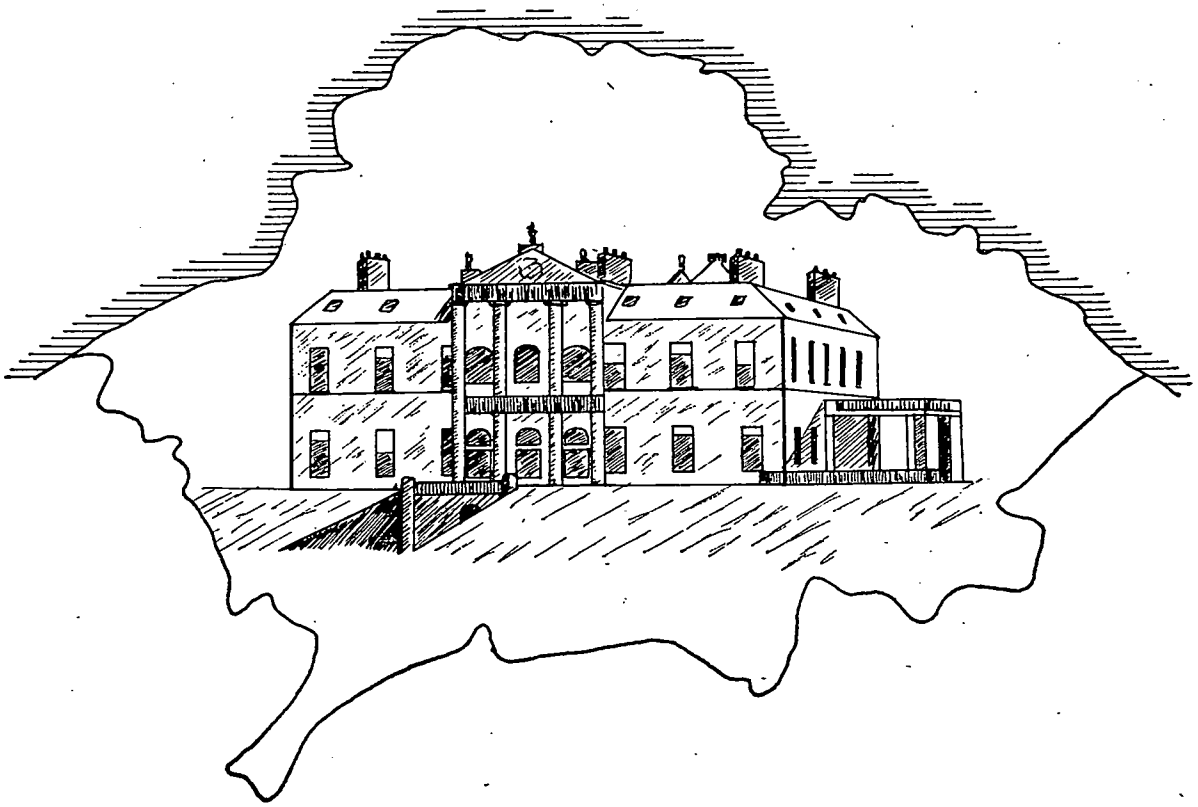
TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

EAST LOTHIAN ANTIQUARIAN AND FIELD NATURALISTS' SOCIETY



VOL. XIII.

1972

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

EAST LOTHIAN ANTIQUARIAN AND FIELD NATURALISTS' SOCIETY

THIRTEENTH VOLUME

1972

HADDINGTON:

PRINTED BY D. AND J. CROAL, LTD.

FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY

CONTENTS

LONG CIST GRAVES FOUND ON No. 3 GOLF COURSE, GULLANE, EAST LOTHIAN

By A. S. HENSHALL and M. J. MOUNTAIN

The site is about a quarter of a mile South of the village of Gullane, and less than a mile from the coast at Gullane Bay to the North and rather further from the coast at Aberlady Bay to the South. The site is about 77 ft. above Ordnance Datum, in an extensive area of sand-dunes now largely given over to golf courses, but with agricultural land a short distance further inland. The map reference is NT 47928213, about 165 ft. West of the main road A198.

In December 1968 four long cists were discovered by green-keepers removing sand from a small turf-covered sandhill. The sand was being removed from the East side of the sandhill, and the East ends of three cists had been found at roughly the new ground level created during the sand removal operations. About 1 ft. 6 in. above the cists an old land surface showed as a dark band in the section of the sandhill across the West ends of the cists, above which, at this point, was another 2 ft. 6 in. of sand up to the present turf cover. When our investigations began cists 1, 2 and 4 had been cleared of their capstones and some of the interior sand to expose part of the skulls. Two more cists, 3 and 5, were located with their capstones in place (the capstones of 3 shown on plan). A small trench to the West of cist 5, cut from the undisturbed surface of the sandhill, revealed the capstones of a sixth cist. This was not investigated.

Cists 1-5 were excavated, and the skeletons were recovered in good condition. The cists were carefully constructed of well-fitting thin slabs of slaty sandstone, mostly about 1 in. thick though three heavier stones were used in cist 5. The slabs were liable to flake and disintegrate. The floors were paved with closely fitting slabs (shown on plan in cists 1 and 2). All the cists had had capstones. The four adult graves measured internally between 5 ft. 5 in. and 6 ft. 1 in. long, between 1 ft. 4 in. and 1 ft. 7 in. wide at the West (or head) end,

Miss Henshall is Assistant Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. Miss Mountain is Lecturer in Archaeology, Edinburgh University.

and between 10 in. and 1 ft. 2 in. wide at the East end. Cist 4 had evidently been for a baby, and measured 2 ft. 3 in. long by 6 in. wide.

The four adult cists were fairly evenly spaced in a row side by side 3 ft. apart, their East ends in line. They were orientated North East to South West. Cist 4 was not in line but lay to the North East orientated East North East-West South West. Above the North West corner of cist 5 there was a setting of three stones, their bases about 3 in. above the level of the capstones, two set vertically 1 ft. apart with the northern one over the North side of the cist, and between them a third stone had been laid horizontally forming a flat floor. Beside the head of cist 3 there was a small rectangular stone set upright, its pointed base on a level with the upper surface of the adjacent capstone. It was 1 ft. 4 in. high, and seemed to have been deliberately set, perhaps as a marker for the grave.

The number of cists at the site is unknown, but the fact that at least a second row of graves exists suggests that there is a well organised cemetery. There is no record of a chapel. Cemeteries of long cists are a well known feature of the Lothians, but little work has been done on them. They cannot be more precisely dated than a general ascription to the Early Christian period.[1] For some reason long cists tend to be arranged in rows either end to end, or side by side. The Gullane cists appear to be of the latter type, but the significance of these contrasting arrangements is not clear.

Some days before the discovery of the cists an upper quernstone was found nearby. It is of the Early Christian type with angled handle-hole passing from the upper surface to the side. This type of quern has been associated with long cists on several occasions.[2] The quern was donated to the National Museum by Gullane Golf Club (BB 138).

We wish to thank the Club for permitting investigation of the long cists, and in particular their Secretary, Mr Balfour Melville, for reporting the discovery and for his help. The cists were left intact and covered over with sand and turf.

REFERENCES

1. Discussion of cist cemeteries in P.S.A.S., LXXXIX, 1955-56, 265-71; Ordnance Survey, Map of Britain in the Dark Ages, 1966, 25-6, and plotted on map; Thomas, A. C., The Early Christian Archaeology of North Britain, 1971.

2. P.S.A.S. LXXXIX, 1955-56, 261-4, 283.

THE GULLANE LINKS AND OTHER SCOTTISH LONG CIST SKELETONS

By MICHAEL WALKER

Two adult male skeletons, two adult female skeletons and 1 infant skeleton, all remarkably complete, came respectively from cists 1, 2, 3, 5 and 4. Cist 1 contained a supernumerary human radius fragment and cist 2 a probably human scapula likewise supernumerary, and it is possible that the more complete skeletons from these cists were secondary utilisations therefore. Cist 1 also contained large mammal long bone fragments including pig, and cist 3 contained rabbit bones.

Age

Biological age at death cannot easily be determined from a study of cranial sutural obliteration alone (see Comas, 1966, 357-360 for discussion). Some obliteration had occurred in skulls C. 1, 2 and 3, but none in C. 5. The spheno-occipital suture alone gives sure indication of whether an individual has survived beyond his late twenties, but it was only capable of investigation in C. 5 where obliteration was almost total. The teeth of C. 1 and 2 were very worn with exposure of dentine, those of C. 3 somewhat less worn, and of C. 5 less so again. It is proposed that the C. 1 and 2 males were older than the females, and that of these C. 5 was the youngest, perhaps aged around 30 years. It is unlikely that any individual was older than 55 years. The infant was about 6 months old at death.

Stature

This may be estimated from limb bones or from combined lumbar vertebral and limb bone measurements. Using the former method as applied by Trotter and Gleser (1958) the men appeared less tall than when the latter method was used with reference to Manouvrier's tables (Manouvrier, 1893). This is because instead of having the usual five lumbar vertebrae the men had an anomalous six. The Gullane statures thus appear to be greater than those of the Dunbar Dark Age men (Brothwell & Powers, 1964-6) and more like those of York Romano-Britons (Warwick, in Wenham, 1968) or modern British men. The supernumerary vetrebra is clearly responsible for this effect. The Gullane

Dr Michael Walker is a Lecturer in Anatomy, Edinburgh University.

women had the normal five lumbar vertebrae, and so here the two methods of calculating stature are in expected agreement. Their heights resemble those of York Romano-British women, but are below those of modern British women.

Relationships

The anomalous sixth lumbar vertebrae of the men suggests a close family relationship. Both skulls are rugged with marked supraorbital tori, obelionic flattening and occipital protuberances, and C. 1 has auditory tori. C. 1 appears to have had congenitally absent third molar teeth in upper and lower jaws on the right side, and C. 2 in the mandible only but on both sides. Both have frontal notches, and C. 1 has two facial zygomatic foramina on each side (comparison with the much damaged C. 2 was not possible here). The cranial measurements obtainable from C. 2 were too few for statistical comparison, but C. 2 seems to have had a slightly smaller skull but rather longer arm and leg bones than C. 1. The metrical data of the female crania were closely comparable, and it is interesting that each had a left-sided lambdoid sutural Wormian ossicle In short, there is some suggestion that the two males were closely related, and that the two females were closely related.

Abnormalities and pathologies

C. 1 showed osteophytes and 'lipping' of cervical, lower thoracic and lumbar vertebrae, indicating advanced degenerative joint disease, probably osteoarthritis. Similar lesions were common in the York Romano-British men. Some 'lipping' was seen around the glenoid labrum of the left scapula, also, and at both ulnar trachlear notches. Degenerative change was also noted at the sacroiliac articulations. An osteophyte occurs at the tibial spine of the left tibia of C. 5 and its proximal articular surface also shows 'lipping'.

Absolute measurements of limb long bones show that the C. 2 man had longer bones than C. 1, and the C. 5 woman longer bones than C. 3 However, the C. 5 woman appears to have had a very broad trunk indeed, whereas the C. 3 woman seems to have been very thin, on the basis of comparisons of clavicular-humeral indices. C. 3 had two supernumerary accessory ribs, presumably cervical or lumbar ribs.

The C. 1 man had severe dental caries on the lingual aspects and interproximal aspects in all quadrants of the mouth, and periodontal disease caused resorption of the mandibular alveolar margin in one place. Early caries can be seen on the occlusual surfaces of some teeth following exposure of the dentine. The C. 2 male had one possibly carious tooth, but some resorption of both maxillary and mandibular alvelar margins had taken place indicating

widespread periodontal disease. C. 3 also had carious teeth, but C. 5 had no dental or oral pathology. The pattern of caries is similar to that described for Anglo-Saxons (Miles, 1969).

Population Type

It is hoped to publish the detailed cranial and post-cranial observations, both metrical and non-metrical, elsewhere. Suffice it to say that despite the wealth of measurements made, nonetheless four individuals are too small a sample to be statistically useful. Therefore the cranial data were added to published cranial measurements of other Scottish skulls (a) from midland and lowland Scotland (Abercromby & Pirrie, 1905-6; Turner, 1915; Callander, Bryce, 1920-21; Piggott, Wells, 1950-1; Wells 1956-7; Henshall, Inkster, 1964-6; Brothwell & Powers, 1964-6), and (b) from the foregoing and more further afield Scottish skulls (Turner, 1915; Edwards, Bryce, 1925-6, 1926-7; Marwick, Bryce, 1927-8). Variance Ratio Tests suggested doubts as to the statistical validity of a homogeneity of all the Scottish skulls, despite a promising Student *t* Test. Therefore only the midland and lowland series was used in comparisons with other British series, separated by sex. Sixteen metrical and index parameters were taken, and Coefficients of Racial Likeness (Pearson, 1926) calculated between the Scottish series and Anglo-Saxon groups (Morant, 1926), a Dark Age cemetery group from Dunstable (Dingwall & Young, 1933) and the York Romano-Britons (Warwick, in Wenham, 1968), using an Olivetti Programma 101 desk computer.

Morant (1926) using the C.R.L. demonstrated very close similarity between his four English groups ('Angles,' 'Jutes,' 'West Saxons,' 'South Saxons,' defined by county of provenance), and I have confirmed this by reworking his data. Similarities with Iron Age skull series, however, he found to be less close, and Bronze Age (but not necessarily Neolithic) skulls showed very little affinity. On the other hand, Buxton (1935) discerned no differences between Saxon skulls and York Romano-Britons, but thought that the latter had greater vertico-longitudinal and vertico-transverse indices than other Romano-British skull series. He proposed that 'foreigners' in a garrison city might have produced this difference, whilst admitting that during the later phases of the Roman occupation, York was garrisoned by British legions. However, Morant had also noticed considerable regional differences between Iron Age/Romano-British skull series, contrasting markedly with the later Anglo-Saxon period. Warwick criticises Buxton's deductions, and remarks on the sexual differentiation of the York Romano-Britains as regards stature, whilst yet accepting that the means for several cranial parameters are closer together than is often the case for the two sexes.

Comparing the Scottish series by the C.R.L. statistic with the various

Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon groups for 16 parameters, it is found that they have less affinity with the Anglo-Saxon groups than each of the four Anglo-Saxon groups has with any other, being closest to the Angles and quite distant from the Dunstable series. But the Scottish skulls are only about as similar to Morant's Iron Age group as they are to his Angles. Perhaps this can be explained away by remembering that there was wide regional diversity in Iron Age/ Romano-British skull types according to Morant. However, a very marked differentiation was noted between the Scottish long cist skulls and those of 'Brigantian' York — greater that that observed by Morant between his Anglo-Saxons and Bronze Age skulls. Most of this difference in our case seems to be due to the anomalous vertico-transverse index of the York Romano-British skulls but even when this parameter is removed from the C.R.L. calculation, the similarities are less close than with Morant's Iron Age and Angle groups. Tentatively, one may conclude that whilst the users of Scottish long cists differed significantly from the homogeneous English Anglo-Saxons, they also differed from the Romano-British Brigantians, although pre-Migration Period British skull groups do show considerable heterogeneity, perhaps due to genetic drift or some other mechanism.

It is hoped to undertake a more rigorous computer study using the I.B.M. 370/155 computer, and it would also be desirable to remeasure Dark Age skulls in Scotland and in other areas of the U.K. to enhance their comparability.

REFERENCES

Abercromby J. & Pirrie A. M. PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND (PSAS) XL, 328-341, 1905-6.

Brothwell, D. & Powers R. PSAS XCVIII, 184-198, 1964-6.

Buxton L. H. D. J. ROMAN STUDIES XXV, 35-40, 1935.

Callander J. C., Bryce T. H. PSAS LV, 37-52, 1920-1.

Comas J. MANUAL DE ANTROPOLOGIA FISICA, 357-360 (UNAM, Mexico), 1966.

Dingwall D. & Young M. BIOMETRIKA XXV, 147-157, 1933.

Edwards A. J. H., Bryce T.H. PSAS LX, 160-182, 1925-6.

Edwards A. J. H., Bryce T.H. PSAS LXI, 196-209, 1926-7.

Henshall A. S., Inkster R. G. PSAS XCVIII, 204-214, 1964-6.

Manouvrier L. MEM. SOC. ANTHROP. PARIS 2e ser. IV, 347-401, 1893.

Miles, A. E. W. PROC. ROY. SOC. MED. LXII, 1311-1315, 1969.

Morant, G. M. BIOMETRIKA XVIII, 56-98, 1926.

Pearson, K. BIOMETRIKA XVIII, 105-117, 1926.

Piggott S., Wells L.H. PSAS LXXXV, 92-117, 1950-1.

Trotter M. & Gleser G. C. AMER. J. PHYSICAL ANTHROP. XV1, 79-123, 1958.

Turner W. TRANS. ROYAL SOC. EDINBURGH LI PART I (No. 5), 171-255, 1915.

Wells L. H. PSAS LXXXIX, 180-191, 1956-7.

Wenham L. P., Warwick R. THE ROMANO-BRITISH CEMETERY AT TRENTHOLME DRIVE, YORK, 111-176 (H.M.S.O., London), 1968.

THE POETRY OF SIR RICHARD MAITLAND OF LETHINGTON

By ALASDAIR A. MacDONALD

Sir Richard Maitland combined the careers of poet and family historian, statesman and judge, and in each attained considerable distinction. I should like here to examine specifically the poetry of Sir Richard, which in the past has received neither the amount nor the kind of attention which it deserves.

It may be useful, first of all, to have an outline of the principal events of Maitland's life. He was born in 1496, and, through his mother, was closely related to the noble family of Seton. He was served heir to his father in 1513, the latter dying probably at Flodden. The place of his education is uncertain. He married c.1522 Mary, daughter of Thomas Cranstoun of Crosbie, by whom he had, besides four daughters, sons William (Secretary Lethington), John (Chancellor Thirlestane), and Thomas. He served as a Commissioner for Border problems in 1552. In August 1554 he was nominated, and in November of the following year admitted, to the post of Extraordinary Lord of Session. He again served as a Border Commissioner in 1559. On 12 November 1561 Maitland was appointed Ordinary Lord of Session, in spite of his blindness, which by that year made it necessary for one of his sons to assist him in his legal duties. On 20 December 1562 Maitland became Keeper of the Privy Seal, but resigned that office five years later in favour of his second son. Maitland suffered in 1570 from a raid upon his property at Blyth, and from the seizure of Lethington by the 'King's Party.' His sons were forfeited on 14 May 1571. William died in 1573, just after the capture of Edinburgh Castle. Lethington was restored to Maitland in 1581. By 1584 Sir Richard was relieved of the duties, while retaining the emoluments, of a judge. He died on 20 March 1586.[1]

From this brief account one can readily see that Maitland was over a long period involved in public affairs. His poems often directly relate to the events of the time, some of which, like the raid upon Sir Richard's barony of Blyth, have a special importance for the poet.[2] The close relationship of Maitland's

---

Alasdair MacDonald is a Lecturer in English at the University of Leeds.

poems to contemporary affairs has had the regrettable result of vitiating his status as a poet. It has been easy for historians and editors to regard the poems as nothing but a verse commentary upon sixteenth-century Scotland. To the biographers of Sir Richard's sons, the poems and their author are merely an interesting introduction to their chosen heroes.[3] Maitland provides for the cultural historian, moreover, a convenient record of current trends, as, for example, in the well-known lines of the poem: *Quhair is the blyithnes that hes beine*.[4] Such an approach has of course its uses, but it should not preclude the perception of *poetic* qualities.

Maitland has not always fared better at the hands of the literary. His editors, Pinkerton and Bain, seem to regard him as little more than a poetical curiosity, although they quote his moral precepts with approval.[5] A sense of antiquarian duty rather than any critical esteem seems to be their prime motivation. Furthermore, the prejudices of these editors are only too apparent. Bain, for example, is unable to consider with any seriousness a man who first began to compose poetry (as far as is known) over the age of sixty. The 'acute old man' may, for Bain, be an admirable moralist—a poet hardly. Quite recently, however, Agnes Mure Mackenzie and John Speirs have been prepared to view Maitland as a considerable poet.[6] But, with the exception of the latter two, no historian of Scottish poetry has even begun to do Maitland justice. Sir Richard has therefore had the misfortune to be a poet more quoted than appreciated.

The purpose of this essay is to suggest that the personality revealed by Maitland's poetry is by no means a narrow or unattractive one, and that the poetry itself betrays no little skill. Maitland was one of the greatest collectors of poetry, both English and Scottish: it is doubtful if he has ever been given the credit of having learned anything from the poets whose works he caused to be transcribed.[7] Admittedly, the dimensions of Maitland's *oeuvre* are small, when compared, for example, with those of William Dunbar, or Sir David Lyndsay. He is more of a size with Alexander Scott. But, as with the best poets, the subtlety of Maitland's diction in his best work, and the quality of his observation of life, go far to compensate for the lack of mere bulk. There cannot now be many people who face the prospect of reading a poem as lengthy as Lyndsay's *Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour* with positive joy.

Maitland is known as a moralist: as a humorist he is almost totally unknown. No apology is made, therefore, for giving the following poem in its entirety.

Amang foleis ane greit folie I find,
Quhen that ane man, past fiftie yeir of aage,
That in his vaine consait growis so blind
As for to joyne himself in mariage
With ane young las quhais bluid is yit in raige,
Thinkand that he may serve hir appetit,
Quhilk and he faill then will sche him dispyite. despise

Agit men sould joyis in morall taillis,	rejoice
And not in tailis, for folie is to marie,	female costumes
Fra tyme that bayth thair strenth and nature faillis,	
To tak ane wyf, and bring him self in tarie:	difficulty
For fresche May and cauld January	
Agreis not upon ane sang in June—	
The trebill wantis that sould be songe abone.	
Men sould tak voyage at the larkis sang,	
And not at evin, quhan passed is the day:	
Efter midage the luiffar lyis full lang,	
Quhen that his hair is turnit lyart gray.	hoary
Ane auld gray berd on ane quhyte mouth to lay,	
Into ane bed it is ane piteous sicht:	
The ane cryis help, the other hes no micht.	
To have bene merchant bygaine monye ane yeir,	/Middelburg
In Handwarpe, Burges, and in the toun of Berrie,	Antwerp, Bruges
Syn into Deip for to tyine all his geir,	Dieppe, lose
With vaine consait to puire him self and herrie:	ravage
Greit perrell is for to pas our the ferrie,	
Into ane lekand bot not naillit fast,	
To beir the saill not havand ane steif mast.	
To tak ane melein that greit labour requyris,	farm
Syn wantis graith for to manuire this land—	
Quhair seid wantis then men of teilling tyris:	tilling
Then cummis ane, findis it waist lyand,	
Yoikis his pleuche, teillis at his awin hand.	
Better had bene the first had never kendit,	
Nor thoill that schame, and so my taill is endit. (*MQ*,xiii)	

Maitland's poem is a concise, genial and skilful treatment of a subject which is as old as wedlock and human frailty themselves. The line which mentions January and May is undoubtedly a reference to Chaucer, and, in particular, to the Merchant's Tale. Indeed, Maitland's is almost an epitome of the English poem. The names of the towns seem to point to the Flemish topography of the Shipman's Tale, and to the haunts of Chaucer's Merchant,[8] and the fact that Maitland calls his verses a 'taill' may indicate the relationship to the *Canterbury Tales*. But although the Merchant, the putative narrator of Chaucer's Tale, is shown to be a somewhat soured character, there is no trace of such an attitude in Maitland. This poem is unreservedly witty. Ostensibly it is one of the 'morall taillis' in which aged men are supposed to rejoice, but here instead of denunciation there is laughter. This is a moral tale with a difference, and is expressed with considerable elegance. Maitland's marriage lasted some sixty-four years, and one gathers from the epitaphs that it was an harmonious one (*MQ*,xc-xciii). His wife survived him by only one day, a fact which their son, Sir John, recorded in the following epigram:

> Unus Hymen, mens una duos, mors una, diesque
> Junxit, ut una caro, sic cinis unus erit.[9]

Maitland is thus almost an ideal person to write upon the theme of marriage.

Incidentally, it does not seem to have occurred to any of Maitland's editors and critics to suggest a connection between this poem and the *cause célèbre* of

its kind in the mid century—that is, the marriage of Knox on 25 March 1564 to Margaret Stewart, daughter of Lord Ochiltree. Ochiltree was remotely related to the royal line. At the time of his second marriage Knox was fifty years old—the very age of the man in Maitland's poem—and Margaret Stewart was only seventeen.[10] The marriage was laughable, on account of the ages of the participants: to Maitland and others, whose aristocratic predilections it offended, it was also reprehensible. Relations between Knox and the Maitlands were seldom easy. In his *History of the Reformation* Knox accuses Sir Richard of taking bribes to allow Cardinal Beaton to escape from custody.[11] His disputes with Sir William are well known, and he was also lampooned in Thomas Maitland's imaginary conversation of Reformers, written in January 1570, just after the assassination of the Regent Moray.[12] These circumstantial details add some weight to the theory that Maitland's poem refers to Knox's marriage. It is certainly not easy to think of any other marriage of the generations which was as notorious as that of Knox.

But a contemporary relevance is only one further point of interest in this highly skilful poem. Maitland, in true moralistic fashion, gives out his theme, like a text, in the initial stanza. In it he roundly condemns the amorousness of the aged. At once he provides the remedy: the proper study of old men is morality. He alludes to young women by 'tailis'—the sidetails which were fashionable, although denounced by Lyndsay.[13] On this subject, one recalls the overtly physical meaning of 'taill' in Chaucer's Shipman's Tale, and elsewhere.[14] Maitland probably has this further pun in mind. Another pun is in the same stanza: the months of May and January cannot agree in June, but, since the next line refers to a part-song which lacks its treble, 'June' must also be a pun for ' tune.' The literary allusion of the lines enriches the stanza, by naming its poetical antecedent: Chaucer's Tale becomes as it were a further dimension of this poem.[15] Maitland next passes to the scene of physical contact between the participants. The picture of the old grey-beard is somewhat reminiscent of Dunbar's *Tretis of the Tua Mariit Wemen and the Wedo,* and the contrast of 'gray berd on ane quhyte mouth' is economically made. The scene is introduced by a line sounding of the *chanson d'aventure:* 'Men sould tak voyage at the larkis sang.' The wit lies in the implied contrast of the daytime voyage of business with the amorous voyage of nightfall. The image of the voyage leads into the fourth stanza, with its nautical detail. The man is seen as a merchant (after Chaucer) who has made a profit abroad, but who, on the way home, loses it all at Dieppe. His boat lets in water, and his mast is not sufficiently strong to bear the sail. The *significatio* is obvious: it is even clearer when one knows that 'saill' (or 'fuksail') can either be the foresail of a boat, a woman's garment, or, by extension, a woman herself. Once more a pun makes the point. And it should be pointed out that there is

something of a tradition in Middle Scots of using nautical terms for jokes of this nature. The best known is probably Robert Sempill's ballad about Margaret Fleming, which George Bannatyne transcribed in his manuscript.[16] Maitland hence writes in the mainstream of such works. The last stanza introduces another image—that of the farm. As Maitland says, 'Quhair seid wantis then men of teilling tyris:' the danger is that another may yoke his plough and till the first man's field. This ends Maitland's 'taill.' It is natural to suspect a further pun in 'taill,' especially after the tilling of this stanza. If so, it shows Maitland to have been good-humoured and punning to the end. One last detail: the feminine rhyme in the final couplet, 'kendit/endit,' emphasises his parting injunction to old men in such a position: 'End it.'

This poem has been discussed at some length in order to give Maitland's literary artistry a more just appreciation. He makes a liberal use of puns, and his metaphors are homely, direct and effective. He knows how to frame a gnomic utterance, and, if need be, to turn it into a joke. The poem contains literary allusions, and possibly also a thinly disguised political one, although this last is not essential to the enjoyment of the poem. Maitland's social reference — part-songs and ladies' fashions—is up to date. The poem all through displays a lively mind, and a lively poetic skill. It is important to bring to the fore these qualities of Maitland's, so often forgotten. Victorian critics, of course, may not ever have cared to acknowledge them, although these are among the good qualities of Maitland's best poems.

In May 1571 the Regent Lennox forfeited Sir William Maitland and his brothers. On the pretext that the castle of Lethington had been granted to the Secretary, Sir Richard's house was seized, and occupied by Captain David Hume of Fishwick.[17] The unlawful exile of the poet from his home continued under the Regency of Morton, another enemy of the Maitlands. For eleven years Sir Richard tried to obtain redress, even to the extent of applying to Elizabeth, and only succeeded after Morton's fall. The poem *Thocht that this warld be verie strainge* is a protestation of his innocence: he is not to blame for the activities of his sons.

Sa weill is kend my innocence,
That I will not, for non offence,
Flyte lyik ane scauld, — argue
Bot thank God and tak patience,
For I am auld.

For eild and my infirmitie, — old age
Warme claythis ar better for me,
To keip fra cauld,
Nor in Dame Venus' chalmer be,
For I am auld.

Of Venus play past is the heit,
For I may not the misteris beit, satisfy the needs
Of Meg nor Mald:
For ane young las I am not meit,
I am sa auld.

The fairest wenche in all this toun,
Thocht I hir had in hir best goun,
Richt bravelie brald, attired
With hir I micht not play the loun,
I am so auld.

My wyf sum tyme wald taillis trow, believe
And mony lesingis weill allow, lies
Wer of me tauld:
Scho will not eindill on me now, suspect
I am so auld. (*MQ*,xx,16-40)

Maitland faces the difficult task of protesting innocence without appearing offensively self-righteous. He rises to the occasion with a sense of humour which is at once self deprecating but also ruefully ironic. The jokes about himself and his wife, who now no longer suspects him of a wandering fancy (he was then over eighty), engage the reader's interest and his sympathy. The clue to the tone is his refusal to 'flyte lyik ane scauld'—as Dunbar would surely have done. By avoiding polemic, Maitland appears all the more modest, sympathetic, and justified. One feels that here is the dignified voice of the Good Man. Maitland is quite serious, however: in the last stanza of this poem he wants to see 'thame punische [d] that did [him] wrang.' When he was almost ninety, he was granted his wish, and Lethington was restored to him.

In the poem Maitland builds up the *persona* of good-humoured innocence by way of preparation for his claim to justice. He was not a Lord of Session for nothing. It is interesting to examine the use of the refrain, ' I am so auld,' and its relation to the stanza. It can be a simple explanation, but it can also be ironic, as in the fifth line: ' For I am auld.' Here, one is forced to ask whether it is right that helpless old age can find no redress from the illegal actions of a political bully. Maitland's ironic tone is at its best when, as at this place, it leaves the reader to ponder rights and wrongs for himself, although, of course, by his subtle pleading, the poet has already influenced the decision. Unfortunately for Maitland, the strident robustness of Dunbar and Lyndsay is liable in a comparison to drown his gentler tones.

A poem which may date from the same period of Maitland's expulsion from Lethington is the one: *Sumtyme to Court I did repair*. Maitland speaks therein of how he presented his case to ' ane greit Court man.' He is only able to draw a response by slipping a bribe. Maitland's elegantly ironic verses, and his narrative pose of feigned simplicity, highlight the corruption of the exalted.

To ane greit Court man I did speir, address
That I trowit my freind had bene, believed
Becaus we war of kin so neir;
To him my mater I did mein,
Bot with disdaine,
He fled as I had done him tein, lose
And wald not byide my taill to heir. remain

I wend that he, in word and deid, thought
For me his kinsman sould have wrocht,
Bot to my speiche he tuik na heid,
Neirnes of bluid he set at nocht.
Then weill I thocht,
Quhen I for sibnes to him socht,
It wes the wrang way that I yeid. proceeded

My hand I put into my sleif,
And furth of it ane purs I drew,
And said I brocht it him to geif,
Bayth gold and silver I him schew:
Then he did rew
That he unkyndlie me misknew,
And hint the purs fast in his neif. grasped, fist

Fra tyme he gat the purs in hand,
He kyndlie Cousing callit me,
And bad me gar him understand
My busines all haillalie,
And swore that he
My trew and faythfull freind sould be,
In Court as I pleis him command.

For quhilk better it is, I trow,
Into the Court to get supplie,
To have ane purs of fyne gold fow,
Nor to the hiest of degrie
Of kin to be:
Sa alteris our nobilitie,
Greit kynred helpis lytill now. (*MQ*,xxiii,8-42)

Previously, Maitland's masterly handling of the refrain was noted. In this poem (of which the extract is the central portion) the short line in the middle of the stanza is crucial. In the first three stanzas it marks the place where there is a change in the relationship of the interlocutors. At first, one feels the poet's sense of injured surprise at the action of the Courtier: Maitland's notions of him are shattered. In the second stanza we witness the reaction of the poet. The line, 'Then weill I thocht,' shows him stopping to think out his new approach. The third-stanza line, 'Then he did rew,' tells of the sudden change of heart which the sight of Maitland's gold and silver produces. The euphemism of 'misknew' is perfect. In these three stanzas the mercenary nature of the Courtier is exposed, with brilliant concision. The same stanzas also show the increase of worldly wisdom which is forced upon the poet. Maitland here sets up a *persona* of innocence, and lets the reader see this *persona* adapting to the contact with Courtly corruption. The psychology is true, and all the stages of the changing positions of the two characters with regard to each other are caught with precision.

In the fourth stanza Maitland does not introduce a new idea in the short

line: instead, he emphasises the *volte-face* of the Courtier's asseveration of interest ('and swore'). In the fifth stanza the short line carries the burden of the poem—the regrettable decline in the meaning of kinship. The reader is made intensely aware of this by the end of the poem, as a result of the frequent reiteration of words and phrases on this subject. Indeed, the decline of 'kynred' and 'kyndnes' was of deep concern to Maitland, and is mentioned in other poems.[18] Here, all the force of Maitland's irony goes into the phrase: 'kyndlie Cousing,' so easy to miss on account of its brevity. There is a characteristic play upon the two meanings of 'kyndlie'—one highly charged for Maitland, the other an empty formula of polite society—especially in close conjunction with 'Cousing.' Maitland's poem is skilful and ironic, and achieves much of its effect through the unobtrusively brilliant detail of the solitary short line in each stanza, the line which is invariably the turning point, or focus, of each stage of the poem. Maitland's technique is a delicate one, but it is exact.

Possibly the best known of all the poems—certainly the most often quoted —opens as follows:

> Quhair is the blyithnes that hes beine,
> Baith in burgh and landwart sene,
> Amang lordis and ladyis schene— beautiful
> Daunsing, singing, game and play?
> Bot now I wait not quhat thay meine:
> All merines is worne away. (*MQ*,v,1-6)

As a comment on the effect of the Reformation upon social pleasures these lines are familiar. They are rendered memorable by the rhetorical question at the head. This is a favourite trick of Maitland's:

> O Lord, quhair ar thais zelous men,
> That in this land hes bene oft syis. . . (*MQ*,xix,28-29)
> Alace, quhair is the warld that sum hes sein,
> Sic cheritie in all estaittis hes bein. . . (*MQ*,xxviii,61-62)
> Quhair is the zelous men and wyise,
> Of kirk and of the temporall stait,
> That in this realme hes bein oft sys. . . (*MQ*,xvi,97-99)

And there are other examples. This might be taken to reflect a nostalgia for a peaceful and virtuous past. But I doubt whether this is, in fact, such a self-indulgent emotion. Certainly, Maitland admired the deeds of heroes of old: his history of the Seton family records the meritorious conduct of their, and Maitland's, ancestors.[19] But Maitland, as a genuine critic of society, is more interested in reforming the present than in regretting the past. At the end of *Quhair is the blyithnes* he speaks out with patriarchal authority:

> Put our awin lawis to executioun,
> Upon transgressouris mak punitioun, etc. (*MQ*,v,85-86)

The blunt imperatives betray no sentimentalism. And, if one may digress for a moment from the poetry, the history of the Setons is designed to instill virtue into later generations of the family, to make them, in Maitland's words, 'the

mair layth to do ony thing that may be the hurt or decay of the samyn [house].'[20] Maitland's poetic (and prose) gifts have a serious purpose. His rhetorical questions are followed by positive suggestions.

