁶ "for annulling of the successorijs of prelacijs purchast of his Hienes in the troublous tymis bypast of his young aige" provided that "Mr Mark Ker . . . mr. of his hienes requeistis . . . sail not be comprehendit under this present act." His possession of Preston Grange with all its arable lands, the mill and the mill lands, and the port of Acheson's Haven was confirmed by the king in 1587³⁷ and the grant ratified in 1591³⁸ when the lands of Preston Grange along with many other lands belonging to the Commendator were erected into the barony of Preston Grange and incorporated in the one lordship of Newbattle. In 1606 Mark Ker was created Earl of Lothian³⁹ and died in 1609, the victim, it is said of witchcraft exercised by his wife, Margaret Maxwell, daughter of Lord Herries.

The origin of this tale of the first Earl of Lothian's death by witchcraft is

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the account given by Sir John Scot of Scotstarvet, which is quoted in full at a later stage in this study.⁴⁰ This is a most remarkable story rendered the more apt in this context by the apparent connection between it and the symbolism of the ceiling which the first Mark Ker had commissioned for his house at Preston Grange.

When Robert Ker, the second Earl of Lothian, succeeded to his father's estates, he apparently sold Prestongrange in the year of his father's death to one John Morison, a merchant of Edinburgh who was treasurer of the city in 1588 and three times a bailie.⁴¹ No confirmation of the reputed date of purchase (1609) has been found. This John Morison married Katherine Preston, daughter of John Preston, Lord President of the Court of Session, and became the ancestor of a succession of Morisons who owned Prestongrange down to 1746. Yet, as early as 1644 they were selling 64 acres of their lands to John Joyce, a merchant burgess of Edinburgh⁴² and in 1647 part of the Dolphingtoun lands was disposed of to David Wilkie and his son Archibald⁴³ who held them until 1654 when "the Protector grants to Capt. Benjamin Bryssie, merchant in Leith . . . the lands and barony of Dolphingtoun, sometime called Cowthropole, with the tower, manorplace, coalheughs etc, thereof."⁴⁴

The most notable of the Morisons of Prestongrange were Alexander, the son, and William, the great-grandson of the original John who bought the estate. Alexander was appointed a lord of session in 1626 and took the title of Lord Prestongrange. The following year, he was elected Rector of the University of Edinburgh and had the reputation of great learning.⁴⁵ William the great-grandson of John, succeeded his father in the lands of Prestongrange in 1684 and sat for Haddingtonshire and later, Peeblesshire for nearly 25 years prior to the Union of Parliaments. He was one of the commissioners for the Treaty of Union and continued to represent Peeblesshire in the British Parliament almost continuously until 1715.⁴⁶

"Jupiter" Carlyle in his *Autobiography* (p.5) reports that William Morison "was elected Member of Parliament for East Lothian in the first parliament of Great Britain, although the celebrated Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun was the other candidate. But Government took part with Morison, and Fletcher had only nine votes. Morison had been very rich, but had suffered himself to be stripped by the famous gambler of these times, Colonel Charteris, whom I once saw with him in church, when I was five or six years

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of age; and being fully impressed with the popular opinion that he was a wizard, who had a fascinating power, I never once took my eyes off him during the whole service, believing that I should be a dead man the moment I did. . . . This simple gentleman's estate (Morison's) soon went under sequestration for the payment of his debts. He was so imaginary and credulous as to believe that close by his creek of Morison's Haven was the place where St. John wrote the Apocalypse, because some old vaults had been discovered in digging a mill-race for a mill that went by sea-water. This had probably been put into his head by the annual meeting of the oldest lodge of operative masons in Scotland at that place on St. John's Day."

William Morison died in 1739 and was succeeded by his son Alexander who sold Prestongrange in 1746 to an Edinburgh advocate, William Grant, 2nd son of Sir Francis Grant, Lord Cullen who had been created a baronet of Nova Scotia in 1705. In the same year as he purchased Prestongrange, Grant was appointed Lord Advocate, a position which he held until his promotion to the bench in 1754 when he took, like his Morison predecessor, the title of Lord Prestongrange. As Lord Advocate in 1746 he was intimately involved in the trials of the Jacobites and carried out his duties with a justice and impartiality that greatly enhanced his reputation. He prosecuted at the trial of Archibald Stewart, Lord Provost of Edinburgh, whose behaviour had aroused much suspicion when the Prince's army was marching on Edinburgh before the Battle of Prestonpans.

Lord Prestongrange died at Bath in 1764 and was buried in Prestonpans Church. He left three daughters all of whom were married some years before their father's death. The eldest, Janet, married the 4th Earl of Hyndford in 1749. Agnes, the second daughter, married Sir George Suttie of Balgone in 1757, the year after her younger sister, Jane, became the wife of Robert Dundas of Arniston, Lord President of the Court of Session. John Carmichael of Castlecraig, 4th Earl of Hyndford, was served heir to his father-in-law in July 1767.⁴⁷ He died in 1787 and his wife, the Dowager Countess of Hyndford, continued to live in Prestongrange until her death in 1818 when her heir was her nephew Sir James Suttie of Balgone, the son of her sister Agnes⁴⁸. Sir James Suttie, who assumed the name of Grant Suttie, inherited from his aunt along with the estate "all the carriages and carriage horses, . . . the whole stocking of cattle and sheep, implements of husbandry, horses, crops on

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the grounds in my natural possession, and in the barnyard, all the furniture in the house of Prestongrange belonging to me, wine in the cellars and provisions of every kind that shall be in the house."⁴⁹ The will of Janet Grant, Countess of Hyndford, also directs her executor "to deliver to the heir who shall succeed me in the estate of Prestongrange . . . the whole vouchers of the improvements made by my husband and me."

What these improvements were is not revealed, but fairly soon Sir James Grant Suttie set about a major reconstruction of the mansion house which now bears above its front door the date 1830, the arms of the family and the motto "Nothing hazard nothing have." From 1830 to 1958 Prestongrange remained in the possession of the Grant-Suttie family, but from 1922 onwards it was leased to Royal Musselburgh Golf Club who use the mansion house as their clubhouse and claim that it is the most impressive one in Scotland. The course itself was opened in 1924.

The last stage in the story of Prestongrange, so far, was reached in 1958 when the Coal Industrial Social Welfare Organisation bought the estate. Royal Musselburgh Golf Club continues to use both the course and the clubhouse.

PART II — ARCHITECTURE

by M. R. Apted

The mansion of Preston Grange stands in its own policies (now a golf course) about 7 miles east of Edinburgh. Pinkie House, Musselburgh, a mile and three quarters to the south-west, and Northfield, Prestonpans, three quarters of a mile to the east, both contain notable examples of painted decoration.

The architectural history of the house since 1830 is known in detail thanks to the survival of the working drawings of the Edinburgh architect, W. H. Playfair, who was responsible for the nineteenth century additions. What is more important in the present context is that the earliest set of drawings, dated 1830, distinguish between the additions and alterations proposed by Playfair and the old house as it already existed at that date. It then consisted of a single range of buildings lying east and west, with the main entry at the foot of a rectangular tower which projected from the north front and which housed the principal stair. In addition to this tower there were three others, all circular, one projecting from the south front and the others from the north-

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east and south-east angles.

The basement contained cellars, servants' quarters and a corridor along the north side. Above were two floors in the central section and two floors and a garret in the section at either end; these upper floors were connected by the main stair in the tower and by two subsidiary stairs, one contrived in the re-entrant angle between stair-tower and main block, the other in the north-east angle tower. The principal accommodation was on the first floor, the central section being a drawing room apart from one end which was partitioned off to serve as an anti-chamber; the west end was occupied by the library and the east end by the principal bedroom and a dressing room. Above were the nursery and servants' bedrooms.

In general terms such a plan with cellars on the ground floor, public rooms on the first floor and a stair in a projecting tower is typical of the late sixteenth century, yet the length of the building seems exceptional in relation to its width and the plan of the east section with its thick internal walls and thin external curtain and angle towers suggest a core of earlier work, perhaps a small tower, at this point. It may also be significant that the floor levels in the east and central sections are not the same and that the basement passage bends at the point of junction between the two.

Such problems of chronology can normally be solved by close examination of the building itself, but at Preston Grange the masonry gives very little away, partly because of its nature, partly because of the extensive repointing, patching and alteration which it has suffered. Sixteenth century masonry can be identified without doubt in the central section of the south facade where small relieving arches are visible over the first floor windows; thus although the sills of the windows have been lowered and possibly the jambs widened the windows are none the less in their original position. Those in the eastern section of the facade are smaller and look early, albeit restored, particularly the one at basement level east of the bow window which has a socket for a bar in the lintel. The masonry in the east gable has been much disturbed, but two blocked windows can be seen at first floor level and a relieving arch on the floor above. There may have been a string course across the face of the gable which has been cleared away and there is evidence to suggest that the height of the gable as a whole has been raised.

Internally there are extensive remains of mural painting contemporary

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with the ceiling (i.e. 1581) on the west wall of the small room at the east end of the second floor. This painting is on what would have been originally the outside face of an earlier tower, if such existed, so that if there was an extension to the east it must have taken place before the wall was painted.

In spite of this element of doubt about the early history of the building the old house of 1830 remains in essentials a typical laird's house of the late sixteenth century, preserving features of the tower-house era and combining with them a degree of comfort and a disregard for defence hitherto unknown. Such a house is an appropriate place to find extensive schemes of painted decoration. That these survived was due to the nature of the nineteenth century additions designed by Playfair for Sir George Grant Suttie.

The addition of 1830 preserved virtually the whole of the then existing house, and consisted of an extension to the north which provided an entrance hall, a grand stair and a first-floor dining room with servants' quarters in the basement below and additional bedrooms above. Alterations to the old house were limited to building up the original entry and certain windows in the north wall, slapping doorways between old work and new and rebuilding the tower at the north-east angle to provide a stone stair from basement to garret. (The rebuilding of the tower is not included in the original 1830 survey but was set out later in the same year). Comparing plans with the house, which is dated 1830 over the entrance, it can be seen that Playfair's proposals were carried out almost exactly as planned, although the top of the stair tower was modified in 1850 and the projecting dining-room balcony has been removed in recent times. In the latter case one can see clear evidence of the supporting corbels which formerly existed across the north face of the extension.

There is some information about this 1830 extension in Playfair's letters, although work had already begun when the surviving series commences. The principal contractors were Wilson and Goodall, the plasterer was called Mouncey and the clerk of works Brotherstone. Other tradesmen mentioned are Brodie and Hume, Merryleas, Dalziel, Ironside, Douglas and Buchan. Wilson and Goodall were paid in instalments, the contract adding up to £1,825 15s; the plasterer received £62 and the clerk of works £1 10s per week. Work must already have been well advanced by August, 1830 since Wilson and Goodall received their second instalment on the 27th of that month, and must have been virtually complete by December, 1831 when all but one of the

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accounts were due to be paid. Playfair adds that 'as most of the Tradesmen are in want of money at this period of the year they will be very glad to receive payment as soon as convenient.'

Playfair's second addition (the plans are dated 1850) involved the building of what was in effect a tower-house at the west end of the old house of 1830 to provide additional accommodation on all floors including new servants' quarters in the basement, an enlarged library on the first floor, and additional bedrooms above. At the same time it linked the old house directly to out-buildings to the south-west which had hitherto apparently been connected by an arcade. Again Playfair preserved the old house except for the west end which was largely rebuilt. He also made minor alterations to the south facade; a new entry was provided from the garden with a stone access stair and bulustrade; carved dormers were fitted to the windows of the top storey; a bow window was thrown out between the projecting round tower and the south-east corner to light what had now become a study. This addition still stands as planned, although the ancillary buildings to the south-west have been demolished.

Playfair's correspondence covering the building of this second addition has not been found, but as early as 1841 he was 'closely occupied in designing the addition to your house' and hoped 'to improve the inside comfort and the outward appearance.' Grant Suttie had approved the plans in principal by November, 1842, but Playfair was still working on them in August, 1844 and in March, 1845 claimed that they had been finished as promised 'by the end of last month.' The drawings as preserved are dated 4 May, 1850, but the accommodation provided is that proposed to Lady Harriet in 1844. This long period of planning and improvement is typical of Playfair who was accustomed to take infinite pains to satisfy his clients and who wrote on one occasion 'Beyond a doubt there is nothing like Indian Rubber and patience in my profession.' It is also a remarkable illustration of the industry of Playfair and his staff that the final set of drawings covering the 1850 building alone runs to 88 sheets.

In addition to the work described above Playfair also prepared plans for a lodge which are dated 1837 and for a stable block which appears from the correspondence to have been built in 1845 after having been postponed by Grant Suttie for a year in the hope of getting a more favourable contract. This

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economy is a fairly typical example of Grant Suttie's occasional interventions. Playfair, writing to Lady Harriet in 1844 about the second addition says that 'to meet Sir George's view I have diminished the extent of building by omitting the round tower.' Where this round tower was to go is not known.

