# TRANSACTIONS
## OF THE
# EAST LOTHIAN ANTIQUARIAN AND FIELD NATURALISTS' SOCIETY

VOL. XVIII

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## OF THE
# EAST LOTHIAN ANTIQUARIAN AND FIELD NATURALISTS' SOCIETY

EIGHTEENTH VOLUME

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# DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE LONG HISTORY OF COAL MINING IN EAST LOTHIAN

These documents have been transcribed for the *Transactions* by David Spence. The mediaeval documents show the very early establishment of the coal industry in this county. The titles and dates of the Acts of Parliament set bounds to the enserfment of the workers in the industry, and the correspondence from the Huntlaw Colliery shows the way in which bonds were used to retain a labour force after the ending of serfdom.

*East Lothian Coalfield*
*11th November 1171*

*Agreement between the monks of Newbattle and Robert de Quency*

Robert de Quency leased to Monks of Newbattle all the land which he held in Prestun and four measured carucates (ploughlands, each about 104 acres) of the arable land of Trafernent (Tranent) lying adjacent to the lands of Preston, which they are to possess for twenty years and pay nothing therefor except his debt of £80 of silver which they shall pay on his behalf to Abraham the Jew.

*Agreement made at Martinmas, 1171*
*among witnesses — Henry of Pencaitland*
*and*
*Ulkil, Parson of Tranent*

* * * *

*TRANENT CHARTER 1210-1219*

To all the Sons of the Holy Mother Church, Seyr de Quency, Earl of Wynton, greeting. Know that I have given and by this my Charter confirmed to God and the Church of St Mary of Newbattle, and to the monks serving God in that place, for an unconditional and perpetual gift towards the increase of the Church which Robert my father bestowed on the same — to wit, in the territory of Tranent the full half of the march which extends from west to east

as far as the rivulet of Whitrig, that is to say, that portion which lies nearer to their cultivated land. Further, the Coal Heuch and the Quarry between the aforenamed rivulet of Whitrig and the bounds of Pinkie and Inveresk, both in the ebb and the flow of the sea. Therefore I will and direct that none of my men may have any share either in the pasture or in the Coal Heuch or in the Quarry, within the bounds of Prestongrange without the consent or goodwill of the same monks, these being witness, W., Bishop of St. Andrews, Ingeram de Ballia, Simon de Quency, Alexander de Seton, and others.

And observe that this Charter has a different seal from the others.

(Translated by GEORGE PAULIN, M.A.)

* * * *

*JACOB, VI*
*Act anent coalyeares & salteres*
*1606*

No persone within this realme heirefter sall fie, hyre, or conduce ony salteres, coalyearis or coilbereris without any sufficient testimonial of their maister quhom they last servit.

*13th June 1799*

*An Act to explain and amend the Laws relative to Colliers in that Part of Great Britain called Scotland.*

This is the title of the Act which secured to miners freedom from legal servitude.

* * * *

*Huntlaw*
*November 16th 1825*

Mr Alexander Muirhead,

You are well aware that almost all the Coalers of both the Lothians are bound to their masters for a year from the date of their Bond save ourselves and in case of any difference between you and us in regard to our price and to be assured of a twelve months employment we wish to be Bond for a year from the date that we entered work at Huntlaw — we will Bond on the same Plan that was at first suggested by your-self viz, 5d per load for the Coals & 4d per boll for the Lime Coal — the length of the Roads not to exceed 60 fathoms or if you wish them further than 60 fathoms to be a preportionate

allowance and if our work by on our hand through the Course of Summer We will be content with 10/- of Subsistance weekly which we wish to be inscerted in our Bond.

We Remain your
Humble
Servants
The Coalers of Huntlaw

P.S. We will make our Roads Sufficient and you will keep them in Repair be so kind as give us an answer immediately with the Bearer.