For this reason I find it impossible to agree with John Speirs when he says of the poem, *Of Liddisdaill the commoun theiffis,* that Maitland's evident 'glee in the rhythm . . . suggests a partial identification of the old judge . . . with the thieves.'[21] Undeniably there is a vigour in the movement of the poem, as two stanzas will show:

Thay plainlie throw the countrie rydis,
I trow the mekill devil thame gydis:
Quhair thay onset, attack
Ay in thair gait, passage
Thair is na yet nor dure thame bydis. gate, door

Thair is ane callit Clementis Hob,
Fra ilk puire wyfe reiffis thair wob, web
And all the laif,
Quhat ever thay haif:
The devill ressaif thairfoir his gob. (*MQ*,iii,6-10,51-55)

It is not difficult to gain from such lines the impression of the galloping progress of the thieves. The shortness of the lines is chiefly responsible for this, and the breaking of the third line into two halves, with a rhyme that leads into the final line, accentuates the speed at which the rhymes, and the thieves, advance. The stanza form is perfectly suited to a description of Border raiders. But it is one thing to recognise the metrical skill, another to identify Maitland with the thieves. On *prima facie* grounds, that would posit a sympathy improbable in a Lord of Session. Moreover, Maitland warns that the thieves of Liddisdaill have left their Border haunts, and have turned towards the Lowlands: 'Now ar thay gaine / In Lowthiane, / And spairis nane that thay will waill.' Where will they go next? is the question to be asked, and the question is grimly real. Maitland's ancestors were involved in Border skirmishes. In the poet's eyes, to fight England may have been pardonable: Maitland wrote a poem congratulating Henry II of France on the capture of Calais in 1558, which ends with the fond hope that this will spur on the Scots to regain Berwick on Tweed (*MQ*,x,51-56). Yet he deplores internecine conflict and lawlessness within Scotland. The rhythm of the poem on the thieves makes an artistic reality of the threat of such anarchy: Maitland would scarcely have shown glee at such a prospect.

The religious and moral poems of Maitland are also objects of considerable interest. He is the author of one of the most personal of all sixteenth-century religious lyrics: *Pastyme with godlie companie (MQ*,xxiv). In it, he resolves to forego the vain pleasures of the world: ' Gud is to luik in Goddis buik.' John Pinkerton's insensitive comment on the poem is: 'A religious little piece written

between prayer and sleep as would seem.'[22] Although space forbids a close analysis of this poem, it can be said, nonetheless, that the simplicity of its diction is a gauge of the manifest sincerity with which Maitland approaches his subject. This poem is, in fact, a religious version of the well-known English song: *Pastime with good company,* attributed to Henry VIII.[23] Maitland displays some of his literary affections in choosing that author and that poem as his starting-point. In transforming it from a secular to a sacred song, he was following a fashion of the times, the most notorious examples of which are to be found in the *Gude and Godlie Ballatis*. But no other 'converted' lyric evinces a personal sincerity as great as that of Maitland. None of the *Godlie Ballatis* is as good a poem. In another instance, Maitland takes the topic of the Passion of Our Lord, and 'applies' it to the contemporary situation. Things are much worse now:

> That tyme thair wes bot ane Pilat,
> Now is thair ma nor fiftie scoir,
> With als fair wordis of dissait deceit
> As had the other of befoir. (*MQ*,xvi,17-20)

This poem may not, perhaps, make an immediate appeal to the modern reader. However, if one is familiar with mediaeval accounts of the Passion, it will be seen that Maitland uses the traditional material in a novel way: he makes it in each stanza a point of departure, and of reference, for a criticism of the society of his day. That is not to doubt the reality of Maitland's religious opinions, yet it shows how the thoughts of society and politics were never far from his mind. The refrain sums up the poet's feeling about the situation: it is the 'worst warld that ever wes sein.' The sombre refrain, and the reiterated allusion to the trial of Christ make this one of the darkest of Maitland's attacks on corruption of justice and oppression of the commons.

Maitland speaks out on the theme of moral responsibility, both public and private. He is no less concerned with the responsibilities of the poet. The topics with which poetry should deal he declares to be as follows:

> Put not in writ that God or man may greif:
> All vertew luif, and all vycis repreif.
> Or mak sum mirrie toy to gud purpois,
> That may the herar or reader bayth rejoys;
> Or sum fruitfull or gud moralitie,
> Or plesand thingis may stand with cheritie. (*MQ*,1v,33-38)

We have already seen some of his 'mirrie toy[s]' and some of his 'gud moralitie.' But he emphasises one other matter: poets ought not to spread false tales and repeat slanders. Like a good poet, he not only speaks theoretically (he would ban spiteful poets from his Commonwealth), but also engages the reader, in this case with a fragment of drama:

> Sic alteratioun may cum in this land,
> May gar ane tak ane other be the hand,
> And say: "Think on, ye maid of me ane ballat:
> For your rewaird now I sall brek your pallat". (*MQ*,1v,25-28)

Maitland's poem on the duties of the poet is the only one in ten-syllable couplets. As is usual with him, the form which he has chosen fits the matter of the poem. Here, for example, he is giving the rationale behind the exercise of his art, and the couplets assist the clarity of his exposition. But although Maitland's couplets often sound polished and well rounded-off, they do not altogether eliminate his individual voice, which breaks through in the comic line of ballats and broken pallats.

This is not the only poem in which there is a change of moods. The lyric, *It is ane mortall paine,* which is a deploration of the mutability of life, and which has a bleakly pessimistic opening, transforms itself into the dialogue of a hypothetical morality play. In this play, Kindness is rebuked by Greediness, and, when Charity and Pity go to her aid, we are told:

> Then Gredines said, with ane sturtsum cheir, aggressive
> "Quha mekill devill brocht thir twa harlottis heir?"
> Furth at the dur he schot thame quyte away,
> And syne he said: "Gif ye wald cheir thir tway, cherish
> Ye wald not purches mekill land this yeir". (*MQ*,xxviii,56-60)

At this point of the poem the language is appropriately vigorous. Yet not even in this altercation between the moral Personifications is Maitland's irony relaxed. In the second line of the stanza, the irony is loudly hilarious, while in the final line it has modulated into one much more solemn, one which is consonant with the seriousness of the opening of the poem. Drama is brilliantly exploited here for the sake of variety of tones and the concomitant levels of irony. It is impossible not to detect the influence of Lyndsay's *Satire of the Three Estaitis* in this poem. Maitland's 'gud moralitie' is put across with a touch and a skill just as sure as, and more economical than, that of the Lyon King himself.

Maitland follows Horace in urging poets to the task of teaching while pleasing. In his own poems he often achieves both of these aims, and always does so in his best work. It cannot be denied, however, that there remains a quantity of unleavened 'gud moralitie.' Some poems instruct, and neglect to interest the reader. The poetic merit in these cases is therefore slight, and they need not be mentioned further here. The existence of such pieces should not be allowed to detract from the merit of ten or twelve others, which are of high poetic interest. A poem as witty as *Amang foleis,* or one so subtle as *Sumtyme to Court,* these are first-class poems within the terms that Maitland sets himself. And Maitland's technical skill should no longer be underestimated.

In this essay I have tried to show how Maitland integrates the structure of his stanzas and the flow of his lines with the (usually ironic) movement of the 'thought' of the poem. Maitland uses a staggering thirty-four different stanza-

patterns for some forty-four poems. This little statistic reveals his continual experimentation, his search for the unique form in which to express a peculiar brand of ironic diction. Maitland shows himself to be a master at manipulating the *persona* within his poems. He is adept at quick transitions of mood, and knows how to make good use of the comic and solemn tones of rhetoric. In his best poems, his is an art of ironic understatement. Yet, even though the tone be witty, Sir Richard remains a political poet and a serious critic of life. Maitland will, no doubt, continue to be read for his eminently quotable references to the events of his day, and perhaps also for the moral content inherent in the 'ancient poetical effusions' of this 'acute old man,' in the words of Joseph Bain. It is, perhaps, not too much to hope that Maitland will also be recognised for the poet, the subtle and skilful artist, that he is.

REFERENCES

I should like to thank Mr J. C. Hilson, Edinburgh, for his friendly criticisms, from which in the preparation of this article I have greatly benefited.

1. The fullest biography of Maitland is still that of Bain: THE POEMS OF SIR RICHARD MAITLAND OF LETHINGTOUN, KNIGHT, ed. Joseph Bain, Maitland Club (Glasgow, 1830), pp.ix-lxi. There is an abbreviated version in Volume 4 of the TRANSACTIONS OF THE EAST LOTHIAN ANTIQUARIAN AND FIELD NATURALISTS' SOCIETY, entitled EAST LOTHIAN BIOGRAPHIES, ed. W. Forbes Gray and James H. Jamieson (Haddington, 1941), p.94. Both accounts should be read with a certain caution.

2. THE MAITLAND QUARTO MANUSCRIPT, ed. W. A. Craigie, STS (Edinburgh and London, 1920), p.20b. References in the article to the text of Maitland's poems (e.g. *MQ*, xiv, 4) are (a) to this edition of the Quarto MS; (b) to the number of the poem in this edition; and (c) to the relevant line of the poem. In the texts quoted, punctuation is mine, and letters or forms of letters no longer used have been removed. For details of Sir Richard's losses in the raid on Blyth see THE MAITLAND FOLIO MANUSCRIPT, ed. W. A. Craigie, STS, 2 vols. (Edinburgh and London, 1919-27), p.44.

3. John Skelton, MAITLAND OF LETHINGTON AND THE SCOTLAND OF MARY STUART, 2 vols. (Edinburgh and London, 1887-88); E. Russell, MAITLAND OF LETHINGTON, THE MINISTER OF MARY STUART (London, 1912); Maurice Lee, JOHN MAITLAND OF THIRLESTANE AND THE FOUNDATION OF THE STEWART DESPOTISM IN SCOTLAND (Princeton, 1959).

4. Brother Kenneth, "The Popular Literature of the Scottish Reformation," in ESSAYS ON THE SCOTTISH REFORMATION 1513-1625, ed. David McRoberts (Glasgow, 1962), pp. 183-184.

5. ANCIENT SCOTISH POEMS, ed. John Pinkerton, 2 vols. (London, 1786); for Bain see above, Note 1.

6. Agnes Mure Mackenzie, "The Renaissance Poets: Scots and English," in SCOTTISH POETRY: A CRITICAL SURVEY, ed. James Kinsley (London, 1955), pp.46-47; John Speirs, THE SCOTS LITERARY TRADITION (London, 1962), pp.92-93.

7. The most important poetry collections associated with Maitland are the Folio and the Quarto MSS (see above, Note 2). The Folio is, after the Bannatyne Manuscript, the second largest Scottish collection of poetry (mostly lyrical). There is in Edinburgh University Library a third MS of Maitland's poems (EUL MS De. 3. 71), presented in 1627 by Drummond of Hawthornden.

8. THE WORKS OF GEOFFREY CHAUCER, ed. F. N. Robinson, 2nd edit. (Cambridge, Mass., 1957), pp.156-160; p.20, l.277. All Chaucer references are to this edition.

9. POEMS OF SIR RICHARD MAITLAND, ed. Bain, p.140

10. Jasper Ridley, JOHN KNOX (Oxford, 1968), pp.432-434.

11. THE WORKS OF JOHN KNOX, ed. David Laing, Bannatyne Club, 6 vols. (Edinburgh, 1846-64), I, 97.

12. Ridley, KNOX, pp.486-487.

13. THE WORKS OF SIR DAVID LINDSAY OF THE MOUNT, ed. Douglas Hamer, STS, 4 vols. (Edinburgh and London, 1931-36), I, 117-122.

14. THE WORKS OF GEOFFREY CHAUCER, p.160, 11.416, 434.

15. Chaucer's is a more leisurely narrative arising from the same basic situation. It fills out the details in Maitland's sketch. In some respects the relationship between the two poems is akin to that between Henryson's TESTAMENT OF CRESSEID and Chaucer's TROILUS AND CRISEYDE. Both Scottish poems 'depend' on Chaucer, but have rather different aims to fulfil.

16. THE BANNATYNE MANUSCRIPT, ed. W. Tod Ritchie, STS, 4 vols. (Edinburgh and London, 1928-34), II, 327-329.

17. The details are given by Joseph Bain, p.liii.

18. One poem, for example, has the line—'For kepit is na auld kyndnes'—as a refrain *MQ*,lii). Another has Dame Kyndnes as an allegorical personification (*MQ*,xxviii).

19. Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington, THE HISTORY OF THE HOUSE OF SEYTOUN [etc.], ed. John Fullarton, Maitland Club (Glasgow, 1829).

20. IBID., p.xi.

21. THE SCOTS LITERARY TRADITION, p.93.

22. ANCIENT SCOTISH POEMS, II, 460.

23. Henry VIII's poem is printed in THE OXFORD BOOK OF SIXTEENTH CENTURY VERSE. ed. E. K. Chambers (Oxford, 1932), p.36.

THE BUILDING OF YESTER HOUSE 1670-1878

By JOHN G. DUNBAR

The lands of Yester came into the hands of the Hay family through the marriage of Sir Thomas de Haya to a Gifford heiress at the end of the 14th century. Although they held extensive estates in Peebleshire, and chose to take the title of Earls of Tweeddale when ennobled by Charles I, the family seem always to have regarded Yester as their principal seat. At first they occupied the early Gifford castle, which they had acquired with the property, and whose ruins (celebrated for the subterranean 'Goblin Hall') still stand within a mile of Yester House. By the latter part of the 16th century, however, the castle had been abandoned,[1] and the family were living in a house standing close to the site of the present mansion.

A remarkable series of contemporary paintings, now preserved at Yester, shows this house as it appeared shortly before its demolition in about 1700 (Pl. I). The nucleus of the building was a four-storeyed tower-house which (to judge from the evidence of an inscribed fireplace-lintel preserved in one of the ground-floor rooms of the mansion) had been erected by William, 5th Lord Hay of Yester, in 1582. The paintings indicate that by the end of the 17th century wings had been added on each side of the tower, while to the north there lay a forecourt and entrance-gateway. The elaborate formal garden depicted on the south side of the house, together with the adjacent fountain and cascades and the extensive avenues and plantations, were presumably the creation of John Hay, 2nd Earl and 1st Marquess of Tweeddale, who had succeeded to the estate in 1653.

Lord Tweeddale was the first member of the family to become a figure of national importance. During the Civil War he had supported the Royalist cause, garrisoning his Peeblesshire residence, Neidpath Castle, against Cromwell's armies in 1650. Subsequently the Earl moderated his political views, and after serving in two Commonwealth parliaments embarked at the Restoration upon a long and successful career as a statesman, holding office under three

---

John Dunbar is a member of the staff of the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland.

successive sovereigns and ultimately receiving a marquisate. Lord Tweeddale also found time to cultivate academic and scientific pursuits. Described by John Evelyn as 'a learned and knowing nobleman,' he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1664 and subsequently achieved a considerable reputation as a planter and improver.[2] He also possessed a fine library, housed mainly at Pinkie, which contained not only a wide selection of books dealing with horticulture, but also a number of standard architectural treatises.[3]

Whatever merits the early house of Yester may have had, Lord Tweeddale evidently began to consider the possibility of rebuilding it soon after the Restoration. He probably caught the itch for building from political associates such as Rothes, Kincardine and Lauderdale, and it is not surprising to find that he turned first for architectural advice to Lauderdale's protégé Sir William Bruce of Balcaskie. Bruce was no more than a minor figure in Tweeddale's circle, but the two men were personally acquainted, and this acquaintanceship must have deepened during 1670, when Tweeddale was negotiating for the purchase of Bruce's Edinburgh house, which he proposed to enlarge for his own occupation. It is possible that Bruce was asked to superintend these alterations, which are referred to in some detail in a letter of September 1670 written to the Earl by a close mutual friend, Sir Robert Moray, the Lord Justice Clerk. In this letter, which provides the only positive evidence of Lord Tweeddale's intentions regarding Yester at this period, Moray writes: 'Sir W. Bruce and I are to hold a consultation about your new house at Yester'.[4] Nothing further is heard of this proposal, however, and by the following year the Earl had evidently decided not to pull down the old house for the time being, but to improve the place by remodelling some of the principal apartments and laying out a park.

During 1671 marble chimney-pieces with 'two handsom iron chimneys with all that belongs to them, shoffel and toings and andirons such as ar in fashone' were obtained by Lord Yester (afterwards 2nd Marquess of Tweeddale) in London, and installed in the upper dining-room and drawing-room. The Earl also asked his son to purchase paintings for use as overmantels and overdoors, instructing him that 'thes may be all ether landskips or ruins with smal figures or storys with lager figurs as can be best had . . . I think the burning of London wold doe weal for one.' Lord Yester's first-hand knowledge of current improvements in London was also harnessed towards the planning of the new park. In September 1671 the Earl informed his son: 'my parke will be clossed within this month and I am desinging som long walks in it, if you pleas to send me the breadth of the walks in St James Park, both the largest as that be the Pell Mel, and that we walked in beyond the cannal, and also of the narower, it will help me much.' Three weeks later he was able to report that he was laying out a walk 900 paces in length and 50 feet broad, and proposed during the following

year to add flanking walks of lesser breadth; the trees in all three walks were to be planted at 25 feet intervals.[5]

The project for rebuilding the house was not revived during Lord Tweeddale's lifetime, possibly on account of the financial difficulties in which he had become involved, and which compelled him in 1686 to sell all his Peeblesshire estates. Despite this setback, however, the Marquess (as he became in 1694) continued his activities at Yester. Already in forming his park Lord Tweeddale had outpaced his neighbour Lauderdale, whose park walls at Lethington were not completed until about 1676,[6] and payments for various garden-works, and for the purchase of seeds, trees and shrubs, continue to appear with considerable frequency in the Yester accounts up to the time of his death in 1697.[7] By the early 1720s, when John Macky visited Yester, the fruits of this activity were already evident, and the house stood in 'the middle of the best planted Park I ever saw: The Park Walls are about eight Miles in Circumference; and I dare venture to say, there is a Million of full grown Trees in it.'[8]

One of these garden accounts merits closer scrutiny. It relates to the purchase of four stone pedestals for lead statues [9] from Mr James Smith in 1686 at a cost of £54-16 Scots. In submitting his account Smith took care to point out to Lord Tweeddale's agent that the price he was asking was a very low one, 'I intreat the accompt may be narrowly considered and yee will find by the equalitie of the rates that I desyre to have more of my Lords imployment, though I declaire I would not serve his Lordship or any other with four such other pedestalls at the same rates.'[10] James Smith had succeeded Bruce as overseer of the Royal Works three years previously, and was currently engaged in remodelling Drumlanrig Castle for the 1st Duke of Queensberry, as well as undertaking a good deal of building on his own account in Edinburgh. His efforts to win Lord Tweeddale's favour were evidently successful, for in 1692-3 he was called in to do some further work at the Earl's Edinburgh lodging.[11] When his name re-appears in the Yester papers more than a decade later it is as the principal architect of the new Yester House.

Just how Smith obtained this commission remains uncertain, for the documents fail just at the point where their existence would have been most helpful. There are no contracts or drawings, and very few building papers of any description surviving from the period between the 1st Marquess's death in 1697 and the year 1704, by which time the offices of the new house were already in course of erection.

It seems fairly clear, however, that the decision to revive the scheme for a new house was taken by the 2nd Marquess shortly after his accession. By then he was already in his 50s, and he may well have felt that there was no time to

lose if the building were to be finished in his own lifetime . . . an attitude only too well justified by subsequent events. The two leading Scottish architects of the day, Bruce and Smith, were both engaged in major building-operations at this time, the former at Craigiehall and Hopetoun, the latter at Hamilton, Melville and Dalkeith. Smith had already carried out two small assignments for the family, and in his dual capacity as architect and building-contractor could be relied upon not only to furnish a sound design, but also to provide the materials and skilled labour necessary to ensure prompt execution. It is scarcely surprising, therefore, that Smith secured the principal role; the difficulty lies in assessing the parts played by Smith's partner, Alexander MacGill, by Bruce, and by Lord Tweeddale himself.

So far as the latter's contribution is concerned, there is little to be said. No doubt the Marquess personally approved the final design of the house and took the closest interest in the progress of building-operations (he seems to have been in the habit of accompanying Smith to site-meetings),[12] but there is nothing to suggest that he saw himself as an architect, in the sense that this term could be applied to contemporaries such as the Earl of Mar, Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, or to Sir William Bruce himself.

Bruce's role is less easy to determine. Apart from the letter of 1670, already quoted, there is no direct evidence to link his name with the rebuilding of Yester House. William Adam, who was well placed to know the facts of the matter, attributed the design to James Smith and Alexander MacGill,[13] and it is their names that occur jointly in the surviving building-accounts, where they are specifically described as 'architects.' On the other hand, the plan of Yester (Pl. 4B), particularly the arrangement of the staircases and the mezzanine service-rooms, has a good deal in common with those of Bruce's Kinross (1679-93) and Mertoun (founded 1703), while the horizontal rustication of the two principal elevations (Pl. 2) strongly recalls both Mertoun and Hopetoun (1699-1703). Similar plans occur among a collection of drawings deriving from the Smith office, however,[14] and Smith was certainly not averse to taking a leaf out of Bruce's book, as witness the show-front of Drumlanrig Castle.[15] Indeed, the careers of the two architects were for long closely interrelated, Bruce's established reputation and elevated social position often allowing him to assume what amounted to a consultative role in projects upon which Smith was engaged in a strictly professional capacity. It is known, for example, that Bruce was asked to give advice about the building of Drumlanrig, Hamilton and Melville, but in all these cases the responsibility for the final design seems to have been Smith's. Possibly this is what happened at Yester, although here the design shows much clearer traces of Bruce's influence.

Although a good deal of information about Alexander MacGill has come to

light within the past few years, he is still rather a shadowy figure. The son of an Angus minister, MacGill was apprenticed to Alexander Nisbett, a prominent Edinburgh mason, in 1697, and admitted to the Edinburgh lodge as fellow-of-craft in 1710.[16] In 1720 he was appointed city architect of Edinburgh,[17] a post which he appears to have held until his death in 1734. MacGill's name first appears in the (surviving) Yester accounts in 1710, but his connection with Smith certainly goes back to the preceding year, when the two jointly submitted plans to the Earl of Findlater for remodelling Cullen House.[18] The partnership seems to have continued almost up to the time of Smith's death in 1731, for in 1727 MacGill appears as Smith's assignee in a lawsuit brought by the latter against the Earl of Leven for non-payment of sums due for the building of Melville House,[19] and in the same year MacGill witnessed an agreement relating to a pumping-engine which Smith had installed in a coalmine on his estate of Whitehill, near Musselburgh.[20] To judge from the major buildings for which MacGill is known to have been personally responsible, such as Donibristle and Blairdrummond, he had a strong feeling for mass, and favoured designs in which a lofty main block of the plainest description formed the nucleus of an elaborate courtyard layout of stables and offices.[21] Yester, with its lowswept profile, patterned stonework and modest pavilions, strikes a very different note, and it seems reasonable to conclude that MacGill's contribution was a minor one, the more so since the design must date from the very early years of his architectural career.

It seems clear from the accounts that, as at Kinross, work began first on the courtyard and offices, the main block of the house being left until last. Site preparations were commenced in 1699, and two years later the 'womanhouse' in the east range of offices was under construction. The pavilions were roofed in 1704, while the greenhouse, which extended westwards from the west pavilion, was founded in the following year. The old house must have been pulled down by 1705-6, when it is recorded that beds were put up in one of the pavilions 'when my Lord came to stay at Yester,' but no specific mention of the demolition is made in the accounts. A great deal of work was also done at this time in the gardens, where new walls and terraces were laid out and the grotto rebuilt, while in 1710 a new fountain, a cascade and a stair to the bowling-green were all under construction.[22]

Work probably began upon the main block of the house in the same year, when accounts [23] for quarrying stone, sharpening tools, and carting lime 'for the building the new hous of Yester' begin to occur with considerable frequency. Whereas most of the work on the gardens and offices had been carried out by local craftsmen,[24] Smith and MacGill now called in their own labour force under the supervision of George Finlayson 'foreman to the masonwork at the new house

of Yester.'[25] The accounts show that between 1710 and 1715, when the house was slated by James Syme, payments for masonwork averaged more than £300 per annum. Lord's Tweeddale's sudden death in April 1713 caused little interruption to building-operations, but when the 3rd Marquess also died unexpectedly less than two years later, leaving the estate in the hands of a minor, work seems to have come almost to a halt.[26]

The new Marquess had recently completed his studies in Edinburgh and was about to embark upon a political career that was to bring him a seat in the Cabinet and the offices of Principal Secretary of State for Scotland and Lord Justice-General. In due course he was also to devote more time and expense to improvements at Yester than any other holder of the family honours, but in view of the circumstances of his accession it is not surprising to find that during the first few years of his rule little effort was made to complete the new house. The fitting out and interior decoration of the offices and pavilions (where the family were living) continued at a leisurely pace under the direction of John Johnstone, a local wright, but progress on the main block was extremely slow. The second floor was laid only in 1722 ,and although Johnstone supplied window-frames in the following year (130 'chess' (sash) windows at 1/10 each) and was subsequently paid for putting them in, a statement of his accounts drawn up in December 1726 shows that the windows had still not been installed at that date. Most of the rooms in the house seem to have been lined and plastered by 1725, and eight marble chimney-pieces were supplied by Henry Crofts ?of London, in the same year. Smith and MacGill remained nominally responsible for building-operations throughout this period, their final accounts being discharged only in 1728-9.[27]

The most detailed description now available of the house as it was at this period is that of John Macky, who seems to have visited Yester about the year 1720. His account deserves quotation at some length:

> 'The Palace stands about half a Mile from the Park Gate, to which you go by a pav'd Coach-way, through a Thicket: It is of Free-stone, curiously wrought, of 120 Foot Front, and 60 Foot deep; and on each Side of the Fore-front are two Pavilions, by the way of Wings, where the Lady Marchioness and her Son the Marquis reside, till the Body of the House is finished. The Offices under Ground are very noble, and vaulted with pav'd Galleries of Communication. You enter the Body of the House up six or eight Steps into a large Hall thirty-six Foot high, and behind it a Salon fronting the Garden of the same Height, and at top is a Gallery for Musick, which opens into both, exactly as at *Bleinheim-House* in *Woodstock*.[28] The Rooms of State, that run on each Side of this Salon fronting the Garden, are very stately, and of an exact Symmetry; and those from the Hall have a Communication with the Apartments in the two Pavilions. There is a mathematical Stone Stair, balustraded with Iron, which leads you up to the Apartments above; but they are not yet so much as floored, although the House is entirely covered at top. No doubt but these Apartments will answer those below. The Parterre and Garden behind the House is very spacious and fine - - -. There is a handsome Basin, with a *jett d'eau* in the middle of the Parterre, with four good Statues upon Pedestals at each Corner. There are abundance of Evergreens, and

green Slopes, regularly disposed; and to the West of the Garden, on an artificial Mount, is a pleasant Summer-House. At the upper end of the Garden, fronting the Salon, are a Pair of Iron Gates, which open into the Park. The Green-house joins the Pavilion to the West, as does a Laundry to the East. The great Area before the Gate is not laid out yet; but according to the Disposition designed, it will be very noble, with Visto's from it cut through the Wood, and Statues at the end of every Visto to terminate the View'.[29]

In 1728, the 4th Marquess, by now well launched on his political career, turned his attention to affairs at Yester. Although the house had only recently been completed, it had been designed a generation previously and was already somewhat out of date. Moreover, a number of defects had become apparent, particularly in the design of the roof, which tended to accumulate great quantities of snow during the winter months 'to the great prejudice of the said roofe.'[30] James Smith was now in his eighties, while MacGill had been quite outshone by William Adam, who was rapidly becoming recognised as the most talented Scottish architect of the day. Adam had already tackled a far more ambitious project of a similar nature at Hopetoun, where he was busy transforming Bruce's compact well-mannered house into a vast Baroque palace for the Earl of Hopetoun, and he had just returned from a visit to London coupled with an English country-house tour, which had probably given him an opportunity to inspect the latest achievements of Vanbrugh and Gibbs.[31]

It was to William Adam, therefore, that Lord Tweeddale turned, apparently asking him to draw up proposals both for remedying the defects of the roof and for remodelling the interior. Adam quickly produced a scheme for forming a lead platform-roof over the two ends of the house while carrying up the centre to a double-pitched slate roof terminating on each side in a pedimented centrepiece (Pl. 3B).[32] On the principal, or courtyard, side of the house the centrepiece was to incorporate tetrastyle Corinthian columns 'to take of(f) the plainess of the ffront,' with a similar feature on the garden front where, however, pilasters might be employed instead of three-quarter columns. Adam conceded that the latter elevation 'may doo plain, but as the whole of this ornament woud ammount to no great sum, I doo think your Lordship woud think the charge weel bestow'd in the event.'[33] Instead of the terraced approach to the house designed by Smith and MacGill (which left the ground-floor partially sunk) Adam proposed to introduce an imposing double staircase rising from the level of the courtyard, access to the ground-floor being obtained from beneath the stair-landing. The principal change proposed in the interior was the readjustment of floor-levels within the central division of the main block. The lofty first-floor hall and saloon that had so impressed Macky were to be reduced a storey in height, while the corresponding rooms on the floor above, now to become the great dining-room (or saloon) and great drawing-room, were to be

carried up within the newly formed attic storey, thus attaining heights of 29 feet and 24 feet respectively.[34]

Although Adam's proposals for remodelling the state apartments had much to commend them, his treatment of the exterior showed little sensitivity towards the original design. Nevertheless, the scheme was accepted with certain modifications,[35] and a contract for the first stage of the alterations was signed in December 1729.[36] The agreed price of £1100 was to include the cost of lead already procured from the Duke of Queensberry's lead-mines (at Wanlockhead), and work was to be completed by November of the following year.

Lord Tweeddale evidently had some reservations about the design of the tetrastyle centrepiece of the north front, but a letter voicing his doubts brought an immediate reply from William Adam, who lectured him at some length on the rules of architecture. 'Now your Lordship will observe that if this rule as to the spaces betwixt windows and pillasters is not observed, but that the 2 outermost pillasters were placd betwixt the windows exactly, then the spaces betwixt pillasters themselves woud become unequall . . .' and so on to the uncompromising conclusion: 'This is a coledge on architecture which I'm sorry your Lordship does not like better.' Adam was clearly accustomed to addressing his client with considerable freedom, for at the end of the same letter he declares: 'Now I think I have fully answered your Lordships (letter) and will conclude with the reverse of yours, that this is my trade and I like it.'[37]

At first work progressed satisfactorily, under the superintendence of Adam's overseer, John Low. By December 1730 the roof was almost finished,[38] and the masons were putting the final touches to one of the pediments.[39] A year later Adam informed Lord Tweeddale that he would shortly present designs for the interior decoration of the hall and garden-parlour (the saloon of Macky's description). The alterations to the back stair (to obtain access to the new attic) were still to be completed, however, and the stone vases for the north pediment had not been installed.[40] These items formed the subject of a separate agreement drawn up in January 1733, the accounts for the initial work having been cleared in August of the previous year.[41]

Thereafter the pace slackened. In October 1734 Adam drew up a memorandum concerning a number of minor works still to be carried out in the house and offices. These included the erection of a gentlemen's lavatory (the servants had their own) beside the road leading to the stables . . . a commodious structure of timber, 12-14 feet in diameter, carefully screened by a hedge. The Marquess himself was to be provided with a water-closet and marble stool, constructed beneath one of the back stairs.[42] In 1735 mahogany panelling and carved capitals

were obtained for the garden-parlour, while between April 1734 and August 1737 marble chimney-pieces of various colours were supplied for nearly all the main rooms of the house, with the exception of the hall, and of the saloon and drawing-room on the second floor.[43]

The plasterers, comprising Joseph Enzer with his two apprentices Phillip Robertson and Francis Nicols, arrived in 1736 ('I came to Yester on Munday ye 14th of June and stayd and directed the scaffald to be put up in the great stair case att Yester') and worked almost continuously until November 1739.[44] Unfortunately, Enzer's day-book gives little detailed information about what was done, and much of the work of this period has since been swept away, but the boldly modelled plasterwork of the great staircase is certainly his, and in all probability the decoration of the hall (now the dining-room) also, with its lively overmantles (Pl. 5B) and elegant rococo ceiling. This latter room, however, may not have been finished until the early 1740s, and the scheme of decoration differs a good deal from the one that Adam had engraved for *Vitruvius Scoticus*, which he may have prepared as early as 1731. Since there is no record of a chimney-piece being supplied for the hall in 1734-7, when most of the other rooms were so equipped, and since no mention is made of the apartment in an inventory of furnishings drawn up in 1737,[45] it seems likely that the decoration of the hall was deliberately held back, possibly to await the completion of the great approach-stair at the centre of the north front. This stair was not, in fact, begun until 1744, but the hall must have been completed by July 1743, when Adam wrote to Lord Tweeddale informing him that all the first-floor rooms were now finished and ready for painting. Enzer had evidently continued to work at Yester from time to time after the completion of the main contract in 1739,[46] for in the same letter Adam reported: 'Poor Joseph Enzer died last week. Among the last things he did was altering a trophy he had done over the pediment of the chimneypiece in the garden parlour. I complain'd of it to him and indeed he has put a much better thing in its place, a vase with some mosaick work'.[47]

Although the great stair of approach at the centre of the north front was included in the plans prepared by William Adam in 1728-9 (Pl. 3B), nothing seems to have been done about building it until 1743, when there was a brisk exchange of correspondence on the subject between Lord Tweeddale and his architect. In March of that year the Marquess informed Adam that he was proposing to start work on the forecourt and bridges in front of the house, but was not satisfied with the present design of the stair. 'I have considered your last plan for this stair, and am still of opinion, as I always was, that it is too large and extensive for the house, besides you have added some further ornaments to it, such as your niches, which I don't like, since I desire it might

be done plain without any ornaments. I had a few minutes discusse with my Lord Pembroke,[48] who entirely agreed with me in opinion.' He asked Adam to prepare a fresh plan for a more modest stair, and added that he intended to employ only estate labour on the work about the forecourt, 'for I am not in such a hurry to carry on great works as you, perhaps, think I should be'.[49] With this letter Lord Tweeddale enclosed a plan and elevation of a stair which he had had prepared for him in London, in order to illustrate what he had in mind. Adam, not unnaturally, was somewhat nettled and defended his original design at length ('it would not be impropper to look at the outter stair to my Lord Castlemain's house at Wanstead[50] . . .' etc.), but reluctantly agreed to make new plans following the London sketch-designs.

In so doing, however, Adam (?deliberately) made the mistake of supposing that he was to embody the London designs in his new plans according to the scale given in Lord Tweeddale's sketches, and since the dimensions of the house did not correspond, confusion was inevitable. At the end of April the Marquess approved one of the schemes that Adam had re-submitted to him, but returned it asking for the dimensions to be adjusted; he must have feared that Adam was going to lecture him again, for he was careful to add: 'providing always that the directions be according to the rules of architecture and will answer'.[51] Adam did not reply until June. He had thought the London drawings were intended for the stair at Yester and not merely as guides . . ., but 'I have consiidered your Lordship's letter fully, and am of opinion that I throughly comprehend your meaning therein and shall do my best to give your Lordship satisfaction'.[52] By this time there was clearly little chance of having the stair finished that summer, as Lord Tweeddale wished, and although the foundations were staked out on 28 June, work was not actually begun until 1744.[53] The stair was completed, apart from some paving beneath it, by July of the following year.[54] In the same year Adam prepared designs for a stair with an iron rail for the garden front,[55] probably the one that stands in that position today.