The effect of Playfair's two additions was to increase the amount and quality of the accommodation available at Preston Grange while preserving the old house at the heart of the new one. To this is due the survival of the painted ceiling, which must incidentally have been exposed when the drawing room was panelled and plastered in 1830 and to a limited extent again in 1837 when the partition between drawing-room and anti-room was removed. Unfortunately neither Grant Suttie nor Playfair recorded their discovery.

APPENDIX:

PLAYFAIR'S LETTERS RELATING TO PRESTON GRANGE

W. H. Playfair was born in 1789 and died in 1857. Notable examples of his work in Edinburgh include the Surgeon's Hall (1832), Old College (1834), Royal Scottish Academy (1823 enlarged 1836), the National Gallery (1845), New College and Assembly Hall (1846-50) and Donaldson's Hospital (1854). Some 6,000 of his drawings, including a portfolio (No. 19) devoted to Preston Grange, are preserved in the Edinburgh University library. Two volumes of his letter books have also survived, Volume 4 (1830-35) now in the Register House (John C. Brodie Collection, Box 100, Bundle 1) and Volume 7 (1840-45), presently in the possession of Messrs Brodie, Cuthbertson and Watson.

Unless otherwise stated all the letters cited below were addressed to Sir George Grant Suttie. Page numbers are given in parenthesis at the end of each extract.

PLAYFAIR LETTERS VOLUME 4 (1830-35)

1830

- 24 Aug. Playfair reports another instalment due to contractor as well as a payment to Brotherstone, clerk of works (1-2).
- 27 Aug. £313. 10s. paid by Playfair on Grant Suttie's behalf, including £300 to Messrs. Wilson and Goodall as their second instalment on Preston Grange and £13 10s. to Brotherstone, clerk of works (5).
- 1 Sept. 'While drawing out the three windows of your dining room with the French sashes which you agreed to have, I find that extra sized glass will be required—and that this would cost half a crown a foot additional, making the whole an addition of 15 pounds. I could put in smaller panes but they would look miserably ill. If you do not

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- wish to spend this 15 pounds upon this object it would be best at once to adopt the usual kind of sash which would look very well. In that case instead of 15 pounds spent 9 guineas would be saved. I beg you will let me know your decision as early as possible.' (8).
- 4 Sept. 'I have seen the glazier and have ascertained that the French glass I spoke about would cost from 20 to 25 pounds—not more. It is very pure in the colour and much more even in the surface than common glass and is double the thickness—so that it possesses many advantages and I would recommend that it should be used.' (8-9).
- 7 Sept. 'The expense of the two new chimneys will be eighteen pounds — As you have determined that the end of the anti-room is to be the situation of the new fire place and are satisfied with it, it will of course be made there. And as you have also decided not to have the French windows I have desired the Contractor to proceed with those originally agreed upon' (9).
- 20 Sept. (To Wilson and Goodall) 'I have to acquaint you that I consider it necessary that you should pull down and rebuild all that part of the chimney stalk at Preston Grange (into which you are to introduce the two new flues) which stands above the level of the gutter of the platform' (13).
- 21 Sept. The same instruction repeated (13).
- 18 Oct. Third instalment due to Wilson and Goodall and further payment to clerk of works.
- 25 Oct. Third instalment paid (21-22).
- 22 Nov. (To Wilson and Goodall) Be so kind as send me a detailed estimate of the expense of the chimney stalks for Preston Grange, that is
the number of yards of rubble at
feet of vents
feet of scribbled corners
and the relaying of the three other vents etc. and in short let me know how you make up the amount you have sent me' (33).
- 11 Dec. Playfair makes appointment to meet Grant Suttie at Preston Grange at latter's request (39).
13. Dec. Appointment fixed for 10 a.m. on 14 Dec. (40).

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- 22 Dec. (To Wilson and Goodall) 'I hereby agree to your offer to execute the hanging stair at Preston Grange instead of that formerly proposed with a newel, without any additional expense, the skirting to be paid for, if done with stone 4 pounds to be given, if with wood two pounds ten shillings' (44-45).
- 1831
- 14 Feb. Clerk of works, Brotherstone, due 16 weeks pay—24 pounds (72).
 16 May The same due £19 10s. (98-99).
 4 June (To Mr. MacPherson, Playfair's assistant). 'The chimney peece will answer perfectly and the inter-mixture of wood and marble is not only cheap but characteristic—the veined white marble I think is in general to be preferred but you can use your discretion about this—only get them forward without delay. In this way the dining room chimney piece will be the only one retarded till I return. Red or yellow in the rough casting are most particularly to be avoided—greyish white or a brownish tone are the best colours. Unless Mr. Suttie is urgent about it I should like that the wall and railing at the sunk fence should not be finally decided upon until I return, but if Mr Suttie is anxious to proceed, settle the matter at once by giving the drawings' (101-2).
- 14 July Grant Suttie invited to go to see models of lime kilns at the Highland Society which Playfair and Brotherston had visited (110).
 25 July 'I forgot to mention that Mouncey the plasterer has asked for his money—The amount is 62 pounds, which if you will send to me I will pay him. There is a trifle of extra work for some additional ornaments which he has not sent to me yet—but the 62 pounds is the sum agreed on by estimate' (121).
 27 July 'Messrs. Wilson and Goodall have applied to me for money. Under all the circumstances and in the advanced state of the work I would recommend they should get a payment of 200 pounds to account. If you will send me an order for this I will pay them and get their receipt' (121).
 22 Aug. 'I find that if the dining room chimney piece was made partly in marble and partly in wood it would cost about 28 pounds and the corridor chimney piece, if done in a similar manner about 19

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pounds. I think they would both look handsome and appropriate—and I would recommend that they should be so executed. I beg your wishes on the subject' (130).

19 Oct. 'I have been obliged to go out of town for a few days and have in consequence been unable to examine the accounts of Goodall — They have a bill to pay today I understand and will be in great difficulties unless they get some money to account. I beg therefore you will be so good as make them a payment of two hundred pounds to account which may be done with safety and propriety. The accounts shall be all finally arranged by the end of the week' (146).

7 Dec. 'I am sorry I have been unable to overtake the accounts—I will look them over immediately and send them with my observations to Preston Grange' (175).

17 Dec. 'I beg to send you the accounts connected with the additions and alterations at Preston Grange which I have carefully examined. If you will take the General Abstract first and look it over and then refer to the different accounts and vouchers you will easily see how the whole matter stands. The accounts are so distinctly made out that I need make no observations upon them, but if any explanation be necessary Brotherstone or Black or both of them will attend you at Preston Grange whenever you wish, but I don't think their presence will be required. The balance marked as due to Wilson and Goodall is £525 15. This however is supposing that they have only received 1300 pounds which passed through my hands and for which I send you their receipts. I believe you have payed them at least 200 pounds more without any reference to me. Of course you have their receipts for any sums so paid and will deduct such sums from the balance £525 15, giving them only the difference. Mouncey is paid, Brodie and Hume, Merryleas, Dalziel, Ironside and Douglas have still to be paid. There is also a balance due to Brotherstone of £35 10s. for which I have sent his receipt. I also send my own professional charge. Buchan's account is not rendered as the work is only in progress. As most of the tradesmen are in want of money at this period of the year they will be very glad to

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receive payment as soon as convenient' (180-181).

- 27 Dec. Playfair regrets that he is unable to meet Grant Suttie owing to business appointment. Suggests meeting in a fortnight (185).

1832

16. Jan. Regrets unable to meet owing to general meeting of Faculty of Advocates. Proposes meeting in a fortnight (195-6).

1833

- 20 May Regrets being unable to meet owing to influenza. Proposes further meeting (454-5).

- 14 June 'The young man about whom I spoke to you cannot accept the situation of clerk at Preston Grange in consequence of the death of a relation which has placed him in a different position—Goodall says that the lime has been preparing for a week past and therefore I presume the idea of using your own lime must be abandoned—which I regret if it be of so good colour as you describe' (465).

- 11 July Goodall offers to build lodge and gate and alter the park wall adjoining for 130 pounds (487).

- 31 July Goodall's offer accepted (494).

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1841

- 22 Nov. 'I write these few words to say that I am now closely occupied in designing the addition to your house and I will not quit the subject till the problem be solved. I trust that I shall be able greatly to improve its appearance. I beg to offer my complements to Lady Harriet Suttie' (188).

- 30 Nov. 'If I can judge of the success of my own work. I should say that I am likely to improve the inside comfort and the outward appearance of your house by the addition I am designing. It will soon be finished. The account shall be rendered at the same time' (190).

1842

- 3 Jan. 'I have been bled, blistered and physicked till I have been left without an ounce of strength. If I had not been in such a wretched condition I should have been most happy to have the pleasure of waiting upon you and Lady Harriet at Preston Grange — and

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availed myself of the advantage of your suggestions touching the plans—I am still a close prisoner in the house, and if you can make it convenient to call here the first time you are in town I shall be very glad to explain the drawings and take your advice' (198-9).

- 26 Jan. 'It will give me much pleasure to see you and explain the plans' (210).
25 Nov. 'I had the favor of your communication yesterday and am glad of your approval of the plan generally. I shall be happy to have the pleasure of seeing you in order to arrange the proposed alterations whenever it may suit your convenience to call' (258).

1843

- 8 March Working drawings for stables completed (284).
24 March Estimate for stables submitted (288).
30 March Further estimates submitted (288-9).
31 March The same (289).
6 April Building of stable postponed till 1844 at Grant Suttie's request in hope of obtaining cheaper terms (295).

1844

- 15 & 18 March Playfair discusses question of railway running through grounds of Preston Grange (388-389).
19 Aug. (To Lady Suttie) 'The pleasant remembrance of the agreeable days I lately passed in the society of your Ladyship and Sir George at Islay gives me fresh stimulus to endeavour to meet your wishes regarding Preston Grange. I have accordingly been working at the proposed addition with a very earnest zeal and I hope with some success. On the basement floor I have added a housekeeper's sitting room, bed room, still room, a servants hall and 2 rooms for ladies maids, kitchen, scullery, cook's pantry and larder. On the principal floor, the library etc. On the bedroom floor a bedroom, 2 dressing rooms etc. On the attic floor one good bathroom. To meet Sir George's view I have diminished the extent of building by omitting the round tower, and the same time by the new arrangement I think I have improved the convenience of the house. I shall be delighted if I am so fortunate as to please you. I am going out of town for a few days, but in the first week of Sept. I should be

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- happy to visit Preston Grange and explain the plans, if convenient to see me then' (424-5).
- 20 Aug. 'I find that marble would be very apt to decay if laid in a damp situation and would also be rather expensive. It would take about 60 pounds to lay the floor of the entrance hall with it. I would recommend that when the addition be made to the house, new Arbroath pavement should be laid in the hall resting on dwarf walls and not on the ground, a current of air being established beneath. This I feel sure will remedy the evil' (425).
- 3 Sept. (To Lady Suttie) 'I shall be delighted to have the pleasure of visiting Balgone and of explaining the attractions and I hope improvements on the sketches of Preston Grange. I propose to leave town tomorrow Wednesday the 4th at 4 o'clock in the coach for N. Berwick where you are so good as promise I am to meet your carriage which is to take me to Balgone' (428).
- 1845
- 30 Jan. Plumber sent out to Prestongrange (475).
- 15 Feb. Further reference to plumber (478).
- 10 March 'The plans of your house at Preston Grange were finished as I promised by the end of last month. Before doing anything further I should wish to submit them to your consideration. If Lady Harriet Suttie desires to hear my explanations I should be happy to visit Preston Grange on any forenoon that might be quiet and convenient. But I wait your wishes' (483).
- 27 April Playfair submits abstract of offers for stable (503-4).
- 13 May Recommends appoint. of clerk of works for stable additions (506).

PART III — THE PAINTINGS

by Ian Hodgkinson

I. *Introduction*

The interest of the painted ceiling from Preston Grange lies not only in the fact that it is unique, but that almost paradoxically it characterises, probably more than any other contemporary painting, an age full of vision, full of change, and full of incongruity. Far from being merely decorative it is

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pregnant with imagery, disconcerting in its curious juxtapositions, its fear and fascination with the unknown, the extra-sensory and the supernatural, which has underlain man's perception from primeval times to the present day.

In this essay I have purposely avoided treating the imagery motif by motif for I feel that the significance lies in the total aesthetic. I have taken the broader view but something of their meaning will emerge from the development of my proposition and it is to be hoped that it might stimulate the individual to understanding in terms of personal association. We are, after all, dealing with a work of art, and the full emotional and intellectual impact which in spite of learned dissertations is in the end subjective, can be achieved only by personal visual experience.