Copy Letter
Mr Davidson
to
Robert Farmer, Manager, Huntlaw Coal Work

Haddington 31st December 1825

Robert,

Having taken into consideration the request of the Colliers at Huntlaw, and made inquiry as to the conditions under which the Colliers of this County are bound, I authorise you to state to the Colliers at Huntlaw, that I am willing to enter into agreements with them on the following terms, viz — Each married Man to have a House and Garden for their Bounty, and, every single Man, able to put out a full Man's work and not having occasion for a House, One Guinea of Bounty. Every Putter able to draw a full Man's work, half a Guinea Yearly, and to give every Load of Coal wrought in the present under seam, free of Panwood 5d per Load and every Load from the present Upper Seam, free of Pan-wood, 4d — Also for every Boll of Pan-Wood saleable from the under Seam 4d. And if any of the Upper Seam should be wrought into Lime Coal 4d per Boll for the same — Every Collier must take his turn in the different Seams, and to work either Great Coal or Lime Coal as the Manager shall see proper, and be obliged to make his own Road three feet high, and leave it sufficient.

These Conditions, I am satisfied, are fair and liberal, and will enable a good and industrious Collier to make a good wage, and as no Colliers shall be kept, but those who have regularly attended their work, and conducted themselves properly, agreement will only be entered into with such, and as I observe William Johnston and Walter Knox are never regular in their work, no agreement will be entered into with them, and the sooner they are paid off the better.

I remain
Your Obt. Sert
(Signed) Henry Davidson

# THE ORIGINS OF GIFFORD

*By JOHN H. SIMPSON*

The usual story of the origins of Gifford states that the Earl of Tweeddale enclosed Yester Park with a wall in the early 1670's and at the same time demolished the old settlement of Bothans near his house and rehoused its inhabitants by creating a village outside the wall.[1] This village he called Gifford, the family name of the early lords of Yester. This theory provides a neat explanation of the disappearance of Bothans, the 'model' lay-out of the village of Gifford and the acquisition of its name. But it will not bear much investigation. If the inhabitants of Bothans were rehoused in a new village, we would expect at least some of the main buildings to date from that period. They do not; they are from the eighteenth century and indeed it is with the eighteenth century that model villages are associated. On the other hand, the theory is correct in putting the origins of the village in the seventeenth century, but it compresses into one event the activities of some forty or fifty years.

The true story is more complicated than the accepted one. The purpose of this article is to investigate first the origins of the name and secondly the development of the site between the time that the Park wall was built and the completion of the church in 1710, by which date it may be fairly said that the basic shape of the village was established.

Sir Hugh de Gifford, whose name appears in a variety of spellings, was granted the lands of Yester by William the Lion in 1174. Sir Hugh's grandson built the famous Goblin Ha' and there were two subsequent buildings on that site.[2] In 1399, Jonet, the heiress of the Gifford family, married Sir William Hay of Lockerworth; thereafter the Hays were Lords of Yester. Following the destruction by Lord Somerset in 1540 of the third building referred to above, the Great House of Bothans was built in 1584. Bothans — perhaps a corruption of 'bothies', that is to say, huts — was a peasant settlement the inhabitants of which were vassals of the Hay family. The site of the settlement can be more or less determined by the surviving church of St. Cuthbert the foundations of which date at least from the 15th century.[3] It may be that the use of Gifford as a place name goes back to the 12th century or beyond and that from it Sir Hugh took his name. But the earliest use to emerge from the available records

appears in the accounts of the stone mason, James Thomson, involved in building the Park Dyke.[4] He started work in 1663 and appears to have completed the wall in 1668 — earlier than is usually suggested. In 1666 his bill included 20 pound Scots for the building of 'the house of Giffart' [5] and later in the same year a similar document refers to the office houses at 'Giffartebridge'.[6] Was the stream at that time called Gifford Water? There is no evidence. But alongside plain 'Gifford' and with apparently no different significance, one finds several references to 'Giffordhaugh'. 'Haugh' is a low-lying piece of land by a stream and would describe, for example, the Bleachfield or the area along what is now Station Road. Other references, equally indiscriminate, use the name Gifford Hall, Giffordhall, Giffortshall. It was this terminology that confused the Rev. John Muir the Minister of Yester, 1896-1920. In his booklet 'Gifford 1750-1850', published in 1913, he writes 'Some day perhaps, if access to the ancient documents can be secured, we may be able to tell of the transformation of the lands and garden of Gifford Hall House into the village of Gifford'. His premise is false. There was a building called Gifford Hall House but, despite the grandeur of its title, it had no lands or garden of the scale Muir envisages. It formed, as we shall see, part of the early development of the site.