Meanwhile work continued on the forecourt and bridges, and in the autumn of 1744 a start was made on the erection of covered passages linking the main block of the house to the pavilions on each side.[56] In August of the same year a stone coat of arms was shipped from Queensferry (where it had been quarried and carved at a cost of £35) to Port Seton for carriage to Yester. This was set up over the hall doorway in September, but six vases for the pediments, which had been promised since 1733, did not arrive until September 1746.[57]

There was a good deal of difficulty about the oblong niches that Adam had designed on each side of the coat of arms. Lord Tweeddale didn't like them, and was determined to have them filled up either with 'basso relievo' panels, or

with plain block-walling. Adam responded to this suggestion with some warmth: 'As to the first, I am of opinion that it is not propper, as nothing could be rais'd there that would have a propper effect, as it is far from the eye and would look flatt, as the coat of arms betwixt the two are much rais'd. And as to filling them up altogether, (this) would look very heavy as it would occasion too much dead wall at that place.' Instead he proposed introducing busts, and enclosed a sketch to show the effect. 'What these figures are to be I leave to your Lordship to judge, whether a Caesar and an Alexander or any others that may be more agreeable; and if they are in lead I beleive will be cheapest and laste time out of mind, considering they will be lyable to no accident'.[58]

By the time William Adam died in 1748 the main block of the house was virtually finished, apart from the staterooms on the second floor, and James Norie was giving the interior a final coat of paint. Between 1747 and 1750 locks, grates and fireirons were bought in some quantity, a new iron rail was provided for the principal stair, and nearly £600 was spent on hangings, tapestry and other furnishings supplied by John Schaw, of Edinburgh. A great deal of the furniture for the house was made on the estate, however, by Charles Douglas, a local wright, who had been sent to London by Lord Tweeddale as early as 1732 in order to purchase timber, tools and 'architect books.' For more than twenty years Douglas worked at Yester, producing a great variety of furniture in mahogany, beech, elm and walnut, much of it for use in the family apartments; some of his work probably remains in the house today, and could perhaps be identified from the long and detailed accounts that he presented to the Marquess almost every year.[59]

Following William Adam's death his sons at once assumed direction of the various projects upon which he had been engaged, and at Yester, as at Hopetoun, the main responsibility was at first shared by the two eldest, John and Robert. Indeed, the Adam partnership could hardly have declined the commission even had they wished, for William Adam had for years been offsetting rents owed by him to Lord Tweeddale for a lease of the Pinkie coalworks, against payments due for work done at Yester, and when the accounts were balanced in 1750 John Adam found himself indebted to his patron to a tune of more than £450.[60] Nor did the situation improve much as time went on, for the coalworks soon ran into difficulties, and Adam more than once had to ask Lord Tweeddale to remit the annual rent.

The immediate projects that the Marquess had in mind were some alterations and additions to the east pavilion with the object of providing a nursery (Lord Tweeddale had married in 1748 and six children were born during the next five years), and the improvement of the gardens and policies. John Adam's

efforts to secure the services of Robert Burns, a Dalkeith mason, as foreman were frustrated by the Earl of Marchmont, who had engaged Burns to undertake his new house in Berwickshire, but Charles Emerson, one of the Marquess's own employees, was nominated to act as overseer until a suitable foreman was found, and work began in 1750. Plans for the nursery wing were drawn up in the following year and building was completed in 1752.[61] In the policies a good deal of reconstruction had to be carried out in connection with the forecourt bridges and the adjacent watercourse in which the swift-flowing Gifford Water had been canalized, and in 1751 John and Robert Adam supplied a sketch for an island temple approached by a bridge having a handrail 'form'd in the Chinese manner.'[62] A year later a report on the policies was drawn up by Mr Bowie, a landscape gardener who had been recommended to the Marquess by his neighbour and distant relative Sir Thomas Hay of Alderston as 'the only person I have met with in this part of (the) world that has a good fancy in laying out ground in a natural way'.[63] Bowie was evidently an exponent of Willian Kent's ideas of landscape gardening, and his proposals for Yester included some informal planting, a serpentine lake and the formation of several cascades and a grotto. Some, at least, of the suggestions were acted upon, for cascades were under construction in 1752, and George Jameson, the celebrated Edinburgh carver, and his son wrought two heads for the grotto in 1754-5, shells and figures to decorate the interior subsequently being sent down from London.[64]

It was probably at this time that the old church of Bothans, which stood only a hundred yards from the mansion, was remodelled to serve as a family burial-place. The church had not been used for parish worship since 1710, when the present church in Gifford was opened, and the fabric was probably becoming ruinous. There is not much information about this project in the Yester papers, but Charles Douglas's accounts for wrightwork for 1750-1 contain an item relating to the construction of a machine 'for the masons for drawing ther asler (ashlar masonry) from the old kirk',[65] which suggests that the church was then being quarried to provide building-materials. In March 1753 John Adam, in a letter dealing mainly with alterations that he was superintending at the Marquess's Edinburgh lodging, reported: 'we are busy with the drawings of the old church and gate at Gifford, which shall be transmitted to your Lordship how soon they are finish'd'.[66] These drawings do not seem to survive, but to judge from the present appearance of the building the alterations involved the demolition of the nave, and the conversion of the medieval choir and transepts into a T-plan mausoleum. A new entrance-doorway was formed on the west side of the building within the former choir-arch, which was remodelled in the Decorated Gothic style to provide an imposing frontispiece.[67] Work was evidently completed by 1760, when Bishop Pococke noted with approval that

Lord Tweeddale had rebuilt the church 'in a very good Gothic taste,' [68]

The 'gate at Gifford,' for which drawings were being prepared concurrently with those for the church, was presumably the gateway at the entrance to the main avenue in Gifford village. Stone from quarries at Saltoun and Grange, for two lodges and a gateway at Gifford, was being quarried in 1757-8, and early in 1760 a Newcastle smith named Hillcoat wrote to Lord Tweeddale to inform him that the iron gate that he was making would be finished in about two months time 'when I hope it will prove an aditionel ornament to your Lordship's ancient seat and a credit to me as a mechanick.' [69]

Meanwhile the decoration of the two staterooms on the second floor of the house had been discussed from time to time, but not much seems to have been done. In the case of the drawing-room the family papers are unhelpful, and it is uncertain when, and in what manner, this room was finished. So far as the saloon is concerned, a good deal of information about the progress of events can be gleaned from surviving correspondence, but no receipts or accounts, and only one drawing, have so far come to light. William Adam had prepared a design for this apartment,[70] probably in the 1730s, but this was evidently abandoned following his death, for in June 1750 John Adam undertook to make drawings for the finishing of 'the great room' as soon as possible, and in the same year the floorboards were laid by Charles Douglas.[71]

In March 1751 the design was sent off to Lord Tweeddale by John Adam, who declared in a covering letter that it would look 'extreamly genteel without being crowded or overburthen'd with ornament. And I flatter myself the execution of it can be got done to your Lordship's satisfaction by the person who did the two glass frames for my Lady Marchioness, who works also in stucco. He is a Scotch lad, but served his time in London, and my brother and I prevailed upon him when there to come down and settle here, which he has done and is getting into very good business. He will undertake it either by the lump or by measurement, and will either furnish all the materials, or do the workmanship only, as will be most agreeable to your Lordship.' [72] The name of the stuccoer is not mentioned, but the reference to the Marchioness's mirrors enables him to be identified with some confidence as the Mr Dawson who in December 1750 was paid for carving two mirror-frames, and who was subsequently employed under John Adam's direction at Lord Tweeddale's Edinburgh lodging.[73]

Nothing further seems to have been done at Yester, however, and in the autumn of 1754 Robert Adam left for Italy. Presumably the design had not met with the Marquess's approval. He may have found it difficult to accept the light-

ness and delicacy of treatment that the Adam brothers (to judge from John Adam's remarks quoted above) were now attempting to introduce into the decoration of Yester, and which was already being employed with conspicuous success in the staterooms at Hopetoun House. John Adam, temporarily deprived of his brother's support, was soon to learn that Lord Tweeddale had taken further advice on the project in London, where he had consulted Gavin Hamilton, the painter, and the artist's friend and former travelling-companion in Italy, Matthew Brettingham, younger, who was now trying to establish himself as an architect.

In September 1755 the Marquess received an enthusiastic letter from Hamilton, in which he reported that Brettingham had already made two or three sketches for the saloon which 'ought to finished in the grand Italian taste.' There was to be only one chimney-piece, flanked by two of Lord Tweeddale's full-length Van Dyck's, 'and as your Lordship seemd desirous of having something in the historical way, I have taken the liberty to introduce a history picture in the other side representing some great and heroick subject, so as to fix the attention of the spectator and employ his mind after his eye is satisfied with the proportion of the room and propriety of its ornaments. I am entirely of the Italian way of thinking viz: that there can be no true magnificence without the assistance of either painting or sculpture, and I will venture to say that if this room is finished in the manner that I propose, it will be the finest room at least in Scotland, and few equall to it in England. Mr Brettingham and I are both desirous of exerting ourselves to the utmost in finishing this room. We are both young artists, and more greedy of fame than riches, and should think ourselves very happy in having an opportunity of doing your Lordship a pleasure and ourselves honour.'[74]

This scheme, too, came to nothing, and in July 1756 Hamilton informed Lord Tweeddale that he was about to return to Italy. He still had some hopes of obtaining a commission, however, for he explained that he would be prepared to complete a historical picture on a subject of his own choice (no doubt one of the vast neo-classical pieces for which he was soon to become celebrated), and of a size suitable for the saloon at Yester, within three or four years. The price would be £300, but this was to include the cost of a Kit-cat portrait of Lord Granville already in the Marquess's possession, which otherwise would have to be paid for separately.[75]

Even with this inducement, however, Lord Tweeddale seems to have shown no further interest in Hamilton's proposals, and soon turned back to the Adam partnership, whose position was greatly strengthened both by Robert Adam's return from Italy early in 1758, and by the subsequent transfer of the business

from Scotland to London. Some of the firstfruits of Robert Adam's Classical and Renaissance studies on the Continent appear in the final scheme for the saloon at Yester, which must have been drawn up about this time. Possibly the earlier design was revised [76] to permit the introduction of features such as the antique-relief panels, and the herms of the chimney overmantel, these last finding a close parallel in a design prepared by Robert Adam for General Bland in 1758.[77] The coffered centrepiece of the ceiling (for which an undated drawing survives in the Soane Museum) [78] foreshadows that executed at Compton Verney, Warwickshire, in 1763, while the rococo plasterwork of the angle-coves and overdoor panels resembles contemporary work at Dumfries House, Ayrshire, usually attributed to Thomas Clayton. No accounts have so far come to light for the Yester plasterwork (Pl. 5A), and it must for the moment remain an open question whether this was, in fact, executed by Clayton or, as originally intended, by John Dawson. When Bishop Pococke visited Yester in September 1760 he noted that all the rooms were finished with the exception of the saloon, which had still 'to be stuccoed and finished in a grand manner.' [79] Presumably work began almost at once, for the series of landscape panels by the French painter William Delacour,[80] which form one of the principal elements in the scheme of decoration, are dated 1761.

The completion of the saloon at last brought to an end the building programme upon which Lord Tweeddale had embarked some thirty years previously. To judge from the correspondence quoted above, the delay had been largely of the Marquess's own choosing, but it can have left him with little hope of enjoying a lengthy retirement upon the estate that he had done so much to improve, for he was already in his mid sixties, and had held the property for nearly half a century. As it happened Lord Tweeddale died in London, still in government office, in December 1762, his body subsequently being brought to Yester for interment in the family vault. His son George, who now became the 5th Marquess, was a child of four, and the administration of the estate fell to Lord George Hay of Newhall, who himself succeeded to the family honours in 1770. Unlike so many other holders of the title, the 6th Marquess had no ambitions either as a builder or as an improver. Instead he pursued a rigid system of economy, and succeeded in accumulating a considerable fortune which he bequeathed for the purchase of additional lands to be entailed to the Tweeddale title.[81] Apart from some minor estate-works, there is no record of building-operations at Yester in his day, and the Marquess seems to have spent a good deal of his time at Newhall, where he died in 1787.

The next holder of the title, George, 7th Marquess of Tweeddale, was still a young man at the time of his succession and had recently married. Almost at once he and his wife set about making further alterations to the house, com-

missioning Robert Adam to design a new approach-ramp for the principal front, so that carriages could drive right up to the front door instead of halting at the foot of the great forestair whose construction had caused William Adam so much trouble a generation previously. At the same time Adam was asked to prepare plans for remodelling the first-floor apartments on the south side of the house so as to create a large drawing-room opening off the saloon . . . a commission which rather suggests that the great drawing-room shown in this position on William Adam's plan had never been properly finished (cf. p.32).

Robert Adam did rather more than was expected of him, not only preparing designs for the approach-ramp and drawing-room, but also submitting proposals for completely remodelling the front and rear elevations of the house and offices. As he explained in a letter sent to accompany the plans [82] on 24 March 1789 'I have always thought Yester House one of (the) best contrived plans I ever saw in this or any country, and that if the outside elevations had been in any degree on a par with the internal distribution of the apartments, it might be called the most compleat house in Scotland. But those lines of flat ashlers running from end to end and from top to bottom of both fronts of the house dazzle the eye, and render them a mass of confusion. . . . I therefore thought that it would be pity whilst I was doing the design of the ramp of approach, not to try if something could be made of the outside of the house to correspond with it.' [83] So far as the principal elevation was concerned Adam proposed to rebuild the centrepiece, raising the pilasters to first-floor level,[84] and carrying up the pediment to the full height of the roof. This, he explained, would enable him 'to get three fine broad and lofty windows to light the saloon, which I think such an improvement as would tempt me to make the alteration, as then that room will be as cheerful as any room to the north can be,' but the effect is top-heavy (Pl. 3A), the more so since the flanking portions of the facade and the pavilions were in the event left unaltered. The vast double approach-ramp was to be 'of a solid stile in order to appear of sufficient strength to be a basement to the house above it . . . The iron raill may be cast at Carron. It should be well done, as its effect will be good or bad as it is ill or well executed, particularly the sweeps in the Vitruvian scroll. I could have it done in London under my own eye and sent down by sea, but think it pity to have any thing executed here that can be as well done in Scotland.' [85] For the garden front Adam proposed a Corinthian portico and pilastered end-bays, but none of this was carried out.

The rebuilding of the centrepiece of the north front, and the construction of the ramp, were carried out by John Hay, builder in Edinburgh, between 1788 and 1790 at a cost of about £1700.[86] This sum included the cost of repairs to the plasterwork and timberwork of the saloon following the introduction of new windows, and the reinstatement of the coat of arms and lead statues (cf. pp.29-30),

which were now incorporated in the pediment. Lord Tweeddale refused to settle the final account, however, (which included certain other items relating to the house and gardens) claiming that the work was unsatisfactory and that he had been overcharged. Following Hay's initiation of a lawsuit in 1792, both parties agreed to submit the case to the arbitration of Alexander Ponton, architect in Edinburgh and James Burns, wright in Haddington. These arbiters failed to agree, however, and the matter was remitted to the Edinburgh architect Robert Burn who after personally inspecting the work and ordering certain defects to be remedied, directed Lord Tweeddale to pay Hay the sum of £307 within ten days.[87]

Undeterred by this wrangle the Marquess pressed ahead with the scheme for the drawing-room, and in the autumn of 1792 invited estimates for finishing the new first-floor rooms 'agreeable to the plan of the late Mr Robert Adam, architect' [88] (who had died in March of that year). Although tenders were submitted by five different contractors, the project was for some reason not carried into execution at this time. Nevertheless, a few small jobs were done in and about the house in 1793-4, including the reglazing and replastering of the staircase cupolas, whose 'inriched cornice and fine festoons and flowers' were executed by Thomas Russell, plasterer in Edinburgh.[89]

Late in 1794 another estimate for the first-floor room was received from William Donaldson, wright in Edinburgh, who carried out the work during the following year at a cost of £537.[90] Adam's plan (Pl. 4A) had envisaged a large drawing-room with apsidal ends screened off by columns, very much like the library at Kenwood, Middlesex (1767). This apartment was to have been formed by the demolition of the partition-wall separating the former drawing-room from the adjacent bedroom to the east, the two small rooms in the south-east corner of the house becoming an octagon boudoir and a closet respectively. There is nothing either in the accounts [91] or in the present appearance of these rooms (which were, however, remodelled in the 1830s) to suggest that Adam's proposals were carried out, and it seems likely that Donaldson's scheme was a fairly modest one, and involved no major structural alterations.

On the evening of 3 April 1797 fire broke out in the bakehouse in the west wing and soon threatened to engulf the whole house. The Marquess was away at the time, but Robert Somerville, his agent, acted very promptly, dispatching the Haddington fire-engine and summoning help from the local military, as well as calling out the tenants, who prevented the fire from spreading by blocking up the passage linking the west pavilion to the main block of the house with turf dug from the forecourt. By 4 o'clock the next morning he was able to assure Lord Tweeddale that 'the children and every person belonging to the house are

in perfect safety . . . the loss is confined solely to the offices west of the house.'[92] Almost at once estimates were obtained for making good the damage, and although no record survives of any work having been done, there seems no reason to doubt that the pavilion and wing were restored, since they appear in a view of the house published in 1821.[93]

In 1804 Lord and Lady Tweeddale died within a few months of each other in France, where they had been detained since the renewal of hostilities between Britain and Napoleon in the previous year. The 8th Marquess, who thus succeeded to the title at the age of seventeen, was just commencing an active military career which he continued to pursue with considerable distinction in various parts of the world for several years before returning to settle at Yester in 1814. Thereafter he concentrated upon the management of his estates, the success of his agrarian experiments eventually being recognised by his election to the Presidency of the Highland and Agricultural Society.[94] Lord Tweeddale's energies were by no means reserved for agricultural pursuits, however, for he also found time to initiate a series of alterations to Yester House even more far-reaching in their effects than those undertaken by the 4th Marquess.

The evidence relating to these building-operations is contained in a group of letters[95] exchanged between Lord Tweeddale and his agents and the architect Robert Brown, best known for his work in the New Town of Edinburgh. No accounts or drawings appear to survive,[96] but the correspondence makes it clear that work was carried out in two phases, of which the first was completed in 1830 and the second in 1838-9. The main object of these alterations was nothing less than the re-planning of the house on a different axis. The original hall or vestibule on the north side of the house was converted into a dining-room, and a new entrance-hall contrived at the centre of the west front in place of a bedroom and the lower flight of the back staircase. At the same time a new drawing room was formed on the south side of the house by joining the garden-parlour to an adjacent bedroom, additional garret-rooms were provided for servants, and many of the family apartments were redecorated and equipped with new chimney-pieces. A good deal of 18th-century stuccowork and carving must have disappeared during the course of these operations, and Brown's early Victorian interior decoration looks rather dull by comparison. Robert Adam's approach-ramp seems to have been spared, however, and still probably lies beneath the slope of the front lawn.

In the second phase of operations a substantial porte-cochère and balustrade were erected outside the new front door, the west pavilion and service-wing having presumably been swept away to make room for an approach-avenue. The construction of this porch caused a good deal of difficulty. It was to have been

finished by October 1838, but John Maver, the Edinburgh contractor to whom Brown had entrusted the task, was found to be bankrupt and could not obtain credit to enable him to purchase the necessary materials. When reproached for the delay by the Marquess's law agent, who had discovered that Maver was a personal friend of Brown's, the architect claimed that no cash had been forthcoming from the factor, who had fobbed him off with bills. The factor was promptly forbidden to engage in bill transactions, money was made available, and a new completion date was fixed, but work was not finished until the late summer of 1839. A further dispute arose over the payment of the accounts, during which the contractor threatened to take legal action against Lord Tweeddale, who counter-claimed against the architect on grounds of deficient workmanship. It was perhaps not altogether without cause that the Marquess's agent declared, in November 1839, that 'Mr Brown has from first to last occasioned a good deal of trouble in this matter.'[97]

Lord Tweeddale's building activities were temporarily interrupted by his appointment as Governor of Madras, but returning to Yester in 1848 he lost no time in commissioning David Bryce to draw up proposals for the construction of a kitchen court on the east side of the house. This scheme was clearly intended to round off the earlier programme of alterations by making good the loss of the west pavilion and service-wing, but for some reason it was never carried out, although Bryce's plans survive among the family papers.[98]

By this time, Yester House had assumed virtually its present form, but one further scheme of alterations had still to be proposed. Soon after succeeding his father in 1876 the 9th Marquess of Tweeddale appears to have asked the ambitious young Edinburgh architect Robert Rowand Anderson to prepare a report on the house. Anderson promptly produced a scheme involving not only extensive repairs to the roof and ceilings, and the remodelling of the attic storey, but also the erection of no less than three new wings, one at each of the available corners of the main block. In his report to the Marquess he estimated that these operations would cost £28,800, and added disarmingly; 'this amount is greater than I anticipated and probably more than your Lordship thought of.' Anderson concluded his report[99] by suggesting that this sum would be better spent on the erection of a completely new house, but fortunately this proposal did not commend itself to Lord Tweeddale, who seems to have contented himself with a fairly modest programme of repairs, not all of which were completed before his death in December 1878.

I should like to acknowledge help received from numerous friends and colleagues during the preparation of this paper. Thanks are due, in particular, to Mr Peter Morris and Mr J. D. Parker for allowing me to visit Yester House; to the staff of the Department of MSS of the National Library of Scotland, and especially to Mr Charles Millar, without whose guidance my task could never

have been completed; to my sister, Miss Mary Dunbar, for research in the City of Westminster archives and elsewhere in London; to Mr W. Makey, Edinburgh City Archivist; to Miss Mary Cosh, to Mr Basil Skinner and to Miss Catherine Cruft. With the exception of Plate 4A, which is reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the Soane Museum, all the illustrations are Crown Copyright and are reproduced by permission of the Royal Commission on the Ancient Monuments of Scotland.

REFERENCES

All references, unless otherwise stated, are to the Yester papers now preserved in the National Library of Scotland (Accession No. 4862). Since this collection has not yet been fully inventoried, it has not been possible to supply detailed call-numbers for all documents quoted, but it is hoped that the references given will enable material to be located without too much difficulty.

1 Pococke, R., TOURS IN SCOTLAND (1887), 317.
2 THE DIARY OF JOHN EVELYN, ed. de Beer, E.S. (1955), iii, 370, iv, 184; Haddington, Hamilton, T., 6th Earl of, FOREST TREES: SOME DIRECTIONS ABOUT RAISING FOREST TREES, ed. Anderson, M.L. (1953), 90.
3 National Library of Scotland MS 7112. Catalogue of books in the possession of the 2nd Marquess of Tweeddale, 1704. It may be inferred from the contents that many of these books had been acquired by the 1st Marquess. Lord Tweeddale's interest in architecture was well known to his friends, for Andrew Hay of Craignethan records that when he visited the Earl at Bothans (i.e. the old house of Yester) in 1659: 'to engag him I lent him 2 books of architecture out of Humbie, and we parted with great respect' THE DIARY OF ANDREW HAY OF CRAIGNETHAN, 1659-1660, (1901), 163.
4 MISCELLANY OF THE SCOTTISH HISTORY SOCIETY, vi(1939), 233.
5 6/1a. Letters from 2nd Earl of Tweeddale to his son, Lord Hay of Yester, dated 30 April, 1 and 19 August, 27 September, 12 and 22 October, 1671. An undated memorandum, apparently in Lord Tweeddale's hand, containing proposals for laying out walks and gardens at Yester, is preserved in National Library of Scotland MS 7106/99.
6 Lauderdale papers, Thirlestane Castle. Wooden Box No. 9. Bundle 'Buildings 1676'.
7 The suppliers included Edinburgh seedsmen such as John Falconer and Henry Fergusson, and the London nurserymen London and Wise, while trees and shrubs were also obtained from Holland and from the royal gardens at Paris (36/1, 37/3, 43/3, 153/5b).
8 (Macky, J.), A JOURNEY THROUGH SCOTLAND (1723), 31.
9 Perhaps the 'four good Statues upon Pedestals' at each corner of the parterre that were noted by Macky (op. cit., 32). These statues are clearly visible in one of the paintings of the early house now preserved at Yester.
10 41/1b. Account due by the Earl of Tweeddale to Mr James Smith, 1686.
11 99/3. Account for masonwork, Mr James Smith and James Smith, 1692-3.
12 7/2c. Letter from George Douglas to 2nd Marquess of Tweeddale, 29 February, 1704.
13 Adam, W., VITRUVIUS SCOTICUS (c. 1812), plate 28.
14 Royal Institute of British Architects. 'James Smith Drawings', 435/4(17A) and 435/12 (26A).
15 The centrepiece of Drumlanrig evidently derives from Bruce's design for the west front of Holyroodhouse, upon which Smith had worked as a master-mason in 1678-9 (Scottish Record Office, E 36/33).
16 REGISTER OF EDINBURGH APPRENTICES, 1666-1700, 59; Carr, H., THE MINUTES OF THE LODGE OF EDINBURGH . . . . 1598-1738, (1962), 240. It is doubtful whether MacGill completed a normal term of apprenticeship, for he is described in the indenture of 1697 as 'Mr Alexander M'Gill', which suggests a superior status, and he was admitted to the Lodge *gratis* as an 'architector' in company with a surgeon and a wright.
17 EXTRACTS FROM THE RECORDS OF THE BURGH OF EDINBURGH (1701-18), 140n.
18 Scottish Record Office, RHP 2541.
19 Ibid., U.P. 1 Innes Mack. S/1/25.
20 Bald, R. GENERAL VIEW OF THE COAL TRADE OF SCOTLAND . . . (1812), 167-73.
21 MacGill's designs of 1717 for the Duke of Montrose's house in Glasgow, however, (Scottish Record Office, RHP 6285), show carefully detailed elevations with overall horizontal rustication, as at Yester.
22 Scottish Record Office, GD/2280. Account for wrightwork, John Johnstone and David Rae, 1705-6. 45/1. Account for painterwork, James Hadden, 1704; account of petty deburstments towards the new building, 1705; account for masonwork within the park of Yester, John McKall and partners, 1710.

23 45/4, 98/3. Account-books of quarriers' and workmen's wages, 1710-12; accounts for smithwork, Robert Dickson, 1710-12; accounts for carting lime, 1712.
24 Many of these craftsmen were employed concurrently on the construction of Gifford Church (completed 1710), which may also have been designed by Smith and MacGill.
25 Probably the Edinburgh mason of this name who appears in the records of the Edinburgh lodge at this period (Carr, op. cit., 240-3, 246).
26 45/4, 98/3. Receipts by George Finlayson and Alexander McGill, 1710-12. Unnumbered. Estate account-books of George Douglas and John Hay of Hopes, 1697-1712, and of John Hay of Hopes, 1713-31, *passim*.
27 98/3. Accounts for wrightwork, John Johnstone, 1722, 1723; receipt by John Johnstone, 31 December, 1726; account for chimney-pieces, Henry Crofts, 1725. Unnumbered. Estate account-book of John Hay of Hopes, 1713-31, crop 1728, p. 14.
28 This description indicates that in Smith and MacGill's design both central apartments on the principal floor at Yester rose to a height of two storeys, the hall being galleried. A rather similar arrangement was adopted by William Adam at Arniston in 1726, but at Yester Adam subsequently obliterated this feature of the original design by re-arranging the floor-levels in the central division of the house.
29 Macky, op. cit., 31-2. Two plans for a garden layout dating from the 1720s, and probably attributable to Charles Bridgeman, are preserved in the Bodleian Library (MS Gough Drawings Q. 4. nos. 23 and 39).
30 98/2. Contract for alterations, 20 December, 1729. The original roof was of 'hopper' construction, and apparently comprised two separate double-pitched roofs running parallel to each other on the long axis of the house. No doubt snow lodged in the central valley.
31 It is possible that Adam had already established a connection with the Hay family by designing a house for Lord Tweeddale's uncle, William Hay of Newhall (Simpson, J., 'Vitruvius Scoticus' (1971), 73-4. Unpublished thesis; copy in the National Monuments Record of Scotland).
32 Adam, op. cit., plates 28-9.
33 98/2. Undated letter from William Adam to 4th Marquess of Tweeddale, c.1728.
34 Ibid.
35 The Corinthian columns of the north front gave way to Ionic pilasters, while the garden front was left undisturbed, apart from the addition of a pedimented attic.
36 98/2. Contract for alterations, 20 December, 1729.
37 98/2. Letter from William Adam to 4th Marquess of Tweeddale, 25 April, 1730.
38 The leadwork of the roof incorporates a panel bearing the name of the plumber, John Scott, and the date 1730.
39 98/1. Letter from Robert Emerson to ?the factor, John Hay of Hopes, 28 December, 1730.
40 98/2. Letter from William Adam to 4th Marquess of Tweeddale, 4 November, 1731.
41 98/2. General account, William Adam, 1732.
42 98/2. Memorandum, William Adam to 4th Marquess of Tweeddale, 18 October, 1734.
43 98/2. Accounts for marble etc., 1734-7, and capitals etc., 1735-7, William Adam.
44 98/3. Account-book, Joseph Enzer, 1736-9. Enzer's name suggests that he was of Dutch descent, but he married a Scottish girl, Helen Erskine, in Edinburgh in 1738 (CANONGATE REGISTER OF MARRIAGES 1564-1800, 160). John Adam was one of the witnesses to the birth of their first child in the following year (Edinburgh Old Parish Registers, 19 May, 1739). Enzer had already worked under William Adam's direction at Arniston (Omond, G.W.T. THE ARNISTON MEMOIRS (1887), 76), and his will shows that he was employed at Adam's Edinburgh Royal Infirmary shortly before his death (Scottish Record Office, CC 8/8/110, pp. 164-5). Enzer's day-book indicates that he was absent from Yester, working in Edinburgh, from December 1736 to March 1737. Robertson was absent, apparently working at Newhailes, near Edinburgh, for seven months in 1738-9. Robertson and another assistant, David Ross ('servant'), are said to have left for 'Leslie' (?Leslie House, Fife) in August 1739. Nicols did not arrive at Yester until June 1737.
45 98. Inventory of furnishings, 20 April, 1737.
46 He may, in fact, have entered into a second three-year contract, as at Arniston, but his name drops out of the estate account-book after 1740.
47 98/2. Letter from William Adam to 4th Marquess of Tweeddale, 5 July, 1743.
48 Henry, 9th Earl of Pembroke, the 'Architect Earl', an exponent of the English Palladian school.
49 98/2. Letter from William Adam to 4th Marquess of Tweeddale, 17 March, 1743.
50 98/2. Memorial of William Adam relating to the front stair of Yester House, (9 April 1743).
51 98/2. Letter from 4th Marquess of Tweeddale to William Adam, 28 April, 1743.
52 98/2. Letter from William Adam to 4th Marquess of Tweeddale, 4 June 1743.

53 98/2. Letters from William Adam to 4th Marquess of Tweeddale, 5 July, 1743 and 3 May, 1744.
54 98/2. Letter from William Adam to 4th Marquess of Tweeddale, 18 July, 1745.
55 98/2. Letter from William Adam to 4th Marquess of Tweeddale, 5 April, 1745.
56 98/2. Letter from William Adam to 4th Marquess of Tweeddale, 14 September, 1744.
57 98/2. Account for materials furnished to Yester House, William Adam, 1747.
58 98/2. Letter from William Adam to 4th Marquess of Tweeddale, 18 July, 1745.
59. 98/3. Accounts for painterwork, James Norie & Co., 1747-9; locks etc., David Robertson, 1747-50; smithwork, James Gray, 1748-9; furnishings, John Schaw, 1747-50; furniture and wrightwork, Charles Douglas, 1732-54.
60 98/2. General statement of accounts, John Adam, 7 November, 1750.
61 98/2. Letter from John Adam to 4th Marquess of Tweeddale, 26 June, 1750. 98/1. Plans of upper storey of east pavilion, Yester House, 1751. 98/3. Accounts for wrightwork, Charles Douglas, 1750-2. Burns had worked at Yester from 1743-6, when his place seems to have been taken by James Hay. In March 1751 Adam reported that he had found an experienced foreman. His name is not stated, but he may probably be identified as David Frew, who is mentioned in the estate account-book in 1750-1 (Unnumbered. Charles Hay of Hopes' Book of Accounts, 1732-53, *passim*. 98/2. Letter from John Adam to 4th Marquess of Tweeddale, 30 March, 1751).
62 98/2. Letter from John Adam to 4th Marquess of Tweeddale, 8 April, 1751. The temple, which was completed in the same year, probably stood on the river islet just behind the old church. A sketch for a temple by Robert Adam, dated 1751, is preserved among the Blairadam papers (Fleming, J., ROBERT ADAM AND HIS CIRCLE (1962), plate 29).
63 98/1. Letter from Sir Thomas Hay, 2nd Bt. of Alderston, to 4th Marquess of Tweeddale, 10 March, 1752.
64 98/3. Account, George Jameson, 1755. 9/2. Letters from James Durno to 4th Marquess of Tweeddale, 7 May, 1756 and 3 May 1757. Some of the shells seem to have been obtained from as far away as the Leeward Islands (9/1b. Letter from William Paterson to 4th Marquess of Tweeddale, 8 July, 1757).
65 98/3. Account for wrightwork, Charles Douglas, October 1750 to December 1751.
66 98/2. Letter from John Adam to 4th Marquess of Tweeddale, 15 March, 1753.
67 One of the Yester drawings in the Soane Museum, London (Adam drawings, vol. 10, no. 201, undated) possibly relates to this project, but closer comparisons are provided by Robert Adam's sketches for Gothic churches, towers and bridges of c.1750-4 preserved at Blairadam and Arniston (Fleming, op. cit., plates 24, 25 and 28; Tait, A.A., 'William Adam and Sir John Clerk: Arniston and "The Country Seat",' BURLINGTON MAGAZINE, March 1969, plate 36).
68 Pocoke, op. cit., 316-7.
69 50/1. Quarriers' and carters' accounts, 1757-8. 98/1. Letter from J. Hillcoat to 4th Marquess of Tweeddale, 25 January, 1760. The ironwork has been renewed.
70 Adam, op. cit., plate 30.
71 98/2. Letters from John Adam to 4th Marquess of Tweeddale, 26 June and 20 August, 1750. 98/3. Account for wrightwork, Charles Douglas, December 1749-October 1750.
72 98/2. Letter from John Adam to 4th Marquess of Tweeddale, 30 March, 1751.
73 98/2. Letters from John Adam to 4th Marquess of Tweeddale, 26 June and 20 August, 1750; account, John, Robert and James Adam, December 1749-October 1754. The fact that John Adam considered Dawson competent to undertake such an important commission as the Yester saloon makes it clear that he was a young man of considerable talent He may well be the John Dawson who was apprenticed to Charles Stanley, of the parish of St. John, Westminster, the celebrated Anglo-Danish stuccoer, in 1738 (The Apprentices of Great Britain, 1710-62, ..; typescript in Guildhall Library, London). John Dawson, carver, Millbank, in the parish of St. Margaret and St. John, Westminster, voted in the Westminster by-election of December 1749 (WESTMINSTER POLLBOOK, 1749); and paid rate for his Millbank premises for two quarters of that year (City of Westminster Archives, E 138b). John Dawson, carver, was resident in a property situated in the First North East district of Edinburgh in 1754, and became a burgess of Edinburgh in the following year; he was no longer resident in the property in 1759 (City of Edinburgh Archives, Stent Rolls for Annuity Tax, 1754 and 1759; ROLL OF EDINBURGH BURGESSES, 1701-60, 53). The only account for the Adam plasterwork at Hopetoun that has so far come to light is one dated 29 January, 1757, payable to John Dawson (Hopetoun House Archives, Building-accounts, 1757). This relates to the decoration of the north closet and includes some ornamental work, but the room in question has been refurbished and Dawson's work can no longer be identified. Assuming that these references relate to the same person, the outline of John Dawson's early career seems to be reasonably well established. It is not

known how long he remained in Edinburgh, however, and Mr Geoffrey Beard has recorded a John Dawson, carver, of Westminster, working at Okeover, Staffordshire, in 1764 (GEORGIAN CRAFTSMEN AND THEIR WORK (1966), 175). A John Dawson, plasterer, was married in Edinburgh in 1773 (REGISTER OF MARRIAGES OF CITY OF EDINBURGH, 1751-1800, 187).

74 98/1. Letter from Gavin Hamilton to 4th Marquess of Tweeddale, 24 September, 1755.

75 98/1. Letters from Gavin Hamilton to 4th Marquess of Tweeddale, 11 and 30 July, 1756. Lord Granville was the Marquess's father-in-law.

76 When John Adam was claiming payment for designs for the saloon in December 1764, he stated that some of the drawings had been made fifteen or sixteen years previously, and others much later, whilst the decoration of the room was actually in progress (98/2. Letter from John Adam to Lord George Hay of Newhall, 3 December, 1764).