2. *Aesthetic and Iconography*

The fact that the ceiling bears in a cartouche the undoubtedly authentic date of 1581 places it as the earliest dated example of a type of painting which was in vogue between 1550 and 1650 and has come to be known by the impressive title of "Scottish Renaissance Interior Decorative Painting." These paintings fall into a group for several reasons—there is the unabashed love of colourful decoration; the general similarity of style and technique; the occurrence mainly in the secular context; the general absence of Christian symbolism and above all the introduction of large scale use of classical content and decorative detail for the first time in Scottish iconography. The foregoing factors, especially the last, together with the apparent lack of immediate antecedents tend to the idea of a sudden flowering of artistic expression brought about by the influx of the "new vision" of the Renaissance, but such a concept is hardly defensible. Any attempt to define at what point the Middle Ages became the Renaissance involves an interlocking and overlapping which cause the terms to become almost meaningless. Characteristics of the Renaissance can be found far back in the Dark Ages and at the same time elements regarded as the essence of the mediaeval spirit are present in Renaissance thought. "Thus it has become nearly impossible to keep up the antithesis, and yet we cannot do without it, because Middle Ages and Renaissance by the usage of half a century have become terms which call up before us, by means of a single word, the difference between two epochs, a difference which we feel to be essential, though hard to define, just as it is impossible to express the difference of taste between a strawberry and an apple".⁵⁰ In writing this

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Huizinga was referring to the Continent but how much more true is it of Scotland where the process of infiltration and assimilation took place over an even longer period of time. Thus it is with Scottish Renaissance painting where, though the title can be regarded as erroneous in particular cases, it is nonetheless essential.

The extent of Renaissance interior painting in Scotland was little known until comparatively recent times mainly because most of it had been concealed by later additions to the structures of houses intended to make the interiors more elegant and habitable. In addition, there is a great dearth of documentation concerning the paintings and their painters.⁵¹ During the late 19th century a few scholars with interest in the early art of Scotland recorded with writings and drawings the few examples available to them⁵² but it is only in the last thirty years that sufficient discoveries have been made to assess the phenomenon as one of the most interesting and forceful phases in the history of Scottish art. Hitherto unknown examples of Renaissance decoration are continually coming to light and the discovery in 1962 of the scheme of painted work at Preston Grange provides not only the earliest dated example, but also one of the most expertly executed and iconographically interesting. The discovery in addition to our main subject of several other fragments of painted decoration (see below) indicates that Preston Grange was liberally decorated, and furnishes yet more evidence to conclude that, almost without exception, at this period Scottish houses of any standing were extensively decorated with a gaiety, freedom and confidence which was the outward expression of a nation in the throes of intellectual expansion.

The spirit of the Renaissance was intimately involved with this expansion and its expression in art, but the spirit of the Reformation was no less important in determining the form the expression might take. Equally important was the belief in, and the fanatical outlawing of the faith in witchcraft, a pre-Christian heritage from "heathen antiquity," and therefore of the Devil.

Without exception painted work of the type under discussion is of the post-reformation period and it is therefore not surprising that except for a few cases the work is secular and free from Christian symbolism. It happened that the iconoclast antipathy to "monuments of idolatry" coincided with the rebirth of classical, that is to say "antique," art forms, inspired by an influx of continental printed matter. Alongside the more purely classical paintings

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exemplified by the celestial ceilings of Mary Somerville's House,⁵³ Midhope Castle, and Cullen House, the ambitious scenes of the Seige of Troy and Atalanta and Meleager, also at Cullen,⁵⁴ and the intriguing trompe l'œil effects of Pinkie House,⁵⁵ there existed a type of painting known as "Antique Work" which consisted of an adaptation of the Renaissance grotesque. Writing in 1606, Henry Peacham defines the style as "ANTIQUE so called ab-antiquitate, because the inuentions and vse thereof above all other kinds among the Graecians especially was most auncient and in greatest request, the Italian calleth it L'antica; it hath the principall vse in plate, clocks, armour and all manner of compartments, curious Architecture, borders of maps etc. Though you shall seldom have any great vse of it, yet I would have you know what it is, and what to observe in it: The forme of it is a generall, and (as I may say) an vnaturall or vnorderly composition for delight sake of men, beasts, birds, fishes, flowers, etc. without (as wee say) Rime or reason, for the greater variety you show in your inuention, the more you please, but remembering to observe a method of continuation of one and the same thing throughout your whole work without change or altering. You may, if you list, draw naked boyes riding or playing with their paper-mills or bubble-shels vppon Grates, Eagles, Dolphins etc: the bones of a Rammes head hung with strings of beads with Ribands, Satyres, Tritons, apes, cornu-copias, Dogges yocket etc. drawing cowumers, cherries and any other inuention with a thousand more such idle toyes, so that herein you cannot be too fantastical."⁵⁶

At first sight it would seem that the Preston Grange ceiling, together with those of Rossend Castle and Nunraw,⁵⁷ fits into this category of imaginative invention for its own sake containing as it does a compilation of grotesques similar to those referred to by Henry Peacham. But beyond this the comparison cannot be upheld. It is true that "Antique Work" was generally carried out in black and white and the motifs at Preston Grange are in monochrome (on an orange ground), but here the monochrome is used as grisaille, the motifs being treated with a sophisticated realism in imitation of relief sculpture. Indeed the modelling is exceptionally well rendered with a subtlety and sureness of touch far removed from the late 16th century conception of "Grattesca—a kind of vnpolished painters work, antiche work."⁵⁸ Indeed it seems that the term must be restricted to the more purely decorative work exemplified by the wall paintings recently saved from destruction in the Old

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Bridge Tavern at Berwick-on-Tweed⁵⁹ and at Polstead Hall and the Golden Cross Inn, Oxford,⁶⁰ where the inspiration is purely graphic and traceable directly to continental engraving sources. In his description of antique work Peacham is careful to mention that the painter must remember to observe a method of continuation of one and the same thing throughout the whole work without change or altering, but within the Preston Grange ceiling there is a dichotomy of form and content which places the work directly at the cross roads between Mediaeval and Renaissance thought and points to the probability that the imagery has a sinister and meaningful symbolism which transcends the boundaries of that which is merely curious and fantastic in the decorative sense.

The adoption of the grisaille technique to render what are in essence antique motifs is sufficient in itself to place the paintings in a classical context and this allied to the breadth of treatment employed by the painter imports to some of the work a classical elegance which is unparalleled in Scottish work of the period. Nevertheless the classicism is only relative and it is still concerned with detail and a particularisation which precludes grandeur. To some extent this is imposed on the painter by the compartmentation of the ceiling structure but this mediaeval concern for the minute rendering of the particular reaches its height in the terrifying, Bosch-like realism of the series of anthropomorphic figures represented to the west end of the ceiling.⁶¹ (FIG. 3: BAYS, T,U,V.). Indeed the treatment of these figures is so unlike the rest of the ceiling that one is tempted to suggest another hand at work, but intimate study of brushwork and other stylistic and technical considerations obtained during restoration of the painting leaves me in no doubt that the entire ceiling was executed by one painter. The reason for the dissimilarity must be sought elsewhere and possibly lies in the fact that the antique motifs were worked from models which were already clearly formalised whereas by the nature of the subject the figures had not passed through this process of formalisation and were probably painted from a combination of imagination, memory, and actual observation. In these figures the preoccupation with fertility symbolism has an obviously pre-Christian source and one of the figures in particular (PLATE V (a); BAY. V.) with mask, hood, sword (to ward off evil spirits while the seed is sown) and artificial phallus, has all the attributes of a mummer taking part in pagan fertility ritual. In fact much of the symbolism of the ceiling can be

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explained in these terms. There is abundant use made of the representation of fruit (mainly the orange?) in itself a patent symbol of fecundity, but when in each fruit there is an allusion to a breast, a phallus or a peculiar combination of the two, often with the addition of a stalk of wheat, then the significance is far from obscure. Elsewhere the preoccupation with the breast is obvious the most curious and striking example being the many breasted serpent, a sort of earth goddess (PLATE VI (a)). In all primitive religions the main concern is with fertility and religious rites are practised at the seasonal solstices, particularly the winter and spring, when the terrible meaning of birth, death and resurrection is most deeply felt. These factors are always present in the mummers' plays already mentioned and in this connection can be noted the depiction on the ceiling of the wheel (BAY E), the skulls, (BAYS D, L, Q.), the Phoenix (BAYS A and C) and the winged hour glass (PLATE VII (b); BAY Q). Also concerned with fertility and the natural cycle is the important worship of the pagan divinity Baal, the solar deity, probably represented on the ceiling by the flaming orb (BAY P), and in the records of Scottish history down to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there can be found repeated prohibitions by the church against the kindling of Baal fires, the origins of which are unmistakable. Indeed this custom survives to the present day as do many other customs of purely pagan origin. On the early 17th century painting from the chapel at Innerpeffray⁶² the sun, a pagan symbol, is used confusedly to represent the Christian God.

Interaction between Paganism and Christianity was formerly common and the organisation of the church in Britain retains much that is pagan in a Christianised form. The Roman Church, finding an established culture based on the pagan faith set out to Christianise rather than destroy it. St. Augustine expounded the doctrine that Christians should not reject good things just because they were pagan, on the grounds that God is the author of all good. Hence it was that his "conversion" of England consisted in the first instance of placing bishops where there had been flamens and arch-bishops where there had been arch-flamens, thereby keeping the original organisation, together with its power, changing only the name of the god and the title of the office. There is also evidence to suggest that the names used by St. Columba to commend his religion to the inhabitants of Scotland were to match the magic of the Druids with a more successful kind of magic.⁶³ It is, therefore, hardly surpris-

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ing that the old pagan religion survived virtually unaltered alongside Christianity and its survival has been effectively traced by Miss Margaret Murray⁶⁴ in terms of the worship of a horned deity (cf. PLATE VI (b)) from prehistoric times until it was outlawed as witchcraft and sorcery by the Christian church, its priesthood characterised as demons and fairies and its God dubbed Satan. Davies⁶⁵ says that "The prevailing belief in witchcraft that sat like a nightmare on public opinion from the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries, so far from being itself a product of mediaevalism was a revival from the remote days of primeval history." In fact it hardly seems that a revival was necessary for the Middle Ages had always lived in the shadow of pagan antiquity. Europe of the Early Middle-Ages inherited the witch (i.e. pagan) beliefs of the Graeco-Roman world and of the Barbarian invaders, and the early Christian church was little disturbed by the legacy. It is not certain whether this was part of a conscious encouragement of scepticism on the part of the Church as affirmed by Davies or simply that missionaries like St. Columba "had not advanced very far out of the darkness which surrounded him, and his own mind was shadowed by many of the superstitions of his age."⁶⁶ Be that as it may, the earlier middle-ages exhibited a marked leniency in dealing with accusations of witchcraft and it is not until the weakening of religious belief and the growth of heresy at the end of the period of the crusades that the Church takes a more markedly antagonistic view of superstitious beliefs. It was in the 13th century that the Church began its long-protracted conflict with Paganism in Europe but even then it was not until 1484 that Innocent VIII published the Papal Bull against witches. This was followed three years later by the *Malleus Malleficarum*, "The Hammer of the Witches," formulated by two Dominicans and described as "the most portentous document of superstition which the world has produced,"⁶⁷ This was the first work which reduced the doctrine of witchcraft to a regular system and it became the text book for judges of secular courts who were charged with the persecution at witch trials and for three hundred years it was the code used by priests and ecclesiastics, Catholic and Protestant.

In Scotland records of witch-belief are scant until the sixteenth century⁶⁸ but the survival of paganism must have received constant re-injection by contact with the pagan invaders from the north. Isolated examples are noted but without incurring the full wrath of the ecclesiastics and it is only with the

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arrival of the Renaissance and the Reformation that demonomania takes on a sinister and destructive form which led to the great witch-scares of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with the consequent persecution of its adherents and practitioners. The spirit of the Renaissance lay in the awakening and ripening of the mind to the understanding of the purity of the ancient culture, the simplicity of its conception, and its humanity. The re-birth did not lie in paganism or even in Satanism but pagan and classical imagery were useful, if not necessary, adjuncts to support the cultural re-birth.⁶⁹ Representations of the more superficial aspects of the classical renewal poured from the hands of painters and engravers and the first great wave of this imagery arrived in Scotland towards the end of the sixteenth century. It arrived at a time when religious strife had weakened the infallible concept of the Christian church and the old pagan religion, surviving in the form of witch-cult became actively proselytic. Many converts were made and witch-confessions of the period are not wanting in descriptions of the initiation ceremony. The special significance of the imagery of heathen antiquity becomes in this context abundantly clear.

The upsurge of witch-cult in the sixteenth century in Scotland was so strong that in 1563 the Scottish Parliament saw fit to pass an act the essential provision of which was to introduce the death-penalty for those convicted of murder by means of witch-craft. However on 23rd February, 1572 "Wicecraft" is "excepted from the benefit of pacification"⁷⁰ and on December 17th, 1573 "Witchecraft" is "excepted from remission."⁷¹ The first wave of witch mania is gaining momentum. In Scotland it took a stronger and more fanatical form than in England and this was almost certainly owing to the fact that the Reformation in Scotland took the form of Calvinism which above all other religions faced sin and the power of the devil as terrible realities. "In his 'Institutio' Calvin taught that the Fall of Man was an act by which his innermost nature was completely corrupted and his original righteousness changed into absolute depravity, so that no man in his natural condition is capable of the performance of any deed that is not evil. The natural man, being completely bad, would be altogether at one with the devil, and, consequently easily capable of those pacts with demons that figured so largely in witch trials."⁷² Above all other religions the Calvinists were most zealous in the hunting of witches. They achieved wide renown and became the authority

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on the art of witch persecution whose advice was sought from other parts of the continent. It is surprising then, that Scotland, embracing Calvinism as it did, through the medium of Knox, in the middle of the century remained comparatively inactive until the last decade of the century.

