

TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
EAST LOTHIAN
ANTIQUARIAN AND FIELD
NATURALISTS' SOCIETY

VOL. XVII

1982

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OF THE
EAST LoTHIAN
ANTIQUARIAN AND FIELD
NATURALISTS' SOCIETY

SEVENTEENTH VOLUME

1982

ISBN 0140-1637

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

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LADY BROUN LINDSAY (1893-1981)

IN MEMORIAM

Lady Broun Lindsay, OBE, FSAScot, President 1949-1979

In the death of Lady Broun Lindsay the Society has lost its best known member, one who brought great wisdom coupled with an unique knowledge of East Lothian and its people. She was co-opted to the Council of the Society to replace her mother when the latter left Colstoun in November 1930 and from that time onward she and others worked hard to stop the quarrying of Traprain Law. It was thus a great joy to her to learn during her terminal illness that the Countess of Balfour, the present owner was not to grant any further leases when the present quarrying lease expires in 1982 and thus this Iron Age Hill Fort would be saved.

For over fifty years she took the keenest interest in the affairs of the Society, attending all outdoor meetings until too frail to do so and also contributing learned articles to the Society's Transactions. Her extracts from the diaries of her great-grandfather the 10th Earl of Dalhousie on the visit of Queen Victoria to Scotland in 1842 make most amusing reading.¹ On quite a different level are her extracts from the Barony Court of Colstoun, her forebear George Broun of Colstoun having received a Charter from Queen Mary of the lands and barony of Colstoun.² Her keen political interests are reflected in her article on "Electioneering in East Lothian 1836-37" gleaned from the diaries of one of the candidates Lord Ramsay who won the election of July 1837 in the Tory interest but who sat in the Commons for only one year before going to the House of Lords as Earl of Dalhousie on the death of his father in March 1838.³

Perhaps not so well known was her prowess as an Archaeological Excavator. "Previous to 1913 very little seems to have been attempted in the district by way of archaeological research. In that year, however, the late Colonel J. G. A. Baird, FSAScot, made a beginning, and many ancient constructions were explored on his Muirkirk Estate. After his death the research was continued by his daughter, Mrs Broun Lindsay, FSAScot."⁴

These excavations at Muirkirk included medieval pottery kilns and so it was not surprising that on the family moving to Colstoun the kilns on that estate were excavated by Mrs Baird in the 1920's and by Lady Broun Lindsay in the 1930's. At the time of writing — November 1981 — finds from the Colstoun excavation form an important part in an exhibition on Scottish Pottery through the ages in the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland.

This obituary would not be complete without mentioning that without her enthusiasm it is doubtful whether Haddington House would have been rescued as it was she who persuaded the Society to embark upon its restoration and later to sell it to the Lamp of Lothian Trustees when the cost was found to be beyond the resources of the Society.

I would like to pay a personal tribute to her wisdom and help to me as Secretary and am certain that never shall we see her like again — a gracious lady beloved of all classes and of all political persuasions.

J. Norman Cartwright.

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GEORGE WATERSTON (1911-1980)

IN MEMORIAM

George Waterston, OBE, LL D, FRSE

(10 April 1911-20 September 1980)

George Waterston, a member of Council of the East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalists' Society for a few months before his death, was a direct descendant of the George Waterston who founded the Edinburgh firm of printers and stationers in 1752, and through his mother was related to the Sandemans, another distinguished Scottish family. His father Robert Waterston was Editor of the East Lothian Society Transactions from 1953-63. His interests were wide and varied, and success came from hard work and infectious enthusiasm. His interest in birds began as a schoolboy at Edinburgh Academy. He formed the Midlothian Ornithological Club in 1933, and in 1934 opened Britain's first co-operatively manned bird migration study centre on the Isle of May. In 1936 he was one of the founders and first honorary secretary of the Scottish Ornithologists' Club, later to become its President from 1972-75 and Honorary President.

During the war George served in the Royal Artillery; he was captured in Crete and spent some years as a prisoner of war in Germany. His repatriation in 1942 was due to the disability which was to be with him for the rest of his life. After convalescence he rejoined his family firm, but the call of ornithology was too strong. He purchased Fair Isle in 1948 and established the internationally famous Bird Observatory on the island, and in 1955 was appointed Scottish representative (later Director, Scotland) of the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds. He transferred ownership of Fair Isle to the National Trust for Scotland after six years, realising that the backing of such an organisation was necessary to ensure that the island community did not suffer the same fate as that of St Kilda.

George worked tirelessly for bird protection in Scotland until ill-health forced his early retirement in 1972. His work was recognised by the award of the OBE in 1964 for services to British ornithology and conservation, and of an honorary degree of LL D by Dundee University in 1974 for his outstanding work in these fields. He found time, with his wife Irene, to make expeditions to Greenland and Arctic Canada before renal failure made them impossible. Latterly, complete with mobile kidney equipment, he made several visits to his beloved Fair Isle, the last to attend the opening of the new Hall in July 1980 only two months before his death.

George took a keen interest in community life and was Chairman of the Humble, East and West Saltoun and Bolton Community Council from its inauguration in September 1976 to May 1979, and then remained on its Council until ill-health forced him to resign later that year. He was a man who by example gave encouragement to many others, both in his own field of ornithology and in the courage he showed in later years when his life was tied to a kidney machine. He will be sadly missed by his many friends in all walks of life. Our sympathy goes to his family and, above all, to his wife Irene who supported him so wonderfully.

Alastair D. Peirse-Duncombe.

THE BETHLEHEMITE HOSPITAL OF ST GERMAINS, EAST LOTHIAN

By ALAN MACQUARRIE

The Hospital of St Germain was the only house in Scotland of the Order of the Star of Bethlehem. This order was organised as a chapter of Augustinian canons regular under the direct control of the bishop of Bethlehem; the bishopric of Bethlehem was revived in 1110, soon after the establishment of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem,¹ and within a few decades of its foundation the bishopric was the recipient of substantial gifts of property in the west. Chief among these was the hospital founded *in usus pauperum* by William Count of Nevers in 1147 at Clamecy (départ. Nièvre) in the diocese of Auxerre, given by him to the bishop and chapter of Bethlehem.² The association between hospitals and the religious orders to which they were appropriated was usually slight and of short duration, but it has been observed that "the relation between hospitals and the Bethlehemite order . . . was closer."³ The bishops of Bethlehem retained a keen interest in their hospital at Clamecy, frequently entering into transactions with the counts of Nevers for the benefit of the hospital.⁴ The most interesting feature of the Bethlehemite hospitals was the continuing close relationship with the bishopric of Bethlehem well into the fifteenth century, even after the bishops had abandoned the Holy Land and become settled at Clamecy, from whence they administered their widely-flung chapter. This relationship is a central feature of the history of St Germain.

The early history of the Bethlehemites in Scotland, and their endowment with lands and a house in Tranent, is obscure, and most statements about the origins of St Germain have been inaccurate and misconceived.⁵ Recent evidence, however, throws new light on the history of its foundation. The earliest mention of canons of Bethlehem in Scotland comes in a charter of Robert de Quincy granting to Pagan de Hedleia certain lands in Tranent, which is witnessed among others by John Canon of Bethlehem and Ernald *socio suo*.⁶ This charter can be dated 1165 x 1185 (i.e., not earlier than 1165 and not later than 1185), and probably c. 1170.⁷ The appearance of these Bethlehemite canons in a document concerning lands in Tranent suggests that they were established in their site at St Germain by this time or soon after.

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The lands of Tranent came to Robert de Quincy through his wife Orabile c. 1165. Certainly by 1170 Robert de Quincy was disposing of lands in Tranent, and it is very likely that the canons of Bethlehem received the lands on which their hospital was built around that date. The likelihood that Robert de Quincy was the founder of the hospital of St Germain is strengthened by other evidence. He was keenly interested in the fortunes of the crusader states, and took part in the Third Crusade (1190-1192).⁸ Further, most of the early documents witnessed by members of the Bethlehemite Order were issued by members of the de Quincy family.⁹ One of these, a charter of Saher de Quincy, Earl of Winchester, which can be dated 1207 x 1213, is witnessed by Ralph Prior of St Germain and by Milo Cornet, who appears as prior of St Germain when he witnesses a charter of Roger de Quincy relating to rights in Tranent in 1222. These are the earliest references to the dedication of the hospital. It is likely that the saint in question was St German of Auxerre, and that the hospital in Tranent was colonised first by canons of Bethlehem from Clamecy, who dedicated it to the patron saint of the cathedral of their diocese.

There is no evidence at this early date for the relationship between the Bethlehemite canons of St Germain and the bishopric of Bethlehem, but later it becomes clear. As late as 1411 St Germain was described as being "usually governed by clerks of the Order of St Augustine professing the red star of Bethlehem and in the gift of the bishop of Bethlehem."¹⁰ In 1225 Renier, Bishop of Bethlehem, obtained from Pope Honorius III a faculty to correct and reform the houses of his Order, with power to institute and remove "as freely as pertains to him," because he holds "many houses in different dioceses lawfully pertaining to him, in which dwell brothers of the Order of Bethlehem, sometimes taken with a rebellious spirit so that they are disobedient and presumptuous."¹¹ In 1247 his successor Godfrey de Prefectis visited Scotland in the capacity of a papal legate, and seems to have made extreme financial demands of the Scots, perhaps not least in his own house at St Germain.¹² Presumably St Germain owed him some kind of annual cess anyway. On his homeward journey a Bethlehemite house was founded in London, which was later to become the famous Bedlam mad-house; the founder specified that he was "instituting there a prior, canons, brothers and sisters under the rule of the Church of Bethlehem, wearing a star *in cappis et mantellis*, subject to the visitation of the bishop of Bethlehem," and paying one mark sterling to the bishop each year as *census*, "in token of their subjection to him."¹³ Payments from the outlying houses of the Order to the bishops may not have been frequent, for in 1265 Thomas Bishop of Bethlehem obtained a faculty from Pope Clement IV allowing him to "enter into transactions and exchanges with religious and other ecclesiastical persons in order to realise the fruits of divers possessions of the Church of Bethlehem *in remotis mundi partibus sitas*, which are of value to the said Church."¹⁴ An instance of the bishops exercising their authority over the Chapter of Bethlehem occurred in 1308, when Wulfran, Bishop of Bethlehem, wrote to William Greenfield, Archbishop of York, requesting

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him to revoke the brothers' licence to collect alms in the northern province, because "the brothers of Bethlehem in England are disobedient to me." This was in spite of permission granted by Pope Nicholas IV to "the bishop and chapter of Bethlehem, of the Order of St Augustine, pertaining to the church without intermediary," to collect alms "for the poor and infirm," in which action the Bethlehemites had been encouraged by Greenfield's predecessor, Archbishop John le Romeyn.¹⁵

Although throughout Europe the Bethlehemites were a hospitaller order, there were regional variations in the services offered at each of their hospitals. At Bethlehem itself their chief concern was with pilgrims visiting the holy places of Christendom. In London they appear to have developed a specialty in treating mental illness by the end of the fourteenth century at the latest, though this purpose was not mentioned in their foundation charter.¹⁶ At Clamecy their hospital was founded *in usus pauperum*. The hospital at St Germain was a poor-house, in its early stages probably similar to Clamecy. In 1470 it was said that "there used to be a poor hospital and a number of brethren of the Order," and in 1496 it was described as having been "a hospital . . . for aiding and receiving poor and miserable persons."¹⁷ There is a solitary mention in a papal petition of 1477 of the care of *lepristi* at St Germain, though by this date it must have required prodigious feats of memory to recall when hospitality of any kind had last been practised.¹⁸ There is no other evidence to suggest that St Germain had ever been a leper-house.

The period of stability before the outbreak of the Anglo-Scottish war in 1296 was marked by close contact between the Hospital of St Germain and the Continent. In 1291 the master obtained from Pope Nicholas IV an indulgence in favour of pilgrims and visitors to the church of St Germain in Tranent, and also to the hospital's appropriated parish church of Aberluthnot (now Marykirk) on certain feast days in that year.¹⁹ It is probable that the years of intermittent warfare which followed resulted in a break in contact between the bishops of Bethlehem and this most remote cell of their chapter. The brothers of St Germain were caught up in the troubles of 1296, when Bartholomew Master of St Germain swore fealty to Edward I and had a regrant of his lands;²⁰ while the bishops must have been affected by the final collapse of the Crusader States in 1291. By 1332 William de Vallan, Bishop of Bethlehem, was attempting to recover his position over the Scottish house, procuring papal letters to King David II requesting his aid in recovering sums due to the bishop from certain benefices and other sources in Scotland.²¹ This indicates that relations between St Germain and the Church of Bethlehem, closely maintained during the thirteenth century, were being loosened by the second quarter of the fourteenth.

There is a considerable gap in the evidence concerning this relationship after 1332, during which important changes took place. The bishops of Bethlehem, despite an attempt to hang on *in partibus infidelium* after the fall of Acre, at last abandoned their links with the Holy Land; during the episcopate of Aimar de la

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Roche (1365- c. 1385) they finally became permanently settled at Clamecy.²² But their link with their house in Scotland became increasingly tenuous, and the Great Schism can be seen as an important factor in this development. In the uncertainty as to who had the right of presentation, there was a wealth of litigation over the hospital in which the bishops of Bethlehem figured in the early stages, but from which they dropped out by the mid-fifteenth century. In the disputes the parties were divided in their loyalties to the Roman or Avignon papacies, and to the papacy or the conciliar movement. Before the Schism there had never been more than one claimant to the hospital at any time; during it, there were often two or three. Thus, on the resignation of John Rollok, Master of the Hospital of St Germain, John l'Amy, Bishop of Bethlehem, provided it to Roger de Edinburgh sometime 1407 x 1410;²³ but in 1410 the church in France, taking with it Bishop John and Roger de Edinburgh (both then resident in France) renounced the allegiance of Pope Benedict XIII and returned to that of the Roman pope, Alexander V, while Scotland still adhered to Benedict. In consequence the patron and anyone provided by him were regarded as schismatic by the Scots; Roger de Edinburgh was described to Pope Benedict as "a notorious schismatic" who deserved to be stripped of his benefice. Two new candidates came forward, Richard de Mariton Canon of Scone, and Henry de Ramsay.²⁴ On 5 January 1410 Richard de Mariton informed the pope that the Hospital of St Germain was "wont to be given by the bishop of Bethlehem to clerks bearing the red cross," but could not himself claim to have been provided by the bishop. Henry de Ramsay claimed to have been provided to the hospital first by ordinary authority and then by apostolic authority; but he was not in a position to invoke the authority of the bishop of Bethlehem, because "Henry [Wardlaw], Bishop of St Andrews and John [l'Amy], Bishop of Bethlehem both claim the right of presentation and provision."

Henry de Ramsay seems to have gained possession and to have held the hospital until his death before 8 April 1418, whereupon Richard de Mariton gained possession.²⁵ His right was in turn disputed by three new claimants, Robert de Mirtoun, John Fleming (secretary to the Earl of Crawford), and Richard de Langlandis.²⁶ By this time the church in Scotland had fallen into line with France by finally renouncing Benedict XIII, and so Richard de Langlandis was able to claim that "John [Marchand], Bishop of Bethlehem, to whom collation, provision and disposition of the hospital pertain *omnimodo*, collated, assigned and provided it to him;" but he was sufficiently unsure of the validity of this provision to procure papal confirmation. His claim was admitted, for he held the hospital in undisputed possession until his death before 16 July 1433, when the hospital was again vacant.

By this time the papacy was already embroiled in its new dispute with the conciliar movement. Of the three new claimants to the hospital who came forward, Henry Rynde, M.A., is not heard of after 1433; the other two were Patrick Piot and Archibald Laurence (or Lawrie).²⁷ Patrick seems to have cast his lot with Dominic, Bishop of Bethlehem; Dominic, claiming that the hospital belonged to the episcopal

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mensa of Bethlehem, was granted a *commenda* of the house for as long as he was bishop of Bethlehem, and he or his procurator was to be given possession.²⁸ It would appear that Dominic had come to an out-of-court agreement with Patrick Piot, for on 23 May 1435 he resigned the hospital in favour of Piot, who was to be "received as a canon and brother of the hospital," and to make his regular profession as a member of the Order of Bethlehem. Dominic, meanwhile, was compensated with a pension of fourteen florins.²⁹ Archibald Laurence, on the other hand, was something of a conciliarist. On 5 March 1434 he was incorporated at the Council of Basle, where he had Patrick Piot cited before an auditor of the Council.³⁰ Although this course of action was hardly likely to endear him to the *curia* of Eugenius IV, the Council of Basle still represented an alternative source of authority which some ambitious Scottish churchmen were prepared to use to further their careers. Laurence was certainly persistent; on 23 May 1435 Piot claimed that he was "perhaps" still litigating at the Roman *curia* or at the Council of Basle, and more than two years later Piot submitted a fresh petition, as "he fears that Archibald will not obey the mandate."³¹

Bishop Dominic cannot have been in receipt of his pension for very long, for he was dead by the date of the same petition, 5 November 1437. The death of Dominic marks the end of attempts by the bishops of Bethlehem to maintain their control over the Hospital of St Germain; thereafter litigation over the house becomes a succession of internal Scottish disputes, without interference from the bishops. The hospital was by this time becoming increasingly secularised, no longer keeping up hospitality for the poor and becoming partially ruinous. Also in the mid-1430's it was for the first time called "the Hospital of St Germain of the *Cruciferi cum stella* of the Order of St Augustine,"³² after which the curious designation "of the *Cruciferi cum stella*" becomes common and almost invariable. This name belonged properly to a Bohemian order established in Prague in the thirteenth century, and was applied to the Bethlehemites by later confusion because of their prominent star.³³ The Bethlehemites were canons regular, and there were never crutched friars at St Germain. The existence of such confusion by 1435 suggests that regular religious life at St Germain may have disappeared even before the bishops of Bethlehem abandoned their last attempts to control the house.

Patrick Piot possessed the Hospital of St Germain for more than forty years, during which time he used its revenues to advance members of his own family, and allowed the house itself to become decayed. In 1466 his brother, Thomas Piot, is found acting as his bailie for St Germain's lands in Crail.³⁴ In 1470 Alexander Piot, presumably another relative, petitioned for the hospital's appropriated parish church of Aberluthnot, claiming that the perpetual vicarage of Aberluthnot was "wont to be held by brethren of the Hospital of St Germain of Bethlehem of the Order of the *Cruciferi cum stella* under the rule of St Augustine," but had in fact been unlawfully detained by a certain John Couk, priest, "without assuming the habit

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worn by the brethren or making their regular profession." It may be inferred that Patrick Piot had failed to provide a vicar, so that "the vicarage was void for so long that . . . its collation had lapsed to the apostolic see," that the ordinary of St Andrews had intervened and provided John Couk, and that the Piots were now litigating to get the vicarage back into their own hands.³⁵ At the same time Patrick Piot was trying to make sure of his control over the hospital's other appropriated parish of Glenmuick (Aberdeenshire); on 9 January 1470 he petitioned for papal confirmation of its appropriation, as it had been "held and possessed by his predecessors from time beyond the memory of man," although "the said union and annexation cannot be proved."³⁶ Probably there was a similar threat to Piot's rights in Glenmuick; it is unlikely that such a threat would have occurred had Piot not been neglectful of his duties in respect of the parish and its spiritual care.