So the early usage of the name remains obscure; all that can be said with certainty is that the village developed on land which was already called Gifford and that this was not a name given by the Earl of Tweeddale to his newly-built village. Nor could it have been, because there was no 'newly-built village'. What we may call the 'Plan for Gifford' account contains some truth, but we must discard the nice, tidy vision of the village springing up at a touch of the Tweeddale wand. If we look at the documentary evidence, we get a picture of a gradual process over some fifty years during which Bothans disappeared and a village grew up to form the main skeleton of the modern Gifford.

On July 15th 1662, at Bothans, John Hay, in Bothans Mill, agreed to pay to John Hay of Baro, 100 merks a year (£5.85) for an eleven year tack or lease of that parcel of land called Whythaugh.[7] We shall hear a lot more of the first mentioned John Hay, who had been at Bothans Mill since at least 1657. If only he was called something else! Apart from his namesake at Baro, it soon emerges that, in addition, the Earl of Tweeddale is called John Hay and there is a John Hay of Duncanlaw, a John Hay of Sheriffside and a John Hay of Hopes. The ground called Whythaugh is defined in a later document [8] as being a little over 5 acres of arable land bounded on the east and south by Yester Water and on the north and west by March Stones of Broadwoodside — in other words the area on either side of Station Road, the 'haugh' referred to

earlier. It is perhaps significant that John Hay, being a miller, chose a site suitable for a mill, though that potential was not explored in his lifetime. The Corn Mill was not built there until 1725.

The stonemason's accounts for December 1666 already mentioned refer to John Hay's office houses at Giffartebridge. Which John Hay? They would seem, being near the bridge, to be associated with Whythaugh and could well be the new leaseholder's farm-buildings. What is certain is that in 1672 John Hay acquired the tack [9] of 'the Maltbarns and mills, all such buildings and houses thereto outside the Park Dyke'. The reference to 'houses' need not imply anything more than a house for the miller and a cott for a worker. The fact that they are described as being outside the Park Dyke seems to point the distinction between them and Bothans Mill. This would fit in with the recent completion of the Dyke and the subsequent running down of Bothans. A list of 'Rentalls' [10] for 1672 contains an entry 'John Hay in Gifoord for the Mill, maltkiln and barns by his tack'.

Rural life in the area, as in many parts of the Lowlands, was dominated at that time by mills and by the production of wool. Most people grew their own oats for meal and their own bear (a coarse barley) for ale. Grain had to be ground at a specified local mill. There were several such mills; for example there was one at Duncanlaw, one at Quarryford, one at Yester Mains. The mill at Gifford was presumably built to replace the one at Bothans and might have served Broadwoodside and some local peasants. Everyone depended on the mill and the miller was a man of considerable standing in the community who made his living by exacting a levy (multure) on all grain brought to him.

The woollen business not only involved the rearing of sheep, the spinning of the fleeces and the weaving of cloth; it also used a mill known as the waulk mill. Such a mill was built in 1673 [11] on the banks of Gifford Water just beyond what is now the Glebe. Like the meal mill, this probably replaced the waulk-mill at Bothans which had been built in 1640. Waulk mills treated woollen cloth after it had been woven, soaking, beating and shrinking it.

This is the background against which the development of Gifford must be set. In 1673, for example, John Hay paid the Earl's factor, William Haitlie, 400 pounds Scots in part payment for barley bought off the estate.[12] It seems clear that he turned this barley into ale and soon set up as an innkeeper as well. By 1680 he was paying rent [13] for an Inn at Gifford in addition to his other property which included an area called Broadyards (he had acquired this on a

13-year tack in 1675 [14]) and some land on Winding Law. Evidence from a few years later shows that the Inn he ran was what is now called the Tweeddale Arms. This was the building, referred to earlier, known as Gifford Hall House and may well have been the original 'house of Giffart'. Across the road from it, behind where the Goblin Ha' Hotel now stands was the only other Gifford residence of substance, the house and smithy of William Baxter the blacksmith who had arrived on the scene by 1672, since which time he had worked extensively for the Earl.[15] The names of those paying rent at that time were listed under baronies e.g. the barony of Yester and the barony of Duncanlaw. John Hay and William Baxter, the only two from Gifford, are listed under the barony of Duncanlaw which included the area where this new settlement was developing.