In 1590 the fire which had been smouldering long was dramatically set alight by the famous trial of the three covens of witches who attended the Sabbat in the Church at North Berwick under the guidance of the Devil and their Grandmaster John Feane alias Cunninghame.⁷³ These trials not only gave publicity to witch-rites, which must have been fairly common practice, but the fact that the rites concerned an attempt to bring about the death of King James VI and his new Queen, by raising a storm while the Royal pair were *en route* from Denmark, gave them additional interest and finally the prestige of Royal credulity. King James is recorded as having witnessed most of the trials and after an intensive study of witch-beliefs on the continent, published in 1597 his "Dæmonologie" directed "against the damnable opinions of two principally in our age, where the one called Scott⁷⁴ an Englishman, is not ashamed in publike print to deny that there can be such a thing as Witch-craft. . . . The other called Wierus, a German Phistion, sets out a publick apology for al these craftesfolkes, whereby proclaiming for their impunitie he plainly betrays himself to have bene of that profession." These trials bring us, as it were, right into home territory, for not only did the events happen in East Lothian evincing, alongside other contemporary records, that the area was particularly active in the practising of witch-rites, but the Grandmaster himself, Dr Feane alias John Cunningham is recorded as having been the schoolmaster at Prestonpans, not a mile from Preston Grange⁷⁵ and the Prestonpans coven seems to have been especially active in the North Berwick episode.

In the account of the trial Agnes Sampson, "The Wise Wyfe of Keith," gives evidence of her so-called devil which is interesting in that her description of a horned, half-animal, half-human creature could be applied equally well to the pagan horned god of pre-Christian and indeed pre-historic times.⁷⁶ This metamorphosis of human with animal forms was an integral part of primeval fertility ritual but at a later date with the advancement of husbandry human and plant forms took on a special erotic and fertility symbolism and in the painted ceiling this imagery is not wanting. Plants and herbs were important

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also for their poisoning and healing properties and "doctoring" was an important part of the witch's function (cf. Asculapian serpents, BAY I). Much witch-magic was accomplished by means of botanical media. The most magical of all plants was the Mandrake, used mainly as an amatory charm on account of its bearing resemblances to masculine and feminine form. Dalyell⁷⁷ records that one such plant was brought to him with an air of secrecy as late as the 19th century and he points out the work composed by the Neapolitan V. Giovanni Battista Porta, in 1591, "specially designed to exhibit the resemblance of plants to living being in general, and to their peculiar organisation. Nor does he fail to discover the head or horns in fruits and flowers, the hands, the feet, or the tail in the roots."⁷⁸

Contemporary accounts of meetings with fairies (i.e. initiates of the witch cult) are fairly common and the descriptions given therein point to the fact that the figure on the ceiling (PLATE VI (c); BAY V) with long pointed ears, is just such a being. He is represented wearing an elf-like costume, with cap and shoes reminiscent of Puck, Robin Goodfellow, Robin Hood and Hobgoblin (characters whose identities become inextricably associated), and he carries the important attributes. The meaning of the sword has already been spoken of, also that of the hood, but the cap was no less important as were the beads—the White or Black Rosary—and in his hand the fairy carries his wand. Writing before 1615, the poet Montgomerie⁷⁹ describes riding on plant stems by fairies and in 1592 Agnes Sampson stated that she rode to the meeting at the Church of North Berwick on a pillion behind her son-in-law. The 17th century English woodcut of Robin Goodfellow (PLATE V (b), reproduced from Murray op. cit. Plate II), makes an interesting comparison since it illustrates several points common to witch-ritual in Scotland as described during witch trials. The subsidiary figures, a dog and a raven, presumably familiars, are represented dancing to music, provided by one of their company, as they did in the North Berwick churchyard, round their God who is clearly identical with Agnes Sampson's Devil (Note 76). He is the horned, half-animal, half-man carrying a candle (cf. PLATE VI (d)) and has in addition many of the attributes of our Fairy (PLATE VI (b)), the phallus, the beads, and the broom. The popular conception of witches riding on brooms seems to be a variant of riding on some kind of stick which could be broom, ragwort, hemp, bean or occasionally ash.

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There is clearly a strong body of evidence to support the contention that much of the imagery of the ceiling is concerned with the occult, but there is equally a number of motifs which defy interpretation in terms of sorcery. Moreover there does not appear to be any logical unfolding of a story or ritual. It could be argued that the painter was simply using imagery in an arbitrary manner as a variation of antique work in the Peachamean sense, using symbols from a variety of sources, the meanings of which were unbeknown to him, but I do not think this view can be upheld. There is an interesting comparison here between the painting and the poem mentioned previously (Note 79) which must be considered as the closest literary parallel. "The Flyting between Montgomerie and Polwarth" is described as a "war of words" where the two antagonists do poetic battle using the most slanderous invective. It is malicious in the extreme but the salient feature is that in striving to outdo each other in the matter of personal insult both poets have recourse to witch imagery. Obviously such imagery was in common use and the poem must be a fairly comprehensive compilation of popular witch conception and terminology of the time. The extent and invention of the fiendish imaginings easily outstrips the ceiling yet clearly neither writer is personally involved with witch practice, but there is a fundamental difference between the two works. In the poem the reader is reassured at the outset that

"No cranking envy, malice nor despite
Stirred up these men so eagerly to flyte;
But generous emulation."

All through the work one is conscious of the underlying friendship which is necessary to allow the vituperation to attain such proportions. Here the malevolence is resolved in humour but the ceiling has none of the poem's mitigating repartee. The full force of the diabolical, evil-eye expressions on the faces of grotesques and fairies remains so unresolved and disconcerting that it cannot be fortuitous. The inclusion of motifs with frankly no occult significance could possibly stem from a desire to disguise the true meaning of the work under a decorative cloak. A similar situation, where magic is disguised as innocent fun, is recorded at the English Court when James I lay on his deathbed.⁸⁰ The ceremony was performed by the Duchess of Buckingham, who was known to be a witch, and with the help of her husband and other gentlemen of the court an attempt was made to transfer the king's suffering

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to a pig, by means of sorcery. When later accused of taking part in a blasphemous activity the Duke claimed that it was done only to amuse the King. Another attempt (this time successful) to transfer pain and disease by means of witch-craft takes the realms of the occult right into the house of Preston Grange itself and provides such strong circumstantial evidence that a relationship between the painting and demonology seems unequivocal. The most complete account is given by Scotstarvet⁸¹ and it is of such interest that it bears repeating in full. Speaking of the 1st Earl of Lothian he says — "The said Mark was master of requests to King James VI (from 1578-1597) and had by his wife, the Lord Herries sister, thirty one children: and, not satisfied with her, was much inclined to lasciviousness, and was not free of the crime of adultery. His lady kept always in her company wise women, or witches, and especially one Margaret Nues (F. Innes), who fostered his daughter, the Lady Borthwick, who lay after his death burnt in Edinburgh for that crime; and my Lady Lothian's son-in-law, Sir Alexander Hamilton, told one of his friends, how one night lying in Prestongrange, pertaining to the said abbacy of Newbattle, he was pulled out of his bed by the said witches, and sore beaten; of which injury when he complained to his mother-in-law, and assured her he would complain thereof to the Council, she pacified him by giving him a purse of gold. That lady thereafter, being vexed with a cancer in her breast, implored the help of a notable warlock, by a by-name called Playfair, who condescended to heal her, but with the condition that the sore should fall on them that she loved best; whereunto she agreeing did convalesce, but the Earl her husband found the boil in his throat, of which he died shortly thereafter; and the said Playfair, being soon apprehended, was made prisoner in Dalkeith steaple, and having confessed that and much more wickedness to Mr. Archibald Simson, the minister there, and that confession coming to the ears of Robert, Earl of Lothian, my Lord's son, he had the mayen to get some persons admitted to speak with the prisoner in the night, by which means he was found worried [strangled] in the morning, and the point of his breeches knit about his neck, but never more inquiry was made who had done the deed."

Murray⁸² treats this episode as an example of punishment for a traitorous act within the priesthood of the old religion at a time when it was falling into decay and violent persecution by the Church made secrecy a necessity. John

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Feane, Grandmaster of the Prestonpans coven, resisted all attempts to make him confess at his trial in 1590, in spite of the most gruesome tortures inflicted on him. Playfair by his confession was guilty of treachery which could endanger the lives of other members of his coven thus implicated and his death before trial was a matter of urgency. "The almost invariable method of execution was by strangulation, and often occurred in the prison where the suspected traitor was guarded. After death a thin string or other totally inadequate ligature was tied loosely round the neck in such a way as to show that the victims had not died by their own hand but had been done to death as an act of justice." There are many other instances of death of captured witches by strangulation in this manner. A string in the form of a garter, a "point" in the cap, was an important part of the witches' dress and it seems to have been a sign of rank amongst the priesthood. It is possible that the 2nd Earl of Lothian was himself the Grandmaster of a coven, and fear was the reason that "never more inquiry was made of who had done the deed." On the other hand Scotstarvet was writing some 50 years after the events had taken place and his "Staggering State of Scottish Statesmen" is notoriously full of gossip and hearsay, but he does record that it was not actually the 2nd Earl himself who carried out the deed but in fact some other persons, allegedly at the Earl's command. It is possible that the Earl had nothing to do with it and his alleged connection with the affair a typical piece of Scotstarvet maliciousness. It is also tempting to read some significance into the fact that Preston Grange was disposed of probably in the very same year that the 1st Earl met his death in such tragic and mysterious circumstances.

At the time these events were of necessity veiled in secrecy and it is hardly likely that we should find the truth of them now but it is certain that the abandonment of Preston Grange in 1609 by the 2nd Earl of Lothian brought to an end a period when the house was steeped in the mysteries of witch craft necromancy. It seems undeniable that the painted ceiling is a unique and tangible monument to that faith. Moreover it is a singular visual manifestation of a period in Scottish history characterised by confusion in its social, political and religious life.

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3. *The Painter*

Inevitably there arises the question of the identity of the painter and this is a difficult one to answer for so little is known that not only are we concerned with his name, but also his nationality. There are two sources from which information regarding the painter's identity can be found. One is the existence of a signature on the work itself, or on another work of stylistic similarity, and the other is surviving documentary evidence. In the field of Scottish Renaissance Decorative Painting both these sources are equally barren, for in the first place there is only one signed work — the Montgomerie Aisle in the old church at Largs — signed J. Stalker 1638, and one of the ceilings at Delgatie Castle with the initials J.M. possibly those of the painter. In the second place all attempts (and they have been considerable)⁸³ to find the identity of painters in contemporary records have met with little success.

The general impression that most of these Renaissance paintings were carried out by foreign artists, from the Low Countries, Germany, or Italy, seems to be prevalent. Presumably it is felt that Scotland was so culturally backward that it could not produce painters sufficiently accomplished to execute this type of work. There is, however, no documentary evidence to support this contention for in the records there are only four foreign painters mentioned, two Flemings and two Englishmen. The Flemings, Arnold Bronkhorst and Adrian Vanson or Vanyon were primarily portrait painters and there is no record of their working in the decorative sphere.⁸⁴ The Englishmen, Matthey Guidrick and Valentine Jenkin both appeared in 1617 and are therefore outside the scope of our study.⁸⁵ Even on the grounds of stylistic evidence there is nothing to indicate with even a degree of certainty that decorative painters from foreign lands were working in Scotland. It would seem probable, therefore, that the paintings were done by local painters or craftsmen (for the two were not differentiated) imposing their own interpretation on indigenous and incoming imagery according to their individual taste with the limits of the conditioning of their heritage.

In the case of the ceiling painting from Preston Grange the identity of the artist is the more interesting since it brings up the question of whether or not he was an initiate of that faith to which the ceiling is a monument. This must remain a matter of interesting speculation.

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4. *Technical Section*

The aesthetic of the Paintings in relation to their social and historical background has been dealt with at some length but it is not proposed to discuss fully the preservation treatment which the ceiling has undergone. It is of a complex and technical nature and more suitable for publication elsewhere. However a physical description of the ceiling and a few words concerning the restoration treatment are obviously needed.