He seems to have been equally negligent as far as the hospital itself was concerned. On 7 December 1470 Pope Paul II was informed that "a son of iniquity, Patrick Piot, *rector* called master of the House of St Germain's, has not feared to dilapidate the precious *iocalia* of that house, wont to be held by religious persons of the Order of the *Cruciferi cum stella*, who maintained in it a poor hospital and some professed members of the Order; he keeps up no hospitality nor professed members of the order, and profanes the church in which there were altars and other chapels with relics of the saints, and he has permitted laymen to dwell therein with their wives and families as in a private house, *non sine emissione seminis ac effusione sanguinis*; they are living there at present, and there is no celebration of divine offices."³⁷ As a result of these charges, Patrick was deprived, though apparently not physically dispossessed. He immediately appealed to the Roman *curia* against the sentence, and "while the principal business was pending undecided before the last auditor, Patrick and John [Chalmer, who had brought the accusations] made a concord without the authority of the Holy See, that John should cede his right in the case, leave Patrick peaceably in possession of the hospital, and that Patrick should pay a certain sum of money . . . by way of an annual pension to John; and for execution of the said concord assigned to John the teind fruits of certain lands then expressed."³⁸ The teinds assigned to him were from the villis of Barnes and Inglesmaldie in Aberluthnot, of which John Chalmer was in receipt in 1473 and 1475.³⁹ In 1475 John Chalmer petitioned the pope that he would admit this pension, "give mandate to assign and provide it to John, and grant that after the death or resignation of Patrick, John may enjoy the said teinds for his lifetime."⁴⁰ But on 4 September 1476 John Ruck, priest, objected to the pope that this out-of-court settlement between Piot and Chalmer "bears the stain of simony, and both Patrick and John merit to be deprived," and a new investigation was ordered.⁴¹ It seems that when John Chalmer resigned his right upon settling with Piot, his right was surrogated to a certain Thomas Lyel, priest of the diocese of Brechin, who was granted the house *in commendam*, but who never seems to have made his *commenda* effective and

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resigned it on 30 August 1477. Thereupon John Chalmer, still holding his pension of the teinds of Barnes and Inglesmaldie, and claiming that "he proposes to restore the church and its hospital, which are ruinous, and to keep hospitality there," petitioned that it should be granted to him *in commendam*.⁴² If not for any other reason, Chalmer must be admired for his tenacity.

Chalmer's longtime ambition to control St Germain's in person was, however, frustrated by the long-lived Patrick Piot. Unknown to Chalmer (who on 30 August 1477 described the hospital as vacant "by free resignation of Patrick Piot") Piot had in fact resigned the hospital in August 1476 in favour of his nephew Thomas Piot, and Thomas had procured a bull from Sixtus IV appointing mandataries to receive him as a brother and master of the Hospital of St Germain's of the *Cruciferi cum stella* . . . and to receive his regular profession."⁴³ Within a few months Thomas is found acting as master of St Germain's, for on 18 April 1478 he petitioned for confirmation of the annual pension of 24 marks Scots (£9 sterling) due to John Ruck, who, said Piot, "has often undertaken heavy labours and expenses for the defence of the hospital and its rights, at the Roman *curia* and *in partibus*, and for certain other causes."⁴⁴ The "certain other causes," and probably the true reason for the petition, may have been that Ruck was threatening to renew legal action which he had begun at the papal *curia* two years before. The career of Patrick Piot was indeed remarkable. He occupied the hospital of St Germain's for more than forty years, during which time all hospitality and religious worship disappeared, withstood the accusations of a number of determined opponents, and finally managed to pass on the hospital to a member of his own family. Thomas Piot succeeded to a house which was burdened with pensions, but at least none of them was due to the bishop of Bethlehem.

Although John Chalmer secured a regrant of his pension from Thomas Piot on 21 October 1479,⁴⁵ he was anxious to make as much of the situation as possible, and renewed litigation soon after. On 5 April 1480 he represented to the pope that he had been granted a *commenda* of the house when it was vacant, and that he had "undertaken labours, pains and expenses to implement it against Thomas Piot." The two men again came to an agreement whereby Thomas was to remain in possession and Chalmer received an increase of his pension; now in addition to the teind sheaves of Barnes and Inglesmaldie, he was also to receive those of Balmakelly, Burgarton, Drumnogair, Pitgarvie, Thornton and Muirton in Aberluthnot.⁴⁶ This must have considerably reduced the hospital's own income from Aberluthnot; and indeed under Thomas Piot, the last independent master of St Germain's, the house was saddled with pensions. From what was left of the fruits of Aberluthnot after John Chalmer had taken his substantial share, a pension of £20 Scots was paid to a certain Richard Rollok Canon of Moray, at least as early as 7 July 1487; Rollok had raised a sentence against Thomas Piot at the Apostolic *camera*, and "it was alleged that neither had any right to the hospital, and it was awarded to Thomas, reserving a pension to Richard."⁴⁷ Another pension of £9 sterling was being paid to John Ruck Vicar of

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Leslie by 16 April 1478; if this was being drawn from the teinds of Glenmuick it must have left very little for the vicar of Glenmuick or for the hospital, as the fruits were said in 1470 to be worth £9 sterling.⁴⁸ In another petition to the pope Thomas Piot complained that his orator at the Roman *curia*, William Pico, falsely asserted that Piot promised to pay him 100s. Scots for seven years and failed to do so, and that Pico was using his influence in Rome to compel Piot to pay him; but the auditor to whom the case was committed at Rome found in favour of Piot on 3 July 1490.⁴⁹ Thomas Piot was thus spared the payment of yet another pension from the revenues of St Germain's, but the litigation involved must have been costly. This dismal situation fully justified the description of St Germain's submitted to Pope Alexander VI in 1496: "There was for an incalculable length of time in the diocese of St Andrews a hospital for the aiding and receiving of poor and miserable persons, with divers rents and possessions, the *rector* of which was wont to be called master and who lived in the regular habit of the *Cruciferi cum stella* under the Rule of St Augustine; but either by the carelessness of the masters, or in cases where the masters prosecuted the rights of the hospital against various persons and suffered expenses, the revenues of the hospital have been diminished, so that for as long as can be remembered there has been no hospitality in that hospital, the chapel of St German is in ruins, the fruits occupied by secular persons and converted to profane uses; and the master, Thomas Piot, cannot recover the rights of the hospital."^{49a}

But help was at hand. William Elphinstone, Bishop of Aberdeen, was casting about in search of endowments for his projected university at Aberdeen; with a view to recovering the revenues of the hospital for his new foundation, he entered into an agreement with Thomas Piot in April 1494 for the annexation of the hospital and its fruits (including the teinds of Aberluthnot and Glenmuick) to the new college of Aberdeen, "by reason of the feuds among the members of the hospital and their dilapidation of the rents thereof."⁵⁰ Elphinstone and King James IV petitioned the Pope for the annexation of the hospital, and this was granted by Alexander VI on 9 February 1495/6; the formal annexation was completed when Thomas Piot resigned the hospital into Elphinstone's hands on 9 August 1497.⁵¹ Piot and John Chalmer were both compensated with benefices from the gift of the bishop of Aberdeen.⁵²

With these transactions the independent history of the Hospital of St Germain's comes to an end. The hospital itself continued, however, for Elphinstone made provision for its revival and re-establishment as a dependency of Aberdeen University. He proposed in 1496 "to sustain one religious person of the Order [of the *Cruciferi cum stella*] and three poor people in the hospital," and three poor scholars in the university; to this end Elphinstone appointed procurators to take possession of the hospital.⁵³ There are fleeting glimpses in the sixteenth century which show the existence of a chaplaincy at St Germain's. In 1536 Peter Hutcheson held a chaplainry with an annual value of £5 sterling; in 1577 it was held by Alexander Morrison (*Moresone alias Moreis*) "chaplain or preceptor of the chapel of St Germain's of the

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Star of Bethlehem in Lothian."⁵⁴ It can be seen that Bishop Elphinstone had been as good as his word.

In conclusion, it has been shown that for most of its history the Hospital of St Germain was subject to external influences. Until the fifteenth century, the chief influence was that of the bishops of Bethlehem, who controlled appointments to the mastership and drew part of the revenues of the house. Their control was progressively weakened by the Anglo-Scottish war, the displacement of the bishopric of Bethlehem, and the Great Schism, and finally by the late 1430's it disappeared altogether. Thereafter, freed from all outside influence, the hospital became increasingly decayed and ruinous. When it was finally annexed to Aberdeen University, there was once again an external correcting influence, under which some semblance of the original hospitality and religious worship were restored.

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'SEMPLE' OR 'SIMPLE'? ADAM WALLACE, AN EAST LOTHIAN MARTYR

By IAN A. MUIRHEAD

In March 1548, a Scottish correspondent informed the Earl of Somerset that 'the Governor porposses to caus cut down the lard of Ormestounis vod evere stek, and bare to Edenburghe, lay the rest to geder and burn et.'

John Cockburn of Ormiston was in trouble with the government for a number of reasons, including suspected trafficking with the English, harbouring the heretic Wishart, and breaking ward from Edinburgh Castle. When he was banished and forfeited, his wife and son Alexander sought refuge in Winton Castle, where Alexander, a youth of considerable promise, formerly one of Knox's pupils in St Andrews Castle, was instructed by Adam Wallace.² Wallace, himself an Ayrshire man, had married into an East Lothian family, that of the Levingtons of Saltcoats, traditionally armour-bearers to the Haliburtons of Dirleton. Beatrix, Wallace's wife, was a daughter of John Levington and Beatrix Seatoun, eldest of the four natural daughters of Lord Winton. Wallace and his wife had at least one child — it was one of the minor charges at his trial that he had baptized his own infant. About the end of June, or early in July 1550, Wallace was taken from Winton Castle by servants of the Archbishop of St Andrews, lodged in prison in Edinburgh, tried for heresy and finally executed on the Castlehill, probably on 17 July.³ John Knox, writing from Dieppe in December 1557 to 'the Professors of the Truth in Scotland,' sought to rally what he considered were their flagging spirits, by recalling to their minds the fortitude of those who had already died for their cause, 'the blud of thois constant martiris of Chryst Jesus, Mr George Wishart, simpill Adame Wallace, and of uthiris whilk did suffer for Chrystis cause.'⁴ Knox must have had lively memories of Wishart, to whom he had been bodyguard, but it is not clear if he had any personal knowledge of Wallace, whom he describes as 'a sempill man, without great learnyng, but ane that was zelous in godlynes and of ane uprycht lyeff'. Subsequent historians have taken this to mean that Wallace was a good man of mediocre intelligence, a judgement less than fair to the individual and to his importance as a witness to the progress of reformed thought in Scotland.

Almost all we know of Wallace with any certainty is contained in the accounts of his trial by Knox and Foxe.⁵ Foxe had by the late 1540s found refuge in the Lutheran

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household of the Duchess of Richmond, where he was tutor to the children of the executed Earl of Surrey.⁶ He had already conceived the idea of recording the sufferings of God's faithful people, had gathered materials and made a first draft, when it became necessary to seek safety on the Continent. There he published *Commentarii Rerum in Ecclesia Gestarum* (Strasbourg, 1554), but delayed further writing on hearing that Edmund Grindal and a group of English exiles at Strasbourg were engaged on a similar project. It became clear that Grindal's project was becalmed, and, meanwhile, from England and perhaps from Scotland, Foxe had been gathering testimonies, extracts of registers, examinations, and letters. In 1559 he published *pars prima* (all issued) of *Rerum in Ecclesia Gestarum . . . in qua primum de rebus per Angliam et Scotiam gestis . . . narratio continetur* which was followed, after his return to England, by the first edition of the *Acts and Monuments* (1563), the second, third and fourth editions appearing in 1570, 1576 and 1583. Foxe indicates in a general way his Scottish sources; 'e scripo testimonio Scotorum', 'ex registris et instrumentis a Scotia missis', 'ex fideli testimonio e Scotia misso'; but the account of Wallace's trial differs from the rest in having a date attached, 'ex testimoniis et literis a Scotia petitis. an. 1550'.⁷ This sets a problem. Either the date of the martyrdom has got attached by accident to the source-note, or Foxe must have had Scottish materials in his hands which he did not in fact use until much later. There was nothing inherently impossible in his having obtained material as early as 1550, by which time he was already in process of gathering information.

Whenever Foxe received his information, the implication of his note that he had a variety of material is reflected in what he prints. There is a clear break both in content and in mood. The description of the trial is factual and objective, but in contrast, that of the imprisonment and execution is vivid and vehement, characterised by such phrases as the descriptions of Friar Abercromby as a 'subtile sophister', of Hew Terrye, who was in charge of the prisoner, as 'an ignorant minister and imp of Satan' filled with 'devilish venom', and of the provost of Edinburgh as a man of 'great menacing words'.

Thus the 'trial narrative' suggests official documents, or a careful, objective set of notes — the sederunt, the seating, the numbered charges, the detail of the debate must surely ultimately rest on a *verbatim* account, and the existence of such a source is confirmed by a point at which Foxe misunderstands his source. He makes the accuser, John Lauder say: 'Thou hast preached . . . against all the vii sacraments, which for shortness of time I pretermit and over pass'.⁸ It is clear from Knox's version that other such matters were in fact discussed at the trial, so it cannot have been Lauder who said he was omitting them. This must be a comment by Foxe's correspondent, who has grown weary of copying out what lies before him.

It has sometimes been suggested that Knox was one of Foxe's sources, but had this been so, it is hard to see how Knox, giving his own account of events in the *History*, could have so competely forgotten everything of which he had informed

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Foxe. Knox was already in England by the date of the trial, and for his own knowledge may have depended on the recollections of those present, such as Glencairn (‘yitt alive’) whose outburst he records.⁹ The one apparent point of contact, the description of Wallace as a ‘sempill’ (or ‘simple’) man is misleading, for Foxe’s ‘simple poor man in appearance’ may be an idiosyncrasy of his own unrelated to Knox.¹⁰

The sources are independent, but they are complementary, together providing us with a coherent account of a long trial.

| Foxe | Knox |
|---|--|
| Sederunt named | Only the Duke and the Earl of Huntly named |
| Examination of accused as to name and birth | Lacking |
| General reference to the charge of preaching | ‘He took upon him to preach’ |
| Lacking | Wallace’s defence of his right to expound Scripture |
| First charge and reply | Lacking |
| Intervention by Huntly | Intervention by Huntly |
| Lacking | Wallace reply to Huntly |
| Second charge and reply | Lacking |
| Lacking | Second intervention by Huntly |
| Included in reply to second charge | Wallace replies |
| Third charge and reply | Lacking |
| Lacking | Charges of baptizing his own child; denying purgatory and prayers for the dead and denying prayers to saints |
| Wallace solemnly protests his innocence, and declares his blood will be required at the hands of his judges | A fragment of this included at an earlier point |
| Lacking | Glencairn declares he is not consenting to the death sentence |
| Lengthy account of imprisonment and execution | Brief reference to execution only |

Before taking up the substance of the trial, what can be ascertained about Adam Wallace himself?

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His name was Adam Wallace, *alias* Feane (Foxe says, John Feane)¹¹ and he was born within two miles of Fail, in Ayrshire. Beyond this, until the day of his arrest, his history is all a matter of conjecture. His *alias* may simply point to illegitimacy; thus he had a contemporary, Alexander Wallace *alias* Glasfurde, expressly described as natural son of Hugh Glasfurde.¹² On the other hand there were many reformers who found an *alias* useful; Charles d'Espeville tours Italy, John Sinclair corresponds with Edinburgh friends, John Turner is in England in 1544, each more or less disguised from the familiar John Calvin, John Knox and John Craig. Wallace too might have found an alternative name useful. Feane seems originally to have been Fiennes, a village in the English sector near Calais, then occurring as an English surname, and from the beginning of the century, as a surname in Ayrshire.¹³ Unfortunately Adam was an extremely popular Christian name in the Wallace families, and there are at least three contemporaries, all associated with Fail, or Failford in the 1540s.

A Mr Adam Wallace, a Glasgow graduate, was involved in Glencairn's abortive rebellion in 1544, and witnessed charters at Failford (31 January 1545) and at Finlayston (14 September, 1545/6).¹⁴

On 29 August, 1543, one Adam Wallace, notary public, drew up the instrument of a final accounting between William Coningham of Coningameheid, tacksman of the lands of Failford, and Adam Wallace in Auldton. This notary can be traced through a series of charters in the General Register House and in the Laing Charters, the latest noted being 5 June 1549.¹⁵ He is described at times as 'presbyter of Glasgow diocese, by apostolic authority, notary public' a status which corresponds so closely to that of Knox himself, that it is a great temptation to identify him with the martyr. He (or yet another Adam Wallace) was chaplain and procurator of Katherine Wallace and William Skirling her spouse, in 1548.¹⁶ It could certainly be questioned whether a notary would say of himself, as the martyr did, 'I have not much Latin',¹⁷ but, taken in its context, this might mean no more than that Wallace lacked the technical Latin of the theological schools and so could not enter into a formal debate on the technical Latin term 'consecratio'.

One other reference deserves note, since it shows an Adam Wallace in 'reformed' company; along with one Robert Fullerton and others, he was witness to a charter of John Erskine at Dun, 16 July 1548.¹⁸ Fullerton had been associated with Erskine over a number of years, but the surname, like Wallace is an Ayrshire one, and in fact Adam Wallace the notary, had done work for a branch of the Fullerton family on several occasions.

If it is impossible to be sure of any reference to Wallace's early life, it might be at least suspected, since he turns up in East Lothian like others, that he had wanderings in the cause of reform to be compared with those of such other Ayrshire men as Robert Lokhart, and Robert Campbell of Kinyeancleuch, who

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' . . . like a busie bee
Did ride the post in all Countrie:
Baith North and Sowth, baith East and West
To all that the gude cause profest:
Through Angus, Fyfe and Lawthiane
Late journies had he many ane;
By night he would passe forth of Kyle
And slip in shortly in Argyle
Syne to Stratherne and to all parts
Where he knew godly zealous hearts; . . . '19

Wallace might well have known a similar life until he married and settled at Winton Castle with Beatrix Levington. All the indisputable references to him concern his arrest and trial, and here we have one source in addition to Foxe and Knox; this is in papers relating to Archbishop Hamilton of St Andrews. The background to it comes from the successive vacancies in the archbishoprics of Glasgow and St Andrews caused by the death of Gavin Dunbar and the murder of Beaton, coupled with the vigorous efforts of the House of Hamilton to further its own family interest.