It is worth considering what 'Gifford' consisted of at this stage. The road from Edinburgh came past Broadwoodside over Gifford Water at the head of Whythaugh by John Hay's office houses and curved round to go up to Duns with a turn off to Haddington. Some of the fields which are now under cultivation were then moorland — heather and peat-bogs. The trees which now form such a major part of the landscape were few, apart from those planted by Lord Tweeddale which were at most only fifteen years old. There was an orchard on the land now known as the Bleachfield.[16] The buildings consisted of a malt-barn and kiln where C. Maslowski's yard is.[17] The meal mill was probably near where the present main road crosses the stream; there was no bridge there. John Hay's Gifford Hall House and William Baxter's house and smithy were as already described. The waulk-mill was half-a-mile down stream. No doubt the miller, John Blackie and his wife, Margaret Dickson, lived in one of the two cott houses associated with it. There must have been a few hovels where some workers, including Robert Scotland, mason, lived. And that was Gifford.

Its development was soon to receive a boost. In 1681 'The King's Majesty and Estates of Parliament, taking to consideration that the town of Giffart belonging to John, Earl of Tweeddale, lies conveniently for fairs and mercats . . .' granted 'to the said John, Earl of Tweeddale, his heirs and successors, full right, liberty and power of holding two free fairs in the year at the said town, each of them to continue three days and the first to begin upon the 25th day of September and to be called the Malt Fair and the other upon the 6th day of June before St. Binning's Day to be called the Sheep fair'. The same document goes on to approve a weekly mercat every Tuesday and to give the Earl of Tweeddale power 'to uplift the tolls customs and duties belonging to the said fairs and weekly mercats'.[18]

## THE ORIGINS OF GIFFORD

The description of Gifford as a town is consistent with it containing little more than half-a-dozen buildings. The word was used of very small groups of houses e.g. the town of Linplum. No doubt the Earl saw an opportunity of increasing the income of his estate. Gifford, as King Charles II says, lay 'conveniently'; it was on the highway, surrounded by farmland; it had plenty of flat ground; it was by a stream and it had an inn and a plentiful supply of ale. If permission for annual fairs and weekly markets was requested because the site was suitable for developing a village, this would be the first appearance of an embryonic 'Plan for Gifford'. In any case it is reasonable to conjecture that the fairs and markets began to attract a population to Gifford.