(a) Removal to Merchiston Tower

It is perhaps necessary at the outset to justify the transplantation of the painted ceiling from Preston Grange to Merchiston Tower where it is now a resplendent addition to the Board Room of the Napier Technical College. We are all aware of the inevitable loss of significance when a work of art of this type is removed from its original context and this must be particularly true in the case of the Preston Grange ceiling, in view of the special association which the painting had with the inhabitants of the house. It must be said that at the time of restoration this association was not fully appreciated, but even then every attempt was made to bring about restoration of the ceiling leaving it in situ and in circumstances which would ensure its preservation for posterity. This was found to be an impossible proposition and the ceiling (now the property of the Corporation of Edinburgh) was accordingly removed, and after preservation treatment has been re-erected in its present site. Unfortunately this arrangement was unsatisfactory in another way for the new site is not able to accommodate the entire painted area, being only 32 feet by 19 feet as opposed to the 40 feet by 20 feet of the original. A comparison of the painted areas before and after transplantation is shown in the two sketch plans (Figs. 2 and 3) where it will be seen that there has also been a certain amount of reshuffling. Movement of parts was kept to a minimum as far as the different room shape would allow and one admirable aspect is that it was possible to omit areas where boards had been removed to accommodate later fireplace insertions for the floor above. It was felt that altering the relationship of component parts was justified on this account and in view of the fact that the juxtaposition of motifs appears to be quite arbitrary and in no way following a continuous narrative. Of course, it is not certain that there is no logical sequence of imagery and it was therefore doubly necessary to record the original form in a comprehensive manner to facilitate future study. All

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remaining fragments are to be kept in storage together with the main body of the ceiling which is on view at Merchiston. In the future it is to be hoped that the fragments will be exhibited elsewhere.⁸⁶

(b) Physical Description

Ceiling construction in Scottish houses of the period was mainly of two types usually depending on the location of the room within the building. The ground and intermediate floors generally had ceilings of the beam and board type where thick boards laid across the upper surface of the joists or beams formed, on the under side, the ceiling of the room below and at the same time the upper surface was the walking floor of the room above. On the top storey it was more logical to affix boards to the undersides of roof members and ties formed the typical pent-roof or sometimes, with additional formers, the barrel vaulted ceiling. This form finished off the upper floor ceiling, provided much needed insulation from the tiles where sarking was seldom used, and into the bargain provided an ideal surface for painting.

The ceiling at Preston Grange was in a first floor room and was therefore of the former, beam and board type. It is one of the largest examples measuring approximately forty feet by twenty feet and it incorporates some interesting constructional details.

The twenty-four beams are of oak, roughly cut and adze finished, placed at approximately twenty-inch centres, depending on the irregularities in the conformation of the timber and inserted into the wall by amounts varying from a few inches to two feet. In cross section the average is about seven and a half by five and a half inches but with one exception this is now less in the centre of each beam where curvature caused by the weight of the ceiling made it impossible for eighteenth century reconstructors to affix their new plaster ceiling without first adzing the beams to a level.

An interesting feature of the construction is the bridle which carries five beams clear of the enormous chimney breast measuring some ten feet wide. This was a daring and probably unsound piece of design since the cross section of the bridle is no more than that of the beams and must have been considerably weakened by the joints for the five beams. These joints are in themselves of interest and have not, so far as is known, occurred elsewhere.

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Figure I shows how the joints were cut and the most plausible explanation of the double tongue, one of which is wedge shaped, is to draw the joint up tight when the pin is hammered home. The holes in the beam were drilled slightly off centre to assist the tightening action.

The boards which form continuous coverage of the entire area are fifty nine in number and are laid in three sections, tongued and grooved on the edges and butt jointed at the ends. They measure about 13 feet 6 inches long and one inch to one and one quarter inches thick and are laid in random widths from seven to fifteen inches. Since they are flat sawn, to achieve maximum coverage the width can vary by as much as two inches along the length of one board.

More care has been taken with the preparation of the boards and the surface and edges seem to have been finished with fairly sophisticated types of finishing, feathering and grooving planes. Attachment of board to beam was by the usual method of large-headed, hand-made nails about four inches long.

In common with most interior decorative work of the late 16th and early 17th centuries the ceiling at Preston Grange was painted in glue-tempera, a simple medium where dry pigments are mixed with glue or size generally made from the skins of such animals as the rabbit or the deer. The surface to be painted was usually first primed with several coats of size according to the ferocity of the timber, the final coat having some whiting or chalk added for the dual purpose of filling minor irregularities and giving a white ground on which to work the decoration. At Preston Grange the entire surface of beams and boards was primed with a middle tone of grey composed of whiting and carbon black. All the decoration was carried out in three simple pigments, black (carbon) and white (chalk or whiting), used for the grisaille of the motifs, and red oxide of lead for the background. This pleasing muted orange visible today was not always so conservative. On the contrary, in its original state red lead, or minium as it was called, is a brilliant orange and the decorative effect of the monochrome motifs against such a strong colour must have been quite extraordinary.

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The much mutilated beam decoration now visible is quite out of character with the rest of the painted work. Unlike the board painting, which is freehand and of high quality, the beam decoration is stencil work, being continuous repetition of fine basic patterns (FIG. 6). It is indifferently executed in a range of impermanent colours quite different from the rest of the decoration. In fact the beam decoration seems more in keeping with a date towards the second half of the 17th century and examination revealed that it is later and overlies a simple band and chevron decoration, apparently the original since it is carried out with the same feeling and in the same three pigments as the board painting. The chevrons alternate in white and orange, outlined in black, about a grey band (FIG. 7), similar to those on the ceiling in the Prefects' Room at Pinkie. Many examples of beam decoration of the period include inscriptions on the sides of each beam and it is tempting to think that the plain band in the centre was intended for a text which might shed some light on the meaning of the strange paintings. However, an exhaustive search was made and no trace of lettering could be found. No explanation can be offered to account for the rapid deterioration of the original beam painting and the subsequent stencil work whereas the band painting is in comparatively good condition. A possibility is that substances (tinnin?) present in the oak and not in pine have reacted to break-down the binding power of the glue medium, but this does not seem to be reconcilable with the fact that throughout the ages panel paintings with glue/chalk grounds on oak have survived without deterioration.

(c) Wall Decoration in Room Containing Painted Ceiling

There were no traces of wall painting, even between the beam insertions, although much of the original plaster remains. It seems possible that the walls were covered with some sort of fabric hangings for at the end of each beam, and along the length of the end beams, iron hooks (or traces of them) were found attached low on the side of the beams by iron nails and placed about two or three inches out from the wall. These hooks and nails seem contemporary and it is not unlikely that they were intended for hanging drapes or tapestries. The total effect of the original, with the brilliant orange setting of the monochrome motifs, the jazzy chevron decoration, and the wall hangings must have been quite exceptional.

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(d) Conservation

The preservation treatment was considered rather in the nature of Conservation than Restoration, and the whole process was carried out bearing in mind what could be regarded as the basic principles of restoration and may be summarised as follows. Firstly, nothing should be added or taken away from a work of art which precludes later study either historical or technical. Secondly no substance or material should be added which cannot be removed at a later date without damage or potential damage to the original. Thirdly, all materials used should have a known composition and predictable effect; and lastly no technique should be used which might expose the work of art to unnecessary risk of damage. Closely following these dicta the treatment was carried out by the Restoration Staff of the National Trust for Scotland and the Technical Staff of the Ministry of Public Buildings and Works in a joint project.

Removal of the ceiling from Preston Grange was effected only after elaborate precautions had been taken to avoid further damage and loss of paint. Thereafter followed the process of counteracting the agents of decay which included treatment against wood-beetle attack and mould growth; repair and consolidation of the wood support which was physically in poor condition through mechanical and insect damage; and cleaning and strengthening of the flaking and powdering paint layers. This last process was carried out by impregnation with a gelatin/fungicide medium in a manner which preserves the characteristic texture and optical qualities of glue-tempera. No wax, resin, varnish or any oleaginous substances were used.

After cleaning and impregnation the strength and colour of the decoration was much improved and to preserve the integrity of the work, which has remained unadulterated for nearly four hundred years, no repainting, inpainting or retouching was done. Areas of new repair wood were simply tinted to the neutral background colour and tone, and thereby lost in the general design.

Every bit as important as the arresting of decay and stabilisation of the materials of a work of art is the insurance that future environment will be such that the decaying agents will remain inactive. At Merchiston a full system of air conditioning has been installed to meet the needs of the ceiling and it is to be hoped that the resulting controlled ambient conditions will retard further decay in so far as this is possible.

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5. *Other Painted Decoration at Preston Grange*

(1) PAINTED BEAMS

In the room on the first floor, east of the room which contained the painted ceiling, it can be seen, through holes in the floor, that the room below (now the toilets of the Outhouse) also had a painted ceiling of the beam and board type. Only fragments of the beams remain but from the parts presently visible it is clear that it was of the conventional repeating, foliate compartment type common through the period. The designs are carried out in white, green, red and black.

(2) WALL PAINTING — Upper Layer (FIG. 8).

In the small narrow room to the east of the house and on the second floor a wall painting was discovered which is interesting in itself and also poses a few questions which have an architectural as well as a painterly significance.

The paintings are executed in glue-tempera on plaster and have decorative strap work, forming two elaborate shields with inscriptions, and also a separate monogram. The inscriptions are typical of the moralising and witty sayings popular in the late 16th and early 17th centuries which were published in a variety of works. The two rhymes in question appear in a book entitled "A Treatise of Moral Philosophy, containing the Sayings of the Wise. Gathered and Englished by William Baldwin." This work was revised and reprinted by William Baldwin in 1555 and in 1610 it was enlarged and published by Thomas Palfreyman. The versions here quoted are taken from a reprint of the 1555 edition.⁸⁷ They occur under the heading "Pithy metres of divers matters."

(1)

On the Wall He yat to wraithe (+) anger is thrall
Over his wit sall have no power at all.

In the Book *Socrates*

p. 171 He that to Wrath and Anger is thrall
Over his wit hath no power at all.

(2)

On the Wall The having of riches is not so com(m)od . . .
As ye depairti(n)g fro(m)e yai(m)e is dolorous.

In the Book *Aristotle*

p. 175 The having of Riches is not so commodius,
As the departing from them is grievous.

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The monogram is difficult to decipher but appears to be that of Mark Ker. However, since the painting is not dated it is not certain to which Mark Ker it refers. On stylistic grounds it seems possible that the wall painting could be contemporary with the ceiling, for it is carried out with the same vigorous sureness of touch and although the wall painting is more grossly conceived this could be consistent with the larger area which the painter had to develop his design. There is also a colour similarity, the strapwork being painted in black, white and grey in imitation relief, (cf. FIG. 8) with a dull-orange infill. However no conclusion can be drawn from this as the pigments concerned were used over a long period and on the wall there are actually two pigments not found on the ceiling. The dull red is composed of red ochre (iron oxide) enlivened with red lead stippling, once bright and now dull through oxidation. On the evidence available the paintings could have been painted any time between 1547, when the first Mark Ker was appointed abbot of Newbattle, and 1609 when the second Mark Ker, 1st Earl of Lothian, met his death.

There are other factors which are unsatisfying in this room. Firstly, there is the question of the scale of the painting which seems too large for the small narrow room. Moreover the design is considerably higher than the present ceiling level and the top of the painting is hidden from sight. Raising the ceiling would make the already narrow room quite unacceptable. It is possible that the painting is on a wall which was part of a much larger architectural development to the east which has since been altered.

The issue is further complicated by the fact that the presently visible painting is painted on a thin layer of plaster which overlies an earlier plaster layer which was also painted. Where parts of the upper plaster have fallen away there are unmistakeable signs of black, yellow and red pigment from an earlier mural. It is hoped to remove the upper painting for conservation and to expose the lower painting.

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82. *Murray* — op. cit. pp. 73, 74.
83. *Apted* — op. cit.
84. *Ibid.* — Vol. I, pp. 43, 118 and 165-8.
85. *Ibid.* — Vol. I, pp. 139-40.
86. A section of the remaining area not used at Merchiston was on exhibition at the Abbey Strand, until October 1966.
87. Privately Printed in London in 1907, Ed. *E. Arber*.

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By courtesy of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery.
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Summum Specimen

Cyrus committens his armis non ut bores op-
rent, sed ut sicut in sumis, et buclis an-
tibus solatis, because they who use themselves with
manner of weapons, are expert in them.

Multis his qui sub mure sunt mandata sunt
artibus et sagittis profus abstinere, solum
vero gladiis, pueris, et Cyperis pugnare, quia
una armorum generi affert, huius admodum
expertis erant.

Cyrus Appendicarius suis precepit, arcum et
telorum alium aboleri, tantum vero gladiis,
cratibus, et thoracibus solum abstinere, quia
multa unius armorum generis exercitatione
illius doctiores fient.

Cyrus, cum suis ante et post signum in man-
datis dedit, omnino ab arte Danae alienos
semel quere, pueris vero Cyperi et eius
exercitationis non vides esse, qui seculo
rei militaris genere exercentes, minus periti-
os et expeditiores erant.

Κύρος τὸς στρατιώτας ἐκέλευε, τὸ τοῦ βουκίου ἀποβαλεῖν, ἀλλὰ οὐκ
αὐτῶν συνάγειν, ἀλλὰ τὰς δὲ θυρεοὺς ἀποβαλεῖν. οὗτοι γὰρ τὸς ἑαυ-
τοῦ γενεῖ συνήθους, ἐν τῷ τῷ λόγῳ ἔδει.