When Dunbar died in the spring of 1547, there was an immediate attempt to provide an illegitimate half-brother of the Regent, one James Hamilton, to the see of Glasgow,²⁰ and, though this failed, success attended the provision of another illegitimate half-brother, John Hamilton, Abbot of Paisley and Bishop of Dunkeld, to the St Andrews vacancy (28 November 1547).²¹ This appointment was against the wishes of the Chapter and for this, and perhaps other reasons, there were delays, so that as late as June 1549, the see of St Andrews was still described as vacant, Hamilton being referred to as Bishop of Dunkeld or even as Abbot of Paisley, but by 4 July he was 'archiepisopus S Andree Scotie primatus legatus'.²² The peace of Boulogne included Scotland, and the French king, Henry II, gave instructions for the Cardinal of Guise to seek the appointment of a papal legate for Scotland. This was supported by the Privy Council,²³ but nothing came of it, and by 1554 Hamilton was still seeking the confirmation and extension of the powers of *legatus natus* enjoyed by his predecessor, from which the late Archbishop of Glasgow had successfully claimed exemption. It was in the interest of this that John Row, acting for the archbishop in Rome, was supplied with documents to support the cause for which he appeared. It is in one of these documents that we have a glimpse of Adam Wallace.²⁴

The argument of the document is that the archbishopric of Glasgow needs the supervision of the Archbishop of St Andrews, since it has always, because of its propinquity to England, contained a great number of heretics, who come and go with ease, spreading their bad manners and perverted opinions. There have been scandals and enormities, 'burning of images of God and the saints, contempt of prelates, assaults on priests and monks, and the disregard of church laws, e.g. in the eating of forbidden foods.' The late archbishop could neither himself control his diocese, nor

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would he, in virtue of the exemption which he claimed, permit the primate to intervene with his powers of correction. When the see became vacant, Hamilton had obtained authority from the Provincial Council to visit the diocese, and had dealt personally with some of the heresiarchs and their supporters.

He had personally attacked the House of Ochiltree, taking from it and confining to prison, an 'apostate' called McBair, and punishing his supporters with heavy fines: similarly he had obtained the punishment of another heresiarch 'Vallasius', a native of the Glasgow diocese, and a setter forth of heretical opinions, whom he had brought before a council of all the prelates of the realm, which convicted the heretic, and handed him over to be burned by the secular authority.

Hamilton is of course presenting a case, and to that extent may be enlarging upon (or suppressing) what really happened, but in general the account he gives can be supported from other sources. After the failure of James Hamilton to secure appointment there, Glasgow remained vacant, while yet another Hamilton, Gavin, son of James Hamilton of Raploch, Abbot of Kilwinning, became dean and vicar-general, appearing as such at the Provincial Council of 1549.²⁵ This was the second Council since John Hamilton's consecration. It ratified the decisions of its predecessor, sought to give effect to some of the decrees of Trent, and attempted to increase control over abuses. This included a vigorous attack on heretical views, a suggested pattern of topics on which suspected heretics should be examined, and a charge to local ordinaries "to prosecute these inquisitions with the greatest thoroughness possible", using the "utmost rigour of the law against heresiarchs and sacramentarians, and chiefly against those who inveigh against the sacrament of the eucharist".²⁶ If this Council did give the Archbishop express authority to visit the see of Glasgow the fact is not on record, but it is clear that Hamilton was in the west that autumn,²⁷ and returned to take vigorous action in the spring of 1550: the absence of the vicar-general in Rome may have made this more easy.²⁸

The descent on Ochiltree took place before March 4, 1550 on which day Andrew Stewart, Lord Ochiltree was entered in the Treasurer's books at Hamilton as surety for £2,000 that McBair would remain 'at fre ward within the castell of Hamiltoun' and would not depart without licence from the Treasurer (who was the archbishop).²⁹ The Stewarts of Ochiltree were a family with some claim to be regarded as on the side of reform, but with somewhat shaky allegiance. Walter, a son of the house, had been forfeited for heresy in 1537, when Andrew Stewart was given the escheat of his son's estate.³⁰ Now, although Stewart went surety for McBair, it is perhaps significant that no charge of 'resetting' is mentioned, and later events suggest that some of the protestants thought he had surrendered him too easily; moreover the Master of Ochiltree was among Wallace's judges.³¹

In March 1550 action was also taken against James Kennedy and George Lokhart, brother of the Laird of the Bar, for an assault on M John Girvan, which had cost the latter 'his lug'; they failed to find security and were put to the horn.³²

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In April the Archbishop was back in St Andrews, and in May he was in Edinburgh when news arrived that his prisoner had escaped, having been taken out of Hamilton Castle 'in silence of night', and was now lodged with the Laird of the Bar.³³ There was an immediate flurry of activity; on the 22nd the Lords ordained letters upon Lord Ochiltree, who had been surety for McBair, and two days later Andrew Forster, pursuivant, was despatched from Edinburgh to charge the Laird of Bar and his 'complices' to find surety to underly the law for the 'putting of MacBair furth'.³⁴ Lokhart and his friends were by now on the point of adding to their crimes; on 25th May they set upon and killed Ochiltree, and, though the assault was later ascribed to 'old feud and forethought felony', it has the appearance of rough justice for whatever obscure part Stewart of Ochiltree had played in the protestant preacher's arrest.³⁵

Hamilton returned to the west, for, before 4 June, there is a note of 'ane boy direct to Hammiltoun with letteris to my Lord of St Andrews',³⁶ but he had irretrievably lost his prisoner, a fact which was not mentioned in the later version of events. He soon had other fish in his net, for, hoping — according to popular talk³⁷ — to have taken Cockburn of Ormiston, he made a sudden descent upon Winton Castle. His captive was not the man he looked for, but turned out to be Adam Wallace, 'Vallasius', who could easily be represented as another heretic from the diocese of Glasgow.

By mid-July, secular and ecclesiastical powers were in full operation against the heretics and their supporters, though the secular authorities had to content themselves with escheating estates, and putting the absent offenders to the horn. Thus on July 15, John Lokhart of Bar, John his brother-germane, Charles Campbell of Skerrington and William Campbell his son were denounced as rebels and put to the horn for the assault on Ochiltree; their cautioners, James Dalrymple of Stair, and William Campbell, brother of the Laird of Cessnock, were amerced.³⁸ The following day other two cautioners, Mathew Campbell, junior sheriff of Ayr, and George Campbell of Cessnock, forfeited their assurances, when two Lokharts and Charles Campbell were once more denounced and put to the horn, not having appeared to answer the charge of responsibility for the gaol-delivery of McBair.³⁹ On 16 July Lokhart and Charles Campbell, described as 'of Bargour' were once more denounced as rebels, this time for a career of anti-establishment rioting and iconoclasm which extended over a period of years, from 1545-1548, and through three counties, 'Lanark, Renfrew, the Stewartry of Kyle, Carrick and Ayr'. Their crimes were the 'theftuous and violent carrying off, depredation, stouthreif and spoiliation furth of sundry parish churches'. Chalice, and altar ornaments had been carried away, church stalls thrown down and windows smashed.⁴⁰

Escheat of lands and goods followed. Skerrington and his son lost their lands to Sir William Campbell of Sanquhar, and to Archibald, Earl of Argyle (perhaps as a *solatium* to the latter, for the forfeit of a caution he had himself given).⁴¹ The Laird of

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the Bar lost 'ix ky and thair calffis' as well as 'the haille cornis and crop' of the Mains of Bar, to Hew Campbell of Loudon (July 24), and on September 10, the Captain of Dumbarton Castle, Andrew Hamilton of Letham, had gift of the escheat of the moveable goods of John Lokhart, though five days later, Harry, second son of James Lokhart, younger of the Bar, had the escheat of the corn and hay.⁴² The following May the escheat was passed to John, son of John Lokhart and Alison Mure, and by 1568 it was held by another son, George.⁴³ Even when subject to escheat, the lands tended to remain within the family circle.

While the civil courts had been dealing in their own profitable way with the troublers of 'halie kirk' in Ayrshire, the ecclesiastical authorities were proceeding with the case against Adam Wallace. Money for his keep in gaol was paid in July,⁴⁴ but neither Foxe nor Knox give a date. In the Latin verses of John Johnston of St Andrews, the execution is dated 17 July 1549, manifestly wrong as to the year, but fitting well as to the dates in July on which we have seen the civil cases being settled.⁴⁵ It is clear that the trial was designed as a set-piece and not a routine of the courts; heresy must not only be suppressed, but it must be seen to be repressed. The special scaffold in the Blackfriars' Church, the cost of erection of which appears in the Treasurer's Accounts,⁴⁶ had at least three banks of seats on which the dignitaries of Church and State were grouped around the Governor. He sat in the middle row, flanked left and right by the Archbishop of St Andrews, and the Lord Justice, the Earl of Argyle.⁴⁷ It was apparently possible to bring the prisoner up upon the front of the scaffold, where he stood before his judges in the charge of John of Cumnock,⁴⁸ one of the Archbishop's henchmen, facing the accuser, John Lauder, Archdeacon of Teviotdale and Parson of Morebattle, who, in white surplice and red hood, occupied the pulpit.

The status of this court, which thus met before a large congregation of the citizens of Edinburgh in the main body of the building, is obscure. Foxe says that behind the seating stood the whole Senate. Had he in mind those of the Lords of Council who had failed to get seats, or was the whole gathering considered a meeting of the Council of the Scottish Church? The latter had been summoned for the following August, but, because this meeting is not recorded it has been surmised that this July trial was regarded as having taken its place.⁴⁹

Knox suggests that Wallace attempted the strategy of appealing, against the known bias of the ecclesiastics, to the lay lords as well enough able to judge him according to those Scriptures by which he wished to be judged.⁵⁰ But in fact the conduct of the trial left little room for strategy on the part of the accused.

He was first examined as to name and origins, and Lauder expressed his horror at the charges of heresy with which he was accused, and even at his presumption in setting up as a teacher or preacher. This Wallace rebutted. He did not consider himself to be such, but 'sometimes at the table, and sometimes in other privy place,

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he would read and had read the Scriptures, and had given such exhortation as God pleaseth to give to him, to such as pleased to hear him.⁵¹

There had been thirty-four specific charges against the Ayrshire Lollards, seventeen against Wishart. We certainly do not have the full indictment of Wallace, which was probably related to the code for inquisitors of heretical pravity drawn up by the Council of 1549,⁵² but seven clear accusations survive:—

- i) Thou hast said and taught that the bread and wine on the altar after the words of consecration, are not the body and blood of Jesus Christ.
- ii) Thou hast said that the Mass is very idolatry and abominable in God's sight.
- iii) Thou hast said and openly taught that the God which we worship is but bread, sown of corn, grown of the earth, baked of men's hands, and nothing else.
- iv) Thou has preached and openly taught diverse and sundry other great errors and abominable heresies against all seven sacraments.
- v) Thou hast baptized thine own child.
- vi) Thou hast said there is no purgatory.
- vii) Thou hast said that to pray to saints and for the dead is idolatry and a vain superstition.⁵³

One aspect of the trial speaks eloquently of the change in the Scottish situation over the previous decade. Wallace quoted liberally from the vernacular Scriptures, and even produced his own copy. This was no longer the sensation it had been in previous trials, and indeed to some of Wallace's quotations the reply of his hearers was 'we know that well enough'. It is no longer the reading of the Bible, but the use made of it, interpreted and applied in debate, which is at issue.⁵⁴ It is not easy to decide what version of Scripture Wallace used. The first impression suggests that of Tyndale, but in almost every instance there are variations, and Wallace seems to paraphrase, conflate and quote inaccurately from memory. The reason for this may lie with an admission made during the trial: 'I have read the Bible in three tongues'. He carried, according to Foxe, 'a Bible at his belt in French, Dutch and English'. One wonders whether this statement may be an error rising from a misunderstanding of his own claim, for no trace of any such threefold edition can be found. Translations into French, and presumably into German, were known in England long before this date, and if Wallace's Bible existed, it can only have been as a binding together of these versions by some obliging book-binder.⁵⁵ From the point of view of the bulk of such a volume, this seems unlikely, but it joins the other many unsolved puzzles about Wallace.

Other elements in addition to Scripture made their appearance in the discussion, a clear reference to the Apostles' Creed, for example, and another credal statement which it is more difficult to trace to its immediate source. 'I worship the

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Father, the Soune and the Holy Ghost, three persons in one godhead, which made and fashioned the heaven and earth and all that is therein of naught'. The First Helvetic Confession contains the words '*usum substantia, trinum persones, omnipotentem esse. Qui ut conderet per verbum, id est filium suum, omnia ex nihilo*'.⁵⁶ Wallace does not appear to be using Wishart's translation of the Latin, but was the Latin known to him?

Another hint of his reading is the phrase, 'I have said or taught nothing but that the word, which is the triall and touchstone, sayth'. Based on Ecclesiasticus vi 21, the phrase became so popular amongst English writers that it was deprived of usefulness as a pointer to any specific item of Wallace's reading. It occurs in the margin of Tyndale's *Obedience of a Christian Man* (1527), 'Scripture is the trial of all doctrine and the right touchstone'. Frith wrote 'lay them to the touchstone and try them with God's word' (*Another Book against Rastall*, 1528). The prologue to *Genesis* (Tyndale 1530), had 'the Scripture is the touchstone that trieth all doctrine'. It can be found in Becon, in Cranmer, in Roger Hutchison⁵⁷ and is even given visual shape in a cartoon or emblem, which shows a hand emerging from the clouds to rub a host against a large stone, appropriately labelled, *verbum Dei*.⁵⁸

Wallace's familiarity with the idea certainly implies a familiarity with English reformed writings, and some of these may have been the books which he had 'to comfort his spirit' after they had 'spoiled him of his Bible which alwaies . . . was with him wherever he went'.⁵⁹

John Lauder had already been the accuser in the Wishart trial, but there was now a marked difference in his approach. In the interval between Wishart and Wallace it has become clear — clear, for example, to the Church Councils, — that the central point in the Catholic-Protestant debate is the Eucharist. Contemporarily in England Cranmer was writing, 'the rest is but branches and leaves . . . but the very body of the tree . . . is the popish doctrine of transubstantiation, of the real presence of Christ's flesh and blood in the sacrament of the altar . . .'.⁶⁰ Compared with the references in the trial of Wallace, discussions of the Mass with Wishart had been superficial. It is important for our estimate of Wallace that the importance of this is seen. He was not a naive Bible reader confused by some texts. He was propounding in his own defence those texts which for three decades had been mustered on the Continent and in England by the more extreme reformers and their supporters for the attack on the doctrine of the Real Presence in the Mass. They were the texts which would continue to exercise a Catholic apologist such as Quentin Kennedy, of Crossraguel, in his *Litil Breif tracteit*, who attributed their use to Oecolampadius (with whom, perhaps a little unfairly, he links Calvin), and 'otheris quhilkis ar villing to renou condamnit heresis'.⁶¹ Oecolampadius, 'quhais opinioun men in thir dayis praysis sua highlie'⁶² had been known in Scotland long before Kennedy took up the challenge, Borthwick in 1540 having been accused of possessing a work of Oecolampadius,⁶³ but the same ideas and applications of

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Scripture had been made by Hoen, by Erasmus and by Zwingli, and again we cannot distinguish to the extent of saying that Wallace's views depend on this writer rather than on that. What Oecolampadius and Zwingli provide is a better understanding of Wallace's position as part of the large, ongoing debate between the extreme of the Swiss, on the one hand, and the positions of Lutherans and Catholics on the other. Wallace's arguments would be as strong against Lutheranism, which had also reached Scotland, as against the old church.

Wallace was charged with teaching that, after the words of consecration, the bread and wine on the altar are not the body and blood of Jesus Christ. Wallace replied first that he did not go beyond the Scripture, and rehearsed the events of the Last Supper in which Jesus ate the Pascal Lamb with his followers and so 'fulfilled the ceremonies of the old law'. He then instituted 'a new sacrament in remembrance of His death then to come'. Huntly intervened: 'Trowest thou that we know not God and His words?' and Wallace was pressed for a more specific answer about the bread and wine. 'I know well by S Paul when he sayth, Whosoeuer eateth this bread and drinketh of the cup unworthely, receaueth to himselfe damnation'. The argument becomes clearer if one recollects that the final clause of the verse, (here omitted) adds 'not discerning the Lord's body'. This was, from the Catholic point of view, a vital text, and was, as such, appealed to by Quentin Kennedy, who translated it, 'becaus he makis na difference of the body of the Lord', and understands 'makis na difference' as meaning 'recognises no difference between consecrated and unconsecrated bread',⁶⁵ Wallace was replying, by implication, to this suppressed clause. He accepted the force of Paul's words that it is a serious thing to belittle the importance of the sacrament, and therefore his own teaching had been that 'if the sacrament of the altar were truly ministered and vsed as the sonne of the liuing God did institute it, where that was done there was God himselfe by his diuine power, by the which he is ouer all'.⁶⁶ That is to say he recognised a 'real presence', and would have denied that to him the sacrament was only a memorial feast; but the 'real presence' was not tied to the consecration (and perhaps not to the bread and wine specifically) but rested in God's power, 'by the which he is ouer all'. This passage is central to an understanding of Wallace's mind, and in what follows he proceeded to attack his opponents. He refused to be entangled in a scholastic debate about 'consecration', but instead argued that the 'real presence' as understood by his opponents, the transubstantiation of the bread and wine into the flesh and blood of Christ, was at variance with the Apostles' Creed. Christ had a natural body in which he suffered death, and which 'ascended into heauen and sitteth on the right hand of the Father, whiche shall come again to judge both the quick and the dead'. But this natural body cannot be in two places at the one time, thus being at the right hand of God, ascended, cannot also be in the bread and wine on the altar. Zwingli had made the same point in his tract on the Lord's supper of 1526 (written in Swiss German, with several reprintings but no English translation): 'they must either abandon the

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false doctrine of the presence of the essential body of Christ in this sacrament, or else they must at once renounce these three articles' (sc. of the Creed).⁶⁷

Wallace supported his argument with a series of appeals to Scripture. Jesus had said, 'The poore shall you haue alwayes with you, but me shall you not haue alwayes'; again, 'It is needful for you that I passe away . . . but be stout and of good cheare, for I am with you unto the worldis end'. Superficially the promise to be with His disciples might seem to contradict the point Wallace was making, but he would have argued that there is in fact a distinction between the natural body which can only be in one place at a time, and the omnipresent divine nature. We can read the argument in Zwingli: 'when we read . . . that Christ was received up into heaven . . . we have to refer this to his human nature, for according to his divine nature He is eternally omnipresent . . . the saying in Matthew 28, Lo I am with you always . . . can refer only to his divine nature, for it is according to that nature that He is everywhere present to believers with his special gifts and comfort.'⁶⁸

This brings Wallace to the New Testament passage which was, along with the Apostles' Creed, the sheet-anchor of the argument, the sixth chapter of St John's Gospel. This contains what appear to be strongly eucharistic statements, e.g. 'Except ye eat my flesh and drink my blood ye shall not haue life in you.' But the Zwingli-Oecolampadius school pointed out that when the Jews attempted to take these words in a 'gross and fleshly' manner, Jesus immediately reproved them: 'what will ye thinke when ye see the sonne of man ascend to the place that it came fro? It is the spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothyng'. Kennedy had to devote time to this argument 'allegit by Ecolampadius and otheris'. He made a verbal point that Jesus says, 'the flesh' and not 'my flesh', but went on to a more serious and acute criticism which can be extended to the whole Zwinglian position, that there was a sharp and wrong separation being made between the human and the divine Jesus. 'Treuly the flesche deuidit fra the spreit in thys maner . . . profite na thing; quhilk can neuer be said propirly of Cristis flesche, becaus it is neuer dividit fra the spreit. For quharsumeuer Cristis Flesche is, thair is his diuinitie, quhilk is the spreit that giffis lif.'⁶⁹

Where did Wallace obtain his evident familiarity with the reformed arguments? Wishart and Knox might well be possible sources, and there is slight confirmatory evidence. Wallace was accused of having taught that 'the God which we worship is but bread, souen of corn, growyng of the earth, baked of mens handis and nothyng else', and Wishart had faced a similar charge, to the effect that the Sacrament of the altar was 'but a pece of bread backin upon the asches and no uthir thing else'. He explained in rebuttal that the phrase was not his own, but he had merely reported what a Jew had once said 'when I was sailling upoun watter of Rhene'; 'A piece of braid backin upone the aschis, ye adore and wirship and say that it is your God.'⁷⁰ One could be sure that Wallace was in fact recalling Wishart, were it not that the taunt of the 'baken God' had been current in England at least ten years earlier.⁷¹

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In the case of Knox the suggestive piece of evidence is this: in the spring of 1550, preaching before Bishop Tunstall and others at Newcastle, Knox propounded a syllogism:

All worshipping, honouring or service of God invented by the brain of man . . . without express commandment, is idolatry.