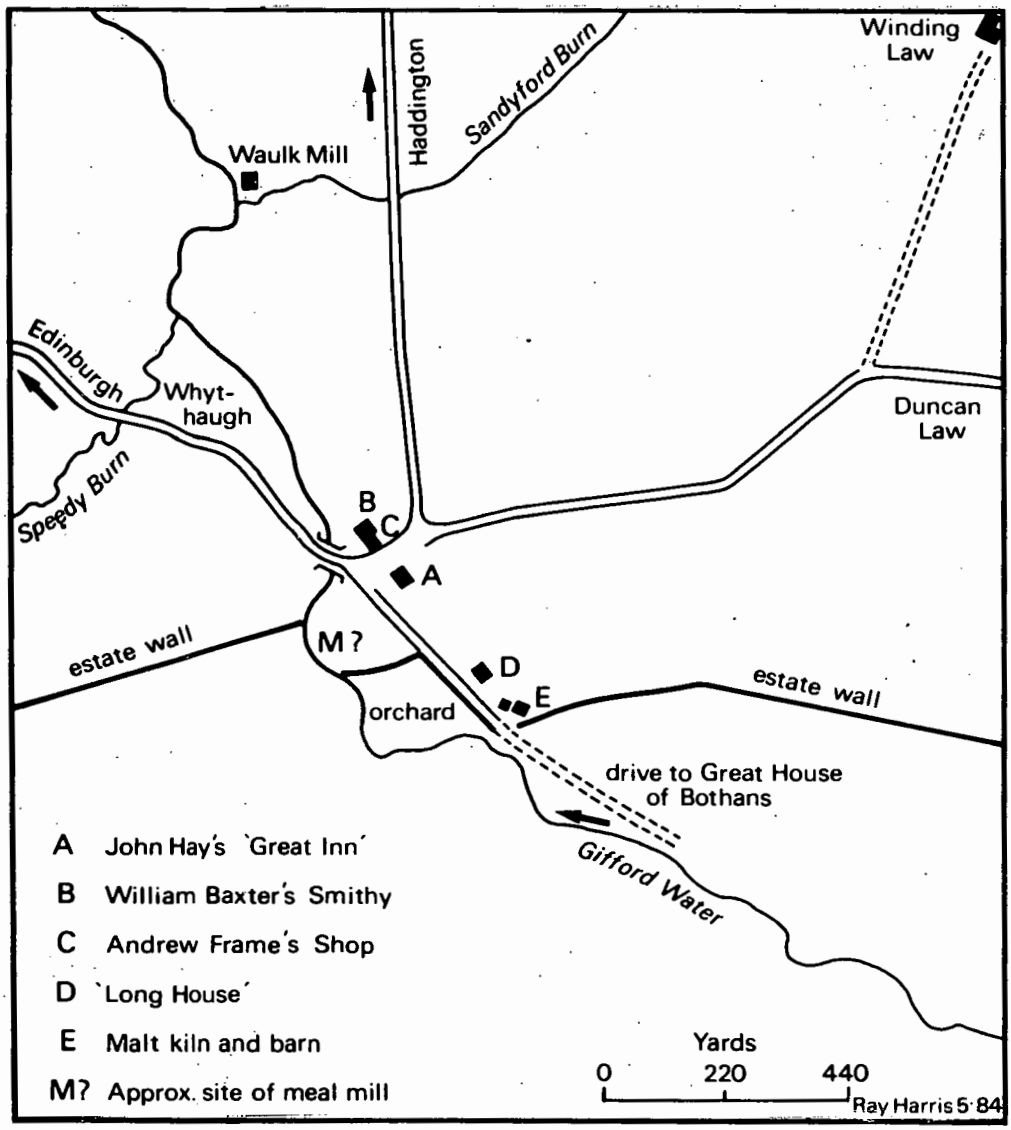
The next inhabitants' names to appear are those of Andrew Frame, merchant i.e. shopkeeper, and his wife Elizabeth Wate. His services were used by Lord Tweeddale in connection with planting hedges in the new Park in 1686 and on January 23rd, 1687 he was named in the earliest surviving (and almost certainly the first) document [19] granting feuing rights in Gifford. The text is worth quoting at some length: For the sum of 200 merks Andrew Frame and his heirs acquire 'heritably and irredeemably all and haill the tenement of houses in the town of Gifford with one yard belonging thereto, lying within the parish of Bara . . . bounded betwixt the Smith's house now presently possessed by William Baxter on the north, the said yard on the east, the high way opposite to the great Inn presently possessed by John Hay on the south and the high street on the west . . . in feu and heritage for yearly payment of ten pounds Scots . . . and also grinding their whole victual that shall be made use of in their families at the mill of Gifford and paying therefor the ordinary multure . . . and giving attendance as other vassalls upon us (the Earl of Tweeddale) if they be required to do the same upon their own charges . . . with this provision and declaration likewise that the said Andrew Frame (shall not) let two years for the said feu run in the third unpaid . . .'

It can hardly be coincidence that his property is bounded by the properties of the only other two inhabitants so far mentioned. It seems a reasonable conclusion that these were the only three properties of any substance. The feu gave the feuar and his heirs inalienable rights to the property unless his yearly payments were two years in arrears or his heirs did not wish to take over the rights. In such circumstances, the property would revert to the Earl. The requirement to attend upon the Earl if so needed reflects those troubled times when quarrels provoked many to resort to arms.