77 Fleming, op. cit., plate 83.

78 Adam drawings, vol. 11, no. 101.

79 Pococke, op. cit., 316.

80 Delacour had been employed by John Adam to decorate Lord Milton's house in Edinburgh in 1758, and two years later was appointed first master of the Edinburgh School of Design (Fleming, J., 'Enigma of a Rococo Artist', COUNTRY LIFE, 24 May, 1962). He undertook to do the Yester landscapes for 100 guineas (98/2. Letter from John Adam to Lord George Hay of Newhall, 30 October, 1764).

81 THE SCOTS PEERAGE (1904-14), viii, 466.

82 Five sheets of drawings in Soane Museum, London, dated from Albermarle Street, 24 March, 1789 (Adam drawings, vol. 41, nos. 5-9). Undated wash drawing by James (?Adam) in National Monuments Record of Scotland, closely related to Robert Adam's designs for the principal front. Robert Adam was paid 20 guineas 'for a new elevation for the front of Yester House designed by me . . . and other designs for his Lordship preceding this date' on 23 November 1789 (56/2. Receipt by Robert Adam, 23 November, 1789).

83 Scottish Record Office, GD 28/Supp. 10/12. Letter from Robert Adam to Professor Dalzel, 24 March, 1789 (photocopy). This letter was published in full in TRANSACTIONS OF THE EDINBURGH ARCHITECTURAL ASSOCIATION, ii(1892), 32-4. Dalzel was Adam's nephew by marriage.

84 He suggested that William Adam's pilasters should be re-used, but it is unlikely that this was done.

85 Scottish Record Office, GD 28/Supp. 10/12. Letter from Robert Adam to Professor Dalzel, 24 March 1789 (photocopy).

86 56/2. General account and receipts, John Hay, 1788-90.

87 56/2. Extract submission and decreet arbitral between 7th Marquess of Tweeddale and John Hay, builder in Edinburgh, 1792.

88 98/3. Copies of different estimates for Yester House, (1792).

89 98/3. Account for plasterwork, Thomas Russell, 1793.

90 98/3. Estimate for finishing drawing-room etc., with receipt, William Donaldson, 1794-5.

91 98/3. General account for improvements and repairs, with some detailed accounts and receipts, William Donaldson and others, 1794-5.

92 98/3. Letter from Robert Somerville to 7th Marquess of Tweeddale, (4 April, 1797).

93 Reproduced in Forman, Sheila, SCOTTISH COUNTRY HOUSES & CASTLES (1967), 72.

94 THE SCOTS PEERAGE (1904-14), viii, 470.

95 98/1. Letters from Robert Brown to 8th Marquess of Tweeddale, 1830; Letters from Robert Brown, George Dalziel and David Aikman to 8th Marquess of Tweeddale, 1838-9.

96 Nor does there seem to be any record of the erection of a keeper's lodge said to have been designed by Sir Jeffrey Wyatville in 1824 (Colvin, H.M., A. BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF ENGLISH ARCHITECTS 1660-1840, 739).

97 98/1. Letter from George Dalziel to 8th Marquess of Tweeddale, 13 November, 1839.

98 98/1. Plans of basement and principal floors of Yester House, unsigned, but dated from 131 George Street (Edinburgh), 21 August, 1848.

99 98/1. Letter from R. Rowand Anderson to 9th Marquess of Tweeddale, 21 February, 1877.

THREE EAST LOTHIAN PIONEERS OF ADULT EDUCATION

By JOHN M. SIMPSON

'Adult education' is a phrase that we should not be afraid to define loosely. As used, for instance, in Thomas Kelly's admirable survey of the development of adult education in Great Britain, it can cover any institution, any publication, or anything else that helps men and women to enlarge their mental horizons.[1] In this sense, the Church was the great adult educator of mediaeval Europe, and possibly television is the great adult educator of today. But there is also an inner core to the idea of adult education: and this comprises those institutions whose main immediate purpose is educational. Here we should place Mechanics' Institutes, the W.E.A. and the Open University — but also, I think, such things as public libraries, literary and similar societies, and several sorts of periodical publication.

So far as adult education in its more restricted sense is concerned, many of the most important modern innovations that have benefited Scots were pioneered south of the border. Scots, from Professor John Anderson of Glasgow University to Jennie Lee, have been among the pioneers. But Anderson's Institution in Glasgow (of which the University of Strathclyde is a descendant) was probably less significant in its early days than the ventures in adult education with which George Birkbeck, one of the first professors at Anderson's Institution, was associated after he left Glasgow for London in 1804.[2] And Jennie Lee, though she believed that the Open University should be 'modelled more on the Scottish or the American system than on the English one,'[3] gained her opportunity to found this university through being one of Her Majesty's Government in London.

One reason for England's larger rôle is no doubt the fact that England's population is so much greater than Scotland's, with a consequently greater potential for a wide spectrum of educational developments. Another reason that will occur to many Scots is that, when interest in formal adult education was quickening in the early nineteenth century, the Scottish primary educational system left fewer holes than did England's that required plugging by the institutions of formal adult education. Education in some Scottish industrial towns was perhaps in serious danger of collapse at this time, but many Scots could

John Simpson is a Lecturer in Scottish History, Edinburgh University.

still obtain a primary education that served them well in later life: the school system that had evolved in the rural parishes of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Scotland remained intact, and still served a fairly high proportion of the people. The closer scrutiny given to Scottish educational history in recent years has not, so far as I know, yet called in question this fairly traditional assumption. As Christopher Smout, for instance, puts it:[4]

> ' . . . what was actually achieved by these [parish] schools was the construction of a literate peasant society in the Scottish Lowlands, that was not merely able to read but apparently loved reading.'

At least in those parts of Scotland that remained markedly rural, then, one would not expect much pioneering in large-scale adult educational projects, especially if the purpose of these projects was remedial. What one might expect, in the more prosperous rural areas, was the existence of a self-generating popular culture of real vitality, and the appearance of new ideas in adult education on a local scale. One certainly finds this in nineteenth-century East Lothian: and some of the local ideas attracted interest from far beyond the county's own borders.

The members of a thriving rural community may have a rich life-experience within it, and may in a real sense be more educated than some of those with deeper book-learning but shallower roots. An East Lothian anecdote of John Buchan's shows two farmers coming off better than R. B. Haldane, the lawyer and Liberal cabinet minister; this is despite the fact that Haldane, with his great interest in Hegelian philosophy, must in a formal sense have been one of the best-educated Scots of his time:[5]

> 'A man who has been nourished on German metaphysics should make a point of expressing his thoughts in plain workaday English, for the technical terms of German philosophy seem to have a kind of hypnotic power; they create a world remote from common reality where reconciliations and syntheses flow as smoothly and with as little meaning as in an opiate dream. . .
> I once accompanied him (Haldane) through his constituency of East Lothian when he was defending Milner's policy, including Chinese labour on the Rand. I came out of the hall with two old farmers. "Was he for it or against it?" one asked. Said the other. "I'm damned if I ken." '

Why should East Lothian have been particularly fruitful in local innovations in adult education? It would be hard to improve on the assessment of Laurance Saunders in his book *Scottish Democracy 1815-1840*:[6]

> ' . . in general, a Lowland parish without special urban or industrial development and with an active public opinion on the matter would have a tenth or an eleventh of the population at school and illiteracy would be so abnormal that it could be regarded as due to culpable neglect. In these circumstances the educational problem could present itself as one of quality rather than quantity, and on the basis of a general literacy, the optimistic tradition of the later 18th century could anticipate a continuous and inevitable advance of popular enlightenment and virtue.
>
> The force of this expectation has to be realised. In a region like the Lothian coastland, where the parishes were small, the towns and villages numerous, and the influence and attraction of the capital direct and compelling, the parochial instruction was much more than primary. It was a catholic preparation for livelihood but it was also an introduction to a popular culture that was taking form

> and consciousness, while its limited duration was supplemented by the growth of voluntary agencies and devices of adolescent and adult education. The parish school was attended by some well beyond the normal school age for special instruction in classics or mathematics or practical subjects, and it was also not unusual for a parochial schoolmaster to hold evening classes for young men in some of these subjects. The church was also the centre of a conscious religious education beyond the terms of the Sabbath School. In a town like Haddington there would be a small circle of the benevolent or enthusiastic who received the new learning as it spread and spread it in their turn. This widening circle of the public was reached by reading societies, newspaper and book clubs, discussion groups and parish libraries. In the early years of the century the educational crusade began to develop its particular agencies and to penetrate the countryside so that it could touch the more conservative rural groups.'

I think that it is possible to suggest, with some degree of statistical precision, why Saunders singled out the Lothian coastland in general, and Haddington in particular, as an area of marked adult educational achievement. For this purpose we must attempt some comparison between the Scottish shires, administrative units that appear now to be near the end of their long and useful life. Comparison is hard, since the shires differ so greatly in area and in size of population, and in the degree to which they correspond to geographical or social units with a distinctive life of their own. But one or two points stand out. Of the thirty-three shires, no fewer than sixteen, almost all predominantly rural, reached their point of maximum population at some time during the nineteenth century. One would not look for a great deal of innovation in adult education in these sixteen. As Scotland as a whole modernised itself, these were the areas that failed to adapt, thus suggesting the presence of some degree of economic and social malaise. For our purpose it is not necessary to argue that these (mainly highland and border) areas were 'left behind in the march of progress,' a dubious enough concept in itself. But it does seem likely that, among the people they were losing were many of those whose active minds would have helped to create the demand for adult education in both its formal and informal senses. But of the remaining seventeen shires, where the population continued to increase, (the 'more successful' shires of the thirty-three in terms of retaining their population), most were in the nineteenth century becoming more urban and industrialised than those in the first group: they were therefore subject to the symptoms of educational collapse that we associate with early nineteenth-century urban Scotland.[7] Something of this collapse was seen in East Lothian, but probably only in its western mining communities. The parish minister of Tranent, the Rev. John Henderson, told the 1842 Children's Employment Commission that, though things could be worse than they were, 'yet there are many children among the colliers who are not sent to school.'[8] The local United Secession Church minister, the Rev. William Parlane, lacking the establishment's instinct to make excuses for the status quo, was more vehement:[8]

> 'I have known children often removed from school to coal-mines as early as seven years of age; afterwards they sometimes return a few months in the evenings.

> Children of amiable temper and conduct at seven years of age often return next season from the collieries greatly corrupted, and, as an old teacher says, with most HELLISH DISPOSITIONS.'

But East Lothian as a whole remained, and remains, one of the most predominantly rural among the 'more successful' of Scottish shires. It was thus, I would suggest, fairly unusual among them in having an educational system still intact enough to act as a springboard for adult education. Behind this pleasant social prospect was the fact that East Lothian farming attained a prosperity that gave its people, in a reasonably uniform degree, a better style of living than the old Scotland had afforded. East Lothian enjoyed the pleasures of modernisation without its pains.

The way that East Lothian has retained its population, without drawing them into large towns to the extent that has happened elsewhere, has been analysed by Catherine Snodgrass.[9] To see that, in the light of long-term trends, East Lothian has remained one of the more rural of the 'more successful' shires, one may consult the Registrar General's population figures. My calculations are based on his estimates for 30 June 1967.[10] In Scotland as a whole, 29 people in every 100 lived in the rural areas (outside burghs and new towns): that figure would, of course, be somewhat lower but for the rural nature of the 'less successful' shires. Of the 'more successful' group, East Lothian was one of the most rural, having 46 of every 100 of its people in the rural areas. The county is of course less rural than it was: in 1841, as Catherine Snodgrass shows, 66 people in every 100 lived outside burghs of more than 1000 inhabitants.[11] The comparable figure for 1967 is here 48 in 100, since one of the burghs, East Linton, had 869 inhabitants in that year.

Two of the five shires more rural than East Lothian was in 1967 are in a sense dubious propositions — Aberdeenshire minus Aberdeen, and Midlothian minus Edinburgh. I say 'dubious,' because I would set more store, among Saunders's indicators of the intellectual vitality of the Lothians, by the fact that 'the parishes were small, the towns and villages numerous' than by the direct and compelling 'influence and attraction of the capital.' It might well be thought conducive to the intellectual welfare of small communities not to be too directly exposed to the attraction and influence of large cities. Mechanics' Institutes, magazines and libraries in, say, Dalkeith would be more subject than in, say, Haddington, to unfavourable comparisons with what Edinburgh could provide.

Even in Haddington, such comparisons might be made by would-be sophisticates like Jane Welsh. When George Tait in 1822 was planning his *East Lothian Magazine,* one of his associates invited Jane to collaborate. She declined, and wrote to a friend:[12]

'Mr C[unningham] promised me a sight of the manuscript papers from which I anticipate *great delight*—If the first Number (which I dare swear will be the last) ever *gets out* I will send it you.'

Tait brought out five numbers of his magazine, and on two subsequent occasions tried to launch a magazine again, but never with much success.[13]

If this was the experience of East Lothian, then it must have been to a still greater extent the experience of Midlothian, and at least of south-eastern Aberdeenshire. Two of the other 'more successful' shires which in 1967 were more rural than East Lothian — Dumfriesshire and West Lothian — are not strictly comparable with East Lothian. In the first case, the influence of a town comes into play again, since Dumfriesshire is dominated by Dumfries in a way that no single burgh dominates East Lothian. As for West Lothian, one would expect that in the nineteenth century it must have experienced, to a greater degree than East Lothian, some of the educational dislocation associated with the mushroom growth of industrial communities, in this case again the mining villages. There are, then, some grounds for supposing that nineteenth-century East Lothian might exhibit an almost uniquely interesting pattern of local developments in adult education. Perhaps only the smaller population of Kincardineshire, in all nineteenth-century Scotland, may have had a directly comparable general experience: both Kincardineshire and East Lothian were agricultural shires, near to, but not too near to, a large city.

In discussing briefly only three pioneers of adult education in East Lothian, I must clearly omit much of great interest. I shall have little, for instance, to say about the most famous man associated with Samuel Brown's Haddington School of Arts, Samuel Smiles. To understand Smiles, his East Lothian boyhood is of crucial importance. He is in many ways an attractive figure, and in his day did rather more than merely exhort the working classes as individuals to fit themselves as cheerfully as they could into the iron social framework of laissez-faire capitalism. It is appropriate that Haddington people should take a proprietorial pride in Smiles. Nor is it surprising that Lord Thomson of Fleet should see the author of *Self-Help* as a kindred spirit. But it is pleasant also that Royden Harrison and Kenneth Fielden have, without being starry-eyed about Smiles, shown sympathy with him, and shown what a complex figure he was.[14]

We are perhaps unlikely, ever again, to subject Samuel Smiles to excessive adulation: and it is important that we should equally avoid excessive praise of the three pioneers discussed in this paper — John Cockburn, George Miller, and Samuel Brown. There is nothing more foolish than a historian in the act of awarding pass and fail marks to the dead. On the other hand, the historian's main rôle is to place his characters in the appropriate context of their times. When these characters are educationists, we should remember that no educa-

tionist has ever, whatever he may have said to the contrary, seen his job as being simply the dissemination of factual knowledge. Max Weber made a handy distinction between two types of understanding, using the words *begreifen* and *verstehen* to describe them.[15] The first kind of understanding comes from a value-free study of facts for their own sake: the second kind should arise when we apply the first kind of understanding to any human situation. This second kind of understanding necessarily involves value-judgments about human nature and human society. Any educationist necessarily employs both kinds of understanding. Assumptions about how society actually functions, and how it ought to function, are explicitly or implicitly in-built in his educational programme. He will be a social engineer if he can. Any criticism I may make of my pioneers is merely to show that their views of society, their social as opposed to more narrowly educational goals, are not necessarily ours today.

John Cockburn of Ormiston was not merely an early eighteenth-century pioneer of agricultural improvement:[16] he was also a pioneer of agricultural education. Cockburn was managing the family estate long before, in 1735, he inherited it from his father. Though he held government office, in eighteenth-century terms a fine potential source of extra capital for estate management, he nevertheless improved his land too enthusiastically for his own good. He was at once too solicitous of the prejudices of his tenants, and too little attentive to considerations of profit-and-loss, at a time before increased urban markets made large-scale profitability a relatively easy target for farmers to aim at.[17] His estates had to carry a burden of debt of £10,000, and in 1747 had to be sold. Cockburn spent the last eleven years of his life with his son in London.

Cockburn's place in this paper arises from his founding, in 1736, a local society at Ormiston 'in order to the better improving our country with respect to agriculture and manufactures.'[18] Like other aspects of his work, his society seems to have collapsed in 1747. While it lasted, it held monthly discussions on general farming topics, offered premiums for raising flax, and organised trials of Riga lintseed, to compare it with the lint imported from the Netherlands. It also petitioned the Board of Trustees for Fisheries and Manufactures to bring someone from the Netherlands to instruct Scots in the preparation of lint: it seems that the petition was successful, and a 'Mr Keysar, lintdresser from Flanders' was one of the members of the Ormiston Society.

The great stumbling-block to all Cockburn's ideas was the resistance to change of his tenantry. This resistance was not wholly unreasoning, but it was perhaps less reasonable than when the landlord was of the hard-faced type represented by Sir Archibald Grant of Monymusk in Aberdeenshire.[19] Cockburn evidently sought the improvement of his tenants' lives along with his own.

In the context of this aspiration of Cockburn's, it is relevant that 8 of the

original 16 members of his society were tenant farmers, the remainder comprising 5 lairds, 2 advocates and a Leith merchant. The lairds, the advocates and 4 of the tenants had a direct East Lothian connection.[20] Cockburn remained determined to promote an educational revolution among the East Lothian tenantry: proof of this is the fact that, of the next 90 members of his society, at least 24 were East Lothian men below the rank of laird. Of the remainder, at least 17 were East Lothian lairds. There were also many members from Midlothian, notably Sir John Dalrymple of Cranston, and this is natural in view of Ormiston's location on East Lothian's western fringe. There were also prominent improving lairds from other parts of Scotland, the sort of men whose names gave added prestige to the Society. The presence of lairds was a matter vital for success, by any realistic early eighteenth-century yardstick — always provided, that is, that the lairds attended meetings *and* applied the lessons learned there to their own farming practice. It was with lairds that agricultural improvement had to begin.

But Cockburn's emphasis on involving the tenants too gave his society, which he is said to have modelled on one he had seen in Hampstead,[21] a certain uniqueness within Scotland. His society was a local constituent body of the Edinburgh-based Society of Improvers, founded in 1723. There was at least one other local society in Scotland at the time, no doubt also affiliated to the national society. This was the self-styled 'small Society of Farmers in Buchan,' formed in 1730. But like the national society, and unlike Cockburn's society, it was 'wholly composed of proprietors.'[22] There may also have been a society at Ratho in Midlothian.[23] But the especial merit of Cockburn's attempts to enlist the tenantry is high-lighted if we contrast his society with a later group of which we know rather more. The Gordon's Mill Club of Old Aberdeen, intended for the study of improved farming methods, ran from 1758 till 1764. It was perhaps a more sophisticated body than Cockburn's, but it was also frankly élitist in a way that Cockburn's was not. Membership was limited to 15, of whom too many were in fact 'either attached in one way or another to King's College, or were related to one another . .'[24] Joseph H. Smith, editor of the club's minutes, concedes that a 'larger membership, composed of persons with more varied practical experience in landownership and farming,' would have done more for the general progress of agricultural knowledge in the area.

Cockburn's failure to be a greater long-term influence for good than he in fact was arose from the fact that his social purpose was all too overt. He stands as an example of the eighteenth-century Scots 'improvers' in the wider sense, the Edinburgh literati and the energetic lairds combined. Some of the work of these men, such as their insistence on trying to speak standard English, undoubtedly helped Scotland to lose her distinctive cultural voice in the modern

world. But recent writers have shown that these men are still entitled to be described as patriots according to their own lights.[25] They were not wholly wrong-headed in believing that England provided a reasonable model for Scots improvers to follow (though I would like to suggest that they were in part very wrong-headed!) There is justice as well as severity in Smout's remark that, for Cockburn, his 'interest in agriculture was a cultural rather than an economic one. This was his bit for Scotland, his way of dragging her into the Britain of the eighteenth century.'[26] The improvers saw themselves as a leadership cadre for Scotland, and some of them never fully grasped that others might not share their ideals or tamely acquiesce in their leadership. Cockburn might have dragged his tenants towards improved ways of farming, but to drag them gently was beyond even him. His characteristic tone of voice has a note more of kindliness than of practical realism. On one occasion he wrote to his gardener, to instruct him to plant a horse-chestnut tree on one of his tenant's holdings. This was to be done by stealth.[27]

> 'Make the hole and slip in the horse chesnut at once, for if David sees you open new ground he'l think himself undone. I suppose the Beeches of the long walk west of the bottom are a great grievance. We must not vex him too much at once.'

A kind heart does not in itself make a complete adult educator. But Cockburn's failure, if so we must describe it, was a wholly honourable one.

My second pioneer is George Miller, the Dunbar bookseller of the early nineteenth century.[28] He was also a printer, publisher, librarian, author and publicist. He opened the first circulating library in the area, and by 1809 had built it up to over 3,500 volumes. In 1802-3 he issued over 100,000 copies of cheap tracts designed to elevate public taste. In 1813 he began publication of his *Cheap Magazine* with the same aim. And in 1826 he drew together his views on popular science and on Christian morality in *Popular Philosophy: or, the Book of Nature laid open upon Christian Principles, and agreeable to the Lights of Modern Science* . . . He began the geology section of this work, as a good teacher in East Lothian might do today, with a description of the structure of the Lammermuirs, and he later took his readers in imagination to the University Museum in Edinburgh, and to the Botanic Gardens there.

As Saunders says, Miller seems to have steered clear of politics in his later writings:[29] but he had a little to say about politics in the 1790s. In 1794 he wrote a pamphlet called *An Antidote to Deism . . . recommended as a Supplement to Paine's "Age of Reason"* . . . Thomas Paine's *Age of Reason* had been published the previous year; and in the prevailing mood of fear of revolutionary and godless France, Paine's unorthodox religious opinions were even less welcome to conservative-minded persons than had been his left-wing political views as expressed in his *Rights of Man* (1791-2).[30] To reaffirm the truths of evangelical

Christianity was seen as a necessary political antidote to Paine. We must therefore describe Miller's pamphlet, along with the 'sedative ballads and tracts' of Hannah More and others,[31] as right-wing. But a pamphlet published by Miller in 1796 was of a rather different tendency. *War, a System of Madness and Irreligion* appeared, as Miller himself said, 'at a time when every consideration with the generality of my countrymen was absorbed in the almost universal military mania . .'[32] Though the pamphlet was not politically subversive in the way that Paine's writings were held to be, it was brave of Miller to issue it during a war which was doing the fortunes of the East Lothian farmers and corn merchants quite a bit of good.

Miller, then, was clearly a decent man, an idealistic popular educator, in some ways an attractively quirky 'original.' But it must also be said that, like Cockburn, he was anxious to mould public opinion, and would no doubt wish to be judged in terms of the direction in which he sought to mould it, as well as of his success in this. Here is where my reservation about him arises.

In 1802, as in 1972, many people conceived it to be their duty to elevate popular taste by means of attacking some of the most vital, if also sometimes brash and ribald, aspects of popular culture. But how far can one really do this with profit, if one lacks any respect for, or sympathy with, the popular taste that one is seeking to influence? In 1972 one aspect of this movement is seen in the pronouncements of Mrs Whitehouse and Mr Muggeridge. Another is seen in the following statement, made by Norman Collins of Independent Television some years ago:[33]

> 'If one gave the public exactly what it wanted it would be a perfectly appalling service. . . It is quite obvious that the educational standard of this country is deplorable. . . The overwhelming mass of the letters we get are illiterate, they are ungrammatical, they are deplorably written, and what is more distressing, too, they evince an attitude of mind that I do not think can be regarded as very admirable. All they write for are pictures of film stars, television stars, or asking why there are not more jazz programmes, why there cannot be more programmes of a music-hall type.'

In 1802 also there were many people, George Miller being one, who thought that ordinary folk ought to cultivate less salacious and more serious tastes. The titles of his tracts, and of articles in the *Cheap Magazine,* make plain their didactic and moralising tone: 'The Magdalen . . .,' ' . . . The Fatal effects of Guilty Love,' 'The Industrious Children,' 'Dreadful Consequences of Gambling,' 'Fatal Effects of Anger,' 'Piety the Foundation of Good Morals.' And both the good-heartedness and the limitations of his approach are illustrated by his appeal:[34]

> 'Consider, ye Parents! on you it depends
> To bend the young Sprig while it's green;
> I'm apt to believe, you'll accomplish your ends,
> By a purchase of this Magazine.'

Miller would scarcely have denied that his priorities were educational and social rather than aesthetic. It can be argued that writers and publishers like him served, albeit unconsciously, the social purpose of shaping modern Scotland in a bourgeois mould. Any society that, like Scotland then, is undergoing modernsiation, is subject to the immense pressures that creat social unrest. And the French Revolution, like the Russian Revolution in our century, reminded the workers that the social order of which they had reason to complain was not the only one possible. Political, religious and moral injunctions from the bourgeoisie were a necessary sedative. The virtues of cheerfulness, sobriety, hard work, punctuality and subordination were the right ones to recommend to those who had to till the fields and man the factories, without gaining much obvious benefit to themselves by their labours.[35]

But let us take up the argument in literary terms again. In Miller's day, Lady Nairne and others were rewriting the traditional Scots songs and ballads in a more respectable form. Robert Burns, with the complexity of genius, sometimes rowed with this tide — as in his polite versions of songs like 'John Anderson my Jo' — but sometimes, as in the *Merry Muses of Caledonia,* rowed powerfully against it.[36] In his tracts, George Miller was setting his face against the old Scottish popular culture that made a Robert Burns possible. In 1799 he had published two popular chapbooks, *Comical Sayings of Pady (sic) from Cork* and the *Laird of Cool's Ghost.* But in 1833 he looked back on a change of heart he had experienced by 1802, that led him to publish moral tracts with the express purpose of pushing the chapbooks off the market:[37]

> 'I need scarcely remind my more aged contemporaries, that my avowed motive at this time, for bringing out that multitudinous host of Tracts in so cheap and humble a form, was, in order to counteract the dangerous tendency. . . of what has been so emphatically styled *that copious source of mischief,* THE HAWKER'S BASKET; and those who will take the trouble of recollecting the Lothian Toms, the John Cheaps, the Wise Willies, and other pernicious trash, which I shall not pollute my pages by naming, and compare them with the substitutes I had been at so much pains to put in their place, I trust, will do me the justice to say, that my motives were good—while, the result of the scheme. . . is the best proof that can be adduced, that it was well calculated to answer the purpose originally intended. . . the Witty Sayings of George Buchanan, have sunk, in the estimation of the more intelligent young men of latter times, before the far more rational entertainment to be derived from, that most excellent series of "Counsels to Young Men," in [Tract] No. 5.'

The chapbooks represented the old Scottish literary tradition at its popular level, and one cannot wholly endorse Miller's attack on them. Another of his publications of 1799 was Alexander Montgomerie's *The Cherry and the Slae,* first published in 1597: but it is doubtful if, later, Miller would have approved of this more polished product of the old tradition either. Humbler literary forms like the chapbooks had real and sturdy virtues. As literature, they compare

favourably with Miller's 'multitudinous host of Tracts.' The coarseness of some chapbooks is not to everyone's taste, but their sheer fun and high spirits ought to be. Miller was a lovable man, and if I deplore some of his actions, I shall do him the justice to say that his motives were good. But I shall give the last word to George Buchanan. Buchanan of *The Witty and Entertaining Exploits* is not, of course, the Buchanan of history: but the great humanist might not have disdained some of the chapbook hero's exploits for all that:[38]

On one occasion George is said to have taken on a bet that Scottish shepherds excelled English bishops 'mighty far in knowledge.' A pun on the word *pastor* seems to be implied. Three English clerics are sent north to settle the argument, and George himself, disguised as a shepherd, anticipates them on the way. He then

> 'conveyed his flock to the way side, where he fell a singing a Latin song; and so to begin the quarrel one of them asked him in Greek what countryman he was, to which he answered in Flemish, if you knew that you would be as wise as myself. He next asked him in Dutch, where was you educated? which he answered in Earse, herding my sheep between this and Lochaber; this they begged him to explain into English, which he accordingly did. Now said the one to the other, we need not go any further. What, says George are you butchers? I'll sell you a few sheep. To this they, made no answer; but went away shamefully, swearing the Scots had gone through all the nations in the world to learn their language, or the devil has taught it them, for we have no share here but shame.'

My final pioneer is Samuel Brown, the Haddington ironmonger who became provost of the town in 1833.[39] Brown was responsible for two adult education ventures of more than local significance — the Haddington School of Arts, and the East Lothian Itinerating Libraries.

The Edinburgh School of Arts (from which descends the Heriot-Watt University) was established in 1821 as 'the first fully-fledged mechanics' institute.' Besides providing working men with 'systematic courses of lectures "in such branches of physical science as are of practical advantage in their several trades" ', it added 'classes for more elementary instruction; a library; and a collection of models and apparatus for experiments.' [40]

Samuel Brown had commenced his Itinerating Library scheme, to which I shall return, in 1817; and, no doubt as a by-product of this, he and some Haddington friends started a mutual improvement society, with a scientific slant, in 1818. Probably early in 1823 this was made into the Haddington School of Arts.[41] Brown's son had said modestly that 'everything in Haddington used to be the second in Scotland in those days.' [42] And indeed it does seem possible to detect here the influence of Edinburgh upon Haddington (as well as that of Anderson's Institution in Glasgow upon Edinburgh). But there is no great need to strive to establish the primacy of any of these institutions: all were meritorious examples of a trend that was very widespread at the time.

THREE EAST LOTHIAN PIONEERS

Samuel Smiles in his *Autobiography* [43] illustrates the practical value of the classes in Haddington's School of Arts for three men 'who worked as carpenters for the Messrs. Scoular of Sunnybank.' Two went on, via Edinburgh University, to become respectively a Presbyterian minister in Blackburn and a Hull headmaster. The third, without benefit of a university education, became general manager of the P. & O. shipping line.

Besides scientific instruction, the Haddington School of Arts was in 1826 offering lectures on 'the principal subjects of Political Economy, such as — Property — Labour — Capital — Wages — Population — Price — Pauperism, etc. etc.' [44] This was not intended to lead workers to question, but rather to accept, the prevailing economic doctrines and their implications for the working classes. Samuel Brown had a more business-like approach than, but the same basic beliefs as, George Miller. Brown combined a deep Evangelical faith with mildly left-wing political views and a basic social conservatism. His son says of him:[45]

> 'Too fond of experiment, too sensitive of fault, and too eager for improvement, to be a conservative in either State or Church, he was on the other hand too timid to make a good republican, friend of the people, radical, or anything of that sort. In short, he was just a kind of whig of the Edinburgh school, from first to last.'

The Combination Acts had been repealed in 1824, and this resulted in an upsurge of trade union activity. As president of the Haddington School of Arts, Brown was anxious to rebut the prevalent view that such institutions as his provoked social questioning, and therefore social unrest. He said that he and his committee [46]

> 'go much farther than simply acquitting Schools of Arts of all blame;—of being the authors of injury to society,—they hold that it is by their means, in part at least, that combination will be overthrown.'

Brown's belief in the need for social order was a natural outcome of his religious views. It was not for nothing that he was the son of the Rev. John Brown of Haddington, of *Self-Interpreting Bible* fame, one of the grand old men of Scottish Presbyterian non-conformity.[47] Samuel Brown's hints for Sunday School teachers are revealing:[48]

> 'Make the monitors inform when they know of any of the scholars lying, cheating, cursing, swearing, playing on the Sabbath, disobeying their parents, or playing with wicked children; and take an opportunity of warning them against such practices; also request their parents to make known their faults.'

This is in the tradition of that Calvinism that had threatened to make of seventeenth-century Scotland a theocracy: but in Brown's social and educational work we can sense the Calvinism of his family shading over into a no less earnest Whiggism.

Brown's Itinerating Libraries scheme displays all his Evangelical earnestness: as his son says, 'the interior wish of his heart was to effect religious good by his ever-moving book-cases.'[49] The scheme, it should be added, also displays the marks of genius. Though it was ideally suited to East Lothian with its numerous little settlements, and could not always be readily transplanted elsewhere, nevertheless its simplicity and ingenuity made it an appropriate object of study and imitation in many parts of Scotland, and beyond.[50] In Berwickshire, for instance, a similar scheme was sponsored by Mr Buchan of Kelloe, whose ancestor had joined Cockburn's Ormiston Society.[51] And when the 1849 Select Committee on Public Libraries took an interest in Brown's work, his claim was established to a central position in the pre-history of our modern public library system.[52]

The essence of Brown's system was his conviction that small libraries, normally of 50 books each, could and should be stationed throughout a rural area like East Lothian, until no one need walk more than a mile and a half to the nearest library: and if the books were rotated every two years, residents in any given part of the county would over the years have some of the benefits of living close to a large library.

Works of a theological and moral tendency had pride of place in each of Brown's little libraries, but there was also a wide selection of vocational literature, and other items such as accounts of foreign lands. And, while Brown disapproved of trade unions, he made available to his readers Reports and Rules for the Constitution of Friendly Societies.[53]

People of all social classes do seem to have taken advantage of Brown's libraries. And his local librarians, who gave their services free, were sometimes quite far down the social scale:[54] in 1828 they included a shoe-maker, a labourer, a coalier, a tailor and three wrights. Brown knew that a school was a good location for a library, since children could take books home to their parents, and that a shop was a better location than a private house, where readers might be too shy to go.[55]

The first four village stations, established in 1817, were at Aberlady, Saltoun, Tyninghame and Garvald, forming together a rough square covering most of the populous part of the county. The three centres where new books came to be held for those who paid a subscription — Haddington, North Berwick and Dunbar — formed a triangle partly superimposed on this square. By 1830 there were stations in more than 30 places throughout the county; and before Brown's death in 1939, some 50 stations had been established, so that his one-and-a-half-mile target was not too far from realisation.[56] But ten years later there were only about 20 stations, in the west of the county, and the scheme was manifestly in decline.[57] This, however, bears witness to the fact that there was

no substitute for Brown's own organising ability and zeal, rather than to any defects in his original conception.

Finance was, as always, a key consideration. The original financing of the scheme has an ironic symbolism, in view of Brown's clear desire to promote social harmony by his scheme. Whereas the poor had been liable, during the French Revolutionary wars, to be drafted into the militia — and this had provoked unrest throughout Scotland, but notably at Tranent in the 1797 riots[58] — more prosperous citizens could buy themselves out. They paid money into an insurance scheme and, if drafted, they could pay others to do their service for them. In 1817 Brown was able to launch his libraries because he had in his charge 'a number of balances of militia insurance' for which there were no claimants.[59]

Brown further funded his scheme by making the newest books available only to those paying an annual subscription of 3/-: in 1829 this was raised to 5/-. In 1831, the other books ceased to be available gratis, and in the first year of each two-year cycle, a charge of 1d per volume was imposed.[60] This led to some decline in borrowing: but Brown maintained a free service in the second year of each cycle, and could in addition have pointed out that the alternatives open to him were to charge, or to curtail the scheme. Samuel Smiles appreciated that one thing that was not paid for, and that was really beyond price, was the services to the scheme of Brown himself. In his comments to the 1849 Select Committee, Smiles raised the issue central to the public library system of the future, namely the employment by the public of professional librarians:[61]

> 'The system is one that requires constant supervision, and the exercise of considerable judgment. But it might be matter for consideration, whether it would not be judicious economy to pay for such service . . '

Cockburn, Miller and Brown all believed in the need to promote social harmony. In the context of a rural county like East Lothian, class conflict is no doubt less severe than in an industrial town. The achievements of our three pioneers were the greater because of this and indeed at the present day Berwick and East Lothian display a degree of social harmony in that they are represented in Parliament by a Labour M.P. who clearly enjoys the support of many middle-class voters.

It may be apposite to end by showing that not all theories of adult education have been based on the idea of class harmony. East Lothian may never have been particularly fruitful soil for the Labour College movement, though in session 1922-23, for instance, it had classes at Prestonpans and Tranent.[62] But industrial Scotland of the early twentieth century was one of the seed-beds of this movement, based on a conviction of the need for an independent, politically-committed and explicitly Marxist education for working class adults. The move-

ment's great Scottish pioneer was John Maclean. In his plea for a Labour College in Scotland, left unfinished by Maclean at his arrest in February 1916, he undoubtedly wrote tendentiously, but no more tendentiously, I submit, than George Miller and Samuel Brown had done:[63]

> '. . . the State may now be willing to enforce a technical or commercial training on every boy and girl not intending to enter the professions; but the State, because it must be a Capitalist State so long as Capitalism endures, will not provide a full education to equip workers to carry on the working class movement or to fight for the ending of Capitalism itself.'