The Mass is worshipping, honouring and serving God invented by the brain of man . . . without express command.

Therefore the Mass is idolatry.⁷²

But Wallace argued a somewhat similar syllogism:

The thing that is highest and most in estimation among men, and not in the word of God, is idolatry and abomination in God's sight.

The Mass is holden greatly in estimation and high among men, and is not founded in the word.

Therefore the Mass is idolatry and abominable in God's sight.

When one passes from the possibilities of direct contacts with Wishart or Knox, to other sources, Wallace's debt to English writers must be considerable. There was sufficient material in circulation either by way of translations, or works by English writers, to have provided him with all his arguments.⁷³ There is no direct evidence of visits to England, nor to the Continent, though it seems unlikely that Wallace would have acquired his French and German unless some such visits had taken place.

Adam Wallace has been undeservedly neglected, chiefly because of a persisting impression that he was an intellectual light-weight, sincere but ignorant. Knox certainly disparaged him, a good man 'without great learning', implying he was to be honoured for his sufferings rather than for his ability, and Wallace's own remark that he had 'not much Latin' might seem to support Knox. Too much weight ought not to be given to Wallace's self-depreciation, and, as I have noted elsewhere, Knox had a knack of disparaging other members of his own party, when he was out of sympathy with them.⁷⁴ To the cases cited might be added that of William Harlaw, one of the Protestant preachers, 'a sempill man . . . whose erudition, although it excell nott yet for his zeal . . . is worth of praise.'⁷⁵ This phrase introduces Knox's word 'sempill' which has not only been a pitfall for copyists, but has a latent ambiguity. Probably Knox wrote 'sempill' in all three references to Wallace, though Laing's text of the Dieppe letter has 'simple'. In that letter Knox is linking the names of Wishart and Wallace. Wishart was of the family of Pitarrow, and like the wife of the Wee Cooper o' Fife, was thus of 'gentle kin'. By contrast Wallace was 'sempill', coming in fact from the same social milieu as did Knox himself, of whom John Davidson wrote:

First he was descended bot of lineage small
As commonly God usis for to call,
The sempell sort his summoundis til express.⁷⁶

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Gentle and 'semp' are adjectives of social, and not of intellectual status. Even if Knox had written 'simple' it would not have carried intellectual stigma. He called Protector Somerset 'a simple man', one who was too honest and innocent for his time or his companions.⁷⁷

But after Knox the doubt about Wallace's intellectual ability slowly seemed to grow. Calderwood wrote of him as 'a simple man, but zealous and upright'.⁷⁸ For Spottiswood he was 'a simple man but very zealous' and Keith merely rearranged the order of words. With a later writer such as Charles Roger, it has become 'he was more remarkable for his religious zeal than for any extensive scholarship'.⁷⁹

The study of his trial suggests a different conclusion. If Wallace lacked — as he himself admitted, — the technicalities of theological Latin, he could set out a syllogism; he could read French and Dutch (probably German). He claimed to be familiar with the Bible in three languages, and his use of it in his trial showed the familiarity of one who knew how Scripture had been applied in the religious debate of the previous thirty years. He picked precisely those passages which had become the mainstay of the attack on the Mass since the time of Oecolampadius and Zwingli, and if it cannot be proved that he was directly familiar with either of these, he must have known the writings of some of their English followers. The historian is at the mercy of the accuracy of the reporters of such trials, but when the reports of the trials of Wishart and of Wallace are compared, the latter shows a more coherent presentation by Wallace of the extreme reformed position in the eucharistic debate. Perhaps too much should not be made of his succession to Knox as tutor to young Cockburn, nor can it be proved that, like Knox, he was an apostolic notary, but he seems for his time intelligent and well read. Historically speaking his life and death do not seem to have contributed directly to the progress of the Reformation in Scotland. His place and value are as a witness, not only to his own convictions, but to the movements of thought in pre-Reformation Scotland, showing for example that Quentin Kennedy does not write in reaction to reformed views in general, but in a specific reaction to such views as are to be found in this other Ayrshire man, Adam Wallace.

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3. For the Levington family, *Transactions of the East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalists' Society*, (1932), vol. ii, 225 ff and *Innes Review*, (1971) vol. xxii, 96-97. For Winton Castle, *Knox, Works*, vol. i, 237 note 5, and *Reports of the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments*, (East Lothian), 84-85.
4. 'To the Lords and others Professing the Truth in Scotland', *Knox, Works*, vol. iv, 285.
5. Foxe's account of the trial is most easily accessible in Laing's appendix, *Knox, Works*, vol. i, 243-250. Foxe's material about other Scottish heretics is also reprinted by Laing.

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6. See the discussion of Foxe and his significance in Helen C. White, *Tudor Books of Saints and Martyrs*, University of Wisconsin, 1963 (hereafter cited as White, *Tudor Books*), chapters iv and v.
7. Knox, *Works*, vol. i, 518, 520, 526, 550, 555. A nineteenth century editor of Foxe suggested, ‘it may be inferred that these documents were sent to Foxe when at Basil compiling his ecclesiastical history’ *The Acts and Memorials of John Foxe*, London, 1846 (hereafter cited as Foxe, *Acts and Memorials*) vol. v 641, note 1.
8. Knox, *Works*, vol. i, 548.
9. Laing wrote, ‘Foxe may have been indebted . . . to the Scottish Reformer’. Knox, *Works*, vol. i, 149, note 2.
10. James Hunter, one of the Perth martyrs, is called by Foxe ‘a simple man and without learning’ Knox, *Works*, vol. i, 524. Foxe may have been pressing his theory that ‘oftentimes Christes’ will and pleasure is to beautify and adorn his Kingdom with the weak and simple instruments of this world’. White, *Tudor Books*, 191. White notes that where his Protestants are ‘symple’ and ‘seely’, his Papists are ‘craftie’. White, *Tudor Books*, 188.
11. Knox, *Works*, vol. i, 545. The margin of the 1583 edition of the *Acts and Monuments*, 1272, reads ‘otherwise named John Feane’.
12. *Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum*, ed. M. Livingstone and others, Edinburgh, 1908- (hereafter cited as *Reg. Sec. Sig.*), vol. iv, (1548-1556) 1306, 1307.
13. John Fean, burgess of Ayr, 1515, *Charters of the Friars Preachers of Ayr*, (Archaeological and Historical Collections relating to Ayrshire and Galloway, 1881), 90; John and Arthur Feane, Ayr 1517, *Protocol Book of Gavin Ros, 1512-1532*, (Scottish Record Society, 1908), 195; Thomas Feane in Greenan is surety for William and Andrew McCormick, with an Adam Wallace as witness, 1519, *Prot. Bk. Ros*, 341. See also *Ayr Burgh Accounts, 1534-1624*, ed. G. S. Pryde (Scottish History Society, 1937), index, 5 & 11.
14. *Reg. Sec. Sig.*, vol. iv, (1548-1556), 2442 *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum*, ed. J. M. Thomson and others, Edinburgh, 1882-1914, (hereafter cited as *Reg. Mag. Sig.*), vol. iii, (1513-1546), 3206-3208, 3262.
15. The Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh, RH6/1325B. RH6/1403B. *Calendar of the Laing Charters, 854-1837*, ed. J. Anderson, Edinburgh, 1899, 537, 542, 550-1.
16. *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, vol. iv, (1546-1580) 256 n.1.
17. Knox, *Works*, vol. i, 546.
18. *Reg. Mag. Sig.* vol. iv, (1546-1580), 229.
19. ‘A Memorial of the Life of Two Worthye Christians’ by John Davidson, printed in Charles Rogers, *Three Scottish Reformers*, Grampian Club, London, 1874, 109. While in view of the number of the East Lothian-Ayrshire links amongst the reformers, the suggestion of the text seems the most likely, a link of a different kind should be noted. Fail, or Failford, near which Adam Wallace was said to have been born, was a priory of the Order of Trinitarian Friars, and the house of their Provincial Prior. Some of the Ayrshire Wallaces were tenants of the Friars, including an Adam Wallace and Margaret Conyngham, his spouse in ‘Ministris Corsbe’ (Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh, RH6/1403B). There was another Trinitarian house at Dirliton. For the involvement of Failford in Dirliton affairs see Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh GD6/79.
20. J. Dowden, *The Bishops of Scotland*, Glasgow, 1912 (hereafter cited as Dowden, *Bishops*) 349, quoting *Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum Historiam Illustrantia*, ed. A. Theiner, Rome, 1864, 1074. It may have come to nothing because of the recent decree of the Council of Trent requiring the Bishops to be of legitimate birth; see R. K. Hannay, ‘Some Papal Bulls among the Hamilton Papers’, *Scottish Historical Review* (1925), vol. xxii, 32.
21. Dowden, *Bishops*, 43. John Herkless and R. K. Hannay, *The Archbishops of St Andrews*, Edinburgh, 1907-1916, vol. v, 42 n.2. Within two days of Beaton’s death Arran committed the administration of the temporalities to John, Bishop of Dunkeld.
22. *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, vol. iv, (1546-1580), 276, 280, 361 (4 July 1549).
23. *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, ed. J. H. Burton and others, Edinburgh, 1877- (hereafter cited as *Reg. Privy Council Scot.*), vol. i, (1545-1569), 89-90.
24. Thomas M’Crie, *Life of John Knox*, Edinburgh, 1884, 374.
25. *Concilia Scotiae*, ed. J. Robertson, Bannatyne Club, 1866, vol. ii, 82.
26. *Statutes of the Scottish Church*, ed. D. Patrick, Scottish History Society, 1907. (hereafter Patrick, *Statutes*), 123-124.
27. *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, ed. T. Dickson and Sir Balfour Paul, Edinburgh, 1877-, (hereafter cited as *Treasurer Accounts*), vol. ix, 235. A signet is ‘takin witht my Lord of Sanctandros to the Justice Courtis haldin in the west cuntrie’.
28. J. Lesley, *The History of Scotland from the death of James I in the Year 1436 to the Year 1561*, Bannatyne Club, 1830. 242. He resigned and was replaced in the following year by James Beaton II.
29. *Acts of the Lord Council in Public Affairs 1501-1554: Selections from the Acta Dominorum Concilii*, ed. R. K. Hannay, Edinburgh 1932 (hereafter cited as *Acts of Council [Public Affairs]*). 601.
30. *Reg. Sec. Sig.*, vol. ii, (1529-1542), 2420, 2797. David Calderwood, *The History of the Kirk of Scotland*, ed. T. Thomson, 8 vols. Wodrow Society, Edinburgh, 1842-1845, (hereafter cited as Calderwood, *History*), vol. i, 104.
31. Foxe in Knox, *Works*, vol. i, 544.
32. *Reg. Sec. Sig.* vol. iv, (1548-1556), 630.
33. *Treasurer Accounts*, vol. ix, 392, 397 (April 15). *Reg. Mag. Sig.* vol. iv, (1546-1580), 445 (Edinburgh, April 24). *Acts of Council (Public Affairs)*, 601 (with the Lords of Council on May 16).
34. *Acts of Council (Public Affairs)*, 601. *Treasurer Accounts*, vol. ix, 413.

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35. *Criminal Trials in Scotland from 1488 to 1624*, ed. R. Pitcairn, Edinburgh, 1833, (hereafter cited as Pitcairn, *Trials*), vol. i, part 2 *352.
36. *Treasurer Accounts*, vol. ix, 428.
37. Knox, *History*, vol. i, 114.
38. Pitcairn, *Trials*, vol. i, part 2, *353. On 6 February, 1556/7 they were pardoned ‘pro conspiratione interfectionis Andree, domini Stewart de Ochtiltrie, etc’ *Reg. Sec. Sig.*, vol. iv, (1548-1556), 3145.
39. Pitcairn, *Trials*, vol. i, part 2, *352.
40. Pitcairn, *Trials*, vol. i, part 2, *353.
41. *Reg. Sec. Sig.*, vol. iv, (1548-1556), 805, 927.
42. *Reg. Sec. Sig.*, vol. iv, (1548-1556) 810, 900, 914.
43. *Reg. Sec. Sig.*, vol. iv, (1548-1556), 1198.
44. *Reg. Sec. Sig.*, vol. vi, (1567-1574), 88. Mention is made of ‘douncasting of images in the Kirk of Air and uthiris places’.
45. Knox, *Works*, vol. i, 237 n. 3.
46. *Treasurer Accounts*, vol. ix, 435.
47. Knox, *Works*, vol. i, 544.
48. This may be John Hamilton of Cumnock who appears in *Treasurer Accounts* volumes viii and ix as a messenger. Thus there is a payment in March, 1547/8 to ‘ane servand of Jhoune Cumnokis direct in the west cuntre for advertimentis,’ *Treasurer Accounts*, vol. ix, 191. He is not mentioned in the second half of this volume by which time he may have found employment with the Archbishop. Was he the one who was able to identify a fellow-Ayrshire man when Wallace was taken at Winton?
49. Patrick, *Statutes*, 134 n. 1. The Privy Council had already had a request from the bishops and churchmen to act against despisers of the sacraments, and had asked to be given names of defaulters, (19 March 1546/7), *Reg. Privy Council Scot.* vol. i, 63.
50. Knox, *History*, vol. i, 115.
51. Knox, *History*, vol. i, 114.
52. Patrick, *Statutes*, 126.
53. Nos. 1-4 from Foxe, nos. 5-7 from Knox.
54. J. Ridley, *John Knox*, Oxford, 1968, 100, illustrates the lack of attention given to what actually took place at Wallace’s Trial: ‘he was condemned as a heretic because he had read the Bible.’
55. Knox, *Works*, vol. i, 545, 547. ‘Novum Testamentum in lingua Gallica’ was one of the books Thomas Garret was recommending, according to John Mayeur. Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*.
56. H. A. Niemeyer, *Collectio Confessionum in ecclesiis reformatis publicatarum*, Leipzig, 1840, 116.
57. See the Index Volume to the publications of the Parker Society. If Wallace had been present at Wishart’s trial and had heard John Winram preach, he would have heard him say, ‘So may we know heresy by the undoubted touchstone, that is, the true, sincere and undefiled word of God,’ Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vol. v, 628.
58. Appended to ‘A Boke made by Johan Fryth . . . now newly revised, corrected and printed, 1548. Glasgow University Library copy.
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60. T. Cranmer, *True and Catholic Doctrine and Use . . . of the Lord’s Supper*, London, 1929, xxviii
61. Q. Kennedy, *Two Eucharistic Tracts*, ed. C. H. Kuypers, (hereafter cited as Kennedy, *Tracts*) 112.
62. Q. Kennedy, Compendius Tractate, in *The Miscellany of the Wodrow Society*, Wodrow Society, 1844, vol. i, 159.
63. Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vol. v, 620. Works of Oecolampadius were circulating in England by 1528. See the charges against Thomas Garret, Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vol. v, 422.
64. Knox, *Works*, vol. i, 545.
65. Kennedy, *Tracts*, 114. This translation is common to the early Protestant versions, appearing in Tyndale, Cranmer and Geneva. Rheims (1582) has ‘not discerning the body of our Lord.’
66. Knox, *Works*, vol. i, 546.
67. Zwingli and Bullinger, ed. G. W. Bromily, London 1953, 186. Zwingli had already written three or four times in Latin on the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper before he wrote the German pamphlet (1526). It went through many German editions but was not translated into English. Kennedy, *Tracts*, 140 replies to the argument in the form given by Oecolampadius: ‘ane other cheiffe argument that Ecolampadius . . . sais.’
68. Bromily, *Zwingli and Bullinger*, 213. Zwingli deals with the saying about the poor on 214.
69. Kennedy, *Tracts*, 118.
70. Knox, *Works*, vol. i, 159.
71. In 1541 John Mailer, grocer, was accused of calling the Sacrament of the Altar, ‘the baken God.’ Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vol. v, 447.
72. Eustace Percy, *John Knox*, London, 1937 (hereafter Percy, *Knox*), 134.
73. Thomas More said of John Frith, ‘He teaches in a few leaves shortly, all the poison that Wickliff, Oecolampadius, Tindal and Zwinglius taught in all their books before.’ *Writings of John Frith and Robert Barnes*, London, n.d. 63. Cranmer used both the Ascension argument and the saying concerning the poor in 1548. ‘His arguments were as

'SEMPL' OR 'SIMPL'?

follows. The body of Christ was taken up from us into heaven. Christ has left the world. Ye have the poor always with you but me ye have not always.' Traheron to Bullinger, December, 1548. Original Letters, vol. i, 323.