Κύρος τὸς πολεμικοὺς ἐκέλευε τὸ τοῦ βουκίου ἀποβαλεῖν, ἀλλὰ
οὐκ ἀναίρειν, τὸ τῷ θυρεοῦ ἀποβαλεῖν, οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ
ἐντεὶ γενεῖ ἀναίρειν, τὸς δὲ τοῦ τοῦ λόγῳ ἔδει.

Κύρος τὸς ἑαυτοῦ ἐκέλευε τὸ τοῦ βουκίου ἀποβαλεῖν, ἀλλὰ
οὐκ ἀναίρειν, ἀλλὰ οὐκ ἀναίρειν, τὰς δὲ θυρεοὺς ἀποβαλεῖν, οὐδὲ
ἐν τῷ γενεῖ ἀναίρειν, τὸς δὲ τοῦ τοῦ λόγῳ ἔδει.

Arcebius a plati, Xenoris natum, Danae,

Ipse suos Cyri se Cohortem habet.

Sed Cyrius habet hos Cyperum pugnare, pueris
artibus quibus suis est solum ipse fuit.

τῶν Κυρίων τοῦ τοῦ ἀρτεμίου ἑαυτοῦ.

Κύρος ἀπερρίπτει ἐν τῷ τοῦ τοῦ λόγῳ ἔδει.

Ἄρτις ἰσομεῖς ἀναίρειν τὸς τοῦ τοῦ λόγῳ ἔδει.

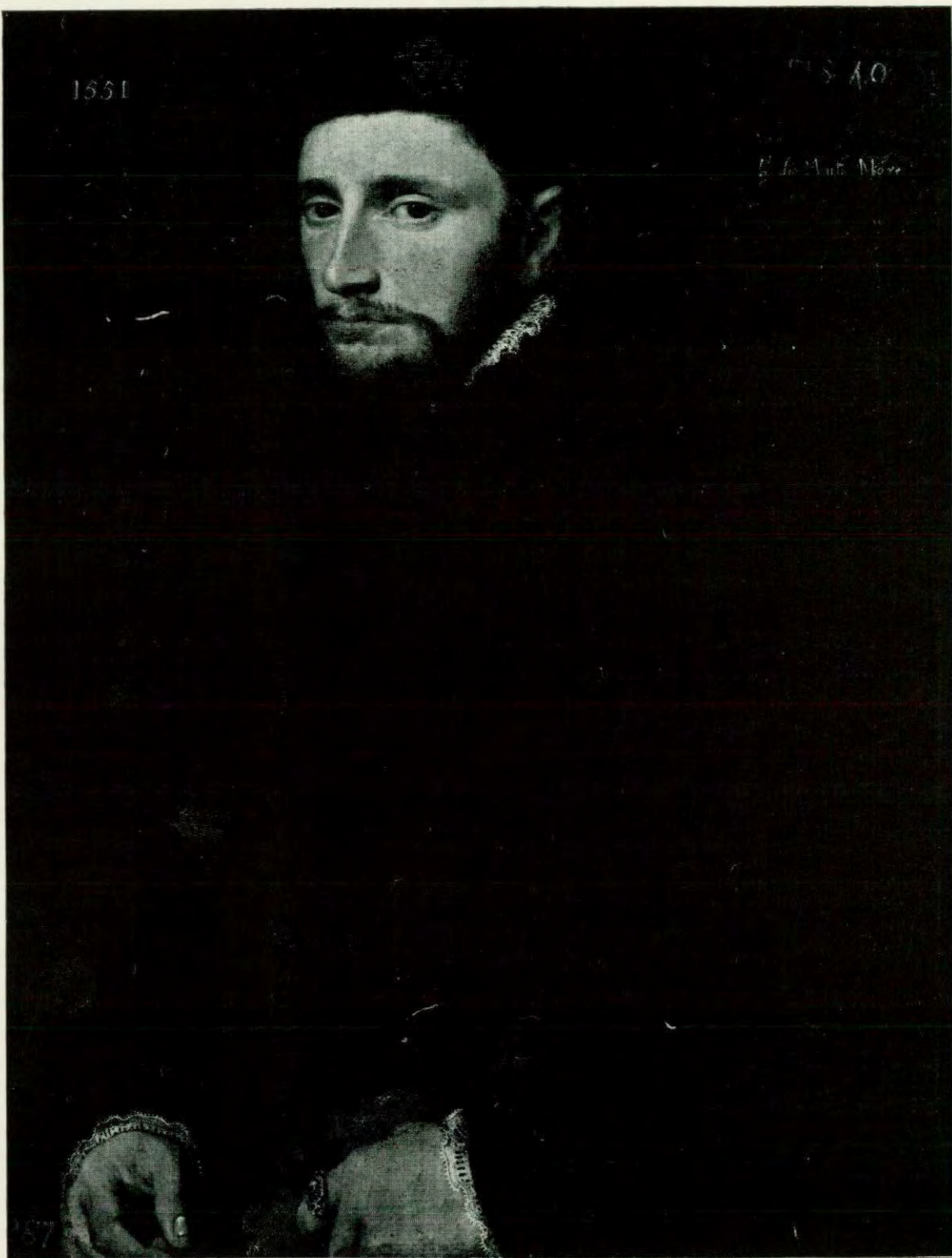
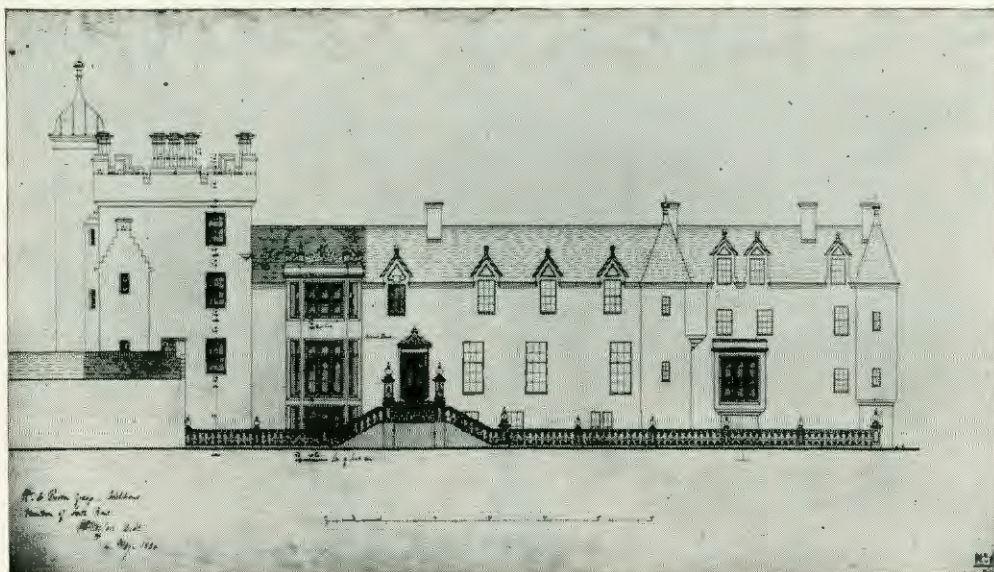


PLATE II



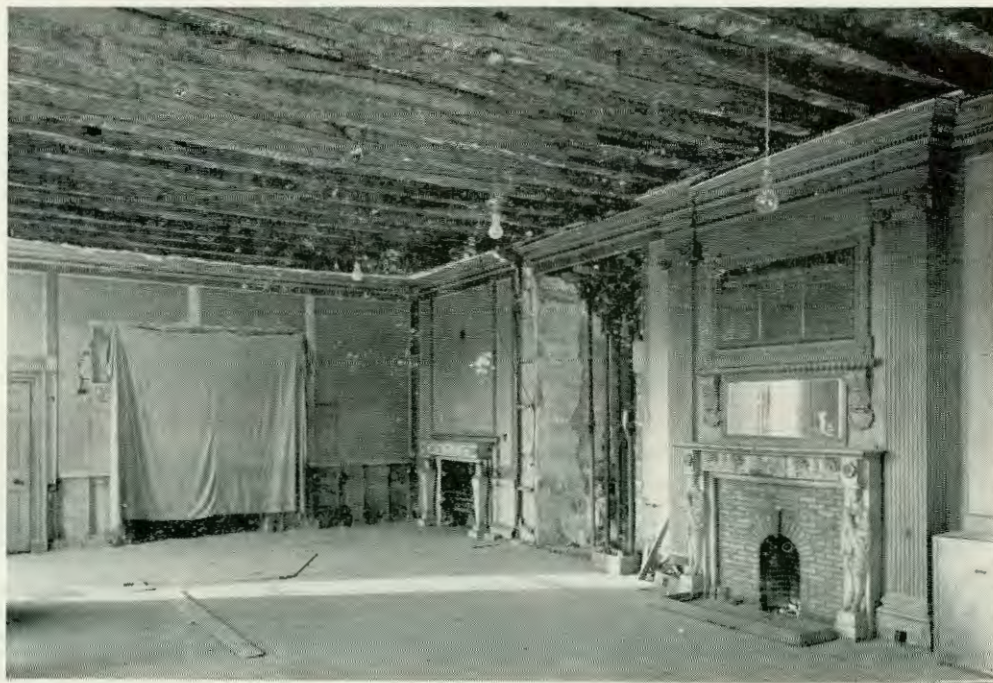
(a)



(b)



(a)



(b)



(a)



(b)



(a)



(b)



(c)

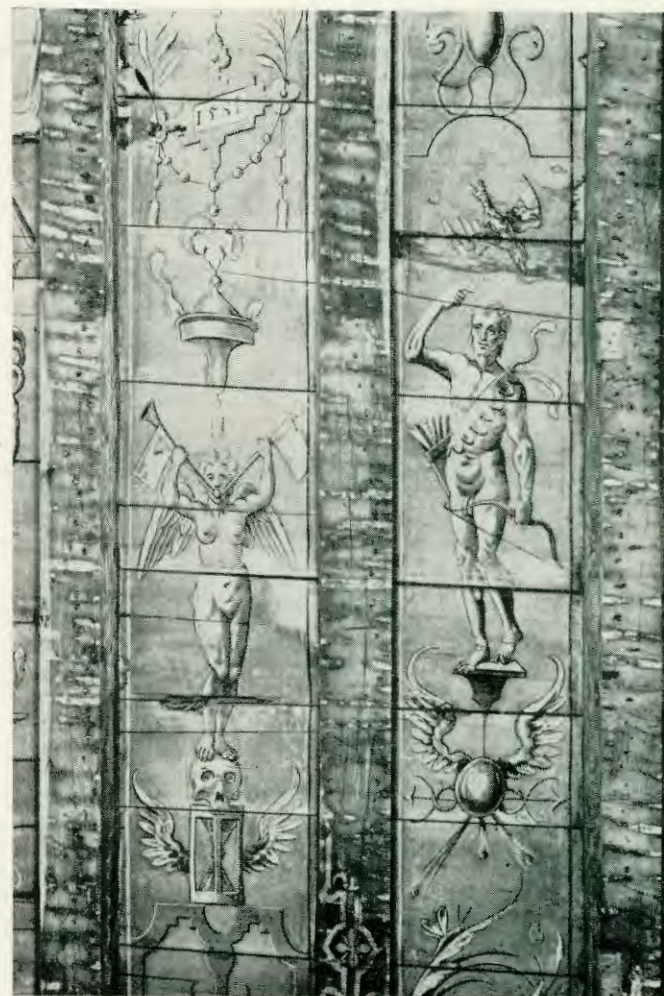


(d)

PLATE VI

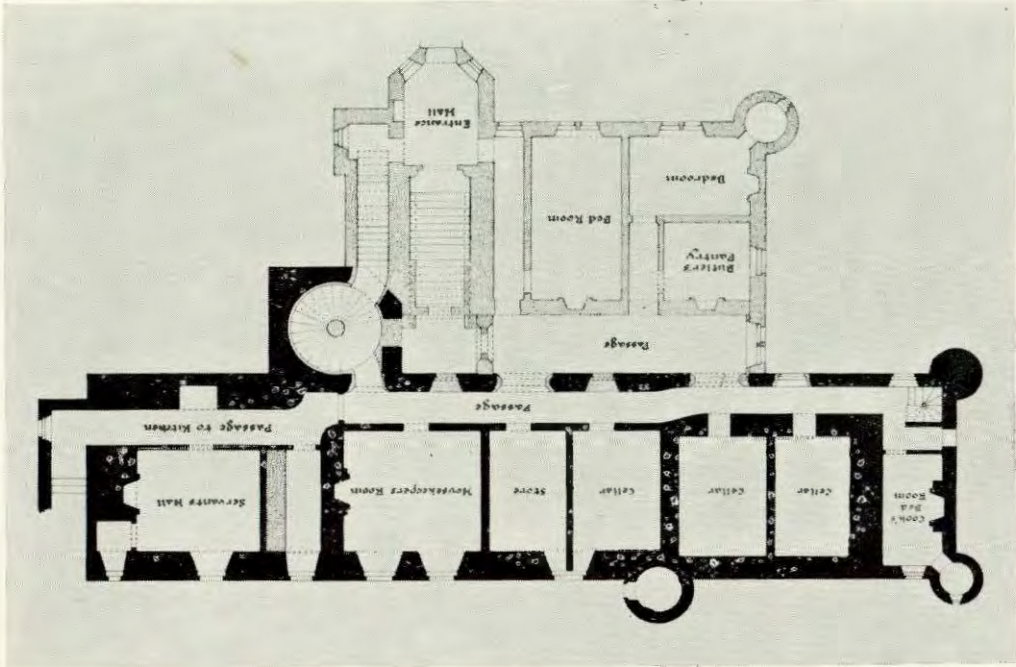


(a)