No historian, no educationist, can achieve a value-free view of society: nor should they seek to do so. When someone speaks of *freedom,* we have learned to ask: 'Freedom for whom, freedom from whom, freedom to do what?' When someone speaks of *education,* our three pioneers would expect us to ask, and to form our own answers to the question: 'Education of whom, education by whom, and education to do what?'

Appendix 1. The percentage of Scots estimated to live outside burghs and new towns as at 30th June 1967.

My calculations are based on the Registrar General, Scotland, ANNUAL ESTIMATES OF THE POPULATION OF SCOTLAND, 1967 (Edinburgh, 1968). The figures are rounded to the nearest whole number, and the percentage signs omitted.

The new town of Livingston is partly in Midlothian, partly in West Lothian: I have distributed its population exactly between the two for the purposes of calculation.

In Scotland as a whole: 29.

In the 'more successful' shires: Aberdeen (excluding the city of Aberdeen) 70. Kincardine 66. Midlothian (excluding Edinburgh) 60. Dumfries 50. West Lothian 48. East Lothian 46. Stirling 45. Clackmannan 43. Peebles 43. Moray 41. Bute 40, Lanark (excluding Glasgow) 38. Angus (excluding Dundee) 34. Fife 29. Renfrew 28. Ayr 26. Dunbarton 23.

In the 'less successful' shires: Sutherland 93. Ross and Cromarty 75. Berwick 72. Shetland 66. Orkney 65. Kinross 64. Kirkcudbright 64. Argyll 58. Inverness 57. Wigtown 53. Perth 45. Caithness 42. Banff 39. Nairn 39. Roxburgh 38. Selkirk 13.

Appendix 2. List of members of the Ormiston Society, 1736-1747. Source: FARMER'S MAGAZINE, v. 143-146 (Edinburgh, 1804).

I have identified members of the East Lothian laird group thus: (1), and East Lothian men below that rank thus: (2). I add comments, in square brackets, only where the presence or absence of an East Lothian connection may not be self-evident, and where I have a suggestion to make. There may well be inaccuracies in my placing of people, and I shall be grateful to receive corrections.

(a) Original members, 19 July 1736: John Cockburn of Ormiston (1); Thomas Anderson of Whiteburgh [Whitburgh] (1); William Jamieson, merchant, Leith; James Hepburn, younger of Humbie (1); Andrew Broomfield of Duncrahill (1); the Honourable Hew Dalrymple of Drumore (1); George Torrence, tenant in Peaston (2); William Wilson, tenant there (2); James Walker, tenant in Pardovan [Pardivan, near Cousland in Midlothian]; James Walker, junior, there; Alexander Wight, tenant in Ormiston (2); Alexander Wight, tenant in Cousland; John Wight, tenant there; Alexander Wight, tenant, Eastfield of Ormiston (2); Charles St. Clair of Hermiston, advocate [Herdmanston] (1); Patrick Cockburn, Esq., advocate [John's brother] (1).

(b) Members admitted subsequently: Lord George Hay [In 1770 became 6th Marquess of Tweeddale: had bought Newhall from the creditors of his cousin John Hay: ed. Sir James Balfour Paul, THE SCOTS PEERAGE (Edinburgh, 1904-14), viii, 465] (1); William Congalton, younger, of that ilk (1); the Laird of Dundas; James Campbell of St. Germains (1); Sir John Inglis of Cramond; Sir John Dalrymple of Cranston, Midlothian; Robert Anderson, younger of Whiteburgh (1); John Watson of Muirhouse; Richard Dundass of Blair; George Brown, younger of Coalston (1); Sir Robert Dickson of Carberry; Joseph Douglas of Blackshiels (1); Archibald Robertson in

Tranent (2); John Drummond in Ormiston (2); Mr Scott of Rossie; the Earl of Stair; Colonel James Gardner of Bankton (1); John Nairn at Winton (2); John Campbell, Collector of Customs, Prestonpans (2); William Douglas, farmer in Blinkbonny (2); Richard Chessels, farmer at Carberry; William Bailie, factor for the Laird of Lamington at Penston (2); Sir John Sinclair of Longformacus; Mr Wauchope of Edmiston [Edmonstone, near Danderhall, Midlothian]; Mr William Wauchope, brother to the Laird of Niddry; Archibald Tod, writer in Edinburgh; James Skirvine, tenant in Ewingstone (2); John Christy, linen-draper in Ormiston (2); Sir Hew Dalrymple [of North Berwick] (1); John Stiell (?2); George Cockburn, younger of Ormiston (1); Sir Charles Gilmour of Craigmillar; Sir John Baird [of Newbyth] (1); Sir James Hall of Dunglass (1); Mr William Baird [probably the second cousin, and heir, of Sir John Baird of Newbyth—GEC, COMPLETE BARONETAGE (Exeter, 1900-1909), iii. 331] (1); John Mitchelson of Middleton; Mr David Baird (?1); Alexander Arbuthnot of Knox; Charles Hay of Hopes (1); the Laird of M'Leod; Mr Cockburn of Clerkington (1); Mr Justice of Crighton; George Livingstone, Depute-Clerk of Session; John Rutherford of Bowland; James Craig of Costarton; [Costerton, near Fala, Midlothian]; Baillie Smart of Musselburgh; Lord Lindores; Andrew Gardner, merchant, Edinburgh; George Buchan of Cumledge [near Duns, Berwickshire]; Duke of Perth; Mr Rutherford of Fairnielie [in Selkirkshire: relation of the Cockburns through Patrick Cockburn's marriage]; Dr Rutherford; John Carfrae, tenant in Park (2); Mr George Drummond; Robert Wight, Easter Hailes (2); George Donaldson, Dodridge (2); Andrew Wight, Ormiston (2); Ninian Jeffrey, Dalkeith; Lewis Gordon of Gordonhall; Thomas Gardner, merchant, Edinburgh; John Dods, overseer of Mr Cockburn's country affairs (2); Mr Anderson, younger, of Adniston (1); Robert Wight, Muirhouse; Francis Walker, Mainshill (?2); Mr Keysar, lintdresser from Flanders; Archibald Cuthbertson in Adniston (2); Mr St Clair in Seton Mains (2); James Wilson in Peaston (2); Adam Inglis, Esq., younger of Cramond; James Burnet, Esq., younger of Monboddo; Mr White of Crichness (1); Mathew Haldane, farmer, Buxley (2); Baillie David Wight, farmer, West Byres (2); Robert Maxwell of Arkland; James Cuthbertson, farmer, Langniddry (sic) (2); Baron Clerk; Sir William Dalrymple [son of Sir John Dalrymple of Cranston]; Mr Hamilton of Fala; Mr Howison of Braehead; Robert Turnbull in Newtonhall (2); Robert Pringle, Esq.; Thomas White, manager of Sir William Dalrymple's grounds; Captain Maitland; George Park in Blackhouse; Mr Buchan of Kello [Kelloe, near Edrom, Berwickshire]; William Watson of Pilmore [? Pilmuir near East Saltoun] (1); Charles Mackie, surgeon, Ormiston (2); William Swinton, merchant, North Berwick (2); John Baillie in Penstone (2); James Wight in Ormiston (2).

Appendix 3. Stations of the East Lothian Itinerating Libraries, 1831, with their librarians. Source: THE SEVENTH REPORT OF THE EAST LOTHIAN ITINERATING LIBRARIES, FOR TWO YEARS, FROM DECEMBER 1829, TO DECEMBER 1831. [Pamphlet in the National Library of Scotland, in a book of pamphlets classified as T.4.g.1 (1-14).]

It will be noted that Samuel Brown does not give the labourer and the farm-servant the designation 'Mr': but to be fair he does not give himself it either.

Haddington (New books for subscribers)—Samuel Brown, ironmonger. Agricultural branch—Samuel Brown, ironmonger. Dunbar (New books for subscribers)—Mr J. Miller, jun., ironmonger. North Berwick (New books for subscribers)—Mr James Dall, draper. Haddington (General readers)—Samuel Brown, ironmonger. Saltoun—Mr James Watherston, teacher. Aberlady—Mr Thomas Mabon, grocer. Tynningham—Mr Graham, teacher. Prestonpans—Mr David Pearson, Whittingham—Mr Robertson, teacher. North Berwick—Mr James Dall, draper. West Fenton—John Hogg, labourer. Kingston—Mr James Brown, smith. Athelstaneford—Mr Peter Brown, wright. Longniddry—Mr Peter Dickson, wright. Peston (parish of Ormiston)—Mr William Skirving, smith. Ormiston—Mr Norman Notman. Pencaitland Colliery—Mr J. Thomson, teacher. Wester Pencaitland—Mr A. Thomson. Gifford—Mr James Porteous, saddler. Linton—Mr John Porteous, saddler. Bolton—Mr William Young, teacher. Elphingston (sic)—Mr George Steel, baker. Society—Mr Adam Wilson, tailor. Dunbar—Mr J. Miller, jun., ironmonger. Dunbar (for seamen)—Mr Fenwick. Belhaven—Mr J. Binning, weaver. West Barns — Mr Thomas Sherriff, wright. Samuelston—Mrs Carstairs, grocer. Spott—Mr Sinclair. Upper Keith—Mr. Howatson. Long Yester—Mr Hunter, teacher. Drem—Mr Murray, baker. Gullan—Mr Peebles, teacher. Whitekirk—Mr Dickson, teacher. Oldhamstocks—Mr John Laurie.

According to a regulation of the libraries, Elphingston was closed as the least used library station over a two-year period. In 1830 the station at Dunbar mainly for seamen was established. Books were provided for the shipping at North Berwick and the prisoners in Haddington jail. And in October 1831 three new stations were established as follows: Garvaldkirk—Mr Stenhouse, teacher. Leaston—Mr Shiel. The Score, near West Garleton—Peter Muir, farm-servant.

THREE EAST LOTHIAN PIONEERS

A copy of THE FIFTH REPORT OF THE EAST LOTHIAN ITINERATING JUVENILE AND VILLAGE LIBRARIES, FOR THE YEARS 1826 AND 1827 is in the Edinburgh Central Public Library, Scottish Room (Reference no.: XZ 716.)

REFERENCES

This Paper had its origins in my Extra-Mural class on 'East Lothian: the Growth of Literacy', held in Haddington in 1967-8: I am grateful to the members of that class for the discussions we had. A version of the paper was delivered to the Scottish History of Education Society at Stirling University on 21 November 1970, where again the discussion was helpful to me.

1. Thomas Kelly, A HISTORY OF ADULT EDUCATION IN GREAT BRITAIN (2nd edn., Liverpool, 1970), preface.
2. Kelly, *op. cit.*, 102-3, 118-20; Thomas Kelly, GEORGE BIRKBECK (Liverpool, 1957), esp. 20-36, and works cited there.
3. W. Ferguson, SCOTLAND: 1689 TO THE PRESENT (Edinburgh, 1968), 408n, citing THE SCOTSMAN, 19 Sept. 1967.
4. T. C. Smout, A HISTORY OF THE SCOTTISH PEOPLE 1560-1830 (London, 1969), 460.
5. John Buchan, MEMORY HOLD-THE-DOOR (London, 1941), 131-2.
6. Laurance J. Saunders, SCOTTISH DEMOCRACY 1815-1840 (Edinburgh, 1950), 251.
7. See Smout., *op. cit.*, 468-72.
8. CHILDREN'S EMPLOYMENT COMMISSION: APPENDIX TO FIRST REPORT OF COMMISSIONERS (MINES):—PART I. PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS, 1842 (381) XVI, p. 468.
9. Catherine P. Snodgrass, THE COUNTY OF EAST LOTHIAN (THE THIRD STATISTICAL ACCOUNT OF SCOTLAND) (Edinburgh, 1953), 69-91.
10. See Appendix 1.
11. Snodgrass, *op. cit.*, 79.
12. THE COLLECTED LETTERS OF THOMAS AND JANE WELSH CARLYLE (eds. C. R. Sanders and K. J. Fielding). (Duke-Edinburgh edition: Durham, North Carolina, 1970), ii. 45-50: Jane Welsh to Eliza Stodart, 3 Mar. 1822 (but letter thought to be misdated by Jane, and should read 20? Feb.).
13. BIBLIOGRAPHY OF EAST LOTHIAN (East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalists' Society, 1936), (ed. James H. Jamieson assisted by Eleanor Hawkins), introduction (by W. Forbes Gray), p. xxii. [There are copies of the EAST LOTHIAN MAGAZINE in our Society Library, Haddington House. Ed.].
14. See Samuel Smiles, SELF-HELP (with an Afterword by Royden Harrison and a Foreword by Lord Thomson) (London, 1968): and K. Fielden, 'Samuel Smiles and "Self-Help",' VICTORIAN STUDIES, xii. 155-76 (1968).
15. Lord Simey, 'Weber's Sociological Theory and the Modern Dilemma of Value and Belief in the Social Sciences,' in Joan Brothers (ed.), READINGS IN THE SOCIOLOGY OF RELIGION (Oxford, 1967), 89-114.
16. For Cockburn, see W. Forbes Gray, assisted by James H. Jamieson, EAST LOTHIAN BIOGRAPHIES (East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalists' Society, 1941), 36-7 (This work is referred to below as BIOGRAPHIES): LETTERS OF JOHN COCKBURN OF ORMISTOUN TO HIS GARDENER 1727-1744 (ed. James Colville), Scottish History Society, 1st series, XLV: Edinburgh, 1904.
17. For the economic background see T. C. Smout & A. Fenton, 'Scottish Agriculture before the Improvers: an Exploration,' AGRICULTURAL HISTORY REVIEW, xiii. 73-93 (1965).
18. For the Society, see the FARMER'S MAGAZINE, v. 129-147 (Edinburgh, 1804). I list the society's members in Appendix 2.
19. For the hard-faced Sir Archibald, see Ian J. Simpson, 'Sir Archibald Grant and the Charitable Corporation', SCOTTISH HISTORICAL REVIEW, xliv. 52-62. (1965).
20. See Appendix 2.
21. BIOGRAPHIES, 36-7.
22. Rev. Robert Rennie, 'On the Agricultural Societies of Scotland,' in Sir John Sinclair (ed.) GENERAL REPORT OF THE AGRICULTURAL STATE AND POLITICAL CIRCUMSTANCES OF SCOTLAND (Edinburgh, 1814), iii. 413-32.
23. George Robertson, GENERAL VIEW OF THE AGRICULTURE OF THE COUNTY OF MIDLOTHIAN (Edinburgh, 1795), 206: J. A. Symon, SCOTTISH FARMING, PAST AND PRESENT (Edinburgh, 1959), 109.
24. Joseph H. Smith, THE GORDON'S MILL FARMING CLUB 1758-1764 (Aberdeen University Studies, Number 145: Edinburgh, 1962), 39-40.
25. Smout, *op. cit.*, passim, esp. 280-285: N. T. Phillipson & R. Mitchison (eds.), SCOTLAND IN THE AGE OF IMPROVEMENT (Edinburgh, 1970), passim, esp. 4: N. T. Phillipson, 'Nationalism and Ideology,' in J. N. Wolfe (ed.), GOVERNMENT AND NATIONALISM IN SCOTLAND (Edinburgh, 1969), 167-188.

26. Smout, *op. cit.*, 293.
27. Colville, *op. cit.*, 46-50: John Cockburn to Charles Bell, 9 Oct. 1739.
28. For Miller, see BIOGRAPHIES, 97-8: Saunders, *op. cit.*, 252-3: and especially the meticulous study by W. J. Couper, THE MILLERS OF HADDINGTON, DUNBAR AND DUNFERMLINE (London, 1914).
29. Saunders, *op. cit.*, 252: Couper, *op. cit.*, 264-300, lists works written and/or printed and published by Miller and his son James.
30. For Paine, see E. P. Thompson, THE MAKING OF THE ENGLISH WORKING CLASS (London, 1963), chapter 4.
31. For Hannah More, see W. H. G. Armytage, FOUR HUNDRED YEARS OF ENGLISH EDUCATION (Cambridge, 1964), 70-1.
32. Quoted in Couper, *op. cit.*, 77.
33. Quoted by Raymond Williams, BRITAIN IN THE SIXTIES: COMMUNICATIONS (Harmondsworth, 1962), 63-4.
34. Quoted by Couper, *op. cit.*, 122-3, 285-6.
35. For this see Sidney Pollard's brilliant and sombre article, 'Factory Discipline in the Industrial Revolution,' ECONOMIC HISTORY REVIEW, second series, xvi. 254-71 (1963-4).
36. James Barke & Sidney Goodsir Smith (eds.), THE MERRY MUSES OF CALEDONIA (Edinburgh, 1959).
37. See George Miller's autobiography, LATTER STRUGGLES IN THE JOURNEY OF LIFE . . . (Edinburgh, 1833), 49-50.
38. THE WITTY AND ENTERTAINING EXPLOITS OF GEORGE BUCHANAN WHO WAS COMMONLY CALLED THE KING'S FOOL (Printed by J. Morren, Edinburgh, 1809), 8-9. For the chapbooks, see John Fraser, THE HUMOROUS CHAPBOOKS OF SCOTLAND (New York, 1873) and William Harvey, SCOTTISH CHAPBOOK LITERATURE (Paisley, 1903).
39. For Brown, see BIOGRAPHIES, 21-2: Saunders, *op. cit.*, 254-6: and SOME ACCOUNT OF ITINERATING LIBRARIES AND THEIR FOUNDER (Edinburgh, 1856), by Brown's son, another Samuel. (This work is referred to below as SOME ACCOUNT).
40. Thomas Kelly, A HISTORY OF ADULT EDUCATION IN GREAT BRITAIN (2nd edn., Liverpool, 1970), 119-20.
41. IBID, 118, 120.
42. SOME ACCOUNT, 49.
43. Thomas Mackay (ed.) THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF SAMUEL SMILES (London, 1905), 30-1.
44. THIRD REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE SCHOOL OF ARTS IN HADDINGTON, FOR 1825-1826, BEING THE FIFTH SESSION (Haddington, n.d.), 13. A copy of this pamphlet is in the National Library of Scotland, in the volume of pamphlets catalogued as Hall. 250.h.1 (1-4); it is referred to below as SCHOOL OF ARTS REPORT.
45. SOME ACCOUNT, 95.
46. SCHOOL OF ARTS REPORT, 10-11. See the interesting references to Brown in A. Tyrrell, 'Political economy, whiggism and the education of working-class adults in Scotland 1817-40', SCOTTISH HISTORICAL REVIEW, xlviii. 151-65 (1969).
47. For John Brown, see Robert Mackenzie, JOHN BROWN OF HADDINGTON (London, 1918), which contains an account of John's descendants.
48. SOME ACCOUNT, 43.
49. SOME ACCOUNT, 84.
50. The influence of Brown's scheme, as well as the scheme itself, is described by W. R. Aitken, A HISTORY OF THE PUBLIC LIBRARY MOVEMENT IN SCOTLAND TO 1955 (Scottish Library Association, Glasgow, 1971: SCOTTISH LIBRARY STUDIES, I), 30-39.
51. SOME ACCOUNT, 68.
52. SELECT COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LIBRARIES. REPORT ETC. PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS, 1849 (548) XVII, pp. 22-23, 111-16, 130. (Referred to below as SELECT COMMITTEE REPORT).
53. Saunders, *op. cit.*, 255.
54. See Appendix 3.
55. Aitken, *op. cit.*, 31.
56. SOME ACCOUNT, 63.
57. Aitken, *op. cit.*, 32.
58. W. Ferguson, SCOTLAND: 1689 TO THE PRESENT (Edinburgh, 1968), 261-3.
59. SOME ACCOUNT, 58.
60. Aitken, *op. cit.*, 32-3.
61. SELECT COMMITTEE REPORT, p.130.
62. FORWARD, 5 May 1923, cited by J. B. Barclay, ADULT EDUCATION IN SOUTH-EAST SCOTLAND (Edinburgh University Ph.D. thesis, 1960), 167. Other classes in east-central Scotland were held at Edinburgh, Leith, Musselburgh, Gorebridge, Newtongrange, Tarbrax, West Calder, Stoneyburn, Bonnyrig, Broxburn and South Queensferry during that session.
63. John Maclean, A PLEA FOR A LABOUR COLLEGE IN SCOTLAND (n.d.). 7. This is the text of an address that was to be delivered by Maclean in Glasgow on 12 Feb. 1916. It was completed and delivered by James D. MacDougall.

QUEEN VICTORIA IN SCOTLAND, 1842

EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF LORD DALHOUSIE. Part Two*

Edited by *Edith C. Broun Lindsay*

But while it was very clear to what is called "society" that the chief blame of the disappointment lay at the doors of their own Magistrates, the middle classes and the populace were very far from adopting the same views. Popular indignation is hasty and unreflecting; it lashes itself speedily into fury and will then fly at the most *prominent* object as certainly the most guilty. And thus it was that early forenoon, the murmurs of those who did not see the Queen, which at first had been inaudible amid the shouts of those who did, and were vociferously happy in their good fortune, began to be heard; and as they rose louder and more angry, they were all found to be directed against the Queen. The magistrates were overlooked; even the political mischief makers who tried out of this discontent to create a grievance, on which to raise an outcry against the Queen's ministers were disregarded. The Queen was fixed upon; her caprice, her hastiness according to them, were alone to blame and alone inveighed against, and they loudly threatened that she should be made to feel it.

Accordingly about noon very ugly indications of feeling began to dawn. I heard that Sir John Forbes [1] and Norman Pringle [2] were everwhere looking for me. Glad am I that they did not find me; for I should have had no fancy for the mission they were desirous of proving to me I should undertake; and which I learned from Pringle when he came to me in the afternoon. It was this. Information was brought to him about midday that the feeling of anger against the Queen was waxing stronger, and was like to produce disagreeable fruits. He was assured that in every part of Edinburgh, meetings of the respectable shopkeepers and middle classes were then actually assembling, for the purpose of concerting measures by which they might manifest their indignation against Her Majesty for the manner in which she had treated them that morning; and that they proposed to come to the remarkable resolution of printing placards, calling upon the whole inhabitants to *abstain* from that illumination of their

---

*Part one appeared in TRANSACTIONS Vol. XII, 32-45.

Lady Broun Lindsay is President of the East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalists' Society.

houses, in honour of the Queen's arrival, which it had been determined should take place that night. His informant added that one of these meetings had taken place in the district in which they were, and he named Mr So and So, a respectable tradesman, as the leader. Pringle immediately went to this tradesman (whose name I forget) and found that his informant's intelligence was quite correct. He ascertained that they had resolved to stop the illumination if they could; and he obtained from this tradesman a confirmation of the account which he had received of the state of public feeling. Pringle talked to the man — shewed him where the blame really lay — that their indignation against the Queen was unreasonable; and finally so prevailed with the man as to procure from him a promise that none of the placards should be issued, till he saw Pringle again in the afternoon.

Pringle got Forbes, and both together came in search of me, for the purpose of asking me to go out at once to Dalkeith to represent the state of things to Sir Robert Peel, and to urge upon him the necessity of the Queen doing something to remedy the mischief, if they wished to escape the disagreeable consequences which would inevitably follow a refusal. Not finding me, they set off for Dalkeith themselves, and arrived there just as the Lord Provost and Magistrates were leaving the Palace with the assurance that Her Majesty would go in procession through the town of Edinburgh and visit the Castle on the following day.

This announcement, having been disseminated through the town, at once allayed the ferment; and the illumination took place. The illumination was very general, and from the craggy outline and fantastic arrangement of "our own romantic town," it was a much more picturesque affair than the mere rows of candles and spits of gas of which a London illumination is made up.

(On Saturday, September 3 the Archers escorted the royal carriage during the Queen's procession through Edinburgh. Great crowds turned out to witness the spectacle.)

Even in the King's Park great numbers of people had assembled; and before we reached the railings of the Palace, we had had a foretaste of the crushing we were to get, and the work that was before us. I may say here once for all that the police were totally useless. They were worse than useless — for they did harm. No arrangements had been made for the regulation of the crowd, no barriers or checks erected of any kind — and the police by running alongside the Queen's carriage the whole way not only did not stop the crowd, but actually assisted it in running on with us. The result was, that along the whole line a perpetual torrent of the multitude poured along at the carriage sides. In front of the horses and behind there was comparative ease. The rush

was made at the Royal carriage, and the pressure and labour there were frightful.

Nothing could be better than the feeling everything was hearty hurraying and every face was on the broad grin, so that morally nothing could be better than this gratifying evidence of the good feeling and disposition of the people free as they were from every restraint or precaution — but *physically* speaking it was highly inconvenient. In short throughout the whole of the procession, the Archers, instead of being the State Guard of the Queen composed of Peers and gentlemen, were in the position and did the duty of Parish constables. Throughout the whole distance it was a violent bodily struggle for us; but at different points, in the Canongate, for instance, and more particularly down the Mound and along Princes Street it was a very serious business. By repeated rushes of the crowd the Archers were driven in towards the carriage, so that the Officers were actually crushed against it. Elcho and myself as well as the others were repeatedly thrust against the panels — and my coat was worn through by pressure upon the tyre of the wheel. Poor Pinkie [3] was absolutely foaming at the mouth with work and rage combined; and old Claudy Russell [4] made his appearance at the muster after Her Majesty had driven off, with a great stream of blood, running down his face. Many of the men were thrown down and my legs were kicked black and blue. "I don't know what we should have done without you Archers," said General Wemyss [5] and it was very true.

(In spite of fears that the Queen might be given a hostile reception she was greeted with rapture wherever she went. She proceeded to Dalmeny for lunch and the Archers awaited her return in order to escort her through Leith.)

The arrangement of everything in Leith was a thousand times superior to anything in Edinburgh. Their Constables were properly stationed and the mob properly restrained and we got thro' this part of the work with comparatively little difficulty. Near the centre of the town they had erected a fine Arch, covered with flowers and decorated with flags and mottoes. Just under this Arch the carriage stopped, and old Provost Reoch,[6] followed by his baillies rushed out from the door upon the right, and struggled towards the carriage. So sudden and so unexpected was the onset that the Provost scattered Elcho and me to right and left, and had made good his footing at the carriage side before we knew what was happening. There the Provost stood, holding on by the panel with his left hand, and gesticulating most earnestly with his cocked hat in his right, in accompaniment to a speech delivered for Her Majesty's edification in the purest and broadest Lowland Scotch. He was a very decent looking old man with a round red mercantine face, a bright intelligent eye, and thin, but very white

hair hanging over his robe. The honest fervors of his address gained him good will, though we could not hear a word he said; but when he raised his voice and we heard him, as he clasped his hand and raised his gray head towards the Queen, devoutly and heartily cry "God Almighty for ever bless Your Majesty," there was not a man there who did not truly echo the wish, and who would not have been glad to shake old Provost Reoch heartily by the hand. Her majesty smiled very sweetly on the old man, and having by a bow acknowledged the address, she drove on, leaving the Magistrates of Leith hurraying stentorously, and, I hope, quite reconciled to the landing at Granton Pier.

The carriage until now had been kept open, a *little bit of heather* lying on the apron—a touch which I admired as being delicate and skilful. But at this time it began to rain fast, and the hood was raised. We accompanied the carriage as far as Seafield Baths on the Links, and there having halted for a moment as before, she left us and drove off to Dalkeith. We marched back to Edinburgh by the cross roads in a pour of rain; and thoroughly tired and wet we came to Lord Elcho's quarters at half past six and dismissed.

The Royal Company on this day really did no bad work. With the exception of three quarters of an hour we were on foot from 7 a.m. to 6.30 p.m. during which time I calculated that most of us marched from 12 to 14 miles besides fighting our way thro' the mob from one end of Edinburgh to the other. I remained with them the whole time but as I had to dine at Dalkeith by command, I got a little fidgetty as time wore away. I dressed as fast as I could, and by dint of hard driving we reached the Palace in plenty of time.

On the next morning Monday the 5th we drove early into Edinburgh. Abercairney[7] and Oswald[8] went in the gig, and Roxburghe and Watson[9] drove with me in the pony phaeton. We started about half past seven. The gig led the way and had mounted the hill past Melville Gate, leaving us some hundred yards behind, when a knot of horsemen followed by a couple of grooms, cantered rapidly into sight (coming along the cross road which leads from Melville to Dalkeith) and out into the Gilmerton road between us. "The Prince is very early" we exclaimed, and followed as fast as we could to see where he was going. His pace, however, beat the ponies, and by the time we got to Drum he had dropped over the hill. But we afterwards heard from the detachment in the gig that he had gone on to Edinburgh. Hearing horses feet on the road behind them, Moray cast a glance over his shoulder and said to Oswald, "Come, don't let these confounded farmers beat us". Oswald fired with emulation, and never looking behind him at all, flogged the horse and bowled along with might and main. At last *the farmers* overtook them, and as they dashed by, turned out, to their great astonishment, to be the Prince accompanied by the Duke of Bucc-

leugh, Col. Bouverie and Mr Anson![10] They were on their way, we found to the College and other sights.

At nine the Royal Company mustered at Archer's Hall, in order to proceed to Dalkeith Palace, to do duty at the Reception, which Her Majesty had resolved to hold there — Holyrood House being still unsafe from the scarlet fever, which had been present in it. We marched to the Railway Station and proceeded in open carriages about 150 strong to Sheriffhall. We there mustered inside the Park Gate on the green. We had been told off, proved and dressed, when the notes of some hounds giving tongue, produced a slight wavering in the rear rank. "Steady, Gentlemen" cried the adjutant: but the sight of one of the whippers in galloping up the grass in the distance, palpably affected the steadiness of the line.

There was clearly a private meet in the Park — the hounds came nearer and nearer—Will's voice was heard giving a cheer—and when a moment after the fox crossed the avenue, a holloa burst from the whole corps, and Her Majesty's Archer Guard front and rear rank, changed front in an instant towards the fox, and broke into single files, scattered in the most independent and skirmishing fashion over the green! When the hounds had passed to the other side of the park (but not till then) order was restored and we marched down the avenue to the Palace, where we drew up in line on the green. Soon after 11 the Prince rode up on his return from Edinburgh.

About half past twelve the Duke of Buccleugh, dressed in the field uniform of the Archers, with his blue riband and star, and having his gold stick in his hand, came to the door. He did not come to the Company at all; but begged Lord Elcho, Major Pringle and myself to go with him, while he pointed out the manner in which the Archers were to be arranged, so as to line the ante-rooms, the staircase etc. within the Palace. These points having been settled, the Adjutant General proceeded to carry them into execution; and I, leaving the Royal Company went into the room, where were assembled the Great Officers of State, with whom I had been summoned to attend Her Majesty at the ceremonies of the Reception.

My summons was in this wise, the following letter dated "Lord Chamberlains Department" September 1st 1942.

> Sir William Martin has the honor to intimate to the Earl of Dalhousie, that His Lordship's presence will be required, in attendance on the Queen, at the Reception by Her Majesty, which is to take place at half past 2 o'clock.
> Those in attendance are to assemble in the Palace at half past one o'clock as there will be a ceremony previous to the Reception.

On receiving this summons I went to Sir W. Martin to ascertain in what capacity

I had been summoned—whether as an officer of the Archers, or as a Peer, or how? In answer to my query he replied "Oh my Lord, I have summoned you as one of the great Officers of State of Scotland." I made him a low bow, thanked him profoundly for the honor he did me but assured him I was not one of the great Officers of State. "Then you are summoned at all events as one of the Great Officers" persisted Sir William. I bowed to him as low as before, hoped it was an augury for the future; but as regarded the present, again assured him that I was not even one of the Great Officers. Sir William then, in some perplexity said "Well, I don't know how you are summoned, but your name was in the list of those who were to be in attendance upon the Queen, which was sent to me, and in obedience to it I have summoned you."

On enquiry I found that neither Lord Elcho nor Sir John Hope, who are both senior officers in the Royal Company, were summoned; so that it could not be as an Archer that my attendance was ordered. Furthermore I found that the Duke of Roxburghe was not summoned; so that it could not be merely from my rank I was called, since it was so much lower than the Duke's. I could not allow myself the vanity of supposing I was summoned as a personal compliment to myself, and yet I could not account for it in any other way. The result was that it remained in mystery, and I went into the room where the Great Officers of State had been order to assemble, in fear and trembling lest I should after all find there was some mistake, and should be kicked out as an interloper. I took the precaution of carrying my summons with me in my pocket, but found no occasion to use it; as I was left in quiet with the rest in the Library.

I found there the Duke of Argyle, (Hereditary Chamberlain), Duke of Hamilton (Keeper of Holyrood) Lord Justice Clerk, Lord Clerk Register and myself. The ladies of the Court were there also. At half past one it was announced the Queen was ready—and the Great Officers, including myself, proceeded to the Gallery, which had been fitted up as a Throne Room. Those whom I have named, with the addition of Sir Robert Peel, Lord Aberdeen, Lord Morton, Lord Liverpool[11] formed on each side of the Throne. The Queen accompanied by the Prince, and followed by her ladies, entered the room, and having bowed to us all, she took her place on the Throne, the Prince standing by her left hand. The room was lined by a detachment of the Royal Archers, the General Officers were present, and the colors, carried by Watson and Sandy Thomson,[12] were a little behind, to right and left of the Throne.

The Duke of Buccleugh came to me and said the Queen was very anxious not to prolong the affair and asked me whether I thought it necessary that the whole Council should go up with him and kiss hands when he presented to the Queen the pair of barbed arrows which are the reddendo of our Charter. I said

that under the circumstances he mentioned, and as the members of Council at all events were present, I thought it was not indispensable. The Duke then advanced, and kneeling on one knee, presented the 3 arrows on a velvet and gold cushion; Her majesty tried to gather the arrows off the cushion, but as they were fastened down with silver staples to prevent their rolling off, Her Majesty did not succeed, and was obliged to accept the reddendo with the cushion into the bargain. They are made by Peter Muir,[13] and were of various woods inlaid, feathered with Argus pheasant, and barbed with silver.

Her Majesty then received addresses from the City of Edinburgh, from the Universities and from the Church of Scotland. She read to each an answer. Just as she began upon the first, the band on the lawn struck up some thundering tune, which was doubly audible through the windows, which had been left open on account of the heat. The Queen smiled, laid down the paper on her knee, and quietly waited until the sound had been bid to cease, when she began afresh; and read her answer in that unmatched silvery voice, and with that incomparable beauty which I have never yet heard surpassed by man or woman.

When she came to the answer to the Kirk's address, all in the room were on tiptoe to listen. Whether fancy gave additional importance to her manner on this occasion or not, I cannot tell; but certain it is that she read it with very mixed emphasis. When she read the part which expressed her confidence that the Church would do their duty, she raised her eyes from the paper and looked upon the crowd of clergy before her; and when she spoke of the Church, "as established by Law", her voice dwelt upon the words, and again her look was raised from what she read and was fixed full upon the Moderator of the Kirk.[14] Lord Aberdeen all the while stood at her side, as Secretary of State; and with his eyes fixed upon the ground, as she read, he nodded his head in pleased cadence to the voice and the sentiments.

When the addresses had been received all the Archers were removed from the Presence Chamber, except the Colors which remained by the Throne, and the Captain General with his Gold Stick, supported by Elcho and Sir John Hope, with their silver sticks; which three by themselves took their places opposite the Queen. Her Majesty took her place in front of the Throne. The Prince on her left—then Lord Liverpool, then Sir Robert Peel, Duke of Hamilton, Lord Aberdeen, Lord Justice General, Lord Justice Clerk, Lord Clerk Register. On the Queen's right as Lord Morton, George Hope, Under Secretary of State, who acted as Groom in Waiting, Mr Anson, General Wemyss, Col. Bouverie. Immediately behind the Queen was the Duchess of Buccleugh, Mistress of the Robes, and the Duchess of Norfolk, Lady in Waiting; behind Lord Morton were the Duke of Argyle and myself; and to our right were the wives of the Great Officers of

State and some of their daughters who had been summoned to attend. By this arrangement I was placed close to the Queen and saw and heard everything to perfection. Seldom have I seen or heard a more amusing scene.