74. I. A. Muirhead, 'M. Robert Lokhart,' *Innes Review*, (1971), vol. xx, 96.
75. Knox, *Works*, vol. i, 245. Another case of Knox's ambiguous attitude towards his colleagues is the omission from the *History* of any reference to John McBrair, Scot who preached in England about the same period as Knox, and was a signatory of the letter inviting Knox to Frankfurt.
76. 'Ane breif Commendatioun of Uprichtnes' in C. Roger, *Three Scottish Reformers*, 86.
77. Percy, *Knox*, 130.
78. Calderwood, *History*, vol. i, 262. 'Simple Adam Wallace' 325.
79. John Spottiswoode, *History of the Church of Scotland*, 3 vols. Edinburgh, 1851, vol. i, 178. Robert Keith, *History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland from the beginning of the Reformation to 1568*, ed. J. P. Lawson, 3 vols. 1844-1850, vol. i, 148. C. Rogers, *The Book of Wallace*, Grampian Club, Edinburgh, 1889, vol. i, 119.

THE HOPE FAMILY IN EAST LOTHIAN

By *BASIL C. SKINNER*

(Paper read to the East Lothian Antiquarian Society, 1980)

The great pillar that since 1824 has dominated East Lothian from the northern spur of the Garleton Hills was erected — overlooking a part of his estates — to the memory of that notable soldier, General Sir John Hope, 4th Earl of Hopetoun. But it serves also to commemorate the long involvement in the affairs of East Lothian of the Hopes of Hopetoun. It is the purpose of this paper to describe that involvement.

Sir James Hope, who died in 1661, was the first of the family to write himself "of Hopetoun", the "Barony of Hopetoun" at that time being based upon the village of Leadhills in Lanarkshire. Already, however, the family had established an East Lothian presence, for Sir James's father — Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall, Lord Advocate to King Charles I — had married Elizabeth Bennet of Wallyford and had acquired grants of the lands of Caldecotes, Musselburgh, and Edmonstone in 1612 and of Prestongrange in 1616. Sir James Hope of Hopetoun married Anna Foulis and in so doing became the first of the family to establish close links with that of the Hamiltons, Earls of Haddington, for the wife of Thomas 1st Earl of Haddington was also a Foulis, — Margaret, aunt of Anna Hope.

It is interesting to observe that it was the pursuit of mineral wealth that brought all these families together. Robert Foulis had developed the lead and silver workings at Leadhills, which his daughter and heiress Anna was to bring to Sir James Hope, while his brother George Foulis became Master of the Mint, a position subsequently held by the same Sir James Hope. Meanwhile Thomas Hamilton, 1st Earl of Haddington, had acquired the silver mine and mineral rights at Ballencrieff, Hilderston, Tartraven and Drumcross in the Bathgate Hills, West Lothian. These he agreed to sell to Sir James Hope but the latter's death delayed the transaction so that it was eventually accomplished by the "tutors" (trustees) of the son, John Hope, in 1663.

It was this John Hope of Hopetoun who established the firmest bond with the Haddington family, marrying at Tynninghame on the last day of 1668 Lady Margaret Hamilton daughter of the 4th Earl of Haddington (who died the following year) and sister of the 5th Earl. The dowry she brought amounted to 18,000 merks or £1,000 sterling. It is interesting to note, incidentally, that Lady Margaret's sister, Lady

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Susan Hamilton, became the wife of Adam Cockburn, owner of Ormiston, an estate which the Hopes were eventually to acquire. This Adam Cockburn was one of the tutors for the young 6th Earl of Haddington who arranged the sale to the Hopes of the Barony of Byres — of which more shortly.

John Hope lost his life in a wreck at sea in 1682 leaving an infant son in the charge of the extremely capable Lady Margaret, and it was her contribution to the fortunes of the Hope family not only to commission the builders of Hopetoun House but also to lay the foundations of Hope interests in East Lothian. In doing this, she was helping her own family as much as she contributed to the investments of her family by marriage.

When the 5th Earl of Haddington died in 1685, he left an estate that was seriously encumbered. It was to help in the relief of this situation that Lady Margaret acquired for the Hopes in 1691 the Barony of Byres comprising the farmlands of Byres, Coats, Drem and Mureton, among the richest agricultural land of East Lothian — originally part of the estates of the Lindsays. The purchase price was £12,962 sterling. It is conceivable that the minerals of the Garleton Hills area may have provided one of the attractions of this land, but in the event it was its agricultural fertility that was to pay off. Lady Margaret moved again, and in 1696 acquired from Sir Robert Hepburn of Keith the lands of Peaston and Keith Marischal, eventually to provide the basis for Hope family expansion in the south of the county. Finally, as far as Lady Margaret was concerned, the inter-family *entente* was confirmed by the marriage of her daughter Helen Hope in 1696 to her nephew, Thomas 6th Earl of Haddington.

In these respects Lady Margaret was establishing a sound pattern of land-ownership and dynastic alliance for her son Charles Hope, ennobled in 1703 as 1st Earl of Hopetoun, and the new Earl himself continued the same policy. In 1739 he purchased from his relative, the 7th Earl of Haddington, the lands of Luffness and Waughton which Thomas Hamilton 1st Earl of Haddington had bought from the Hepburns in 1633. These lands were subsequently passed to two sons of the 2nd Earl of Hopetoun. Waughton became the estate of his 4th son Charles Hope, (1768-1828), Major General and MP for Haddingtonshire for 16 years from 1800. This General Hope left only a daughter.

General Sir Alexander Hope (1769-1837), the first of Luffness, lived mostly upon his Fife estates at Craighall and Rankeillor but ended his life at Luffness where he improved the gardens and the house; he is buried at Aberlady. He was one of the most distinguished of the family, the fifth son of the 2nd Earl of Hopetoun, and therefore brother of the 3rd and 4th Earls, and it was with the latter that he embarked on a grand tour to Italy with Dr John Gillies as their tutor. Alexander Hope's military career started immediately after, his first commission being in 1786 as ensign in the 63rd Foot. By 1794 he was Brigade-Major to General Lake in the Flanders campaign and also served as ADC to General Sir Ralph Abercrombie. But in 1795 he was

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wounded, lost the use of an arm and spent the rest of his life in non-active commands. Hope was Lieutenant-Governor of Tynemouth in 1797 and of Edinburgh Castle in 1798, but in 1800 he was abroad again and was appointed British Military Commissioner to the Imperial Auxiliary Corps fighting on the Bavarian front under the command of Grand Duke Wilhelm. In this role he apparently gave singularly effective advice to the Austrian General Staff in their fighting round Passau and Straubing and also was present at the battle of Hohenlinden. For all his help he was rewarded with an Honorary Colonelcy in the Imperial Army (16 September 1800) and it is the uniform of this rank that he wears in his portrait at Hopetoun by Füger.

On his return from Austria, Hope was appointed major-general and, in 1812, Governor of the Royal Military College at Sandhurst. Next year he was off to Sweden to report back to the British government on Swedish military resources, and then a further period as Governor of Edinburgh Castle followed. His last appointment was to be Governor of Chelsea Hospital (1826) and he died a full General. Hope was a staunch supporter of Pitt and found time to serve in Parliament, representing Linlithgowshire from 1802 to 1834.

It was during Sir Alexander Hope's lifetime, incidentally, that the first steps were taken to convert the old tower-house of Luffness into something more approaching a comfortable house. The architects William Burn and Thomas Brown were both consulted.

Sir Alexander Hope's three eldest sons require mention. The first, John Thomas Hope, was no little scholar and had the distinction of reading his Newdigate Prize poem "The Arch of Titus" at Oxford on the day his father received an honorary DCL from the University. This young man, latterly Colonel of the Fife Militia, died in 1836 one month after his marriage; his widow, a daughter of the Earl of Harewood, lived out her life at Luffness. The second son, George William Hope, inherited Luffness and from him the present family descends. The third son, James Robert Hope, became one of the most successful parliamentary barristers of his day and a controversial figure in terms of religious belief. As a boy, in 1820-21, he had visited with his parents Dresden, Lausanne and Florence, and it was to Italy that he returned at the age of 30. This visit was something of a turning point in his career. He had always maintained his interest in church well-being, helping in 1840, for example, to establish Trinity College, Glenalmond, as a Scottish Episcopal School. Now he returned from Italy to become closely involved with Newman and the Tractarian Movement and — eventually — in 1850 was accepted into the Roman Catholic church. Hope had already married Charlotte Lockhart, daughter of John Gibson Lockhart, and together they tenanted Abbotsford House until — on the death of Walter Lockhart-Scott in 1853 — the house became fully their own. The Hope-Scotts built the new wing and chapel at Abbotsford in 1855-57; their daughter, who inherited, married into the Maxwell family thus establishing a new surname — Maxwell-Scott.

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However great may have been the Hope family's interests in the sea-ward part of East Lothian, the main centre of their presence in the county became and remained the parish of Ormiston. Here, as has been mentioned, they had owned land — three farms in fact — since they bought Peaston in 1696. But in 1747 John 2nd Earl of Hopetoun made a major investment by purchasing Ormiston estate itself from the Cockburns. It says not a little as to the extent of the Hope fortunes, incidentally, that the family was able to purchase both Luffness and Ormiston at the height of their building-operations with William Adam that were to produce at Hopetoun one of the largest country houses ever seen in Scotland.

From the Cockburn family point of view the sale of their lands at Ormiston had become a sad necessity. Policies of agricultural improvement inaugurated by two generations of the family had certainly produced an area of model farmland — surveyed, enclosed, afforested and scientifically managed — together with a planned village (1735) designed to give employment to redundant farm labourers. Domestic ambition also had led them to commission in 1745 from John Baxter, senior, a great new house to replace the Ormiston Hall which had been their old, cramped home (and which still survives where the later home does not). By 1747 John Cockburn of Ormiston stood in debt to the tune of £10,000 and the price paid for the Ormiston lands by Lord Hopetoun £12,000 sterling — must have come as a welcome relief.¹

From the Earl of Hopetoun's point of view, the purchase of the "improved" Ormiston estate relates well to his known interest in agricultural advance. Along with his relative and younger contemporary, Thomas 7th Earl of Haddington, Lord Hopetoun was among the most forward-looking of Lothian land-owners and the extensive collection of estate-plans in the Hopetoun muniment, covering all his West — and East — Lothian properties, attests his active policy of survey and enclosure. He was a member of the Edinburgh Society for the Encouragement of Knowledge in Agriculture, and as one of the Commissioners for the Forfeited Estates he moved in a circle that included the most enlightened agricultural and forestry entrepreneurs in Scotland. Ormiston may be said to have provided him with a ready-made vehicle for the continuance of John Cockburn's ideas and the development of his own.

The Hope family appear to have used Ormiston Hall on a regular basis. According to the *New Statistical Account*, the 2nd Earl resided there for four months in every year. This pattern may well have proved extremely convenient in the decades when Hopetoun House itself was the subject of a steady re-building campaign. In 1772 the Earl commissioned from Alexander Steven, architect, a series of enlargements and improvements at Ormiston Hall. This Alexander Steven was also employed by the family to design and erect their Dumfriesshire mansion at Raehills in 1782; otherwise not widely known as a house-builder he may well be identical with the "Alexander Stevens" better known as a designer of bridges, including one at Oxenfoord.

The 3rd Earl of Hopetoun continued the same pattern of occasional residence at

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Ormiston, but the 4th Earl appears to have made the Hall his permanent residence for some two years following his inheritance and while extensive alterations were taking place at Hopetoun House. This was over the period 1816-18. After his death in 1823, his widow, the dowager Countess, lived at Ormiston for the rest of her life; she died in 1836. It is recorded that she took a great interest in the gardens at the Hall and that she established there 500 species of herbaceous plants and 270 varieties of roses. She was also responsible, in parish affairs, for setting up a small school at House o' Muir for the education of the miners' children. Her grandson, the 6th Earl of Hopetoun, provided a new church at Ormiston in 1856.

In these later generations of the family the Hopes' interest in mineral investment continued and not only did they develop extensively on their East Lothian estates the practice of lime-burning but also they encouraged — through leases — the development of coal-mining at Ormiston. In this sphere of activity, however, they were never so ambitious as their collaterals the Hopes of Craighall who acquired the Pinkie estates at Musselburgh in 1788 and who became the most prolific coal-entrepreneurs as far as the Edinburgh market was concerned.

When Ormiston Hall was not in use by the family it was leased to other tenants. These included Mitchell Innes, a well-known figure in Edinburgh literary circles, who lived there from 1845 to 1848, a Dempsey of Skibo after him, and Sambourne Macdougall who lived and died there about 1907. For most of the time from then until the Second World War the house was not in use and a period of occupation by the military constituted the last chapter in its history — decay and destruction following soon after.

For some time Charles Hope of Granton who descended from the 1st Earl of Hopetoun also lived at Ormiston Hall as did his son, John Hope. Both these were distinguished in Scottish legal history, the former as Lord President of the Court of Session, the latter as Lord Justice Clerk. It was of John Hope, when he was Dean of Faculty, that Lord Cockburn wrote: "Our high pressure Dean screams and gesticulates and perspires more in one forenoon than the whole of the bar of England (I say nothing of Ireland) in a reign".

John Hope (died 1858) and his son and his sister are buried at Ormiston in a mausoleum at the north end of the older burial ground. Their memorial is perhaps the last visible testimony of the long involvement of the Hope family with that part of East Lothian.

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APPENDIX I

LIST OF EAST LOTHIAN FARMLANDS REPRESENTED IN THE MAP COLLECTION IN THE HOPETOUN HOUSE MUNIMENT

Athelstaneford Parish:

Banglaw; Byres; Cauldraw; Captainhead; Camptown;
Coates; Drem; Mongoswells; Muirton.

Humbie Parish:

Blackhouse; Duncrahill; Keith Marischal; Stobshiel;
Wanside; Windy Mains.

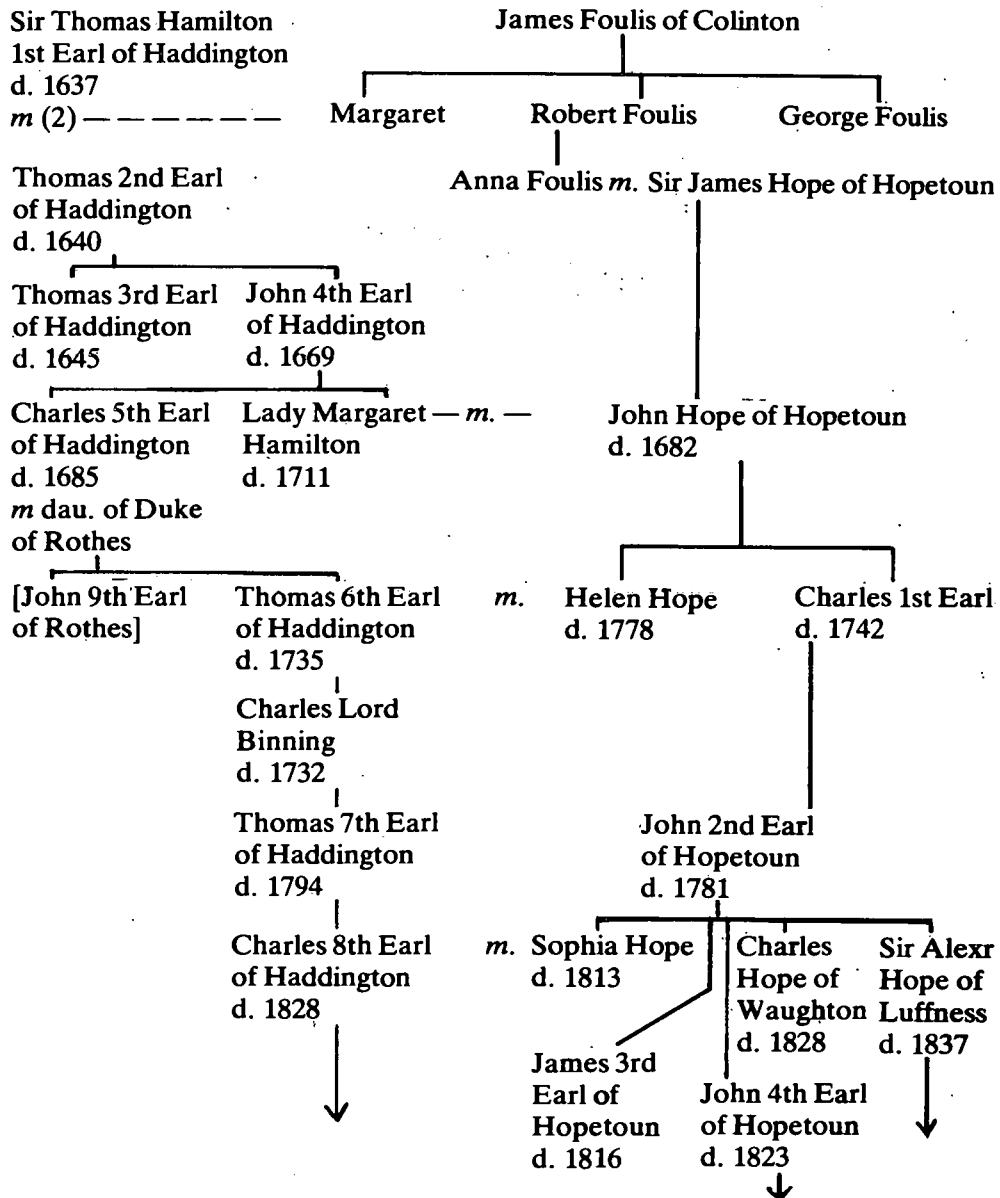
Ormiston Parish:

Belsis; Cotterwell; Dodridge; Limeylands; Murrays;
House of Muir; North Mains; Ormiston; Peaston.

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APPENDIX II

THE HOPETOUN — HADDINGTON CONNECTION



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REFERENCE

1. Editor's note.

John Cockburn of Ormiston had pledged his Ormiston estate to Lord Hopetoun for a loan of £10,000 in February 1739. The papers concerning this transaction survive in the Hopetoun muniment. Cockburn wrote that he took this step 'to pay off the Remaining debts one unfortunate year drew me into', a remark which suggests that the source of the debt lay in industrial or commercial ventures rather than in the more continuing agricultural improvement or village development. The mortgage terms were at 4% interest if this was paid within three weeks of the dates due, otherwise at 5%; there was to be no repayment of the principal within seven years, and after that only by stages. At this point the rents of the estate came to £495 a year for the agricultural land, and the coal brought in a further £110. Cockburn would therefore have had to live on his London salary and the profits of his industrial enterprises. 1740 was a disastrous year of harvest failure and economic recession. Then while he was planning his new house he lost his London position. The surrender of the estate to Hopetoun became inevitable.