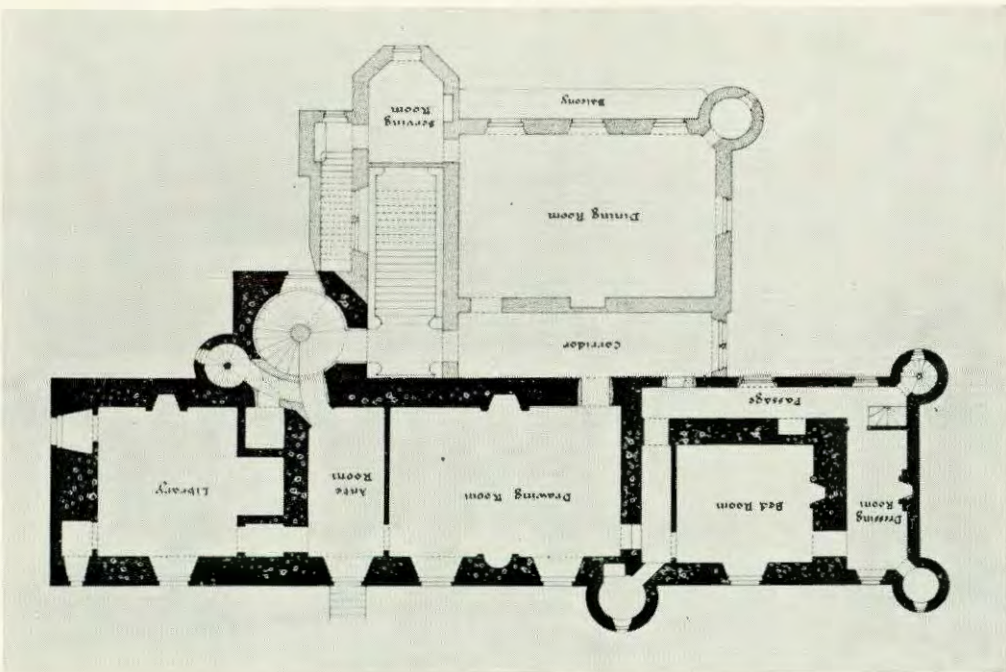


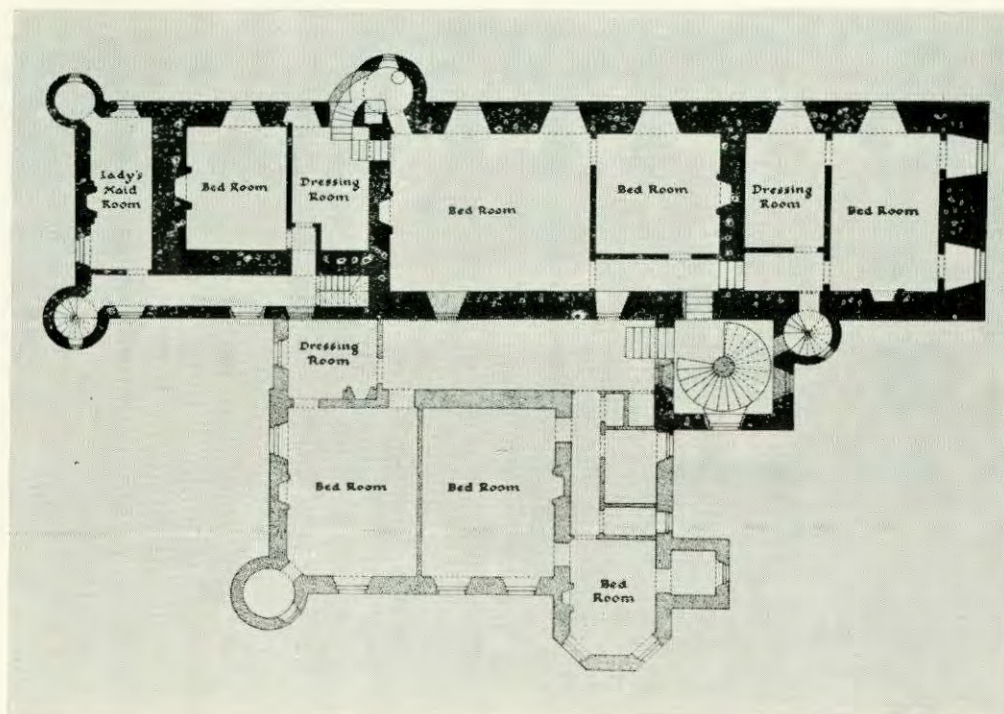
(b)

FIG 1
(b)

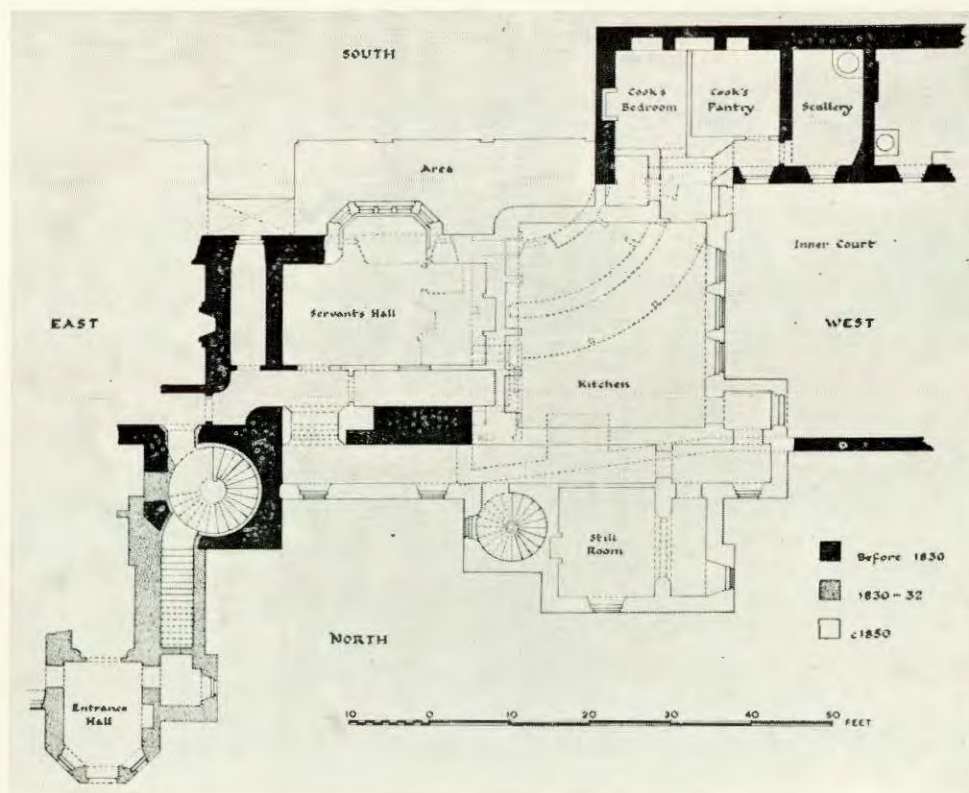


(a)





(c)



(a)