The reception of the "General Company" as the Lord Chamberlain's people call it, began at 2 o'clock, and from that time till half past four a rapid and incessant stream poured past the Queen, the greater part of whom were presented for the first time. The most unheard of uniforms were paraded of corps long since dead and gone; and which looked as if they had seen hard service in the Forty-Five. Kilts in uncountable abundance, and of every conceivable check, prevailed among the men; while the ladies were as various and, in many instances, as grotesque as it is possible to imagine. Several walked in through the rooms with shawls on, and one Lady preserving a glorious consistence in sticking to the first order which was given out regarding dress, made her appearance in a morning gown, with bonnet and feathers! This motley crown hurried past the Queen in a manner which, although it conducted to the Queen's convenience, very materially embarrassed Her Majesty's subjects, in making the obeisances which they came to perform! "Pass on, Pass on" you heard from the Pages outside the door, and "Pass on, Pass on" we learned afterwards was dinned into their ears all the way up the stairs, and from the moment they alighted from their carriages.

The consequence was that the poor people who had been fussing themselves with the thought of this ceremony for a week before, who had been worrying themselves into a fever about it during their six miles drive from Edinburgh, who had terrified themselves more and more during the hour and a half which was occupied in moving or rather in standing still, in the avenue — were so utterly confused by this bustle and hurry, that they arrived in the Presence Chamber in a state of complete bewilderment! Orders had been given to the Archers to save time by desiring them to take off their glove, and move on. Instead of one or two doing it, the whole Corps seem to have done it, whether for fun, or for want of anything better to do I can't tell. "Take off your right glove" saluted the lady's and gentleman's ears as they entered the Palace. "Move on and take off your right glove." Take off your right glove and pass on". "Pray pass on, the Queen is waiting and take off your right glove" blew about their heads as they moved at speed along the line. "Pray give me your card" next assailed them as they passed through the door of the Presence Chamber, and saw a mingled crowd, amid which in their nervousness and confusion they could clearly see no one in particular; and before they knew where they were "Kneel down and kiss the Queen's hand", addressed to them by the Lord-in-Waiting, suddenly made them aware that they were standing before the Queen,

and staring Her Majesty straight in the face! It is not wonderful that many of them should have lost their heads, and committed gaucheries and clumsinesses of every kind. The ladies were bad, but the men I honestly confess, were ten times more stupid and awkward.

The fact is that, except those who knew the house, no one expected to see the Queen, where she was at all — but all fancied that they were passing into an ante-room, never imagining that they would walk off the staircase directly into the Queen's presence. As the Reception could not be held in Holyrood, no one was to blame for this; but at the same time it is not surprising that the people should have formed some more exalted ideas of the suite of state rooms, through which they were to pass, before they reached the Sovereign's presence. Thus it was that, hurried head foremost into the room, with "Pass on, pass on" ringing behond them, fancying themselves in an anteroom, and being in a state of general conglomeration of Intellect, they committed all sorts of absurdities.

Some walked straight past the Queen without ever casting a glance at her, till caught in Lord Liverpool's arms and extended white wand, they were turned back to kneel and kiss the hand. Others came rushing up, so as to tumble over the one just before them, as if to squabble for the previous presentation. Some pulled the Queen's hand one way — some tugged it another — some kneeled down so far from the Queen, that they had to drag their knees along the ground till they could get at it. Others having kneeled down afar off, resolutely kept their ground till Her Majesty was obliged to move a little forward to put her royal fingers within their reach. Some took a clutch of the hand; some made a dive at it, and having missed it, did not renew the attempt — every now and then someone gave it a good smack which might have been heard on the lawn, and on one occasion I saw Her Majesty after a salutation had been bestowed, quietly wipe the back of her hand upon her dress, shewing, to my great amusement, that some loyal subjects had, in the earnestness of his reverence, bestowed on her fair fingers the benefits of what the children called "a wet kiss." But there was one lady who was beyond all price.

She was tall and uncompromising looking and stalked into the room, holding high her head, which was crowned with a turban, and wearing comfortably round her, a large shawl. She calmly gave up her card to the usher; quietly walked along the line of equerries; passed the Groom in Waiting with composure, still looking straight before her; and finally arrived directly in front of the Queen. "Mrs So-and-So" announced Lord Morton, but the lady shewed no symptons of performing any ceremony at all. "Kneel down and kiss the Queen's hand," said Lord Morton, but still the lady moved tranquilly on. "The Queen Ma'am, the Queen" cried Lord Liverpool stepping forward. "You must kneel and kiss the

Queen's hand." Upon which, without manifesting the slightest surprise, without any sort of haste, keeping the whole court at a dead pause, but merely observing in her ordinary tone of voice; not a very low one, "Oh, then I must get ready," the lady deliberately took off her shawl, and giving it to the Duke of Buccleugh who stood near her and opposite the Queen, she then seemed to discover for the first time Her Majesty's presence, was presented, and then quietly walked off, as if nothing unusual had happened! Both the Queen and the Prince had behaved admirably well until now and had perfectly kept their contenances in spite of all that happened to disturb them. But it was impossible to stand this lady! The Queen, sheltered herself by looking at the Mistress of the Robes, laughed a little, and then biting her lips to recover herself went on with the reception. Everybody was in agony, and for a minute or two I was obliged to hide my face in my bonnet; but for days afterwards no one could allude to this woman without shouts of laughter.

How the Queen managed to restrain her laughter fifty different times, at the figures who came, I cannot imagine. Every now and then she gave a look of wonderment, and sometimes compressed her lips. But although she very often, spoke to the Duchess of Buccleugh, making little observations such as "Who can that be?" "Did you ever see such a figure?" "Good gracious, what a man," "What has brought them here?" when the Thesigers passed, and such little remarks, no one saw anything in her manner, nor could any of those passing hear what she said. Twice I was sent by Her Majesty's desire to see whether there was any appearance of the arrivals coming to an end; and I was desired at one time to place a chair for her before the Throne, which however she did not use, except for a few moments during one of the pauses, which occurred now and then from the speed with which the people passed. But it shewed that she was fatigued and she appeared to be so.

Susan and the Duchess of Roxburghe came from Dalhousie together. They passed through together almost by themselves in grand style and I must say in very striking contrast to the rest whom we saw there. When the reception had closed, the Queen and the Prince came up for a moment to the Duke of Argyle to look at his embroidered velvet and golden staff of office as Chamberlain, and which he told them both the date of fifteen hundred and twenty something. Her Majesty looked very well and was very prettily dressed, but not as magnificently as on Court days. This was intentional, for feathers and trains were dispensed with. She wore a slight diadem of diamonds, and the ribbon and jewel of the Thistle, set in diamonds, The Prince wore a Field Marshal's uniform and had also the ribbon and star of the Thistle.

When the Queen had left the Presence Chamber, the Royal Archers were

moved out of the Palace, and then marched to Sheriffhall, where we again got upon the railroad. It had begun to rain just as the ceremony ended, and all the way to Edinburgh it poured upon us. Wet, cold and hungry we reached Archers Hall about six and were dismissed. I have said "Wet, cold and hungry." The rain, which I have said fell heavily, will explain the wetness and the cold. The Hunger must have a few words; for the circumstances attending it created some talk in Edinburgh, and some considerable discontent among the Archers.

On Saturday, when I dined at Dalkeith, Buccleugh spoke to me about the attendance of the Archers at the Reception on Monday. He said he did not know what to do — that it would be impossible for him to give the Royal Company, who came, any luncheon; that his house would be turned inside out and upside down, and would be in such confusion that he hardly knew how to find luncheon even for the guests in his house. I told him he need not annoy himself about it— that when the circumsances were known, there was no one Archer in the Royal Corps who would wish for it, and that as far as I could, I would make known what he said to me. I did so — I mentioned the statement he had made to me to anyone I came across, and, as I anticipated, found that no one cared about the luncheon. Nor would there ever have been a word said, if he had abided by his intention. But what did he do? About one o'clock, before the Archers were moved into the Palace, a parcel of fellows brought to the tents where the Archers were, a quantity of Claret in black bottles, *and a lot of bread and cheese!* which was set down for the Archers! As might have been expected this gave very great offence. Had nothing been sent, not a word would have been said: but to send out to such an assembly as the Archers, *bread and cheese,* exactly as if they had been postillions or coal porters, was an exceeding want of tact, and enraged the Corps. They contrasted his treatment with that of Lord Hopetoun, their Captain General, at the visit of George the Fourth who had a luncheon spread for them in Holyrood, and every day they were in attendance, at his own expense and they said it would have been easy for the Duke to do the same, without troubling himself or his own servants about it. They added that they did not wish for any luncheon at all, but they did not wish to be treated as lacqueys and have *bread and cheese* sent out to them on the green. It made a great noise and I was often asked about it in Scotland. But whenever any question was put I avoided the story and related the expressions Buccleugh had made to me on the Saturday. I have no personal interest for I came in for a haunch of venison for luncheon with the Great Officers.

On the following morning the Queen left Dalkeith for the Highlands. On Tuesday the 13th the Queen was expected to return to Dalkeith Palace. A notice was issued at the end of the week, calling on the Gentry and Yeomanry of the County to turn out, as had been done in all the Counties, and escort

Her Majesty on horseback — those on the west side of Edinburgh to accompany her from the confines of West Lothian to Edinburgh and those belonging to the East districts to escort her from the City to Dalkeith. Belonging to the Eastern *Army* I joined that party at Newington at 2 o'clock on Tuesday. No one could tell by which road the Queen would travel, whether by the Gilmerton or Edmonstone. We therefore drew up close to Mayfield Toll, so that if the Queen came down the other road we could shoot over by the cross road and catch her. Burn Callander [15] *marshalled* us; "every inch" a Field Marshal he was! About 180 Yeomen appeared headed by eight or ten of the County gentlemen. About half past four the guns of the Castle announced Her Majesty's arrival in Edinburgh; and soon after the scarlet coats and the glancing of the swords of the Dragoons descending Newington Hill, shewed that we had hit upon the right road. As the Queen passed we all cheered, and then closing in, followed the carriage, or rather followed the escort; the Lord Lieutenant rode at the right side of the carriage, and the Vice Lieutenant, Sir John Hope, at the left. All the people had made up their minds, that the Queen would go by Edmonstone — and had gathered on that road in crowds—triumphant arches were erected, every thing was prepared, and on the Gilmerton side, hardly a soul was left. To try and save the mortification, Sir John Hope tried to lead the cortege through the grounds of the Inch. There was a check there for a few seconds, which made the newspapers say that Her Majesty had been taken to view the grounds of the Inch! but it arose from the attempt which had been made to cross to the other road at that point and which was given up, because the escort, led by Archy Hope who acted as guide, were not aware of the intention, and trotted on, so far as to be out of call.

From thence we bowled on without interruption. Up hill and down dale, was all the same for the pace was alike rapid; as may be supposed, when it is known that the distance from Newington to Dalkeith was done in 23 minutes. By the time we came to Gilmerton, the whole of the Yeomanry, who were at first thrown a little behind, had come up with us again. It was all nicely arranged, that we were to move in fours, the proprietors in front; the whole of which was of course forgotten the moment we began to move. The proprietors to be sure, remained in the front; but all the rest came on higgledy piggledy as they best could. When I looked back in coming down Gilmerton Hill it made my skin creep with sheer fright! I was riding an old hack which I had hired for the day from Jack Rogers. They called him Jack Spigot; he was long legged, well bred old horse, but stiff, and not much to be trusted to in his forelegs. I was quite in the front, as being the first person, and behind me was this huge compact mass of 180 yeomen, mounted on all sorts of horses, riding in all sorts of styles, but all going at score, and not one of them having the power of stopping: so that if

my venerable friend Jack Spigot should miss his foot which the state of his forelegs rendered it anything but improbable that he should, the whole of this Squadron would go themselves over me, and I must of necessity be trampled into small bits. However keeping him well in hand, and looking very sharp after loose macadamized stone, I went along and got at last to Dalkeith in great safety. The avenue within the gate of Dalkeith, as far as the Bridge, was lined with people, who made a very poor cheering; though I believe not from want of will. They had some idea that it was more respectful — some said that Scott Moncrieffe made intimation to that effect. However that may be there was very little cheering that day and on the day of the Queen's first arrival in Dalkeith Park there was dead silence. The Queen and the Prince were in a closed carriage so that very little could be seen of them. The glimpse I caught of her in passing, shewed me that she looked tired and heated, which was by no means astonishing — as she had travelled that day from Drummond Castle, most part of the way actually mobbed.

The Duke of Buccleugh had asked us to rally on the green, and cheer the Queen after her arrival. We all did so, and after giving some good hurrahs were preparing to move off, when Her Majesty appeared with the Prince at the window in the Gallery. She remained some minutes bowing, and looking very much pleased with the tremendous cheers which we gave her.

After she had retired the carriages of the suite drove up, and as they were setting down, the one in which was Sir Robert Peel stopped just opposite to us. Seeing that they recognised, and were cheering him, I thought it would be a good thing to get a cheer for him as to which there should be "no mistake." I was a little behind, so that I could not be seen — and waiting for a pause, I shouted out "Sir Robert Peel." They took it up and gave three hearty cheers. No one knew that it was I; but I felt some pleasure in getting a cheer for the head of the Tory Government from Midlothian farmers after the Corn bill of last session, and with the price of grain actually low and getting lower.

As I rode old Jack home and was patting him and giving him to understand that I thought he had carried me gallantly, I overtook the Newbattle overseer returning slowly to the Abbey on a great big lumbering cart mare which was streaming with sweat, and shewing every other symptom of having come with us after the Queen from Edinburgh. "Pretty sharp ride that, which we've had" said I, as I rode up along side of him. He touched his hat, shook his head and smiled — then looked grave again, and said "Its perfit madness riding 'yon way." "Why" said I, "it was soon over, it does not often happen, and you got a grand sight of the Queen." He was very glad to see the Queen, he said, but then casting a glance down at "the beast," his countenance fell again, and he "doubted it did nae guid but sair hash the horses." At Deaflaw Hill I overtook old Flint

of Aikendean who had been in front of the Palace. I asked him if he had seen the Queen. "Ou, aye, I saw her at the windy — she's a nice bonny bit thing — and was yon the Prince aside o' her? Yes I told him it was. "Ay — yon was the Prince, was' 't? Od! he's a fine lookin' fallow"! This conversation of old Flint's, I believe pretty accurately represents the opinion expressed of the Royal Pair, wherever they have been.

(On Thursday September 15 Dalhousie went with the Archers to Leith whence the Queen was due to embark for England.)

There we found the Trident, one of the Steam Navigation Co's ships, prepared for Her Majesty's reception. I confess I felt humiliated that the Queen of Great Britain should not be able to find in all her Royal Navy, a single ship to carry her from one part of her dominions to the other, but was obliged to hire from a private trading company. I could not help a growl at the Admiralty, and a wish that it had happened under the Whigs, and not with us.

On the poop of the trident old Sir Edward Bruce, the Admiral at the Nore, who had been ordered down to Edinburgh, was walking backwards and forwards with Lord Adolphus Fitzclarence,[16] the Captain of the Yacht, both with clouded looks and in vexed conversation. Other officers were on deck and a number of the Royal George men had been drafted on board the steamer. The Admiral had been in great dudgeon at being told to hoist his flag on board the Trident: he refused to to so, as against Law and against the rules of the service, the Trident being a merchant vessel; and persisted in his refusal, until a peremptory order from the Queen's Prime Minister settled the matter, and his flag was now flying over the Trident's fore. Fitzclarence, again, was affronted because the Admirality wrote in high terms to him, and altho' it was understood that that the Admiral was sent only to give some *countenance* to the Queen going in a merchant vessel, still Fitzclarence refused to be comforted.

Soon after 9 o'clock the Castle guns announced to us that the Queen was passing through Edinburgh. Our detachment brought her as far as Stockbridge, where the crowd being less dense, she drove off at a trot. In about twenty minutes the carriage, surrounded by the escort, swept round the side of Granton Brae, and a hearty cheering from great crowds who again had planted themselves upon the bank above the sea. In a moment after the carriage dashed along the Pier, followed by the Lord Lieutenant, the Duke of Buccleugh who, with his star and blue ribbon on his breast, rode by the carriage side. A platform covered with scarlet cloth had been laid from the ship to the carriage road. The Archers lined the sides of this platform, the officers along the line, Elcho

and myself being next the ship. Outside our lines was a large guard of honour of Infantry, and the regimental bands were placed in the centre.

As Her Majesty's carriage drew up at the platform, the Duke of Buccleugh, who had leapt in haste from his horse, presented himself to receive her. She immediately descended from the carriage, and taking the Duke's arm she stepped upon the platform. The colors were lowered, the Archers saluted, the Guard presented arms; and amid the roar of Artillery and the shouts of her subjects, Her Majesty quitted Scottish ground, and soon stood upon the Trident's deck. The Duchess of Buccleugh and those who had accompanied her from Dalkeith, followed Her Majesty and the Prince on board. They all remained uncovered, forming a sort of semi-circle round the Queen, on the Quarterdeck, till the preparations were completed. The Queen then took leave and all returned on shore. Her Majesty with the Prince then went into the Cabin, but shortly reappearing they stood alone on the ship's poop, in sight of all the people.

At this moment, when loud shouts were ringing from the shore and from the fleet of boats which were clustered all round the ship, the Trident turned her head from the land; and with the Royal Standard flying at her main, to tell to all the world that it was the Queen of England who stood there upon her deck, she moved rapidly out into the Firth, and the haze of an autumn morning soon hid her from our sight.

Sir John Hope having joined us with his detachment we marched back to the Lieutenant General's quarters in Queen Street: and having there deposited our colors, the Archers saluting, and the Band playing God save the Queen, as the colors were carried in, we were dismissed from further duty. The day became fair — the wind fair; and The Queen passed on her way leaving behind her thousands and thousands of hearts praying for every blessing on her head, and one universal spirit of loyalty, and affectionate attachment, to her, throughout broad Scotland.

(Concluded)

REFERENCES

1 Sir John Forbes of Pitsligo, Bart., Brigadier-General of the Royal Company.
2 Sir Norman Pringle, Sixth Bart. of Newhall. Adjutant-General of the Royal Company.
3 Sir John Hope of Craighall and Pinkie, Eleventh Bart., Major-General and second in command of the Royal Company. In 1867 he was succeeded by his son Archy, mentioned elsewhere in this account.
4 Claud Russell, W.S., Brigadier-General of the Royal Company.
5 General Wemyss is presumably Lord Elcho who was promoted Lieutenant-General of the Royal Company on the eve of the royal visit. The Captain-General, the Duke of Buccleuch was unable to take command of the Company since he had to attend the Queen as Lord Lieutenant of the county.
6 Provost Reoch of Leith had received George IV at Leith in 1822.

7 Major William Moray-Stirling of Abercairney, wounded three times in the battle of Waterloo. He succeeded his brother James Moray in 1840 with whom he was inadvertently confused in the first part of this article.
8 Alexander Haldane Oswald of Auchincruive, M.P. for Ayrshire.
9 Henry George Watson, accountant and treasurer to the Royal Company of which he was one of the best shots, winning at different times every major archery trophy.
10 Col. Bouverie is possibly Sir Henry Frederick Bouverie, the distinguished soldier who became Governor of Malta n 1836 and was appointed colonel of the 97th regiment in 1843. Mr Anson is unidentified.
11 George Hamilton Gordon, Fourth Earl of Aberdeen, Foreign Secretary 1841-46; George Sholto Douglas, Sixteenth Earl of Morton, Lord-in-waiting 1841-49 and Lieutenant-Colonel of the Midlothian Yeomanry cavalry 1843-44; Charles Cecil Cope, Third Earl of Liverpool, Lord Steward of the Household 1841-46.
12 Alexander Thomson, W.S.
13 Peter Muir, 'veteran bow-maker to the Royal Company'.
14 The Moderator was Dr David Welsh, Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Edinburgh University. Within a year the Disruption had taken place in which the Free Church split from the Church of Scotland over the question of establishment.
15 William Burn-Callander, Eighth Bart. of Westertown, Stirlingshire and Fourth of Preston Hall, Midlothian.
16 Second son of the First Earl of Munster and grandson of William IV and Mrs Jordan. Parts of Lord Dalhousie's official and much more sober account of Queen Victoria's visit are printed in James Balfour Paul; THE HISTORY OF THE ROYAL COMPANY OF ARCHERS Edinburgh and London 1875 Chapter 8. [Ed.].

THE HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE GIFFORD AND GARVALD LIGHT RAILWAY

By I. H. ADAMS

A question that often arises when looking at the empty roadbed of a vanished railway is, why was the railway built in the first place and why that line? The Gifford and Garvald Light Railway is one such case. The route taken serves rural parishes of very low densities of population with little or no economic mineral resources. Furthermore, the great sweep southwards over the River Humbie takes the railway further away from other small settlements that exist in the area, like East and West Saltoun. This is compounded by the obvious failure to go by the shortest route and one which was easier topographically. The route taken offered more physical difficulties, with consequently greater costs of construction, and so gave the line sharp curves and steep gradients that are anathema to normal railway practice. J. R. Kellett has suggested that the underlying pattern formed by units of land ownership is one of the critical factors in explaining the routes followed by the railway builders.[1] Could this explain some of the idiosyncrasies of the Gifford and Garvald Railway?

Examples of the proliferation of branch lines designed to serve agricultural communities can be found both before and after the Light Railways Act, 1896.[2] For example, in the Tay Valley several standard gauge lines were built between 1849 and 1906.[3] When the routes for main lines were chosen, the wishes of intermediate communities had often to be ignored or, at least, placated with the provision of a branch. This was the case in East Lothian, where even the county town had to make do with a branch (fig. 1). To give the main line effective penetration, in an age when the horse-drawn vehicle was the only alternative, it was necessary to create a rural network. Indeed from the very beginning there was a built-in element of cross-subsidisation. There was an hierarchical structure of transport with the main line relying on the branch, which in turn, depended on the gig and cart. Only with the development of the

I. H. Adams is Lecturer in Geography, Edinburgh University.

internal combustion engine and efficient road transport did the whole structure collapse.

That part of East Lothian lying to the southeast of the coalfield, comprising the parishes of Pencaitland, Saltoun, Bolton, Yester, and Garvald and Bara, encompassed agricultural lands of considerable importance. It was here that Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun introduced the barley-mill, John, Marquess of Tweeddale and Sir George Suttie pioneered turnip husbandry, William Cockburn of Ormiston lovingly created a model estate, and a later Marquess of Tweeddale developed a machine for forming tiles for drainage purposes. Yet it remained inadequately served by transport right down to the end of the nineteenth century. The turnpike road, built in the middle of the eighteenth century, took a line well north of the parishes and, when the North British Railway was completed in 1846, its route lay further north still. It was in the light of this isolation that the major landowners of the area set out to promote a branch line to serve their interests.

The coming of the railways in East Lothian

The railway age came to East Lothian with the North British Railway Act of 19 July 1844, which authorised the building of a trunk route from Edinburgh to Berwick. At the same time a branch was authorised from Longniddry to Haddington. Both branch and main line were brought into operation on 22 June 1846. It was proposed to extend this branch for rather more than a mile to bring it nearer to the town of Haddington, where it was to join the proposed East Lothian Central Railway, which was to run from the North British Railway's main line at East Linton up the valley of the Tyne for some twelve miles, through Haddington and on to Ormiston. These lines were authorised in 1847, but both schemes collapsed in the financial crash that followed the Railway Mania, and neither was revived.[4] The populace was not completely isolated prior to the arrival of the railway at Gifford, for a daily coach service left at 08.00, 13.00, 15.30 and 18.00, taking 45 minutes to reach Haddington in order to make connections with the North British trains, the journey to Edinburgh taking in all 1 hour and 53 minutes.[5]

The Promoters

The Gifford and Garvald Railway was no exception to the rule that Scottish railways had the enthusiastic support of the majority of landed proprietors.[6] Indeed, most of the land required for the route was owned by the promoters. One does not have to look far to find the source of their enthusiasm: isolation would be removed; rich urban markets would be opened up for farm produce;

minerals would gain access to vastly increased markets; and in addition their own needs would be more easily procured. William, Marquess of Tweeddale, John Fletcher of Saltoun, Walter Gray of Nunraw and William Trevelyan of Tyneholm were the main promoters of the Bill to provide for a railway to extend for twelve miles from a junction with the Macmerry branch of the North British Railway at Ormiston, terminating near Tanderlane farm in the parish of Garvald and Bara.

With the exception of William, 10th Marquess of Tweeddale (1826-1911), none of these gentlemen seems to have had any experience in the railway world. Tweeddale, however, was well versed in railway politics, for he was not only a longstanding director of the North British, but its chairman from 1890 to 1899. At first his support for the proposed line stemmed from his landed interests and he was quite happy to share the enthusiasms of his fellow landowners. Yet from the very beginning the North British looked on the new project with more than a benevolent eye. On 6 August 1890 a meeting was held within the North British Company's offices by the principal landowners interested in the line, in order to appoint an influential committee to promote a bill in the ensuing session of Parliament. As we shall see later, by the time the Act was passed the two parties had entered into a working agreement.

The route of the Gifford and Garvald Railway (1890)

The route originally proposed in November 1890 was the most direct and economically logical to join Ormiston to Gifford and Garvald with only a slight detour off the east-west line to avoid the policies of Saltoun Hall.[7] The line left the North British Railway's Macmerry branch east of Ormiston station and struck off southeastwards over the headstream of the Tyne Water, swinging round the Red Row to the south of Wester Pencaitland, where the first station was to be built to placate Mary Hamilton Ogilvy of Winton and Pencaitland. Thereafter the line was to go straight to Birns Water, bridging it north of Milton Mill, and then swing northeastwards, passing close to the villages of West and East Saltoun, between which a station was to be built for the convenience of Fletcher of Saltoun and his tenants. Fletcher furthermore required three sidings to be provided on his estate: one at Milton Mill, another to the north of East Saltoun and the third to serve his limekilns near Blance Burn. Then the line had to go straight across country south of Bolton Moor Wood to Gifford Common, north of the village, where a station and associated works required 7,211 square yards of land.[8] After leaving Gifford the line was to go northeastwards to the ten mile post south of Morham Bank farm, past the Chesters, to terminate in a field west of Tanderlane farm. More than anything, this line depended on the willingness of Fletcher of Saltoun to allow his estate to be

bisected. If his goodwill were lost a much more difficult route would have to be selected.

Gifford and Garvald Railway Act, 1891[9]

The Gifford and Garvald Railway came into statutory being on 3 July 1891, at the very end of the Railway Age. Empowered by the Act, the proprietors were to be able to raise £111,000 to construct a line 12 miles 200 yards long, and it also armed them with considerable powers of compulsory purchase which were to remain in force for three years from the passing of this act. Three landowners, however, were specifically named in the Act for the protection of their interests. Charles Stuart, Baron Blantyre wanted nothing to do with the railway and the limits of deviation were to be strictly adhered to near his property. For the protection of Mary Ogilvy of Winton and Pencaitland, certain fields had to be purchased by the company, compulsory arbitration by Thomas Buchanan, valuator, Dundee, was required and, most important of all, a station for passengers, animals and goods was to be built and maintained 'for all time coming,' to be called Pencaitland station. John Fletcher of Saltoun demanded a similar station at Saltoun and he also required three quite separate sidings to serve his various interests including his limekilns.

The promoters were required by the Act to deposit with the Queen's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer on behalf of the Court of Exchequer in Scotland the sum of £4,240 15s, to be repaid on the public opening of the line. They were given five years to complete the project, an inadequate length of time as it turned out. Finally, the agreement between the company and the North British Railway, which had been confirmed in March 1891, was appended to the statute.

The North British Agreement

The Marquess of Tweeddale and Walter Gray of Nunraw entered into an agreement with the North British Railway Company that made it clear that the Gifford and Garvald Railway was ultimately to be a mere extension of the North British network, obtained with negligible financial commitment on the N.B.'s part. The proprietors of the Gifford and Garvald were to purchase the land, to construct a single line railway with rails weighing at least 75 pounds per yard, and to build all stations, station masters' houses, gatekeepers' houses, engine-sheds, sidings, signal cabins, signals, cranes, turntables, water-tanks with water supply, wires, speaking telegraphic apparatus and Tyer's train tablet system of working and anything else required to the satisfaction of the chief engineer of the North British. In exchange, the North British was in perpetuity to manage the traffic and provide locomotives and rolling stock. In addition

it was to provide all the manpower, with power of appointment, suspension and dismissal; all officers, agents, book-keepers, booking and other clerks, servants, enginemen, guards, signalmen, porters, carters and surfacemen, with the exception of the Gifford and Garvald's secretary. In return the Gifford and Garvald was to have a splendidly run railway and 50 per cent of the gross revenues or, if this was not enough to maintain a dividend of 4 per cent per annum, the North British were to make it up from receipts accruing from traffic including mails passing over their system. Built-in cross-subsidisation was envisaged from the very beginning. Now all that had to be done was to build the railway and hand it over to the North British to run.

And who was to be master?

At first all seemed to be going well between the landowners, as proprietors of the Gifford and Garvald, and the North British. In the directors' report of 12 November 1891 it is stated that the North British Railway had all along acted in a friendly manner and had expressed their willingness to give a working agreement.[10] Hidden beneath this calm was a major conflict of interest: the landowners saw the line as a local project to improve the value of their lands, whilst the North British saw it as a minor extension of their interests which fitted into their scheme of things.

For the first year the company secretaryship was held by Alexander Guild, W.S., who tried to get construction started. 'With the knowledge of certain directors' he started negotiations with James Young, railway contractor, Glasgow, who offered to build the line for £10,000 cash and £80,000 in fully paid ordinary stock.[11] However, Guild resigned his secretaryship at the next statutory directors' meeting and he was replaced by George Bradley Wieland, the Secretary of the North British Railway Company. Wieland was born in London in 1838 and was trained in the Manager's department of the London and North-Western Railway at Euston. In 1873 he came to Scotland to be secretary of the North British. During his secretaryship the Tay and Forth Bridges were built and he carried through most of the financial arrangements connected with these gigantic undertakings. Indeed, most of his reputation rested on his ability as a railway financier, and in that connection his methods came in for a good deal of criticism. He was not liked in Edinburgh and he used his position in the North British constantly to further his own designs. When he was passed over in 1891 for the general managership of the North British in favour of John Conacher, a railwayman respected throughout Britain, he conceived a grudge that could only be assuaged with Conacher's head. Wieland's character was summed up by one newspaper, 'a taste for purple and fine linen does not make a general manager.'[12]

The next meeting of the directors showed a considerable shift of power, for the chairman, the Marquess of Tweeddale, said he could make an agreement with a firm of constructors, Messrs Pauling and Elliot, to have the line built as far as Gifford for £45,000 in cash and £22,000 in shares. For the extension beyond Garvald, the most interested proprietor, Gray of Nunraw, was left to find the capital amounting to £11,000. For some time relations between Wieland and the other directors were somewhat strained, as the latter felt they were not getting information to which they were entitled, especially regarding the arrangements for financing the company and placing the contract for the construction of the line. The final crunch came when G. B. Weiland sent out a notice on his own initiative, calling for a half-yearly statutory meeting to be held in the offices of the North British Railway at 4 Princes Street. What ensued was the polarisation of interests between those with North British allegiance and the landowners. In the following account, the chronology down to the hour of the day is important.

The Act authorising the railway stipulated only an annual meeting, and consequently the directors were full of curiosity when they arrived at the North British offices at 12.30. When they entered the room they found assembled, besides Wieland, three directors of the North British Railway Company: John Jordan (Tweeddale's proxy), Randolph Wemyss of Wemyss, and Henry Grierson; all of these men were closely involved in Wieland's extensive intrigues. Immediately Wieland announced to the directors that their term of office had expired and their place had been taken by the nominees of Lord Tweeddale, the three directors of the North British. The marquess himself was not present. Now here was a very interesting situation — a railway with not an inch of line possessing not one, but two boards of directors. Fletcher of Saltoun, Hamilton Ogilvy and Edgar left in high dudgeon and rushed to the offices of Reid and Guild, W.S., in Thistle Court. In the meantime the new directors transformed the occasion from a proprietors' meeting to a directors' meeting and coolly authorised the secretary to enter into a contract with Pauling and Elliot to construct the railway. Exactly one hour after the confrontation another directors' meeting was convened at Thistle Court. Fletcher of Saltoun explained to his fellow landowners that an unauthorised circular issued by Wieland had called the other meeting and in consequence of 'certain statements' made by Mr Wieland at that meeting and the presence of several parties 'who were neither Shareholders nor Proprietors of the Company the Directors without allowing the meeting to be constituted' immediately left under protest.[13] They had but one object in mind: the dismissal of Wieland. Four days later the latter was replaced by Alexander Guild, W.S., who had held the post before Wieland. However, Wieland was not complacent, for the following notice appeared as an advertisement in *The Scotsman* on 2 September 1892:

THE GIFFORD AND GARVALD RAILWAY COMPANY

At the statutory half-yearly general meeting of the proprietors of the Gifford and Garvald Railway Company, held in the offices of the North British Railway Company, No. 4 Princes Street, Edinburgh, on Thursday the first day of September 1892, at half-past twelve o'clock afternoon. (R. G. E. Wemyss, Esq., in the chair).

The advertisement calling the meeting having been read, the common seal of the company was affixed to the register of shareholders, and it was resolved, on the motion of the chairman, seconded by Mr Grierson:

First, that John Jordan, Esquire, be elected a director of the company. On the motion of Mr Jordan, seconded by Mr Grierson, it was **resolved.**

Second, that Randolph Gordon Erskine Wemyss, Esquire, be elected a director of the company. On the motion of Mr Jordan, seconded by the chairman, it was resolved.

Third, that Henry Grierson, Esquire, be elected a director of the company. On the motion of the chairman, seconded by Mr Jordan, it was resolved.

Fourth, that Sir Charles Tennant, Baronet, be elected a director of the company. On the motion of the chairman, seconded by Mr Jordan, it was resolved.

Fifth, that James Howden, Esquire, C.A., and George Simpson, Esquire, be elected auditors of the company.

On the motion of Mr Grierson, a vote of thanks was accorded the chairman for his conduct in the chair.

Edinburgh, *1st September* 1892. By order, G. B. Wieland, *Secretary.*

In the meantime the Company had taken counsel who advised them that the election of Wemyss, Jordan, Grierson and Tennant was wholly illegal and to apply for interdict against these men acting as directors. The Lord Ordinary found for the company.[14]

Tweeddale reacted violently, 'I have your letter of yesterday's date, and regret my inability to take any further part in the promotion of the G. & Gd. Railway. By declining the arrangement proposed by Mr W. Millar and pressing the suit to a decision my Co-Directors have rendered it impossible for me at any rate to find the capital for its construction.' They replied that it was perfectably acceptable for him to resign his directorship, but that he could not be

free so easily from his financial responsibilities undertaken in connection with the company.

The directors now turned to much more mundane things, like building a railway, and decided to continue the negotiations with Pauling and Elliot, only to meet with a rather strange rebuff:

'With reference to your letter of the 10th ult. and the call here subsequently of Messrs Gray and Guild upon the above named railway, and the proposal then made to us to construct this line from Ormiston to Garvald for the nominal sum of £110,000; payable as to £88,000 in fully paid-up shares, and the balance of £22,000 by the issue of the Debenture bonds under your Company's powers; we have given this offer very earnest and careful consideration, and after going very fully into all the circumstances, we much regret that we are quite unable, at any rate at the present time, to accept the offer above referred to. We are, however, quite prepared to negotiate with your Directors a contract to construct their Railway upon the lines of the provisional agreement made with the late Secretary, Mr Wieland, should they at any time be in a position to entertain it.' War had been declared. The powers of the North British were now in full array to prevent the Gifford and Garvald Railway coming into being except on their terms.