THE 'CHINESE BRIDGE' AT HADDINGTON

By CHARLES MARTINE

It was reported in the press in 1975, that a proposal to erect a footbridge across the River Tyne from Abbots View to Amisfield Park, had been turned down — possibly on account of the cost, which had been estimated at £27,000. More recently a number of tattered old documents have come to light which make interesting reading today, because they constitute a record of a similar proposal, made possibly for more urgent reasons altogether. The tattered documents referred to are a record left by John Ainslie, Town Clerk of Haddington 1732-3 and start with what must have been an appeal to the public at large:—

"Whereas, Convenient Avenues and Ways to the Toun of Haddington will be of a great advantage, and that when Water of Tyne is impassable, it is inconvenient for people in the South Country to come or go by the Nungate Bridge, as it is also for the Burgesses of Haddingtoun who have occasion to go over Tyne by the South Port, and that it would be a Public Good to have a bridge over the Head of the Eastmiln Haugh.

We, the Subscribers for the Promoting the Benefits and Conveniency of the Liedges do therfor, Volontary, each of us pay in and contribute for making a Timber Bridge at the place forsaid, the sum annexed to our names — with this Provision, that in case the intended Bridge be not built, by or before the day of ———, then the money we have contributed shall be repaid to us on Demand".

Then follows a long list of names, with those who had paid up duly ticked off; viz.—

| | | | |
|---------------------|------|-------------------|------|
| My Lord Dunfirmling | £3 | David Forrest | £1 |
| From Coulstoun | 6 | William Durham | 3 |
| From Munkrig | 4 | Jo Ainslie | 1.10 |
| My Lord Blantyre | 2.12 | Wm. Cadle | .12 |
| From Morham | 3 | Alex Aitchison | 1.10 |
| Baillie Baird | .12 | Provost McCall | 1.10 |
| Wm. Muirheid | .12 | Woodhall | 1.10 |
| Alex. Begbie | .12 | Jo Smith, Surgeon | 1.10 |
| Wm. Young, Brewer | 1.10 | | |

THE CHINESE BRIDGE

There are many other names on this tattered List, who may have paid something later, and indeed many must have done, for the Bridge was built in the 1730s, at a cost of £92.2.2. There are also some items of its cost mentioned, for example the amount due to one Janet Muckle, for "15 Yoiking of the cart and three Horses for loading Stone and Channel to the Bridge", also the cost of logs and of Wages due to four workmen. Finally, there is a note added by Peter Martine, 1775-1865, who added that the Bridge was erected for Passengers only, about 200 yards cross the water, above the present Stone Bridge (the Waterloo Bridge) which was erected in 1817-18. It was called Chinese because of its appearance.

Here, the matter ends, for as a result of the quite unexpected severity of the Tyne flooding in 1775, this 'Chinese Bridge' was swept away and, according to some, came to rest finally on Tynninghame sands. The flood, which took place on 4th October 1775, is recorded by an official Plaque on the corner of a building in Sidegate and at the foot of High Street.

'BEATING THE LIEGES': THE MILITARY RIOT AT RAVENSHAUGH TOLL ON 5 OCTOBER 1760

By ALEXANDER MURDOCH

On the evening of Sunday, 5 October 1760, after supper at Haddington, Lieutenant-Colonel John Hale and a party of officers and servants from the 18th (later 17th) light dragoons set out to meet with some of their colleagues at what was then the principal military encampment in Scotland, at Musselburgh links. Hale's regiment of dragoons was but newly formed and newly arrived in Scotland. It had been raised earlier in the year in Hertfordshire by Hale, who had attracted attention at Court as the officer who had returned from Canada with the despatches retailing the news of Wolfe's famous victory over the French at Quebec in 1759. At that time a Lieutenant-Colonel of infantry, Hale had started his career in the Royal Horse Guards, 'The Blues', and took the opportunity afforded by the favourable notice he received from George II and the elder William Pitt to secure permission to raise his own regiment of horse. A keen officer, he chose the device of a 'Death's Head' badge, the skull and crossbones, with the motto 'Or Glory' for his regiment. The regiment was raised in less than three weeks early in 1760 at the sole expense of its officers, patriotic southern Englishmen keen to serve in the fashionable light calvary. Having just arrived in Scotland, part of Hale's regiment was quartered at Haddington, the remainder must have been encamped at Musselburgh, where most of the few regiments remaining in Scotland had been concentrated the previous year owing to fear of invasion from France. Hale had served in Scotland during the 1745 rebellion, but his subordinate officers were probably new to the place.¹

On reaching the toll-bar at Ravenshaugh on 5th October, just at the boundary of East Lothian (or Haddingtonshire) with Mid-Lothian (or Edinburghshire), those of Hale's companions at the rear of the party quarrelled with the toll-keeper. Probably most of the officers had ridden around or jumped the toll-bar, and the toll-keeper had only time to hasten out to challenge the rear of the party for their toll. Whatever the case — those who later took the keeper's part claimed no provocation had been given, the officers claimed they had been insulted — words certainly passed and the English officers certainly had been drinking heavily. The officers challenged by the toll-keeper, one Peter Kerr, beat him with their pistols and riding sticks. Kerr's wife,

Transactions of the East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalists' Society, Vol. 17 1982.

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Helen Halliday, went to the aid of her husband, crying 'Murder! Murder!' and generally raising an alarm. Those who had been beating her husband then turned on her, treated her in the same manner as they had her husband, and galloped off to catch up with the rest of their party.

On joining their fellow officers, those who had beat Kerr told them of the supposed insolence of the toll-keeper, and the party as a whole, which included Hale, the major of his regiment, John Blaquiére, Captain Samuel Birch, Lieutenant Joseph Hall, and Cornet George Birch, with their servants, who numbered at least four, in the heat of their drunkenness, wheeled about and returned to the toll-bar, bearing down on it at a gallop with the cry 'Revenge! Revenge!'

There they found Kerr and Halliday, recovering from being pistol-whipped. Some of the party dismounted, and shouting 'God damn him for a Scotch Rebel Bougar [sic]' dragged Kerr off from the toll-bar and beat him insensible. Helen Halliday, again endeavouring to come to her husband's aid, despite the fact that she was pregnant, was dealt with in a similar fashion. Helen's sister Ann had come from the toll-keeper's house to her sister and brother-in-law's aid, but on lifting her sister from the ground, was assaulted and beaten as well.

Neighbours who had come to the toll-bar on hearing the uproar, Charles Turner and William Mason (servants to a potter in 'Morrison'shaven') and their wives Marion Spaving and Janet Clark, ran into the toll-house after witnessing the treatment being meted out to Kerr and the Halliday sisters. Some of the officers, the most zealous of whom seems to have been Major Blaquire, pursued them there, forced their way into the house, and demanded that the men be given up to them. Turner and Mason, in fear of their lives, had hidden themselves. Their wives faced the officers, but the men were undeterred, and beat the women with their pistols and riding sticks, and also beat the Kerr's servant Isobel McKean. One of the officers broke his pistol on Marion Spaving's head. Helen Halliday, endeavouring to reach the house, was pursued by other officers, dragged away again and again beaten, this time almost to death.

By this time the neighbourhood was alarmed and more of those living nearby had arrived at the toll-keeper's house. The officers threatened to shoot anyone who would try to prevent them taking Peter Kerr as their prisoner, and insisted on searching the house for any other men who might be there, though apparently they did not find Turner or Mason. Witnesses agreed that the phrase 'Scotch rebel bougar' was again used in reference to Kerr, and that the word 'revenge' was frequently employed by the officers. Eventually Major Robert Campbell of Finab, then resident at Drummorie House, arrived at Ravenshaugh and tried to reason with Hale and his companions. He overcame their desire to take Kerr with them by observing that Kerr was then so badly beaten that he might have died if he had been moved, and undertook to give his word of honour that he would make Kerr attend them on the

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Monday. With that the officers departed to their quarters at Musselburgh and Haddington.²

It is not quite clear what happened the following day. Kerr and the Halliday sisters were evidently so badly beaten that it was feared that they would die. In the cold light of sobriety the following morning, revenge became less important to the officers on recollection of their behaviour. Blaquiere, Hall, Samuel Birch and George Birch left East Lothian, probably to join other troops of Hale's regiment as they moved off to posts in Mid-Lothian and West Lothian. On the 7th of October William Law of Elvingston, Sheriff-substitute of East Lothian, arrived to take precognitions from those involved in the incident, and on the 9th of October George Brown of Coalstoun, local landowner and trustee of the toll-road but in addition a judge in the Court of Session, also visited Ravenshaugh to examine witnesses to the incident.

Law, Brown and others of the local gentry, as Justices of the Peace and Trustees of the toll-road, resolved to bring Hale and his officers to justice. Between the 9th and 11th of October they employed Alexander Gray, a prominent Edinburgh Writer to the Signet, to act as their agent in procuring a warrant from the Lord Justice Clerk for the arrest of Hale and the others involved in the outrage. With the help of Edinburgh advocate David Rae, Gray obtained a warrant on Monday the 13th October, and rode to East Lothian to aid the Procurator Fiscal 'considering the notion the Country seemed Impressed with as to the Character of Certain of the Officers . . . that he might be at Hand to assist with any advice or Direction In Case of any Deforcement'.³ Despite observing great secrecy in obtaining the warrant so as to avoid alarming the officers, Gray and the macers of the Court of Justiciary could only locate Lieutenant-Colonel Hale, who was apprehended at Dunbar. The Macer of the Court of Justiciary with two 'respectable' witnesses presented Hale with the warrant, which he read 'twice over, changing Colours, twice or thrice', and then submitted.⁴ He was taken to Musselburgh Tolbooth and detained for a day and a half until he was released on bail after two doctors and a surgeon certified that they had examined Peter Kerr and Ann Halliday and concluded that they were not in danger of losing their lives. Eventually all the other officers were located as well, and all forced to stand bail before they were released from custody.

There can be no doubt that local opinion was shocked, and not just the local people of Musselburgh and Tranent, as is obvious from the account of the officers' apprehension. Many of the local gentry were very angry at the behaviour of the officers, not only at their drunkenness and violence, but at the fact that English officers could riot in Scotland and apparently feel that they could escape punishment. The references to Kerr as a 'Scotch rebel bougar' are given prominence in all accounts of the episode. It is important to consider the wider situation in Scotland, Britain and the world at this time, which allows us to place this episode in a much larger context than one would suspect of a drunken assault at Ravenshaugh in 1760. Britain was at war with France: 1759 had witnessed the great victories, in which

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Lieutenant-Colonel Hale had participated, which had given the ministry led by the elder Pitt its patriotic reputation. The Scots had shared in the sacrifices of this war effort, and Scottish regiments, officered by the sons of the Scottish gentry, took part in all of the great victories. Strenuous efforts, for the time, had been made to raise troops in Scotland. The year before, while British arms triumphed abroad, there had been fears of invasion at home, both in England and Scotland. Yet here were British officers, Englishmen, behaving as if Scotland was not included in this, as if the 1745 rebellion excluded her from really being an equal part of Britain.

The riot at Ravenshaugh did not provoke this reaction by itself. It unleashed feelings amongst the East Lothian gentry which had already been bruised by English political opinion. In 1759, when there was a serious fear of invasion from France in Scotland, the gentlemen resident around Edinburgh had supported an effort to obtain an extension of the English militia laws to Scotland, thereby enabling the Scots to raise a force for self-defence. When the elder Pitt had achieved real ministerial power in 1757 a Militia Act, long a measure he had supported, was passed by Parliament, but it applied to England alone. Early in 1760, when Scots M.P.s endeavoured to obtain a militia for Scotland, the measure had been rejected by Parliament, partly on grounds of expense, but also partly because a militia for Scotland would allow arms in the Highlands, and memories of the Jacobite rebellion of 1745 still rankled in England. Only two of those Scots M.P.s present at the vote in Parliament voted against a Scottish militia. The gentry of Scotland, particularly those around Edinburgh who had attended several public meetings on the subject, were offended at what they interpreted as an example of English prejudice. George Brown of Coalstoun, one of those who took the lead in apprehending Lieutenant-Colonel Hale, had been a member of the Edinburgh committee which had been selected by public meeting in December 1759 to agitate for a militia.⁵

The point about Ravenshaugh, for Brown and others, was that Scotland was not only being denied a militia because of the old Jacobite rebellions. At times English prejudice went beyond that, as at Ravenshaugh, to treating Scotland like a conquered province. The Reverend Alexander Carlyle, minister at Musselburgh, passed over the episode at Ravenshaugh Toll when he wrote his well-known *Autobiography*, but at the time he expressed the feelings of the East Lothian gentry and others in a letter to Charles Townshend, the ambitious English M.P. who was stepfather of the Duke of Buccleuch: 'Every Mortal is Sorry for the Col. because he has an exceeding good character. I am affraid it is but too Common for the officers when they come into Scotland, to think themselves in an Enemies Country that is disarmed; And it is high time to give check to the consequences of Such an Opinion. Nothing however but such an Outrage as this, could rouse our tame & Servile Gentry'.⁶

'Tame & Servile' they may have been, in their eagerness to prove their loyalty to the King and the British achievements Pitt's ministry represented, but the gentry of

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East Lothian were determined to make an example of Lieutenant-Colonel John Hale, fresh from the plains of Abraham (Quebec) or not. On the 13th of October, the same day that Alexander Gray obtained the warrant for the arrest of Hale and his officers, advertisements appeared in both the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* and the *Caledonian Mercury* calling on the 'Justices of the Peace and Trustees for the Turnpike Roads in the county of Haddington' to meet in Haddington on Friday the 17th of October 'upon affairs of the greatest consequence to the county'.

Almost all the gentlemen of note in East Lothian would have held office as either a J.P. or a Trustee for the turnpike roads. Those who attended this meeting approved of the actions which already had been taken in regard to Hale and his officers, appointed a committee to guide the prosecution which included Law of Elvingston and Brown of Coalstoun. Despite hearing a 'very penitential Letter offering any Acknowledgement to the Gentlemen of the County and reparation to the Persons injur'd, that could be desired,' which the Commander in Chief of the Forces in Scotland, Lord George Beauclerk, had written to Lord Coalstoun (to give him his Court of Session title), the meeting resolved to carry on the prosecution of the English officers.⁷ They pledged funds to meet the expenses of prosecution and instructed the committee to obtain the services of the new Lord Advocate, Thomas Miller, and another leading member of the Scottish bar, Alexander Lockhart of Covington, as legal counsel. Lord Coalstoun was asked to chair the committee appointed by the meeting.⁸

Gray was set about preparing a case for the Court of Justiciary, gathering evidence and instructing counsel. He had also to make at least some effort to prevent widespread distribution of a small printed 'burlesque performance' about the incident which had appeared in Edinburgh, *The Surprising and Heroic Atchievement at Ravenshaugh Toll*, which in the most ironic fashion possible, without mentioning names, described an assault by the British army on a party of Frenchmen disguised in petticoats at Ravenshaugh Toll. It ended by saying that the common report that the Frenchmen in petticoats were really women couldn't be true, as only 'Dastards and Poltrons' would attack women, and 'Again, It is well known that the *British Army* is kept up for the Protection of the Laws, and the civil Authority, and for the Defence of our Lives, Liberties, and Properties'. It is interesting that the word British was emphasized, and the rights of citizens. The point that Scotland was British and entitled to British privileges was made again.⁹

In the meantime additional efforts had been made to reach some out of court settlement between Hale and the gentlemen of the county. Letters had been written to influential people soon after Hale's arrest, such as the Sheriff-depute of East Lothian (Lord Belhaven) and Lord Milton, the Court of Session judge with most political influence in Scotland (who of course was also an East Lothian landowner as laird of Saltoun). Hale, in his letter to Lord Milton, said that he had offered to apologize to the toll-keeper and to 'make such reparation as the Gentlemen of the

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County shall require', but that the gentlemen of the county had insisted on an apology to *them*, which he refused to make.¹⁰ Later, in December, as the case was almost ready to come to court, Lieutenant-Colonel Hale, possibly acting with Lord Milton's advice, made a last appeal to the committee to avoid bringing the case to open trial, coming very close to apologizing to the gentlemen of the county in the process: 'We were no sooner Sober than we clearly discovered and were very sensible of the Injuries we had done to the Toll-gatherer, his Wife and Servant and the offence we had justly given [sic] to this Country in General and to the Justices of peace and Commissioners of the Toll in particular'.¹¹ The committee, having considered Hale's approach, felt obligated to call another meeting of all the Trustees of the turnpike roads in East Lothian at Haddington on 29 December.¹² It is interesting that the gentlemen at this meeting still felt strongly enough about the matter that Hale's apology and offer of private compensation was rejected, and Lord Coalstoun instructed to see that the case was brought before the High Court of Justiciary in Edinburgh.¹³

The prosecution accordingly went forward and came before a full bench of the Court of Justiciary on 26 January 1761. Hale and his colleagues were 'indicted and accused for the Crimes of Assaulting Invading, beating bruising and wounding his majesties Lieges to the Effusion of their Blood and danger of their Lives without Just Cause and provocation'.¹⁴ A point was made of requesting that no gentlemen of East Lothian be put on the jury 'so as no cause of complaint might be given the officers'.¹⁵ Lord Advocate Miller appeared as King's Advocate as well as private counsel to take part in the prosecution. Counsel for Hale and the others handed in a written defence, but upon the jury being sworn in (consisting of Mid-Lothian and West Lothian gentry, with some Edinburgh merchants),¹⁶ they decided to plead guilty and leave themselves to the justice of the court. On 28 January the court passed sentence, which was not severe, though greater than the private settlement offered previously by Hale to the East Lothian committee. The officers were directed to pay the expenses of the prosecution, which came to more than £200, and to pay £200 to Peter Kerr and Helen Halliday in compensation for their injuries, and that each of them pay £5 to the public purse as a fine. These sums were immediately paid and the case was dismissed.¹⁷

The attention given to the case in the press certainly outweighed that which one would expect for such a case in the eighteenth century. Until the case had gone to court and been decided, nothing had appeared in the periodical press, and efforts had been made to suppress the anonymous pamphlet which did appear. Now both the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* and the *Caledonian Mercury* printed brief accounts (on 31 January) and the *Scots Magazine* for January 1761 printed a relatively lengthy entry which closely followed the prosecution libel. There was no editorial comment, but the emphasis on the prosecution libel, in such a prominent (in Scottish terms) periodical, spoke for itself.¹⁸

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Nor was this the end of the matter. A new King was now on the throne who 'gloried in the name of Briton': George III. The aged Duke of Argyll, long *de facto* minister for Scotland, though without official recognition, interested himself in the case. He had been in Scotland in October 1760 and must have heard of the case, though there is no record of any link between him and the gentry of East Lothian. He held office as Lord Justice General, titular head of the Court of Justiciary, but does not appear to have directly participated in the granting of a warrant for the arrest of Hale and the others in October 1760. In February 1761, however, he was certainly aware of the case, and determined to press it and the essential point of the East Lothian prosecution further. The new king, a youth of 23, was closely advised by his former tutor the Earl of Bute, Argyll's nephew, and despite former differences between the two, Bute and Argyll now co-operated on Scottish policy.