FIG. 2

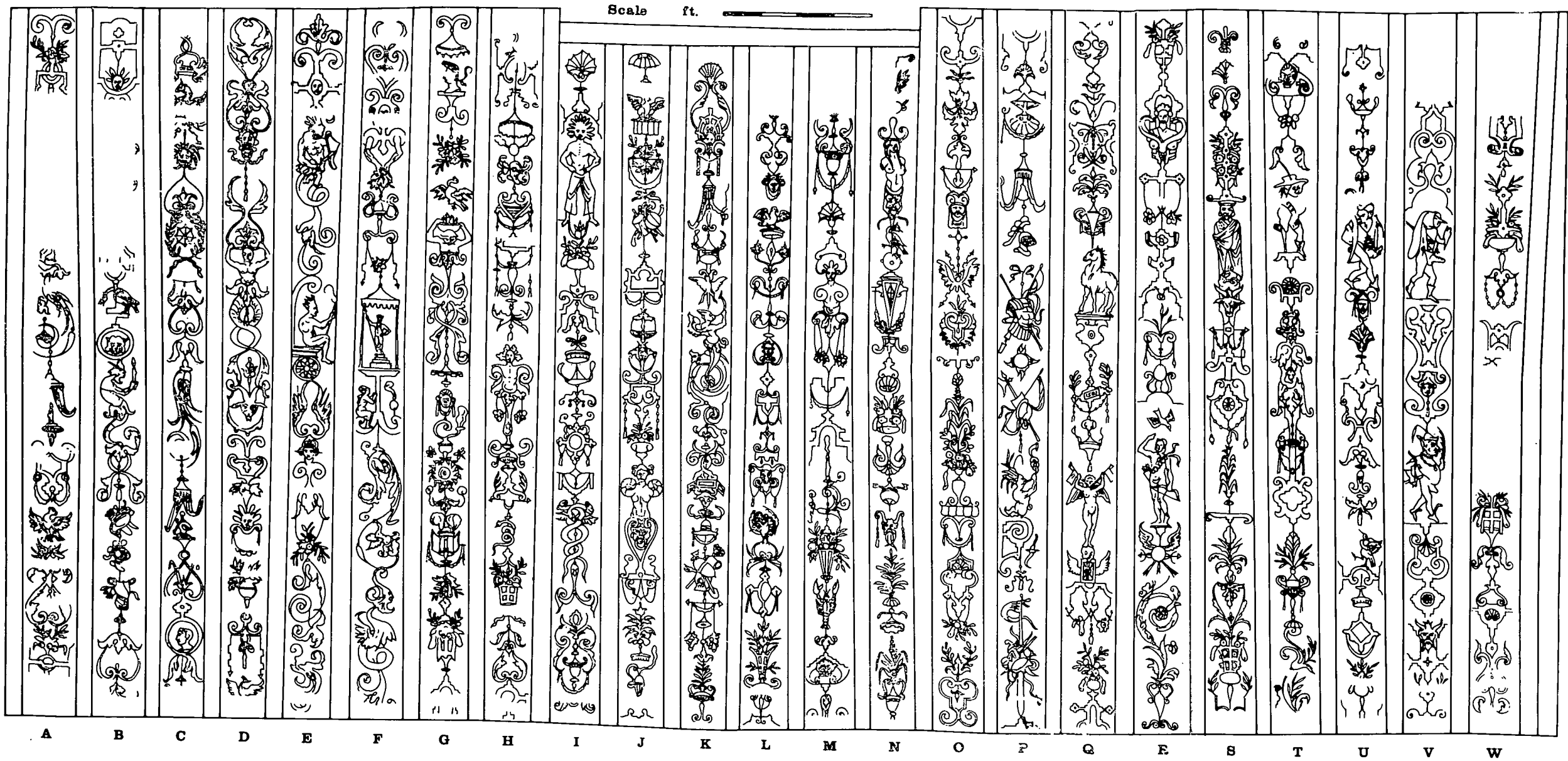


FIG. 3

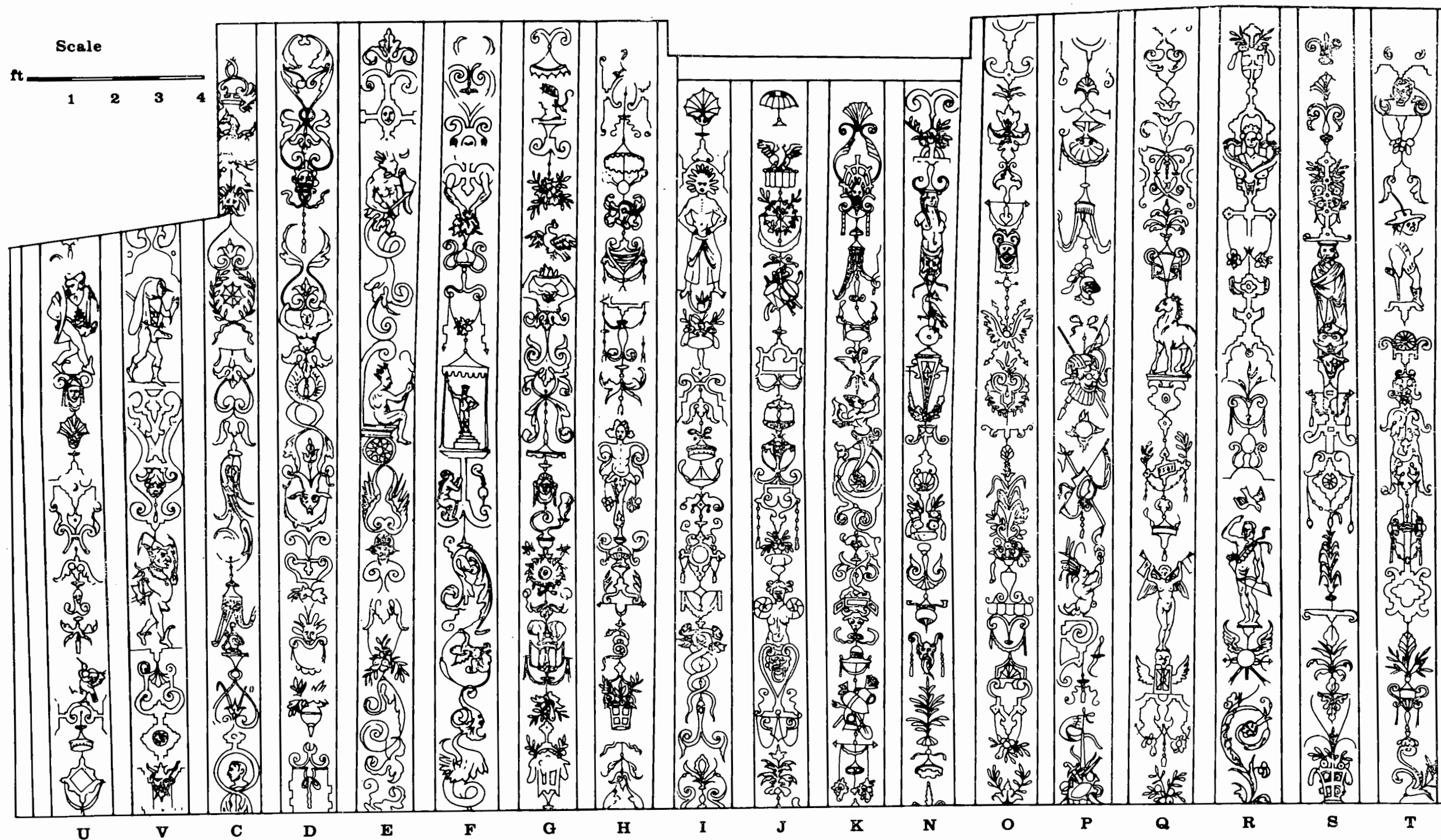
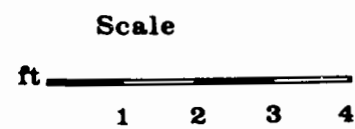


FIG. 4

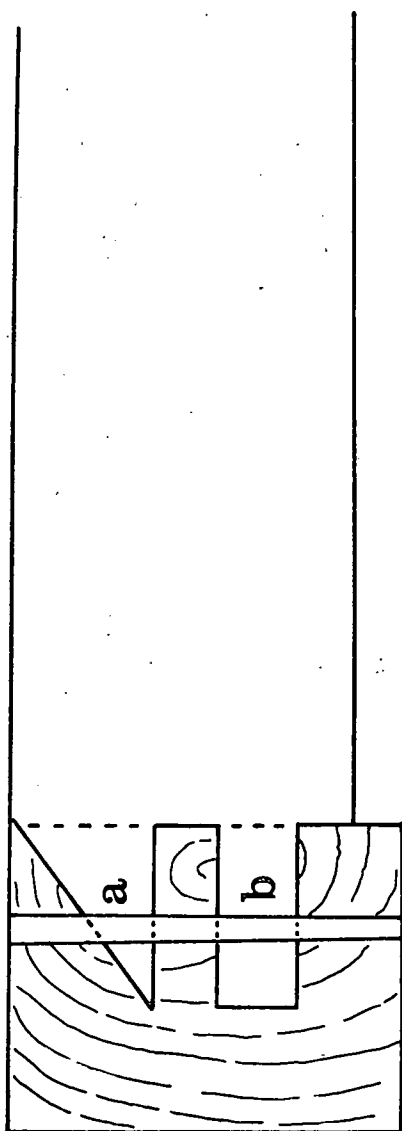


FIG. 5

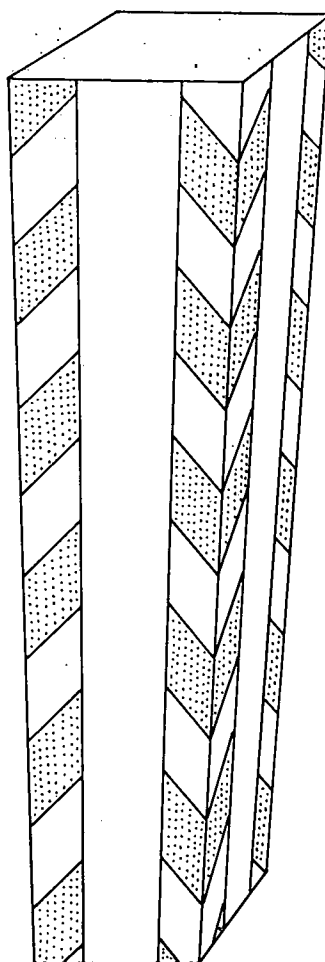
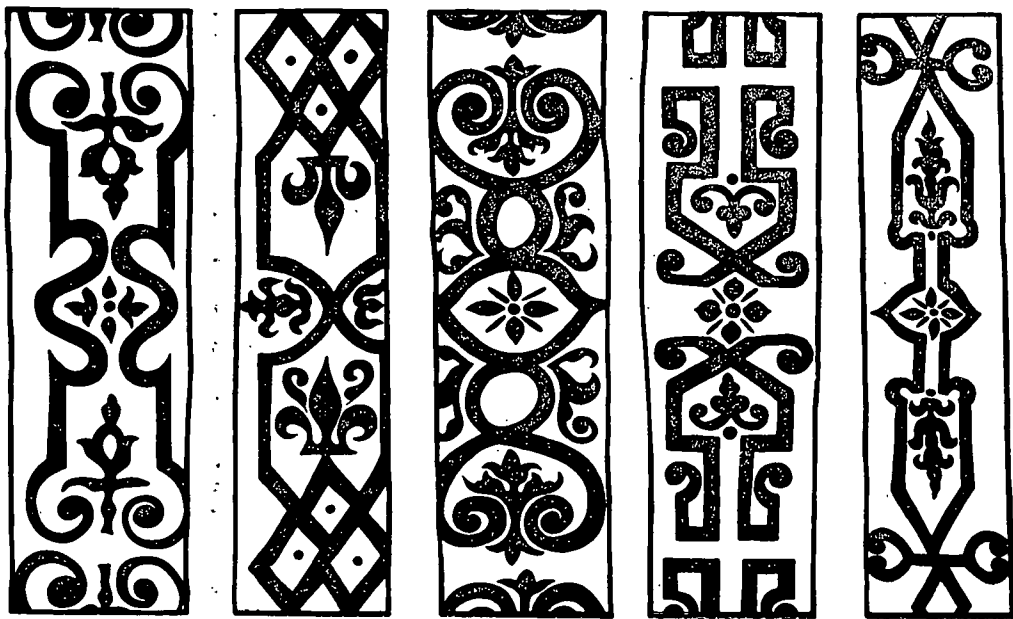


FIG. 6

FIG. 7



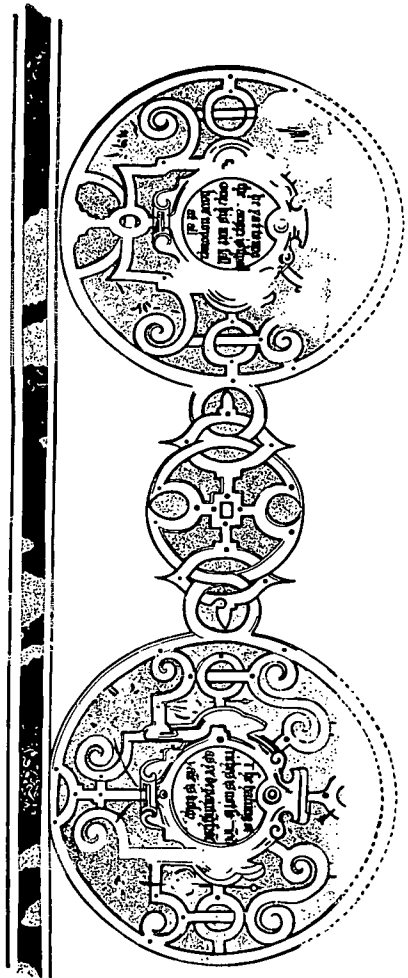


FIG. 8

CHECK-LIST OF PERSONAL NAMES OCCURRING IN THE BEGBIE FARM ACCOUNT BOOK

AICHISON, JOHN, miller
 ALPHSTON, Charles
 ANDERSON, Robert
 BAIE, Wm.
 BAIN, Patt
 BATHRSTON, Wm.
 BAXTTER, Hellewn
 BEGBIE, Charles
 BEGBIE, Mrs Elizabeth
 BEGBIE, George
 BEGBIE, Patrick
 BEGBIE, William
 BELL, James
 BLACKBURN, Hugh
 BLACKBURN, John
 BOUIE, William, ? carter
 BREODY, Jean
 BREWS, James
 BROKE, Andrew
 BROUN, Charlls
 BUCHAN, Alexr.
 BURNET, Andreu
 BURNS, Petter, in Gosford
 BURTN, Alex.
 CAPE, Patter
 CARFRAE, James
 CARNAGE, James
 CARNES, Wille
 CHRISTE, Charles
 CLARK, John
 CLARK, Will
 COOKS, Jane
 CORBET, Mr
 COUPER, John
 CRAFTFORD, James
 CRAFTFORD, Will
 CRAIG, James, in dyprine
 CROOKS, James
 CUBIE
 DARG, James, in Dirleton
 DEANS, James, merchant in North
 Berwick,

DELIE, James
 DICKSON, John
 DICKSON, Peter
 DICKSON, Rob.
 DIDGE —, Alex.
 DOBIE, Robert
 DODS, John
 DONDLSON, Ro.
 DOUGLAS, John
 DUCANKN (DUNCAN), Alex.
 EKTON, James
 ELLDER, Andrw
 FALL, Charles
 FEREMER, Alexander
 FFINLSON, James
 FFINLLSON, Mongone
 FINLLSON, Thomas
 FFORD, Robe
 FOREST, Wm.
 FRASER, Andrew
 GIBET, James
 GOODALLE, William
 GODRIE, Jeanet
 GRAY, John
 GREG, Helen
 GRIV, Robin
 HACKERSTON, James
 HAIE, James
 HANANN, Thomas
 HARLY, James
 HEIRST, John, in Haddington
 HEMPSEED, Mrs
 HENDERSON, James
 HOOG, Anna
 HOOG, James William, in penston
 HOOG, Robert
 HOUDEN, John
 HOUSEN, Agnes
 HOUTON, James
 HUCHION, Mrs
 HUNTER, Hugh
 HUNTER, John

CHECK-LIST OF PERSONAL NAMES OCCURRING IN THE BEGBIE
FARM ACCOUNT BOOK

HUNTER, Rachel
JAFFRIE, John
JAMS, Peter
JAMSON, Peter
LARG, Frank
LAUTHER, Anna
LAUTHER, John
LIBERTON, Richard
LITTSTER, William
LOW, William
MACKMILLN, Thomas
MAERER, James
MAFET, Thoms
MECLINNEN, James
MEEK, James
MILLER, Balldy
MILLER, Robert
MIRAGALL, James
MOFFETT, — (possibly = Mafet)
MORTEN, Allx., tasker
MORTON, John
MORTON, Will
MUGGALL, James
NILLSON, Cornillous
OGLEVIE, William
PERSON, David
PLUMER, William
PRINGLE, George
PURES, Robert
RANKIN, Mrs
REID, James
REID, Patte
ROBESON, Mr
ROSS, Robert
RUSSELL, George
SCOGHALL, George
SHIRE, John
SIMM, David
SIMSON, John, in citeen
SIMPSON, —
SMITH, Geo.

SPITLLE, James
STIVENSTON, John
STORIE, Pattrick
STORIE, Robert
STRACHAN, Mrs, merchant upon the
head of the bow (Musselburgh)
SUANTON, Mr
SUTTIE, Sir James
SWINTON, Robert
SWINTON, William
TAITT, Allxr.
THOMSON, David
THOMSON, James, in Dirleton
THOMSON, John
TRIPLINE, Alexander
TRUMILL, Andrew
WADELL, Mr
WADY, Nanie
WAIT, Alex.
WAITT, Andrew
WAITT, Barbry
WAIT, George
WAITT, Wille
WATTSON, —
WHIET, John
WHIETT, William
WHIGHAME or WHIGEM, Will
WHIGHT, Shat
WHINTON, James
WHITHEAD, Edom or Adam
WHITHEAD, Robe.
WILLIMSON, Mathew
WINLLAN, John, in Kingstown
WOOD, Andrew
WOOD, Alexander
WOOD, John
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WRIGHT, Thomas
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YOUERT, Patt
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This index has been compiled by Mrs Dainty to whom the Editorial Committee expresses its sincere gratitude for again undertaking this task.