Another letter came from the Marquess of Tweeddale offering, if the present board's attempts to get the railway built proved abortive, to undertake the reconstruction of the board and construct the line.[15] The board took up his offer, but he refused to make any suggestions until the North British directors were on the board. At this point the nature of the dispute is quite clear: Fletcher of Saltoun reminded his fellow-directors that 'he had only been induced to consent to the Railway passing through the most valuable portion of his estate on the footing that the line was to be a proprietors' line and that it was to be taken as far as Garvald for possible extension to the main line thereafter.'[16] He also made the veiled threat that if this aim was reconsidered and the board reconstructed, he would feel free to review the arrangements made for the route of the line. Tweeddale, on the other hand, was deeply involved in the North British camp, regarding the Gifford and Garvald Railway as a mere branch of the North British, and as far as he was concerned a terminus at Gifford was sufficient for his needs. It was clear that only one of these views could prevail, and that must be where the power lay.

At the meeting of the directors on 17 April 1893 an Ordnance Survey map was produced showing a deviation of the railway, namely its new route and

termination at Gifford, and this plan was unanimously approved.[17] Thereupon they moved to the next piece of business — surrender:

'Mr Gray moved: That the Directors agree to the reconstruction of the Board of the Gifford and Garvald Railway Company to the satisfaction of Lord Tweeddale on the following terms: (1) That he undertakes to build the line to Gifford as now deviated and as per plans signed; (2) That on the reconstruction of the Board Lord Tweeddale agrees for himself and the new Directors to relieve the present Directors of all their monetary responsibilities up to the time of the election of the new Board, and also to relieve Mr Gray of his letter to the Bank for his share of the Parliamentary Deposit.' The motion was agreed.

However, Lord Tweeddale was now after blood and Fletcher of Saltoun was to be the victim. Tweeddale threatened that if Fletcher did not accept in shares in the now hated railway the sum of £1,500 that was placed for the compulsory purchase of his lands, he would withdraw from the whole affair and leave Fletcher and his friends responsible for all expenses.[18] His fellow directors were now in such a funk that they agreed to buy the £1,500's worth of shares themselves if Fletcher refused. Lord Tweeddale in a further letter about Fletcher's land assumed in rather menacing tones that 'he was willing to give the land for the original land—inasmuch as the deviation has been agreed to in a great measure, if not entirely to suit his convenience, and will be more costly.'[19] The directors' last act before surrendering office was to give the whole affair statutory blessing by applying for a bill in the Private Bill Office of the House of Commons for a bill to construct a deviation railway.

The Deviation Bill, 1893[20]

With Fletcher's co-operation fast failing, Tweeddale encouraged the building of the railway on virtually a new line which was both economically and topographically much less favourable. To the west of Pencaitland the line turned earlier to the southeast to run parallel to the original line but holding this direction for several miles, going south round Saltoun Big Wood and only turning towards Gifford at Gilchriston when the line crossed Birns Water. From there it had to pass through only a short distance of Fletcher of Saltoun's lands before completing the rest of the route on the Marquess of Tweeddale's estates (fig. 2). This route had the merit, at least as far as Tweeddale was concerned, that it impinged as little as possible on the lands of Fletcher of Saltoun. Nothing more was heard about extending the line to Garvald.

Whilst the Bill was passing through the Committee of the House of Commons, Walter Gray went to London and met G. B. Wieland, who was acting on behalf of Lord Tweeddale. Gray was told that if the transfer was made immedi-

ately Wieland would fulfil all the undertakings of Lord Tweeddale, and so a transfer of shares was made and the directors resigned en masse. Nevertheless they told Gray not to hand over the shares until all the formalities had been completed. It was unfortunate that they acted with such caution, for within a week Messrs Meik & Sons, the consulting engineers, served summonses on Guild as the Company's secretary and on directors Fletcher of Saltoun and Hamilton Ogilvy. The directors took two lines of action, firstly writing to Lord Tweeddale calling upon him to implement his obligations and secondly entering defences, taking due precaution to preserve the right of recourse against Lord Tweeddale in the event of his delaying or refusing to fulfil his undertaking.[21] In the event, the claims of the professional appointees were settled in full by a compromise. The sums involved were £1,446 16s 11d for Messrs Thomas Meik & Sons, engineers of Edinburgh and London, and £1,194 12s 8½d for the solicitors, Messrs Reid & Guild. It was agreed in a joint minute for the parties that the claim would be dropped by the pursuers against the defenders as individuals as long as they were to be met by the company.[22] Thus a call had to be made of £2 per share. This action led to the resignation of Robert Edgar from the board.[23] The only person who paid this call was one of the directors, Hamilton Ogilvy, who objected to the money being used by the engineers and solicitors because there were other creditors and none should be given preference.

Whilst all the legal wrangles were taking place, Joseph Phillips, one of the contractors for the Forth Bridge, and at that time contractor for the Forfar and Brechin Railway, had approached Lord Tweeddale about constructing and financing the Gifford and Garvald. Tweeddale, however, referred him back to the reluctant directors. They in their turn wrote back indicating their willingness but without prejudicing their rights and pleas. In the end no more was recorded of Phillips' initiative with the present directors, but his contact with Lord Tweeddale was to prove more fruitful. The directors tried to interest Charles Forman of Formans and McCall, the Glasgow firm of civil engineers, to build the line, but he declined on the grounds that there was insufficient capital to build the line. 'This result the Secretary stated had been intimated to Lord Tweeddale and with the concurrence of the Directors the whole accounts and Land agreements had been sent by the Solicitors to Messrs John C. Brodie & Sons, W.S., Lord Tweeddale's Agents, with the view to his Lordship undertaking the building of the railway.'[24] The crushing defeat of the proprietors is summed up in the final sentence of the minutes of this fateful meeting: 'The Board adjourned the meeting in the hope that shortly a communication would be received from Lord Tweeddale.'

Thereafter there was a long and complicated interchange of correspondence

between the representatives of the various parties, mainly sorting out the financial ramifications of the company so far prior to the transfer of shares to Wieland's nominees. The fiction of any independence from the North British was swept away with the publication of Section 18 of the North British Railway Act, 1896, in which power was obtained for extending the time for the compulsory purchase of land to 24 August 1898.

Light Railway Status

The first use of the term 'light railway' in an Act of Parliament occurs in section 27 of the Regulation of Railways Act, 1868.[25] Four years earlier powers to make branches 'where landowners and others beneficially interested consent to the making of the same' were included in the Railways Construction Facilities Act, 1864.[26] Both of these acts had proved to be abortive. By the early 1890s considerable pressure was being put onto the government owing to depression in rural districts and it was hoped that provision of cheap rail transport would relieve these areas. Furthermore, it was hoped that by providing cheap rail travel some urban congestion could be relieved by encouraging the working classes to take up commuting. The outcome was the Light Railways Act, 1896. One thing this act did not do was to define a light railway. It was left very much in the hands of the Light Railway Commissioners to say whether a line fell into this category. What one can say is that a light railway was designed to serve rural areas which, on account of the nature and amount of probable traffic, must, if it was to be constructed at all, be of a lighter character, more cheaply built, more economically equipped, less hampered by safety regulations, and more simply worked than a standard railway. In short it was a second-rate railway. The Gifford and Garvald lived up to all that was expected of it.

The Gifford and Garvald put into motion at the first opportunity an application to the Light Railway Commissioners for light railway status. This meant that the line would be single throughout with most road crossings unmanned (the guard often having to get off the train to open gates), the rails could be as little as 56 pounds per yard, no turntable need be provided although engines working tender first were restricted to 15 m.p.h., and platforms need be of the most rudimentary nature, without shelter or conveniences. By Section 22 of the Light Railway Order it was provided that the agreement set forth in the Schedule to the Act of 1891 should extend to the Light Railway, subject to certain modifications—amongst others, that the North British Railway from the opening of the line must, in lieu of any proportion of the revenues of the undertaking, pay monthly to the Gifford and Garvald Company a fixed sum of £300.

The Marquess of Tweeddale returned to the board on 20 December 1898

and things began to move. He had had a series of meetings in London with Joseph Phillips, railway contractor, Victoria Street, London, and suggested to his fellow directors that Phillips should be given the contract. On 8 February 1899 the Company signed an agreement with Joseph Phillips under which he bound himself to construct and equip the railway to the satisfaction of the Board of Trade, and also undertook to pay all charges and expenses incurred in any way by the railway company in connection with the securing of the parliamentary powers, the purchase of land and other fees, in exchange for which the railway company bound itself to issue to him the whole share capital of £100,000. This was done and work began immediately.

The building of the line

By April 1899 the first quarter-mile of track had been graded and a start made excavating a small cutting south of the Tyne Water.[27] A year later saw the line laid over the Humbie Water although bad weather and a shortage of labour had delayed the contractor. Excavation of the station yards at Saltoun and Humbie were finished and the permanent way for the sidings laid. By December 1900 70 per cent of the permanent way had been laid and ballasted and all bridges completed. The whole length of line had been fenced and 90 per cent of the culverts completed. At this stage, however, an accident occurred which boded considerable trouble. A landslip occurred in a deep cutting a quarter of a mile beyond the bridge over the Humbie water south of Saltoun Big Wood. It was on Lord Polwarth's land and it proved necessary to obtain additional ground to make the embankments less steep. The line was ready for inspection by Major Pringle for the Board of Trade on 1st July and a certificate was duly issued for opening for public traffic from 4 October 1901, but in fact the first passenger train was not organised by the North British until the 14th of that month (Plate 2).

Whilst Fletcher of Saltoun saw the contractor's men scratching the narrow roadbed along the edge of his estate, events were taking place further afield from which he must have derived a certain satisfaction, for Tweeddale was fighting Wieland to commercial death in a battle that gripped the connoisseurs of financial pages. Wieland began organising in early 1899 the abdication of Tweeddale and his deputy chairman, Sir Charles Tennant, in order to obtain the dismissal of John Conacher from his general managership and, of course, his own appointment. Instead of standing up and doing battle himself he left it to R. G. E. Wemyss and Henry Grierson, both of whom had been at the fateful Gifford and Garvald meeting in September 1892, to shepherd the shareholders into forcing Tweeddale and his companion to resign in March 1899. For Conacher the matter

was brought to a head by a letter by R. G. E. Wemyss, published in *The Financial News* of 4 July 1899, alleging serious charges of mismanagement. He replied very reluctantly in the press, but he must have known that silent Wieland had the upper hand and within three weeks he was forced to resign. The rest of this sordid tale is best told from Wieland's obituary. 'Mr Wieland was then invited to be Chairman, but not feeling the moment to be precisely opportune, he declined, and Sir William Laird was appointed. In 1901 Sir William died and Mr Wieland then succeeded to the post, and remained in undisturbed control to the last.'[28] When the first locomotive steamed into Gifford station its victorious whistle *must* have been heard in Yester House.

The Gifford and Garvald Railway, 1901-1933

From the moment of opening, any hint of success was to elude this line. Built on a route that virtually excluded any centres of population, however small, it had little scope for passenger traffic. Potential mineral traffic was not available, for the start of the line at Ormiston was a geological junction which in railway terms contrasted prosperity of the coal-bearing carboniferous with poverty of the carboniferous limestone series. For example, the North British lines in the district serving the Midlothian coalfield, of which the Macmerry branch was one, saw the tonnage of rail-borne traffic increased by about 140 per cent between 1900 and 1909.[29] In the Report of the Royal Commission on Coal Supplies (1903-05) the estimated reserves of the Lothian coalfield was 2,520,311,573 tons, which was regarded as sufficient to last for about eight hundred years. The men of this age saw nothing but an unbroken marriage and prosperity of coal and rail, but already the rattling death agony of both could occasionally be heard trundling along the lanes of East Lothian.

From April 1902 the board of directors was reconstructed with a total of five, three nominated by the North British and two by the proprietors of the Gifford and Garvald. At this point in time the Marquess of Tweeddale resigned his directorship, having achieved his desire of a railway to Gifford. However, complaints were soon heard as to the quality and speed of service provided. A member of the public wrote to the Board of Trade complaining of the service, and not without reason.[30] The station at Saltoun was very badly designed, not by the original contractor but to meet the requirements set by Major Pringle of the Board of Trade. More serious, however, was the length of time it took to cover the Gifford and Garvald Railway: the first train from Edinburgh took 2½ hours to cover 21 miles. The first train from Gifford, departing at 06.50, took 1 hour 25 minutes to reach Ormiston, a mere nine miles away. The complainer may have picked a bad day, for this mixed train was scheduled in the working timetable to make the whole trip in 1 hour 48 minutes (plate 1). By 1920 the same train did the journey in 1 hour 15 minutes, and in its last year before

closure this had been cut to a dazzling 59 minutes. Needless to say, the directors dismissed these complaints, blaming the Board of Trade for the design of the station, and stating that the North British Company had made 'the best arrangements possible in the circumstances for serving the public.'[31]

In 1905 negotiations were started for the acquisition by the North British of the Gifford Railway. Ultimately, a Mr F. D. Maw offered the Gifford stock to the North British at the price of £91 per cent in exchange for cash or a cash equivalent based on the then existing market prices in any approved stock of the North British. This proposal was turned down by the North British directors.[32]

Gifford and Garvald Light Railway.

The Train Service on the Gifford and Garvald Light Railway will be altered to the following:—

Up Trains.

	Distance from Ormiston.		WEEK-DAYS. 1	2	3	4	5
			Pass.	Goods		Goods	Pass.
	Miles.	*Chns.*	a.m.	a.m.		p.m.	p.m.
Edinburgh (Waverley) ... depart	...	...	7 10	...	...	...	4 55
—Ormiston Junction ... ... depart	...	...	8 7	11 10	...	3 40	5 53
Pencaitland ... ... ,,	1	54	8 13	11 30	...	...	5 59
—Saltoun ... ... ,,	3	34	8 21	11 50	...	4 10	6 7
Humbie ... ... ,,	5	36	8 29	12 10	...	...	6 15
—Gifford ... ... arrive	9	20	8 50	12 35	...	4 45	6 36

No. 2.—Carries Road Wagons labelled "Leith Walk and Gifford" and "South Leith and Gifford."

Down Trains.

	Distance from Gifford.		WEEK-DAYS. 1	2	3	4	5
			Pass. Mixed	Pass.		Goods	Pass.
	Miles.	*Chns.*	a.m.	a.m.		p.m.	p.m.
—Gifford ... ... depart	...	..	7 0	9 25	...	2 0	5 0
Humbie ... ... ,,	3	64	7 31	9 46	...	2 30	5 21
—Saltoun ... ... ,,	5	66	7 40	9 54	...	2 50	5 29
Pencaitland ... ... ,,	7	46	7 51	10 2	...	3 10	5 37
—Ormiston Junction ... ... arrive	9	20	7 57	10 8	...	3 20	5 43
Edinburgh (Waverley) ... arrive	...	...	8 48	To	...	....	7 0

No. 4.—Carries Road Wagon labelled "Gifford and Leith Walk." Newhailes.

PLATE 1 Timetable of the Gifford and Garvald Light Railway as it appeared in the North British Railway Company working timetable for the Southern and Eastern Districts, November 1901. *Scottish Record Office.*

North British Railway Company.

M
No. 3537.

Notice to Station-masters, Engine-drivers, Guards, Signalmen, and others.

Opening of Gifford Light Railway for General Traffic

ON

SATURDAY, 12th OCTOBER 1901.

This Railway, which connects with the Monktonhall and Ormiston Branch at Ormiston Junction, will be opened for General Traffic, at 12 noon on the above date.

The Line is single throughout, and will be worked in strict accordance with the Regulations for Working Trains over Single Lines of Railways by the Electric Train Staff Block System, as contained in the current Appendix (No. 28), pages 16 to 24 inclusive.

The Electric Train Staff Block Stations will be:—

Ormiston Junction and Saltoun Station,
Saltoun Station and Gifford Station.

There are no Signals at the following Stations and Sidings, but the Points are controlled by Ground Frames, secured by Annett's Locks, the key of which is affixed to the Staff, and cannot be opened without the Electric Staff for the Section on which the Station or Siding is situated, viz.:—

Name of Station or Siding.	Distance from Ormiston Junction.	
	Miles.	*Chains.*
Broomrigg Siding (Temporary)...	1	23
Pencaitland Station	1	50
Fletcher's Siding...	2	52
Polworth's Siding	4	49
Humbie Station	5	33

On arriving at the Station or Siding the Driver must hand the Electric Staff to the Guard or other person in charge of the shunting operations, who will open the Points. When the shunting has been completed, and the Points have been placed in their proper position for Trains to pass upon the Main Line, the Guard or other person in charge of the shunting operations, must remove the Electric Staff, and return it to the Driver, and the latter must not proceed on his journey until he has obtained it.

Working of Level Crossing Gates on Gifford Light Railway.

All Trains and Engines must be brought to a complete stand before reaching the Level Crossings at **Saltoun Public Road**, 6 miles 9 chains from Ormiston, and **Gifford Public Road**, 8 miles 36 chains from Ormiston (the gates of which must be kept closed across the Railway night and day), and the Guard or, when there is no Guard, the Fireman, must walk forward, open the gates, and protect the Crossings whilst the Train or Engine is passing over them. No Driver must pass over these Crossings until signalled to do so by the Guard or Fireman. It will be the duty of the Guard or Fireman to shut and relock the gates after the Train or Engine has passed.

PLATE 2 The North British Company's circular to its employees announcing the opening of the Gifford and Garvald line on Saturday, 12 October 1901. In fact the first train did not run until the following Monday. *Scottish Record Office.*

The regular income of £300 per month continued as the sole income of the company, the bulk going to the contractors. Thereafter the official record is rather dreary, with regular meeting of directors held at the North British offices in Waterloo Place: minutes were read, a 3½ per cent dividend declared and the retiring director duly re-elected. The only moments of excitement were over questions of valuation of the Company's property, to which an appeal was presented in the Sheriff Court at Haddington. Then the authorities of the parishes through which the railway passed made an assessment for parish dues. They did so with a large degree of discrepancy: Bolton, Yester and Humbie, treated the railway on the same basis as an agricultural subject, and allowed only a deduction of 5 per cent from the gross value appearing in the Valuation Roll, while the other parishes made a deduction of 35 per cent, which was the usual figure for a railway company. Again the Company resorted to law. Next Phillips, the contractor, requested his dividend to be paid monthly but, the Company having obtained legal opinion, this was refused. Finally, the Ormiston Coal Company, leasing mining rights from the Marquess of Linlithgow, proposed to exercise their rights and mine under the line unless compensation was paid.

The Rivals

The Gifford and Garvald Railway was unique among the light railways of Scotland in that its trains worked through over the main line into Waverley, whereas in all other cases the branch train proceeded no further than the immediate junction station.[33] However, this advantage was not maintained for long, because competition was soon to appear. On 14 June 1905 a group of Edinburgh men registered the Scottish Motor Traction Company in order to start motor bus services from Edinburgh to South Queensferry, Eskbank, Loanhead, Lasswade and Penicuik. As the years passed many routes were added, mainly where the railway services were less convenient or more circuitous. A parcels service was established in 1908 with agents in the various towns and villages. After the First World War the company expanded its sphere of influence by taking over numerous small firms that had sprung up. By the 1920s most of the services were gradually being considerably increased in frequency. In February 1928 a route to Gifford via Ormiston and Pencaitland was started, the service continuing on into Haddington to link these two places.[34] A few of these buses made a diversion through West Saltoun, and there were some journeys which ran via Winton to Pencaitland only.

Although the introduction of the public bus and motor car was the primary cause of the failure of the Gifford Railway, there were very strong secondary influences. There is clear evidence that the beginnings of decline had set in

during the First World War (fig. 3). Up to 1916 both passengers and receipts had found equilibrium at all stations on the line. During the war numbers carried reached an all-time low between December 1916 and June 1917. Receipts did not collapse to the same extent because there was a general increase in fares which created in the immediate post-war years the most affluent period for the railway. Most was lost, however, as a result of the General Strike in May 1926. On a wider scale, the outcome of this unhappy period, which gave a considerable boost to the private car and public road passenger services, was that the number of passenger journeys on the L.N.E.R. between 1925 and 1927 dropped by no less than 47,000,000.[35] Pencaitland illustrates this well, for there was a drop of nearly 50 per cent between passengers booked in the last half of 1925 and the first half of 1926 (6,558 down to 3,359).[36] Even when the strike was over, the total for the second half of the year was only, 3,384, and there was very little recovery thereafter. Very much the same trend can be observed at Saltoun.

Gifford, on the other hand, does not show the same influence of the General Strike and the subsequent depression. Passenger journeys remain higher than pre-war, with receipts showing a continual decline probably due to the richer members of the community using the motor car, leaving the railway to the less affluent short journey passenger. The coming of the motor bus had the most marked effect here. Between June and December 1927 4,074 people booked journeys on the line, but with the introduction of the bus service in February 1928 only 1,709 remained loyal to the railway. The second half of the year, when receipts were usually higher, saw only 1,354 passenger journeys. It was a matter of how long the railway company could face this kind of competition.

It was not until 27 February 1933 that the General Manager (Scotland) of the London and North Eastern Railway felt obliged to submit a memorandum to the Traffic Committee in London that the passenger traffic on the Gifford Light Railway, 'which had been falling away for a number of years as a result of road competition,' could no longer justify the existing train service and 'in view of the geographical position of the line it is not anticipated that it will be possible to recover the traffic to rail by increasing the number of trains'.[37] The passenger train receipts from the branch, including through traffic to and from Edinburgh, for the year ending 30 June 1932, amounted to only £2,565, while the gross contributory revenue was £696. Goods traffic, principally coal, was still profitable, and by utilising the goods train service for parcels and miscellaneous traffic it was estimated that receipts amounting to £477 per annum could be maintained. The withdrawal of the passenger train services would permit two class F4 engines to be withdrawn from service, with an estimated saving of £515 per annum, made up as follows:

	£	
Savings		
Maintenance of way and works	75	
Maintenance and renewal of carriages	485	
Locomotive department	2,040	
Traffic department	452	
Miscellaneous	14	
		3,066
Loss of revenue		
Passengers	2,062	
Parcels	384	
Miscellaneous	28	
Payment for conveyance of mails	77	
		2,551
		£ 515

The memorandum ended with the observation that there was 'no legal objection to the withdrawal of the passenger trains, and as the district is already well served by the buses of the Scottish Motor Traction Company Limited, it is not anticipated that any serious complaints will arise from the public. The Traffic Committee of the L.N.E.R. recommended that the passenger service on the Gifford branch be withdrawn on 3 April 1933, and this was done. Thereafter the line was maintained for a daily goods service between Portobello and Gifford, and traffic for Gorgie market demanded a cattle special on Tuesdays.

The sudden termination of the line on the banks of Birns Water was the result of the catastrophic floods of August 1948 which swept away bridges and earthworks where they crossed normally peaceful streams draining the northern flanks of the Lammermuirs. The section between Humbie and Saltoun was lifted in April 1962, leaving the branch a virtual siding for Glenkinchie distillery.

The Engines

Because of weight and other restrictions on the Gifford line, it was necessary to use only light engines for all tasks. The first to be used was Dugald Drummond's fourth and last passenger tank design for the North British Railway, the 4-4-OT class D51 (plate 3). A total of 24 of these were built between 1880 and 1883, one of which survived until 1933.[38] These engines were employed on the busy suburban trains around Edinburgh and Glasgow and on country branch systems in many parts of the North British system. They were ideal for light railways, on which they handled passenger, goods and mixed trains.

Occasionally, class J31s deputised for the D51 on the Gifford line. These were 0-6-0 engines built at Cowlairs between 1867 and 1875, mainly to deal with mainline goods and mineral traffic, but were superseded and given a wide range of more humdrum tasks.[39]

In July 1931 the D51s were replaced by three F4s which had seen long service on London suburban lines. These 2-4-2Ts had been built at Stratford between 1884 and 1909 for the Great Eastern Railway.[40] They were not long in their East Lothian exile, for upon closure to passenger traffic they were transferred further north to work the St. Combs branch from Fraserburgh. Another engine that made an appearance was 0-6-0 J33 No. 9169 which was moved from Polmont to St. Margaret's and spent its last years working the Portobello and Gifford pick-up goods, with such regularity that the book times of this train were scratched on the paintwork inside the cab.[41] This engine was withdrawn in December 1938.

The Gifford Light Railway very nearly saw out its life without having its tracks soiled by a diesel locomotive, but in January 1964 a Hunslet 0-6-0 shunter D2585 was transferred from Thornton to work the remaining section of the line between Ormiston and Saltoun.[42] Indeed, this was the heaviest type of diesel allowed over the branch. It survived only a week and then working reverted to the Ivatt 2-6-0 No. 46462 which was to continue until 21 May 1965 when for the last time it made its way to the Glenkinchie distillery at Saltoun with empty casks and grain.[43] The line was officially closed on 24 May 1965.

Requiem

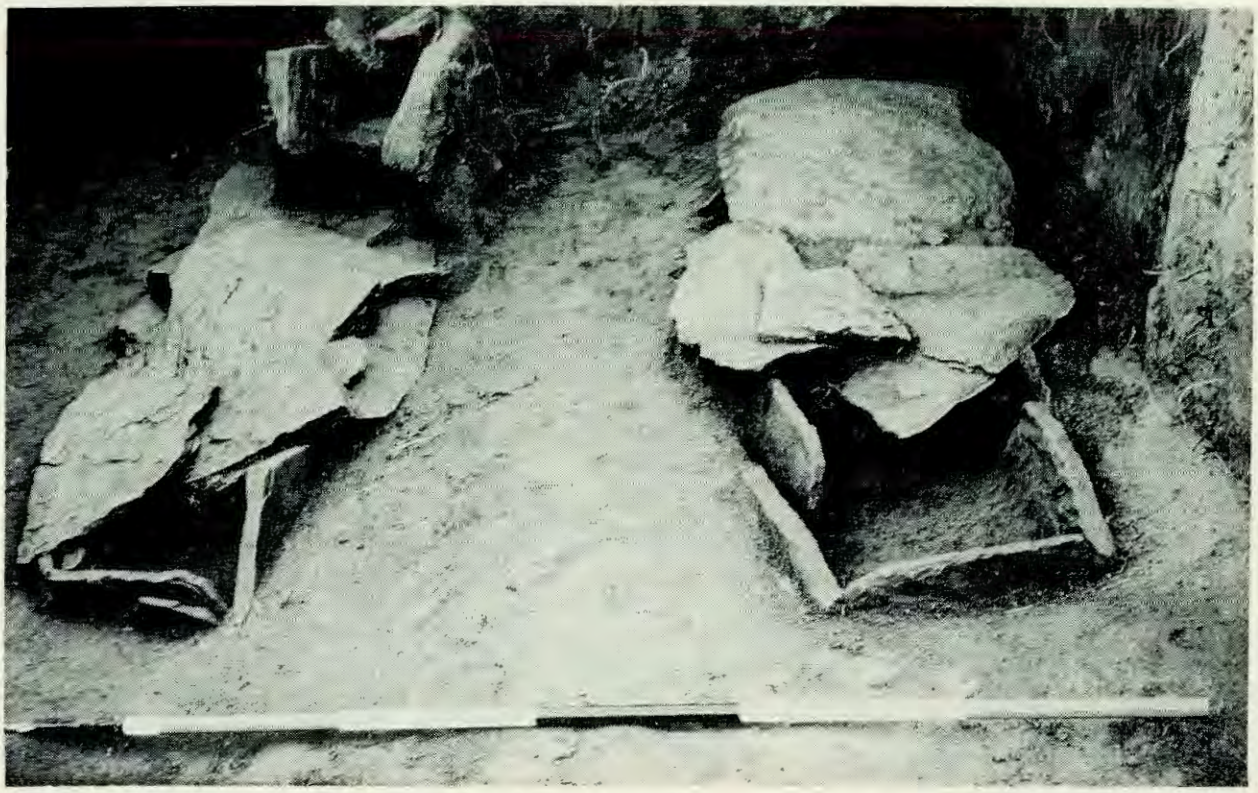
There is little to praise in the all too often sordid tale of the building of a railway line through the strawberry fields of East Lothian. Conceived too late, badly planned, poorly run, it had the makings of a farce. Many people have claimed that Britain was over burdened with railway capitals because we were pioneers, but frequently the squandering of capital on such ventures as the Gifford and Garvald cannot shelter under this excuse. Here we have the ingrained habit of railway investment being manipulated by unscrupulous railway managers and their contractor friends without thought for the future. The British public were loaded with these enormous debts which only in the last decade have been expurgated. Yet at the end of the day the Gifford and Garvald Light Railway may achieve honour as a £100,000 footpath.

REFERENCES

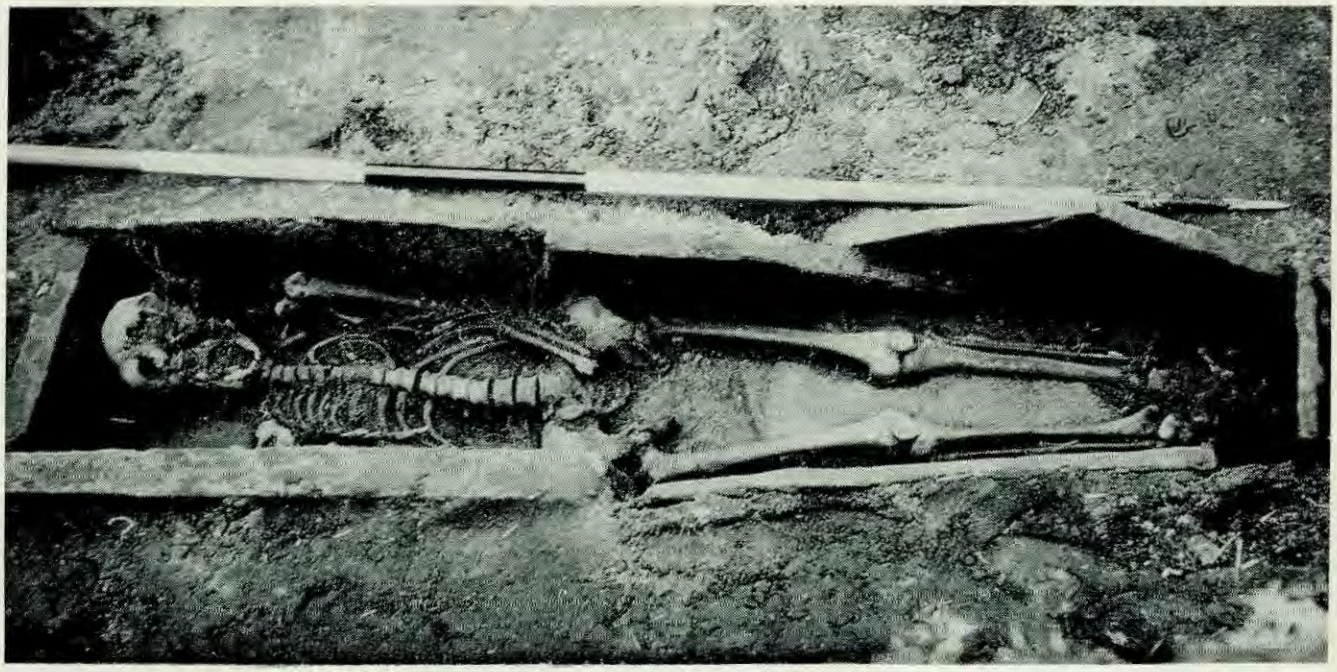
The preparation of this paper would not have been possible without the kind guidance of my friend and colleague in the Scottish Record Office, George Barbour, assistant keeper in charge of railway archives; few scholars have his depth of knowledge in this aspect of nineteenth-century social and economic history and even fewer have his faculty of

sharing. The plates in this article are published with the approval of the Keeper of the Records of Scotland. To W. E. Boyd I am grateful for permission to publish a delightful plate of the D5 1 which he took himself so many years ago. To John Thomas I give thanks for the help he gave in sorting out the background and character of G. B. Wieland. To Mrs Sheila Coppock I owe my thanks for reading the proofs, and Mrs Mary Young for typing the manuscript. The maps are the work of Carson Clark and Ray Harris, cartographers in the department of geography, University of Edinburgh.

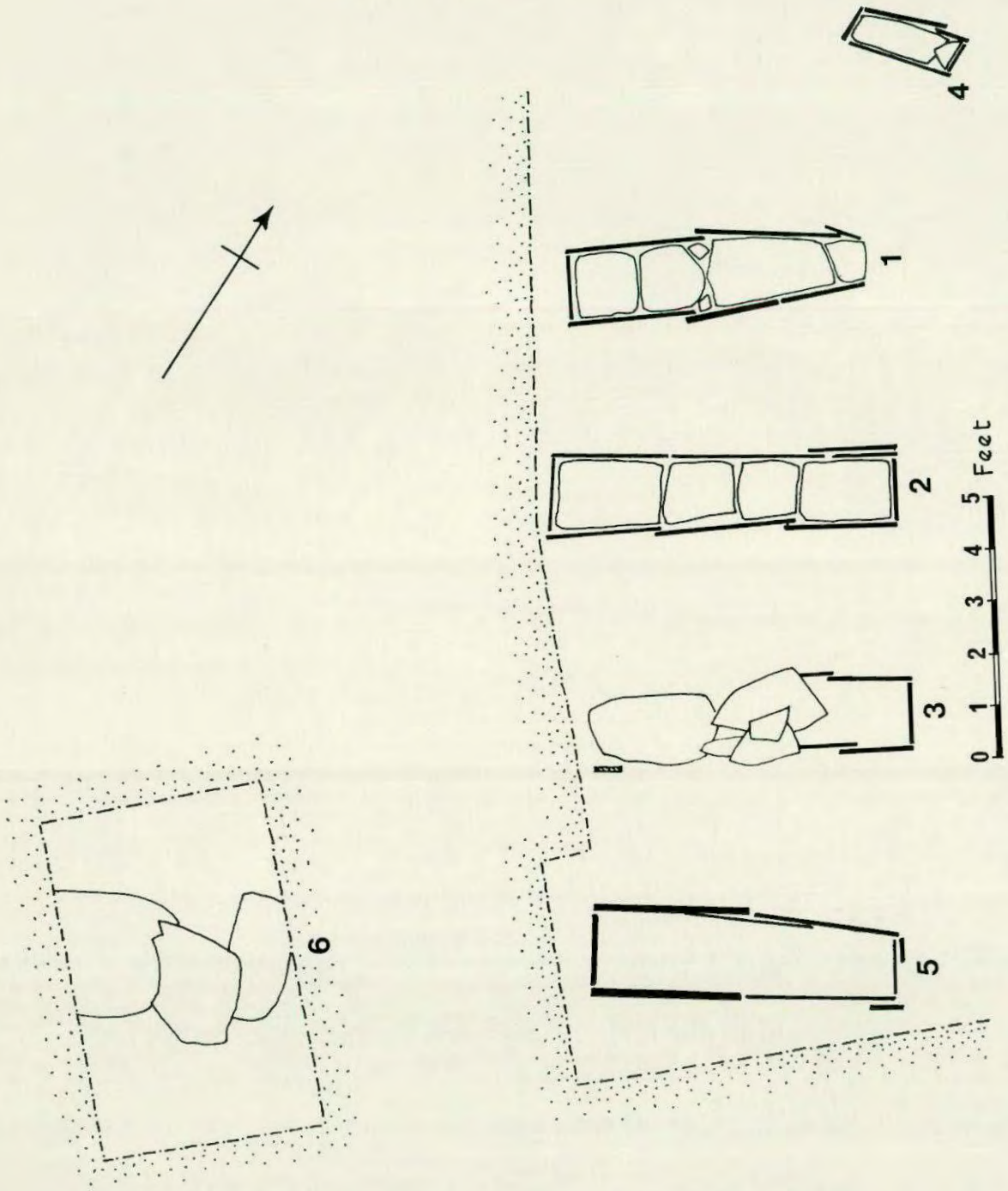
1. J. R. Kellett, THE IMPACT OF RAILWAYS ON VICTORIAN CITIES, London, 1969, p.125.
2. 59 & 60 Vict. cap.48.
3. Alan W. Brotchie, TRAMWAYS OF THE TAY VALLEY, Dundee, 1965.
4. H. A. Vallance, BRITISH BRANCH LINES, London, 1965, p.167; John Thomas, THE NORTH BRITISH RAILWAY, Newton Abbot, vol. 1, 1969.
5. SRO North British Timetable 1st July 1901, BR TT(S) 53/59.
6. *See* J. Butt and J. T. Ward, 'The promotion of the Caledonian Railway Company', and W. Vamplew, 'Railway investment in the Scottish Highlands,' both in TRANSPORT HISTORY, vol. 3, No. 2 (July 1970).
7. Plan of Route, November 1890: SRO Sheriff Court Plans SC. 1622, 1623, 1624.
8. EDINBURGH GAZETTE, 18 November 1890, No. 10, 204, para. 4.
9. 54 & 55 Vict. cap.85.
10. SRO Minutes of meetings of shareholders and directors of Gifford and Garvald Railway (henceforth GGR Minutes), BR/GGR/1/1 p.8.
11. IBID p.13
12. FINANCIAL NEWS, 25 June 1899.
13. SRO GGR Minutes, BR/GGR/1/1 p.23.
14. SRO Court of Session process, Gifford and Garvald Railway Company *v* John Jordan and others, CS.249/2668.
15. SRO GGR Minutes, BR/GGR/1/1 p.30.
16. IBID pp. 32-33.
17. A copy of this plan was deposited in Haddington Sheriff Court, S.C.plan 1623.
18. SRO GGR Minutes, BR/GGR/1/1 p.38.
19. IBID p.40.
20. Gifford and Garvald Railway Act, 1893, 56 & 57 Vict. cap.200.
21. SRO GGR Minutes, BR/GGR/1/1 p.45.
22. SRO Court of Session process, Meik *v* Tweeddale and others, C.S.250/4185.
23. SRO GGR Minutes, BR/GGR/1/1 p.59.
24. IBID p.62.
25. 31 & 32 Vict. cap.119.
26. 27 & 28 Vict. cap.121.
27. SRO GGR Minutes, BR/GGR/1/1 pp.93-94 Engineer's Report.
28. Laird was a fortuitous choice by Wieland for he was seventy and in poor health. G. B. Wieland had been ill himself for some years; in November 1904 he went to Egypt to recuperate, but on his way home was taken seriously ill and died at Mentone. Obituaries: THE SCOTSMAN 27 March 1905, THE FINANCIAL NEWS 28 March 1905.
29. SRO GGR Minutes, BR/GGR/1/1 p.147-48.
30. IBID p. 149.
31. SRO BR/HRP/(S)24: Minutes of North British Railway No. 35 BR/NBR/1/54 p.433.
32. D. S. Barrie and G. J. Aston, 'Scottish Light Railways', THE RAILWAY MAGAZINE, January 1938, pp. 32-33.
33. D. L. G. Hunter, EDINBURGH'S TRANSPORT, The Advertiser Press Ltd., Huddersfield, 1964. p.39.
34. Cecil J. Allen, THE LONDON & NORTH EASTERN RAILWAY, London, 1966, p.78.
35. SRO North British Railway traffic statements book, BR/NBR/4/239.
36. SRO L.N.E.R. Secretary's Board papers affecting Scottish Area, BR/LNE/1/1465.
37. IBID.
38. The Stevenson Locomotive Society, LOCOMOTIVES OF THE NORTH BRITISH RAILWAY 1846-1882, 1970, pp. 95-96; The Railway Correspondence and Travel Society, LOCOMOTIVES OF THE L.N.E.R., PART 7, 1964, pp. 49-51: a photograph of D51 No. 10456 on a Gifford-Edinburgh passenger train passing Craigentinny, about 1928, is included in the latter volume.
39. The Railway Correspondence and Travel Society, LOCOMOTIVES OF THE L.N.E.R., PART 5, 1966, pp.188-94.
40. The Railway Correspondence and Travel Society, LOCOMOTIVES OF THE L.N.E.R., PART 7, 1964, pp. 65-74; a photograph of F4 No. 7176 approaching Portobello on a Gifford-Edinburgh passenger train, about 1931, is included in this volume.
41. The Railway Correspondence and Travel Society, LOCOMOTIVES OF THE L.N.E.R., PART 5, 1966, pp. 200-01.
42. SCOTTISH RAILFANS NEWSHEET, vol. 6, No. 1, January 1964.
43. SCOTTISH RAILFANS NEWSHEET, vol. 7, No. 7, July 1965.