On 11th February Argyll's secretary (who was also M.P. for the Haddington district of burghs) was writing to Lord Milton, Argyll's long-serving subminister in Scottish affairs, that he wished that the trial of Hale and his officers should be printed and copies sent to the duke in London. It was also noted that Argyll was displeased that the Lord Justice Clerk (Charles Erskine of Tinwald) had not sent him an account of the trial. On the 26th February Argyll's secretary acknowledged receipt of an extract (rather than a printed copy) of the trial, and noted that Argyll disapproved of the Lord Justice Clerk dismissing the episode as a 'drunken squabble', and disapproved of the lightness of the sentence given to the English officers: 'ARGYLL does not much approve of this sort of softness, and thinks it looks as LORD JUSTICE CLERK had been of Council for the officers'.¹⁹

The fruit of Argyll's disapproval appeared in the March 1761 issue of the *Scots Magazine*, which printed a letter from the Secretary of War, Lord Barrington, to the Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Scotland, relating that Argyll had put an extract of the trial of Hale and his officers in his hands, and that he had brought it to the attention of the King, who personally ordered that Hale and his officers be reprimanded in the strongest terms. The words 'court-martial' were mentioned as a penalty the King thought fit to dispense with, but good behaviour was recommended 'to regain the good opinion and confidence of their fellow-citizens'. The *Scots Magazine* also saw fit to print General Beauclerk's letter to Lieutenant-Colonel Hale in full, along with an extraordinary editorial comment on the virtue of the King's regard for 'the preservation of our laws and liberties'.²⁰

Thus ended the repercussions of the 'drunken squabble' at Ravenshaugh Toll. There was a further argument between Hale and the magistrates of Haddington over the maiming of dragoon horses quartered there, implying that someone was harassing the dragoons, but this passed after a few acerbic notices in the press from both sides.²¹ Unlike many officers who were reduced to half-pay at the end of the Seven Years War, John Hale was made a full Colonel on 27 April 1763, and he and his regiment posted to Ireland in 1764. Hale finished his career as a full General, serving

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in Ireland for most of his life. William Law of Elvingston became Sheriff-depute of East Lothian (or Haddingtonshire) in 1762. George Brown of Coalstoun eventually became a Lord of Justiciary as well as a Lord of Session. The Duke of Argyll died just a few months after he had made such efforts to rebuke Colonel Hale. Peter Kerr, Helen Halliday and the rest I have not traced. One hopes they enjoyed their £200 in peace.

A minor episode like that at Ravenshaugh can seem so trivial to those who have no interest in the local history of an area, but when enough documentary evidence survives a detailed study can perhaps illustrate some more general points as they influence actual events. William Law, George Brown and the Duke of Argyll were Scottish Whigs who shared whiggish concerns for the subordination of the military to civil authority. They were making a point, particularly as the British military in Scotland had so often felt able to ignore or at least neglect civil power there on account of the Jacobite rebellions. Scotland was Britain and not a subordinate possession. The army in Scotland took the point, though one wonders if the example affected Colonel Hale's subsequent behaviour in Ireland. This was anything but nationalism. It was an assertion of civil rights. It was unionism rampant in a positive way.

Peter Kerr, Helen Halliday, Marion Spaving and the others got the bruises in this story, and at the end, two of them got a bit of money. One is struck by the courage of the women in the face of drunken 'officers and gentlemen'. It reminds one of the leading role taken by women in the militia riots at Tranent in 1797 and other popular protests in Scotland and abroad in the eighteenth century.²² Unlike Tranent and the others, Ravenshaugh was no protest, it was (probably unprovoked) assault. Yet faced with the power of the state, the women were able to stand up to men who had guns. At Ravenshaugh, facing drunkenness as well, it did them little good, though in the end it helped their lairds to make a point. The irony is that the point their wounds helped their lairds to make would help lead to the civil strife at Tranent in 1797.

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THE AGRICULTURE OF SOUTH-EASTERN SCOTLAND IN THE MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY

By J. PHILLIP DODD

INTRODUCTION

A summary of events leading to the collection
of agricultural statistics in 1854.

In England and Wales official interest in the collection of agricultural information can be dated to 1795 when the prospect of famine throughout the kingdom prompted the Government to seek information through the agency of the Lord Lieutenant of each county. In actuality the factual information was gathered by parish constables on odd scraps of paper,¹ which in total formed such a heterogeneous muddle that the Select Committee set up to report on the evidence, could make little sense of it.

Although suggestion was made by Sir John Sinclair that the gathering of agricultural data should be entrusted to the clergy, a method which was then proving successful in the instance of *The Statistical Account of Scotland*, the Government decided against this. Further attempts to collect statistics were made in 1800 and 1801 after which interest declined although small sample schemes were initiated in 1831, 1836 and 1845: in the last of these the county of Midlothian was included. To Scottish observers progress in England must have appeared painfully slow, when one considers that The Honourable the Society of Improvers in the Knowledge of Agriculture was founded as early as 1723, whose members were 'to mark down in writing — and to correspond with the most intelligent in all the different counties in the nation, concerning their different ways of managing their grounds, that what may be amiss may be corrected, and what is profitable imitated.' These precepts were extended and developed in the *Proceedings* published in 1743, which also included a suggestion that universities should appoint 'Professors of Agriculture'.²

By 1800, *The Farmers Magazine* of Edinburgh was publishing accounts of farming practice and presenting quarterly reports from local correspondents, and *The Statistical Account* had been completed. Sir John Sinclair had commenced surveying the results which were presented in his accounts of 1813 and 1814, and in

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1834 the second lap of the cycle had commenced in the form of the promotion of *The New Statistical Account*. Although English attempts to collect statistics were not very successful, the East of Berwickshire Farmers' Club was able to demonstrate that agricultural statistics could be obtained,³ a point well and truly hammered home by the Highland and Agricultural Society's collection of statistics for the whole of Scotland for 1854-7. The latter had been preceded by a trial run involving East Lothian, Roxburghshire and Sutherland in 1853. The English aspects of the scheme for 1853 involved the counties of Hampshire and Norfolk and the relative success of this encouraged an extension of the collection in 1854 to include a further nine counties.⁴ In most of the eleven counties the scheme encountered a certain degree of opposition from some farmers and landowners.

By contrast, in Scotland with a long tradition of appreciation of the value of such information, and where the scheme was undertaken by the tenant farmers themselves, the outcome was vastly different. "The Scotch farmers, as a body, at once recognised the importance and utility of the measure, and endeavoured to support and forward it by readily and faithfully affording the information required of them. "— Many members of committee, indeed, mistaking the extent of their duties, went to the length of ascertaining and reporting the exact acreage of all the crops in their respective parishes".⁵ For good measure information was also collected in 1854 on the yields of the principal crops for the thirty-two individual counties and for county divisions.

The 1854 Crop Returns

The statistics as collected by the Highland and Agricultural Society⁶ were presented in an alphabetical list of counties and embraced some thirty categories of land use. Of these seventeen related to crop acreages, including rotation grass, four to other kinds of grass, two for urban and woodland, and seven categories for livestock. As may be seen from the extracts from the return for the county of Haddington,⁷ not to be confused with the burgh area, the statistics are of interest, but considerable processing has been necessary in order to provide meaningful analysis.

Haddington Total imperial acres 155,717¾.

Under wheat 16,818¼, Barley 12,086¼, Oats 15,668½,

Rotation grass 25,492¼, Permanent pasture 9,911½.

Stock. Horses 4,171 Milk Cows 2,130 Other Cattle 5,390 Calves 1,721.

Produce Average per acre, wheat 32 bushels, barley 46 bushels 3 pecks,
oats 48 bushels 2 pecks.

District No. 1 Haddington, Gifford, Garvald, Bolton and Morham.

As given by the Highland and Agricultural Society in 1854 the names of the six counties forming the basis of this study were those of Edinburgh, Haddington,

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Berwick, Peebles, Selkirk and Roxburgh. The extent to which these counties equate with their modern equivalents, and in particular with Midlothian and East Lothian, may be a matter for debate but in the remainder of the study names will be given as in 1854.

Much of the region consists of Lower Palaeozoic rocks of Silurian age coincident with the Southern Uplands. Along the eastern side Devonian and Carboniferous rocks underly the Merse of Berwick, whereas on the northern edge more ancient Ordovician rocks outcrop in the Moorfoot and Lammermuir Hills. Beyond the Southern Uplands Boundary Fault trending south-west from Dunbar through Biggar, the rocks change to the Devonian and Carboniferous Series. The older rocks correlate with high moorland, much of it above 800 feet (244m), providing a landscape of rounded hills and flat summits, unsuitable for agricultural land use other than as sheep grazing.

For the most part the lower ground is mantled in a heavy cover of glacial till which has buried most traces of the solid topography other than outcrops of igneous rocks as in North Berwick and of course in Edinburgh itself. Soils vary in fertility according to the nature of the parent material of the glacial deposits, and as a consequence of subsequent post-glacial history as evidenced by redistribution of deposits by river action and as a result of changes in sea level.

However, of equal significance for productive land use is the impact of climatic factors such as the degree of exposure to strong wind and in particular the length of the growing season. In illustration of the latter, whereas at Leith temperatures adequate for plant growth prevail for about 270 days a year, at West Linton (Peeblesshire) this period decreases to 200 days. Above this height (770 feet — 235m) there is a rapid decline, which is of some consequence for sheep grazing inasmuch as the rate of vegetation growth is a regulator of the stocking capacity on the hills.

The presence of the great mass of ancient resistant rocks south of the Boundary Fault materially influenced the extent of land available for tillage. This is demonstrated in Table A, which indicates a clear contrast between Peeblesshire, Selkirkshire and Roxburghshire and the three counties to the north and east. Selkirkshire, for example, with nearly 83.0% of its total area classed as rough grazing, obviously had little land to put under the plough other than in the dales. Much of this (43.0%) was devoted to rotation grass in long leys, a usage even more marked in the case of Peeblesshire, as is shown in Table B. In Roxburghshire the two-year ley was usual⁸ but in East Lothian (Haddingtonshire) the two-year ley in a five-course rotation was found only on the poorer land,⁹ whereas in Midlothian the two-year ley was restricted to the lighter loams.¹⁰

Crop rotations over the region showed a sensitive response to local soil conditions. Thus in East Lothian a 4, 5 and 6-year system could be found,¹¹ but in Midlothian the 6-year course had been adopted.¹² In Selkirkshire the 5-course was the rule as was the case in Roxburghshire¹³ whereas in Peeblesshire the Norfolk

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course adopted with enthusiasm was later discarded in favour of the 6-year rotation which answered better to local conditions.¹⁴

Although oats, as in the greater part of Scotland, was the principal cereal grown in five of the six counties of the south-east, in Haddington wheat not only took pride of place but was grown to a greater degree than in any other county in 1854. In Roxburghshire a like claim may be made for turnips which were cultivated and drilled on a free-working loam.¹⁵ However, as indicated by Table B, the crop was a strong feature of rotations in all the counties of the south-east.

Potatoes do not appear to have recovered from their fall from favour following the blight years. Despite the assertion of Stevenson in 1853¹⁶ that 'One feature of East Lothian farming is the breadth under potatoes', the 1854 Returns show that only 6.0% of the arable was planted with the crop and elsewhere it was of little importance. In East Lothian successful yields were obtainable only where intensive drainage had taken place and liberal dressings of guano applied. Stevenson also remarked on the role of the North British Railway in marketing the crop. In some other Scottish counties potatoes occupied a larger share of the arable land, in Renfrew for example 8.0% and in Fife 7.0% in 1854.¹⁷

Over most of the south-east the economic bias in farming was in livestock management, to which arable production was largely subservient. It is unfortunate that administrative difficulties prevented the collection of the 1854 Crop Returns in August as originally planned. In the event the individual occupiers did not receive the schedules for completion until after November 1.¹⁸ As flocks had then been culled, most of the lambs sold off, and the cattle fatted in the summer had been cleared at the autumn markets, the stock remaining represented the numbers being wintered. Stevenson¹⁹ referred to the Crop Returns of 1853 collected on May 20. These were a pilot study for Haddington, Roxburghshire and Sutherland. However, they are not as useful as might be because neither lambs nor calves were included, and as lambs were also omitted from the 1854 Returns, a reasonable correlation is ruled out. Nevertheless his report although specific to Haddington can be used to illuminate livestock practice in general within the region.

From Table C, it is apparent that dairying was not the principal aspect of cattle management. Milk production was restricted to the immediate hinterland of Edinburgh, a point made in respect of both Peeblesshire²⁰ and Midlothian.²¹ Transport limitations operated beyond this point and the cash item from the farm became either butter or, on the extreme perimeter, cheese. By the 1840's everywhere in the south-east, Ayrshires or an Ayrshire-Shorthorn cross had become the dominant breed, pure Ayrshires being particularly associated with the Edinburgh milk trade.

The true emphasis was on fattening cattle which, as the milch cow percentages indicate, were predominantly bought in. Little attempt was made to breed stock and still less to improve the quality. Even in the progressive Lothians although the advances made in Aberdeen must have been common knowledge at this date, cattle

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for fattening were the ordinary black breed or Irish beasts, despite the disposition of these to murrain.²² In Berwickshire also Irish cattle were bought in as were lean cattle from Northumberland.²³ This is of some interest as an instance of reversal of the trend reported by Marshall in 1818²⁴ when the traffic in cattle for fattening flowed the other way. In Peeblesshire, dairying was the practice in the western valleys but elsewhere Highland cattle were purchased in autumn and fed until the spring. The incentive in this case was the manure and not the prospect of profit from fattening. This was a point made also by Handyside who farmed at West Fenton and bought in half-bred shorthorns at Falkirk in the autumn but 'would not feed cattle except for converting the straw into manure'.²⁵

Some farmers in the Lothians fattened calves but these were mostly bought in, and included six-month stock purchased in England. Lean stock were bought from September to November and fed turnips until the final stage of fattening when they were given linseed cake and corn.²⁶ A similar practice obtained in Berwickshire where the cattle were stall fed on turnips.

Disposal of the fat stock varied. That from Roxburghshire was sold at Kelso in the spring,²⁷ but in East Lothian most of the best animals were exported to England, the inferior beasts going to the Edinburgh butchers.

There appears to have been a complete turn-round of cattle stock in the autumn, and if Stevenson's comments²⁸ are valid for the other counties, the stock returned as 'other cattle' in 1854 must have been bought in for fattening immediately prior to collection of the statistics, except for the 25.0% in one-year beasts carried over from the previous year. The number of beasts wintered related to the acreage devoted to turnips, which in East Lothian he considered to mean one beast per acre. Some of the turnips were also fed to the sheep, and if Stevenson's comments are taken as restricted to the purely arable farms, the one beast per acre of turnips probably merits credence. From an assessment of the relative densities per 1,000 acres in 1854 for turnips as compared with other cattle and the wether flock it could hold true for Edinburgh and probably for Berwickshire and Roxburghshire.

The sheep population was predominantly composed of ewe flocks (Table C) and from a comparison with Table A, the position in Selkirkshire and Peeblesshire is obviously related to the high proportion of rough grazing land. In the other counties, as Dudgeon stated of Roxburghshire,²⁹ densities were more a matter of the amount of land growing turnips. This county had the highest sheep population in Scotland in 1854 and, except for Blackface sheep on the highest ridges, the stock was mostly Leicesters. While the old Blackface breed retained its distinction as a hardy breed feeding on the heather of the highest exposed land, the Border Cheviot was supreme on the grassy hills. In Selkirkshire in the 1840's it had become the practice to cross the Blackface ewes with Cheviot or Leicester rams.³⁰ In the Lothians, Cheviots and Leicesters were kept on the arable and semi-arable farms up to the fringe of the Lammermuir and Pentland Hills.³¹

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Unlike most other parts of Great Britain the emphasis on the ewe stock is rather misleading because in these south-eastern counties of Scotland most of these ewes were bought in at the autumn sales and, after wintering, were fattened and sold off soon after lambing. Elsewhere the common practice was to cull about 28.0% of the ewe flock each year, as for example was the usage in Hampshire.³²

Most of the lambs were disposed of by the autumn and in this respect the improvement in communications influenced farm practice. Thus the steamship service between Louth and London persuaded farmers in Peebles to fatten lambs and sheep for the London market, but the extension of the railway from Berwick to Edinburgh in 1846 also enabled farmers to send their fat sheep south to London for 75 shillings the truck load. In East Lothian the sheep were folded on turnips and finished on linseed and rape cake, beans and oats. By the 1850's the fattening of bought-in ewes had become more important than keeping store cattle in this area.³³

Although lambs were mostly sent off by the autumn, some farmers kept a part until the spring for fattening until they could be sheared. After taking the fleece 60.0% were sold to English markets from May to July. Those sent to the industrial areas were dispatched live but both live and butchered mutton went off to London by rail and steamer from Dunbar, Musselburgh and Leith. Not all stock was sold fat. The trade in three-year wethers continued and in May 1844 seventy were purchased at 16 shillings a head for fattening on the Marquis of Stafford's estate at Trentham.³⁴ A considerable consignment was disposed of in Cheltenham in 1853 and Philip Pusey bought some for fattening on his farm on the Berks-Hants border although he had qualms over the 4 shillings freight charge, which, considering the 450-mile journey, was not unreasonable.³⁵

Land Use Regions in 1854

It is possible to distinguish four broad regions in south-east Scotland for discussion of the land use of 1854. These comprise the Merse of Berwickshire; The Southern Uplands; the Upland Fringe between these two, and a northern Lothian region.

The Merse

This consists of an elongated triangle of land (Figure 1) with its apex projecting westwards up the valley of the Tweed. From sea level in the east the land rises gradually to 400 feet (122m) in the west and along the margins to north and south. Rainfall distribution follows the same pattern with the Merse receiving the relatively low incidence of 25 inches (625mm) a year, increasing to 27.5 (687mm) at the margins. The region is underlain by rocks of Devonian and Carboniferous age but these are of significance only insofar as they represent the parent material from

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which the local drift cover is derived. The Carboniferous soils found in the Howe of the Merse are still tenacious clays which Kerr as early as 1809 mapped as the 'Clay Lands'.³⁶

These soils are sticky, difficult to work in wet weather and in the 1850's were of relatively low productivity. Attempts to ameliorate their intractability by marling had been made in the eighteenth century, and in the nineteenth by liming. Lime from Tillside and other centres in East Northumberland was brought across the Tweed at Berwick and Coldstream.³⁷ However, average crop yields remained low with 28.7 bushels for wheat, 37.2 for barley and 40.5 for oats. Turnips and potatoes did better averaging 15 tons and 5.4 tons respectively. The harvest of 1854 gave some 2 bushels more for wheat and barley and 1 ton above the norm for potatoes.