2. Cists 3 and 5 with some capstones partially removed.



3. Cist 5 with skeleton exposed.



1. Plan of long cists at Gullane.

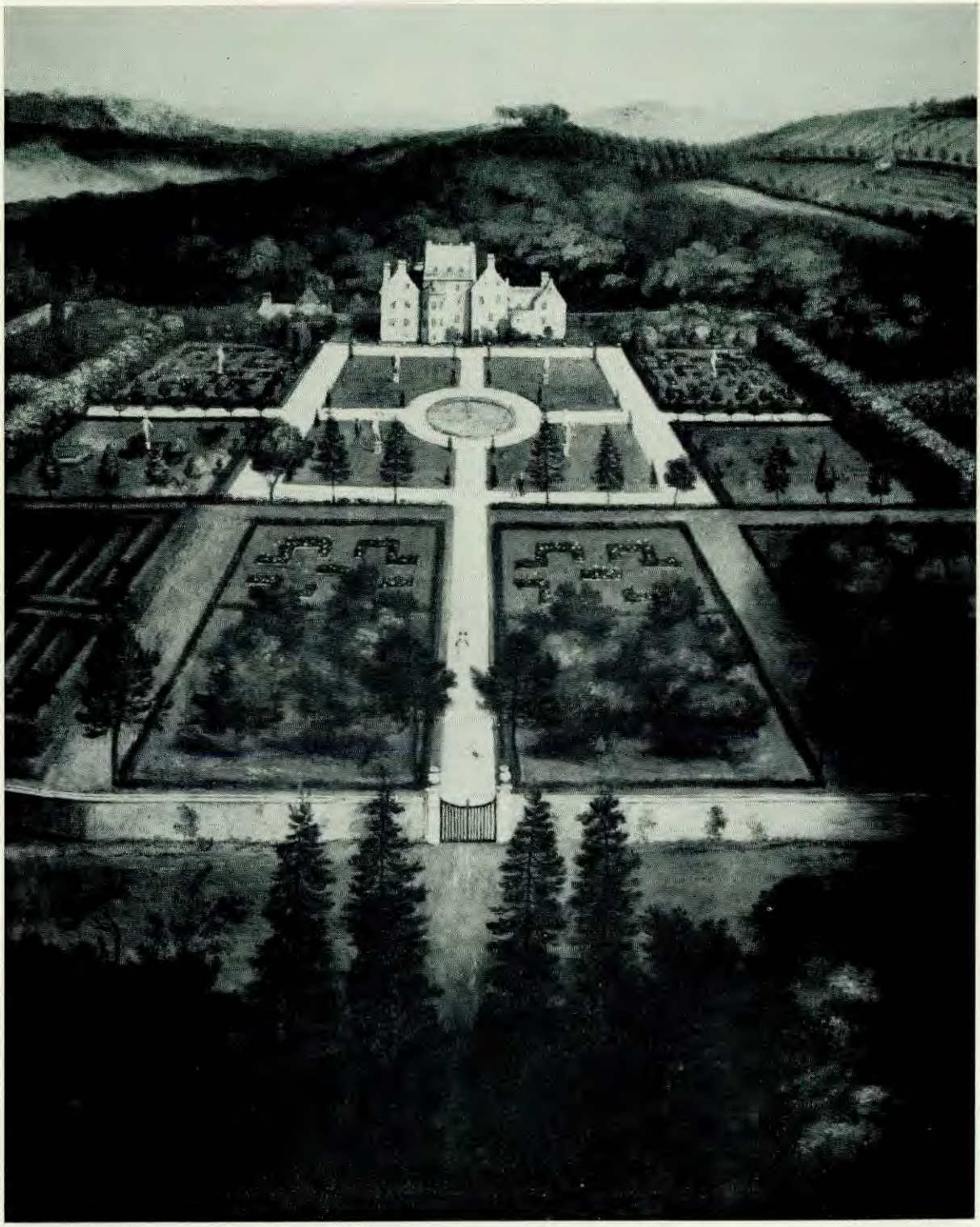


PLATE 1 The old house of Yester from the South c. 1700.

PLATE 2A The house from the south-west.

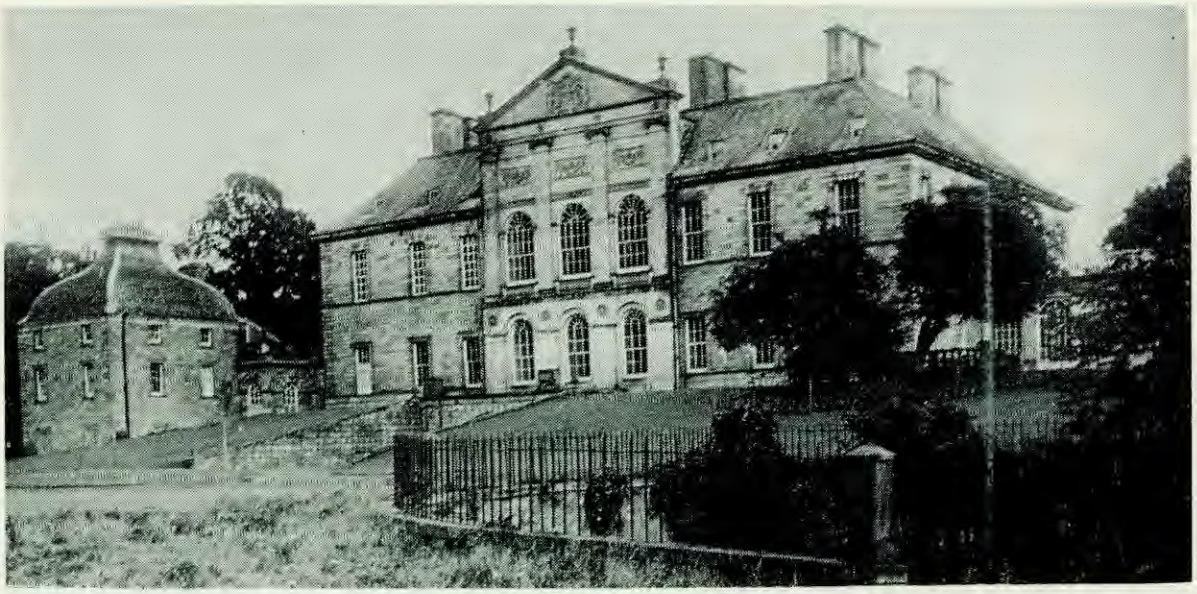


PLATE 2B The house from the north-west.

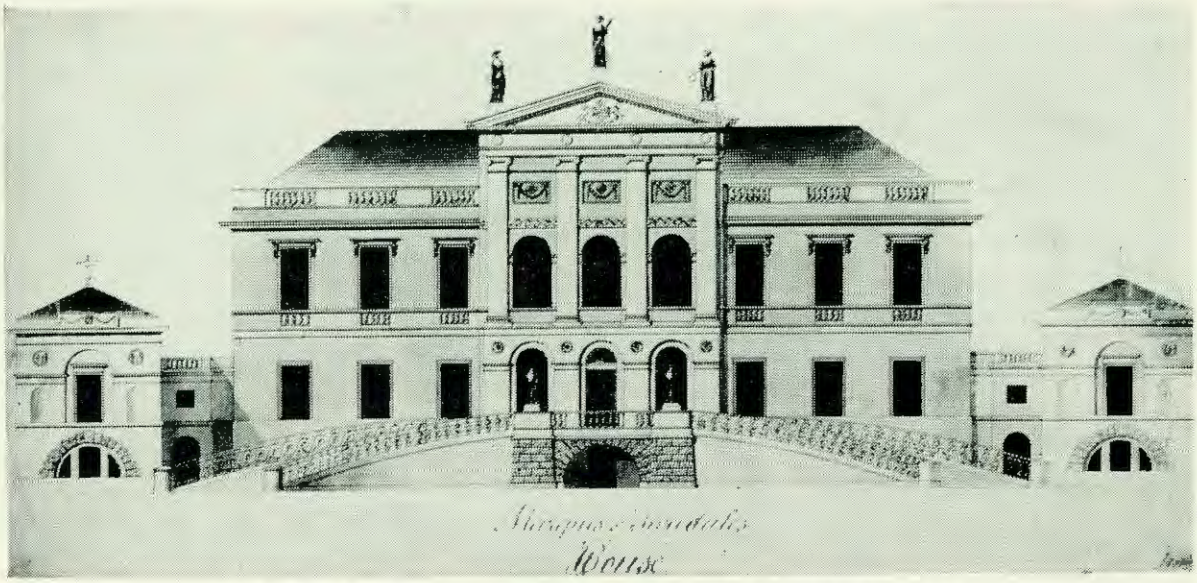


PLATE 3A Design for the north elevation, Robert Adam.

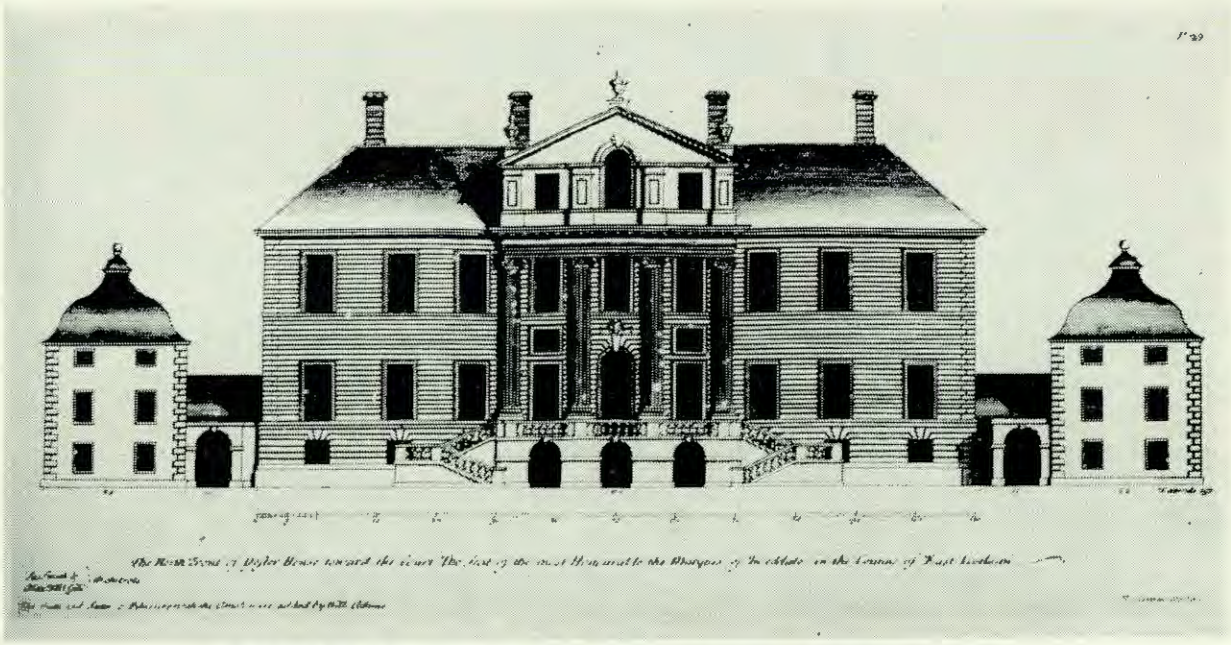


PLATE 3B Design for the north elevation, William Adam.

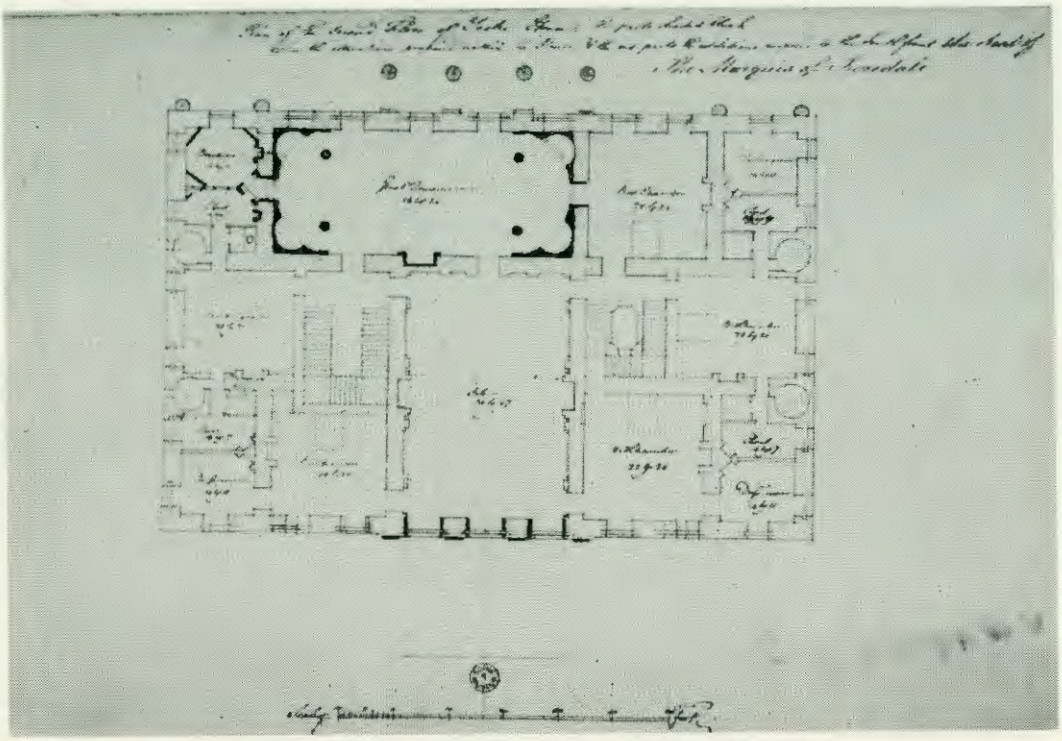


PLATE 4A First-floor plan, Robert Adam.

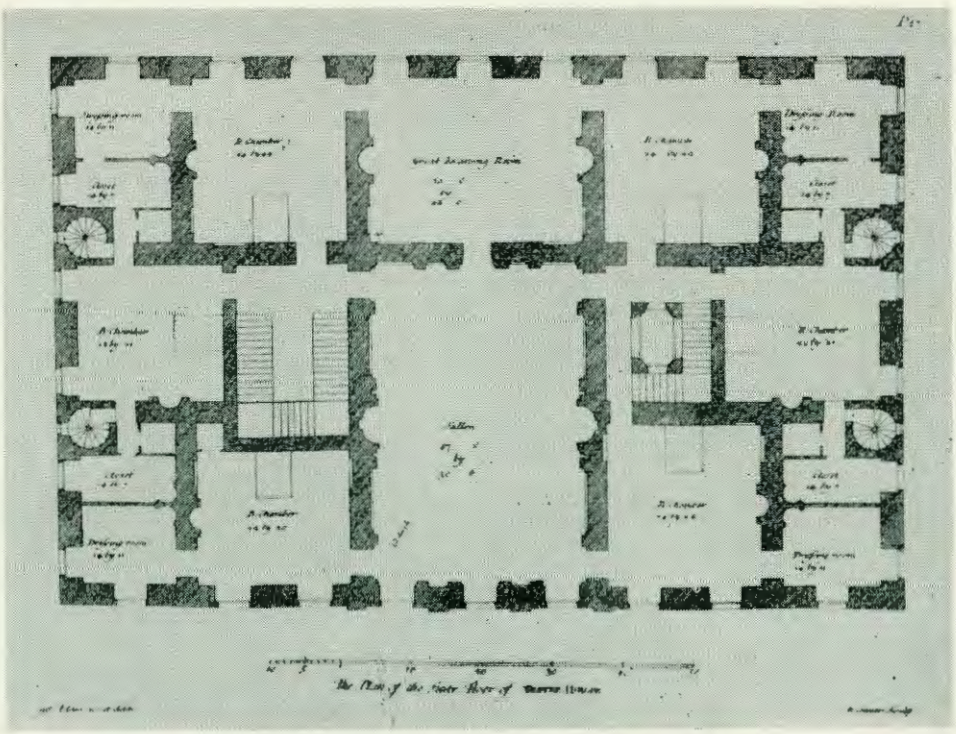


PLATE 4B First-floor plan, William Adam.

PLATE 5A Interior of the saloon.

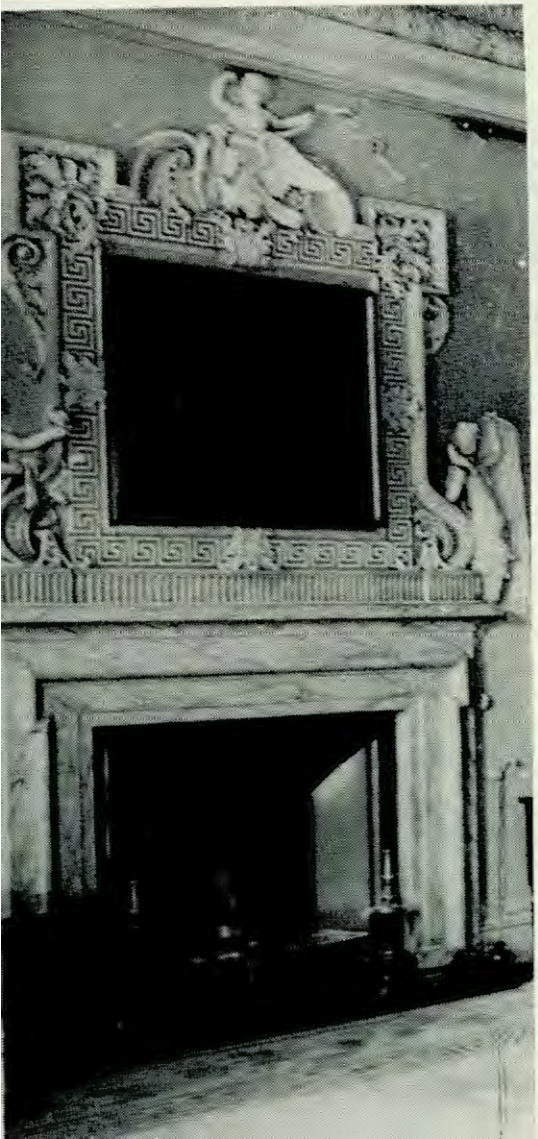


PLATE 5B Dining-room chimneypiece.

GIFFORD AND GARVALD LIGHT RAILWAY

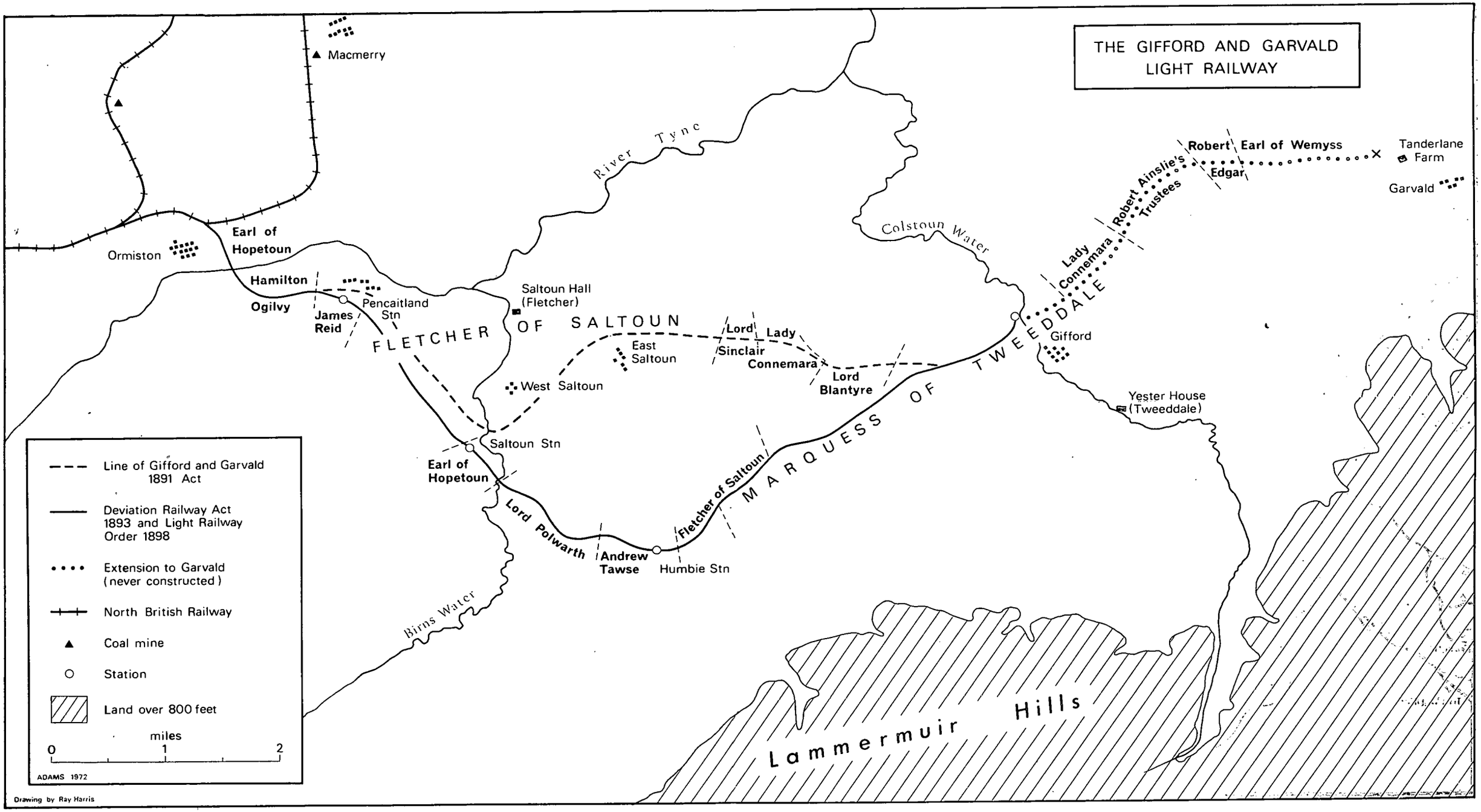


FIG. 1 The railways of East Lothian. The low density of rail network in predominantly rural East Lothian shows up in contrast to the high density in the Midlothian coalfield.

GIFFORD AND GARVALD LIGHT RAILWAY

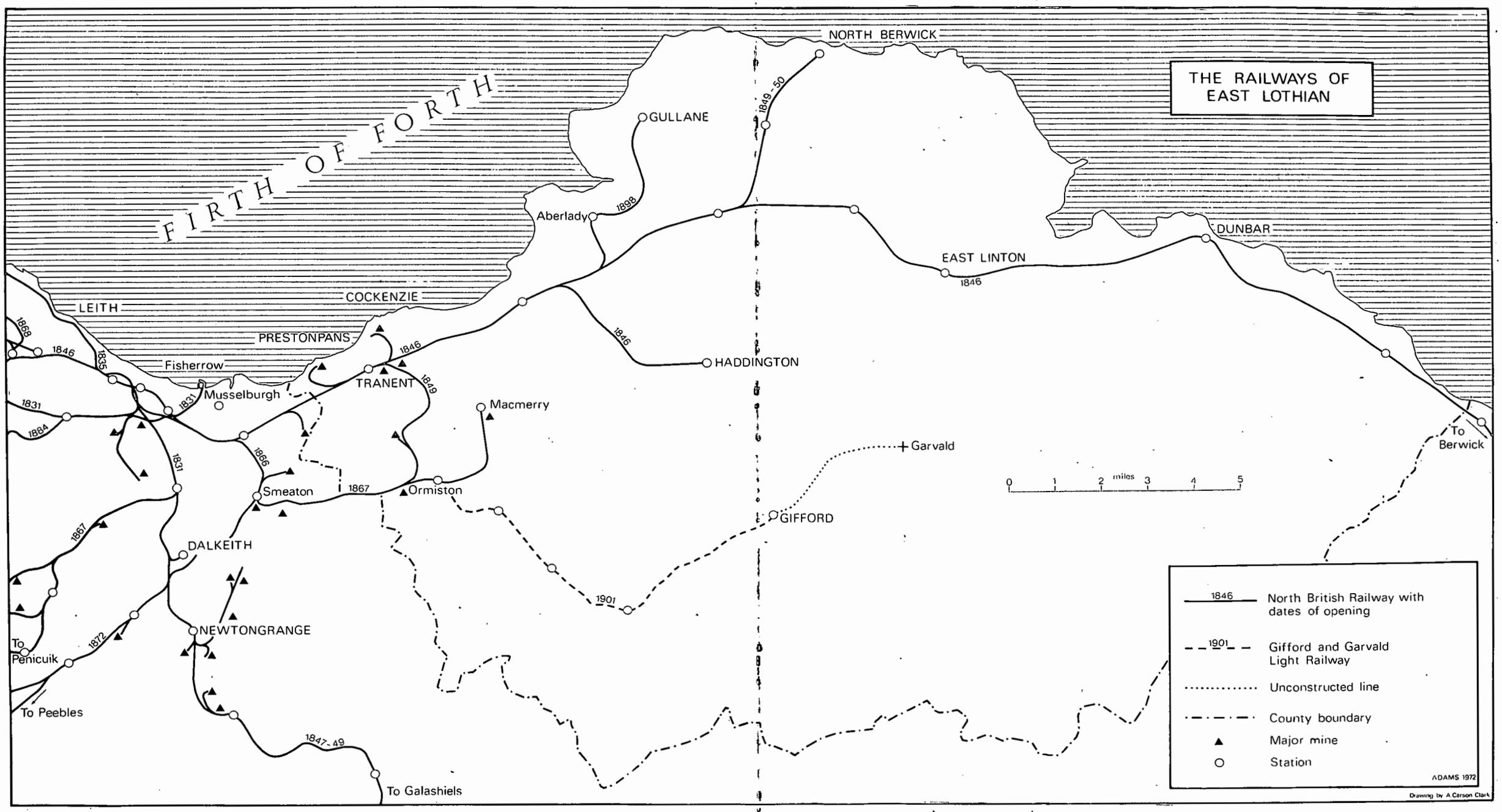


FIG. 2 The Gifford and Garvald Light Railway. The relationship between the pattern of landownership and the route taken by the company, showing the central location of Fletcher of Saltoun's estate and the subsequent deviation of 1893.

PLATE 3 North British Railway 4-4-0T class D51 No. 10459 at Gifford station on 18 October 1927. This locomotive, originally No. 147 *Slamannan* in its North British days, was built at Cowlairs in 1882 and withdrawn from service in 1929. In the background is a private-owner coal wagon belonging to Bothwell Colliery.
Boyd Collection, Scottish Record Office.

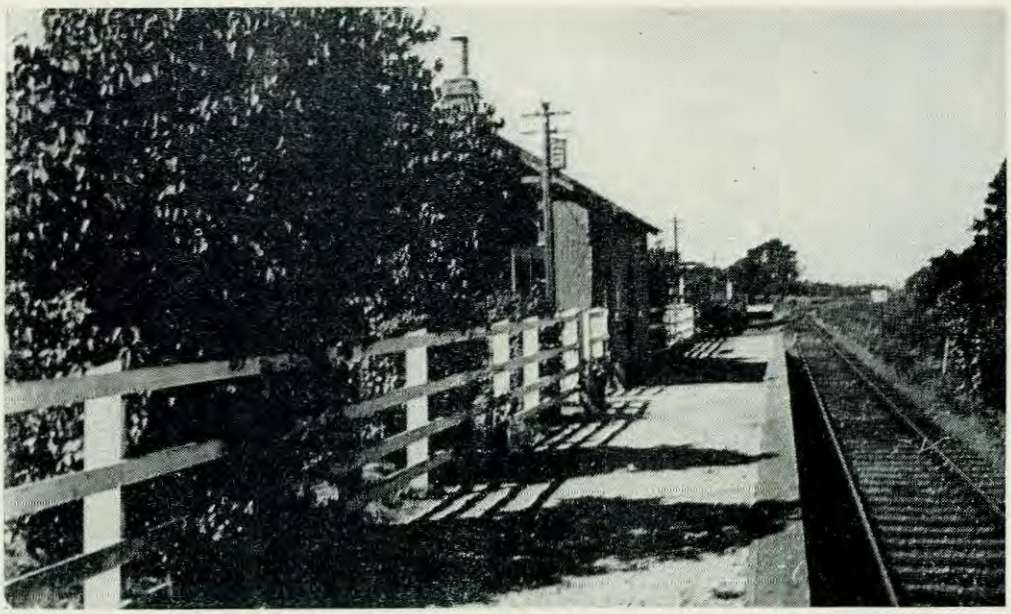


PLATE 4 Humbie station in the late 1920s when an average of 77 travellers used it weekly. *Scottish Record Office.*

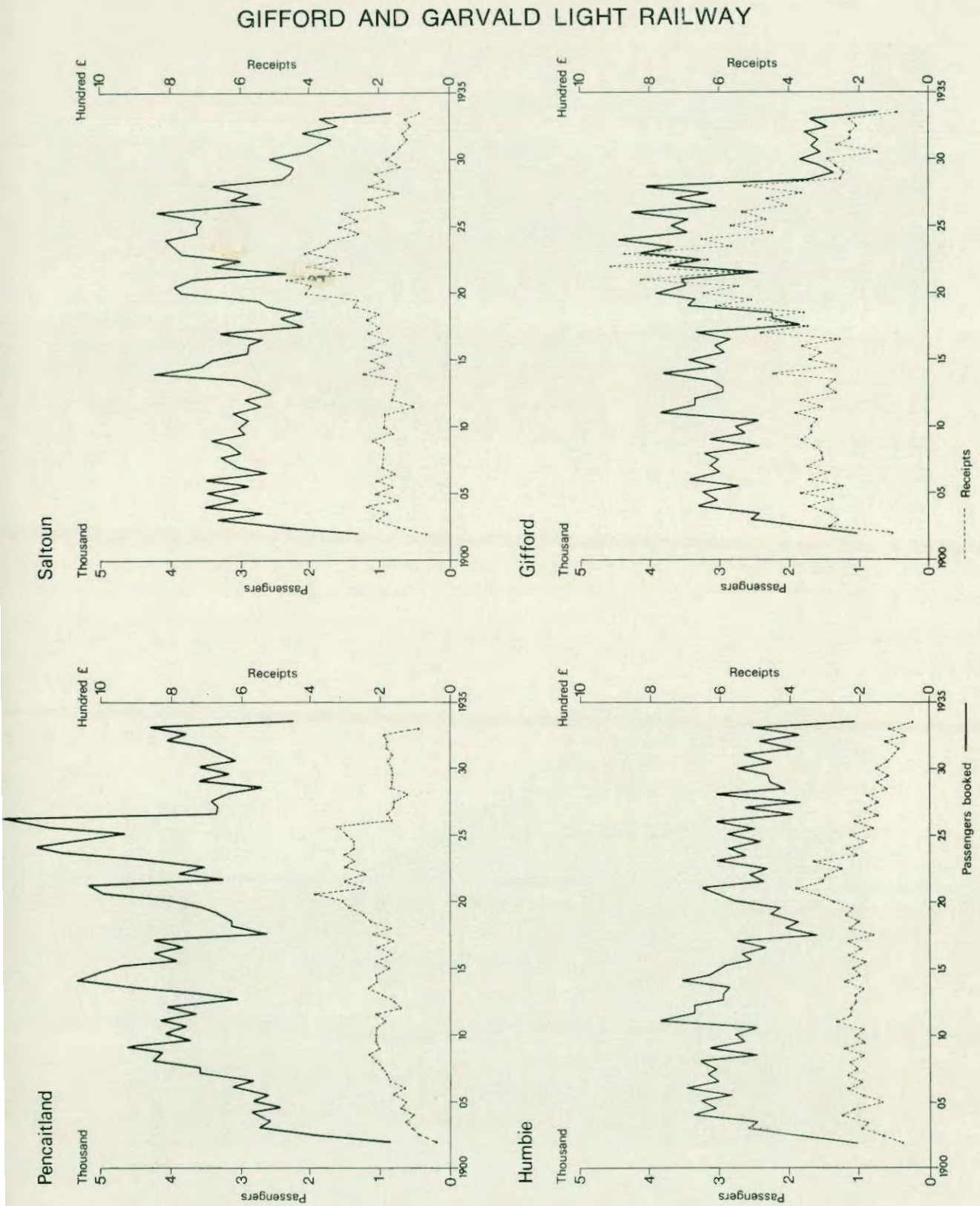


FIG. 3 Passengers booked and receipts for the stations of the Gifford and Garvald Light Railway, December 1902 to June 1933.

INDEX