The Upland Fringe

From the margins of the Merse at c.400 feet O.D. (122m) the region extends to the edge of the Uplands proper represented by the 800 foot contour (244m). Rainfall is slightly higher, 27.5 inches (687mm), but soils produced on the Old Red Sandstone are light loams, easy to work and earlier described as 'turnip soils'.³⁸ Dudgeon thought 'perhaps there is no part of the island where the preparation of the soil for the raising of this valuable esculent is better understood, and where its cultivation is carried on with so much attention to cleanness and order'.³⁹ In the 1850's the average yield was given as 16-17 tons, although on the heavier soils of the southern part of the region yields declined to 15 tons.

Barley, which should have done well on these soils, appeared less productive, with yields averaging 36-38 bushels. Dudgeon, who farmed 1000 acres of this area, noted the five-course rotation in widespread use, with 75.0% of the turnips eaten off on the ground by sheep and the rest carted, followed by barley, then grass for two years with oats in the fifth year. His statement that no manure was given to the cereal crops suggests that it might have been of advantage to adopt a different attitude towards maintenance of soil fertility.⁴⁰ As oats and turnips had immediately preceded the barley, it was somewhat optimistic to expect short-period folding of the sheep to upgrade fertility to the requisite degree.

As for the oats, an average yield of 41-42 bushels in the 1850's indicates some improvement on the 40 bushels of the late 1830's but the impression remains that more could have been achieved. Lime was available via Liddesdale or from East Northumberland via Coldstream⁴¹ and Dudgeon remarked its use in 1840. Improving farmers, like himself also made use of bone meal but probably the major bar to general improvement was inadequate draining. Even Dudgeon had to admit that much of his own land left much to be desired in this respect.

Certainly there was no lack of improvers, The West Teviotdale Agricultural Society in 1853 replaced the Farmers Club founded in 1776, and there was also the

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Roxburghshire Horticultural Society⁴² while Dudgeon himself belonged to the Border Union Agricultural Society. However, the principal aim of these societies was rather the improvement of sheep and other livestock than the upgrading of arable farming.

Wheat was little grown while potatoes, which had made slow progress since 1800, yielded an average of 4-5 tons per acre in the 1850's. As for the harvest of 1854, cereals were a good crop with oats up by 6 bushels and barley by 4. Other crops appear to have been about average in yield.

The Uplands

As may be seen from Figure 1, this is a vast horseshoe-shaped region rising from 800 feet (244m) to nearly 2700 feet (823m) at White Coomb near Moffat. Rainfall on the higher ground exceeds 50 inches (1250mm) but averages 40 inches (1000mm) over much of the region. The significant factor however is that of slope in relation to the relative rapidity of the run-off.⁴³ Thus on flat summits associated with water-logging, the natural vegetation cover consists of deer sedge, cotton grass, and sphagnum moss. At lower levels on the flats, moor rush and moor grass are typical but the degree of slope in the main favours the growth of dry moor-species in particular that of mat grass, either as the dominant species or in association with purple moor grass and the bent grasses.

Considerable areas of the moorland bear signs of having been under cultivation in past times, and some 9.0% of the present extent of moorland is estimated to have dropped out of cultivation prior to 1860, of which 60.0% is said to have been abandoned before 1800. Of Hownam parish, Roxburghshire, it was reported c.1845 that 'since the middle of last century, these farms (on the higher marginal slopes) have been converted into extensive sheep walks'.⁴⁴ Below this margin it has been suggested that at c.1100 feet (350m) there is a critical level at which factors such as the degree of exposure, wetness, and minimum warmth requisite for the ripening of oats come into play.⁴⁵ At this height the risk of crop failure occurs twice in a period of seven years, which decreases with height to once in five years at 1000 feet (305m) and to once in twenty years at 700 feet (215m).

In studying Parry's review of climatic factors in relation to crop failure, one must also take into consideration that, although conditions may fall short of complete failure, a reduction in yield may eventuate with somewhat greater frequency. Although not discussed by Parry this probability is suggested by yields for oats reported as average in the 1850's which over the altitudinal range of 850-1100 feet (275-350m) varied from 33 to 39 bushels to the acre. Barley, where grown, yielded from 34-37 bushels. With potatoes the relative variations were 2-4 tons and for turnips 13-15 tons. In some of the dales, particularly in Selkirkshire far greater averages were noted but these probably represented holdings intensively worked.

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Reverting to the consideration of periodic crop failure, Parry suggests that a frequency of once in five years could be the point at which the decision would be taken to discontinue cultivation at these marginal levels. He quotes evidence from farm diaries showing the harvest delayed until December in 1782, 1799 and in 1816 in south-east Scotland. However, of stronger impact in my view would be the consequences of a *run* of poor yields and failed harvests. Over England and Wales there was a sequence of deficient or failed harvests in 1798, 1799 and 1800.⁴⁶ Although Scotland does not appear to have had a poor harvest in 1798 it was reported of 1799 that 'from June 22 to November 17 there were only eight days without rain . . . in this country and particularly in the north of the island, many fields of corn were still uncut as late as November, and some were not cleared until the January following . . . oats — were much destroyed by two severe nights of frost on the 16th and 17th October'. In 1800 'the rains came on in August . . . the crops were still worse in Scotland'.⁴⁷

Although the evidence would require support from other sources, the East Lothian fiars prices for oats suggest a series of runs of deficient harvests indicated by rising prices from 17s 10¼d in 1791 to £1 6s 8d in 1795; 17s 10¼d in 1797 to £2 8s 11¾d in 1800; £1 8s 10d in 1810 to £2 10s 9¾d in 1812; £1 7s 4¼d in 1814 to £2 0s 3¼d in 1816; 19s 11d in 1822 to £1 17s 1½d in 1826. During the period of the Napoleonic Wars prices were high in other intervening years but this rise may be more definitely ascribed to the effects of war and depreciation rather than to climatic causes.

As for 1816 the failure was widespread and its effects were felt well into 1817, as in Sutherland where the starving peasantry spent nights on the shore awaiting the return of the fishing boats, having disposed of everything saleable to obtain money to buy fish.⁴⁸ A further run of bad harvests followed from 1828 to 1831, the 1828 harvest being described as nearly as poor as that of 1816, and the others were reported as very deficient to low yielding.⁴⁹ In 1836 the harvest in Scotland was universally backward, with July and August very cold and wet; part of the harvest never ripened.⁵⁰ 1845 saw another deficient harvest and with the additional arrival of potato blight. Yields in the following year were low as were those of 1850. In 1852 most days in August and September were cold and wet and crops were injured by blight and mildew.

By 1845 the author of the *New Statistical Account* for Yarrow was noting the incidence of 'finger and toe' disease in turnips, that ploughland at higher levels had been abandoned and that the land had reverted to rough pasture.⁵¹ In the Ettrick and Yarrow valleys 50-66.0% of holdings were held by tenants who lived elsewhere. Aggregation of farms and the decline of population may not unreasonably be attributed to the several runs of deficient harvests. The enhanced attractiveness of sheep farming in preference to arable cultivation as the climatic difficulties became more apparent, while the widening of opportunities for alternative economic employment coincident with the expansion of the textile industry in, for instance, Galashiels, represented an additional incentive for leaving the Uplands.

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The Lothian Region

Lying between the Pentland Hills, the Moorfoot Hills and Lammermuir and the Firth of Forth, the region is essentially lowland. The underlying rocks derive largely from the Carboniferous although in North Berwick there are extensive spreads of extrusive rocks notably andesites, rhyolites, tuffs and basaltic lavas of various ages. As elsewhere in the south-east, soils at the surface are dominantly of glacial or post-glacial origin and are thus second-hand manifestations of the parent rocks.

Soil fertility exhibits considerable diversity and this is exemplified in the variations in the yield of cereals from west to east of the region in the 1850's. Along the northern coastal zone low yields were typical of the west (Table D), but output increased eastwards to show yields exceptionally high for Scotland in this period. The southern section displayed the same pattern with low yields in the Esk Valleys area increasing steadily eastwards across the region. Differences in yields were accompanied by changes in crop ranking from west to east. For example oats occupied 55-60.0% of the grain acreage of the west but this fell to 43.0% in the mid-region. To the east oats declined to 32.0% and were replaced as leader by wheat, which took up 41.0% of the acreage sown to grain.

The region, long regarded as in the forefront of agricultural practice, continued to maintain its reputation in the 1850's. Several of the leading farmers had given evidence before the Royal Commission on Agricultural Distress in 1833 and either they or their sons were still farming in the region and were prominent in organising the collection of the Crop Returns in 1853 and 1854. John Brodie, who farmed 455 acres at Abbey Mains near Athelstaneford, spent £1360 in lime from 1826-31, and £2500 in collecting stones from the fields, cutting and laying drains. Peter Handyside on 560 acres, further north at West Fenton limed 100 acres and spent £2000 on draining his farm, while George Hope at Fenton Barns, had expended £2500 on draining. About one third of his 664 acre farm was on heavy Boulder Clay and lay uncultivated when he took over. This had been reclaimed and limed at £7 the acre. Hope had set up a tilery to make his own drain tiles and also found it profitable to sell to other farmers. At Markle, William Christie farming 551 acres, had laid out £2500 over a period of nineteen years in draining and liming the land.

These farmers were also well to the fore in the practice of High Farming, or High Feeding, as termed by Pusey.⁵² At Abbey Mains calves for fattening were fed cake whilst on grass, followed after harvest by turnips and oil cake. Cattle were kept in open yards, for instance at West Fenton, and here too they were given turnips, oil cake and hay, but the last was being discontinued in 1853 because it did not pay. Hope also put cattle on turnips but wintered them in yards, and fattened them on turnips and linseed cake. When grain prices were low, grain and beans as well as oil cake were given. On this farm the main enterprise was the fattening of sheep and these were folded on turnips and later fed linseed cake, and beans.

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The other aspect of High Feeding policy was the use of artificials to supplement farmyard manure in raising farm productivity, which by increasing yields enabled more stock to be fattened. The increased supply of manured straw went on the land to upgrade the cycle further. Brodie top dressed his grass with guano and reckoned to purchase 35 tons of this a year in all, most of which was applied to the other crops, the turnips, beans and potatoes receiving 3 cwt along with 9 tons of farmyard manure. At West Fenton, Handyside purchased 1200 tons of stable and byre manure from Edinburgh at a cost on the farm of £9 per ton. This was supplemented by 50 tons of guano and 9 tons of nitrate of soda. At Fenton Barns, 15 tons of farmyard manure was applied to the oat stubble for ploughing for potatoes and guano was spread before planting. Wheat was top dressed with guano and Hope spent £800 annually on guano and oil cake. Christie, on his Markle farm, reckoned to lay out £300 on artificials and £140 on oil cake each year.

The cost of pursuing a policy of High Farming was high but in this region the returns in the form of increased output more than justified the outlay. For example at Abbey Mains whereas the yield of wheat from 1827-1835 averaged 29 bushels, in the 1850's the yield had risen to 39 bushels. Barley increased by 50.0% to 64 bushels and oats by 27.0% to 63 bushels. At West Fenton in 1823, 15 cattle were fattened and 30 wintered and 100-120 ewes were kept. Ten years later the stock had risen to 54 cattle and 200 ewes, while in 1853 74 cattle and 1000 sheep were being fattened. The same story was told of Fenton Barns. The wheat crop in 1828-31 averaged 385 quarters, in 1832-35 it was 607 and in 1852 from only three quarters of the acreage it was 750. Sheep for fattening increased from 900 in 1852 to 1200 in 1853.⁵³

Most of these Lothian farms were also reorganised. Small uneconomic fields appear to have been thrown together to make large enclosures of upwards of 25 acres. This change was in advance of the trend towards mechanised farming which characterised farming progress a century later. The Lothians had already made progress along this road as the appendix attached to the 1853 Crop Returns for Haddington indicated.⁵⁴ Thus the number of water wheels in operation for agricultural purposes was given as 81 and the number of horse gins as 107. Steam driven engines however totalled 185, almost the same as the combined total for horse and water power.

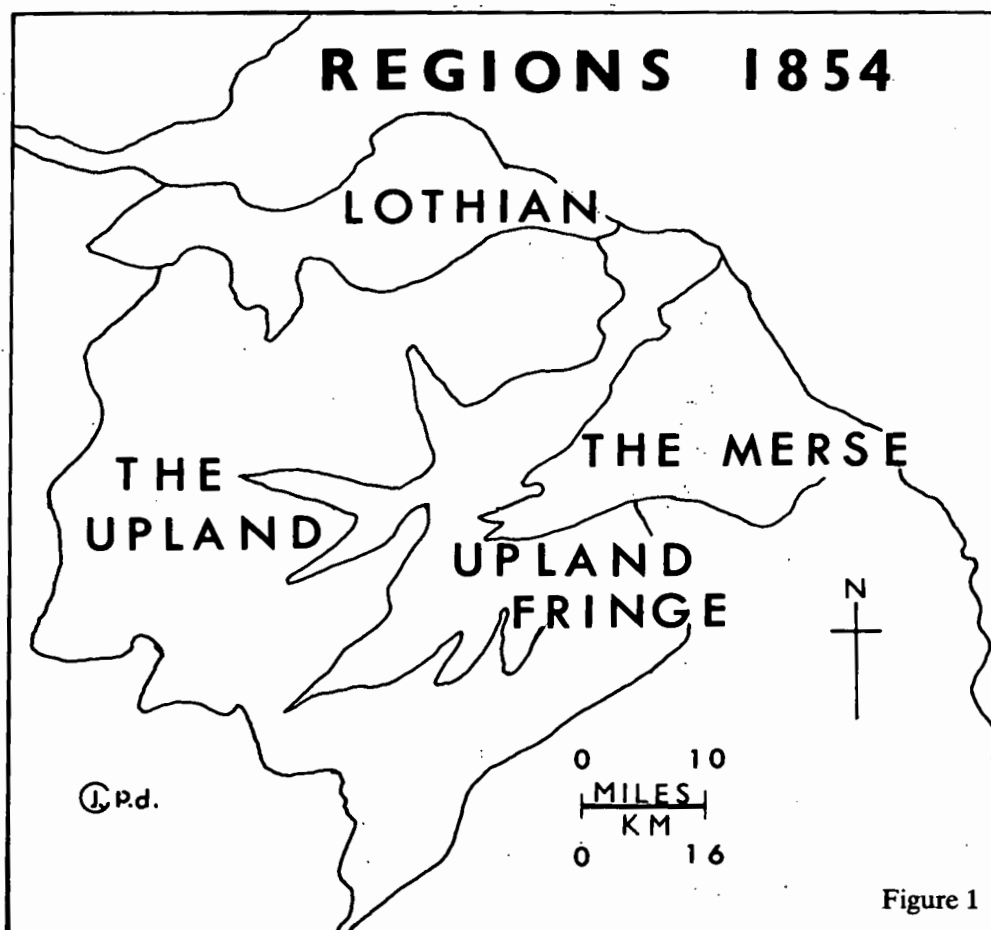
Conclusion

From whatever angle one examines the agricultural economy of South-east Scotland it is clear that in 1854 the industry was in a healthy condition. It may also be said that comparison with other regions such as the North-east, South-west or Central Scotland indicates that the advantage lay with the South-east. If one extends the area of comparison to relate to the English counties, Norfolk had an arable acreage of some 620 acres per 1000,⁵⁵ whereas in Haddington the figure was 633 acres. Although Hampshire had 652 acres per 1000 under the plough,⁵⁶ its unproduc-

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tive land was less difficult to contend with than was the case in either Haddington or Norfolk. Livestock comparisons are less easy to make owing to differences in practice. To match like with like one needs to contrast the Berwickshire sheep density of 840 head per 1000 acres or the 934 in Peeblesshire with the densities obtaining in the Welsh Borderland viz. 960 head in the Crickhowell region of Brecknockshire⁵⁷ or the 935 on the Radnorshire-Shropshire border.⁵⁸

In respect of technical improvement and a critical appreciation of agricultural economics the farmers of South-east Scotland were undoubtedly to the fore in 1854 and although Fife produced 'twice as much barley as Edinburgh, Roxburgh, or Haddington' the highest yields in the Scotland of 1854 were in Haddington, 'affording to the active and enterprising farmer of that rich county 46¾ bushels per acre.'⁵⁹



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Table A. Land Use per 1000 acres.

| <i>County</i> | <i>Arable</i> | <i>Total Grass</i> | <i>Rough Grazing</i> | <i>Cultivated*</i> |
|---------------|---------------|--------------------|----------------------|--------------------|
| Edinburgh | 472 | 150 | 326 | 622 |
| Haddington | 633 | 74 | 230 | 707 |
| Berwick | 579 | 118 | 246 | 697 |
| Peebles | 173 | 80 | 703 | 253 |
| Selkirk | 84 | 63 | 826 | 147 |
| Roxburgh | 338 | 119 | 496 | 457 |

* Arable plus total grass

Table B. Arable Land Use: Crops as % of Arable

| <i>County</i> | <i>Wheat</i> | <i>Barley</i> | <i>Oats</i> | <i>Turnips</i> | <i>Leys</i> | <i>Potatoes</i> |
|---------------|--------------|---------------|-------------|----------------|-------------|-----------------|
| Edinburgh | 8 | 11 | 23 | 14 | 34 | 6 |
| Haddington | 17 | 12 | 16 | 15 | 26 | 6 |
| Berwick | 7 | 11 | 22 | 18 | 37 | 1 |
| Peebles | — | 6 | 27 | 15 | 48 | 2 |
| Selkirk | — | 8 | 29 | 17 | 43 | 1 |
| Roxburgh | 5 | 11 | 23 | 19 | 39 | 1 |

Table C. Livestock per 1000 acres

| <i>County</i> | <i>Total Cattle</i> | <i>% Cows</i> | <i>Total Sheep</i> | <i>% Ewes</i> |
|---------------|---------------------|---------------|--------------------|---------------|
| Edinburgh | 75 | 35% | 520 | 76% |
| Haddington | 59 | 23% | 486 | 56% |
| Berwick | 69 | 22% | 840 | 66% |
| Peebles | 36 | 34% | 658 | 81% |
| Selkirk | 15 | 33% | 750 | 92% |
| Roxburgh | 48 | 25% | 934 | 82% |

Table D. Productivity of corn in Lothians' Region

| <i>Coastal Zone</i> | <i>West</i> | <i>Centre</i> | <i>East</i> | |
|----------------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|---------|
| Oats | 37 | 46 | 60 | bushels |
| Barley | 42 | 45 | 49 | bushels |
| Wheat | 36 | 33 | 35 | bushels |
| <i>Southern Zone</i> | | | | |
| Oats | 35 | 42 | 54 | bushel |
| Barley | 35 | 42 | 49 | bushels |
| Wheat | 27 | 29 | 32 | bushels |

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