Reference to the parish of Bara is a reminder that Gifford as yet contained no Kirk and was not part of Yester parish. Traces of Bara Kirk can still be seen north of Linplum; its parish was united with Garvald in 1702. The

boundaries of Andrew Frame's property as described in the document, taken with information about other buildings of that date make it possible to sketch a plan:

## Fig 1 Development of Gifford c. 1687



Later in the same year, 1687, John Pithwen, a mason, was employed by Lord Tweeddale to improve a building in Gifford called the Long House, raising its roof by 4 feet and adding 2 chimneys and 2 windows.[20] It sounds as though a one-storey building was being converted into a more substantial two-storey dwelling and, with the aid of the Hearth Tax [21] returns of 1691, the house in question can be identified. These returns furnish useful evidence giving the names of 21 householders in Gifford. The list does not of course amount to a list of the population, because only one name is entered per dwelling. In the case of John Hay who is taxed for 7 hearths, it probably covers buildings like the mills and brewhouse in addition to his home, since we know from other sources that his house, Gifford Hall House, was not very large, having a frontage of only 54 feet. Apart from John Hay, 5 householders had houses big enough to contain more than one hearth. William Baxter is one. George Douglas, the Earl's factor was the only person taxed for three hearths; it is a reasonable conjecture that he lived in the Long House mentioned above, since John Pithwen added 2 chimneys where there was presumably one already. The Register of Sasines makes it clear that George Douglas lived on the site now known as Beechwood. Marion Cockburn also taxed for two hearths, lived immediately next to George Douglas. Andrew Frame is missing from the list; his property had been redeemed by the Earl in 1690 [22] and had been taken over by Robert Ayton, a baker. The Ayton family were to serve Gifford for many years as bakers, and more particularly brewers. A painting in Yester School painted in 1869 by William McKay, the son of the village school-master, shows what is now the public bar of the Goblin Ha' Hotel with the name 'Ayton' clearly visible over the door. The fifth inhabitant to boast two hearths was John Wilson. He and his father had both run the waulk-mill in sucession to John Blackie, but had by this time handed it over to Edmund, son of John Simlar of Snawdon. Among the humbler householders were Andrew Hunter and Thomas Burne, father of George Burne, whose names will be mentioned again later. There are also one or two family names which recur in Gifford's history through the 18th century e.g. Falconer, Browne.

None of these are feuars; the grant of the feu to Andrew Frame in 1687 was an isolated case and was perhaps not a success, lasting less than three years. The practice was not resumed until 1699.

Clearly by 1691 Gifford was growing, but it still only contained six houses of any size and was not as big as the settlement at Yester Mains where 29 householders are listed. Cumulative totals of all names of inhabitants mentioned, including married couples, give 9 adult Giffordians in the 1670's, 20 in the 1680's and 65 in the 1690's. Not all of these prospered; in the closing years of

the 17th century, Bara Kirk Session [23] gave alms on four occasions to elderly women in Gifford, classed as 'the distressed Poor'.

At this point the unique pictorial evidence is interesting. A series of paintings by an unidentified Dutch painter gives remarkable views of the Goblin Ha', the House of Bothans and the village of Gifford.[24] The third painting purports to be a quasi-aerial depiction of Gifford from an imaginary elevation north of the bridge, looking down the village towards Yester Park. There is no firm evidence of the date of the paintings but they are generally reckoned to be not later than 1700. How much reliance can be put on their accuracy? Unfortunately, not much. It was standard practice in the case of such pictures of country houses for the artist to incorporate what he understood to be the intentions of the owner and to embroider that with his own fancy. The painting of the Goblin Ha' is obviously fanciful and inaccurate even granted that the ruins were then in a better state of preservation than they are now. In the picture of the House of Bothans, the elaborate formal garden is surely make-believe. No such garden ever existed and if it was planned it would have been in conjunction with the new house, not the old. Similarly in looking at the painting of Gifford, we are seeing partly what the artist saw, partly a representation of what he believed were the Marquess' intentions and partly his own 'improvements'. We see the main road coming over the hump-backed bridge, the malt-barn and kiln at the far end, the orchard and the meal mill. The row of small holdings along the High Street tallies pretty well with the estimate from the Hearth Tax returns, including gaps for the two Wynds. But there are several improbable features. The bridge is far too wide; the road did not run next to the Inn, so the position of the Market Cross seems unlikely; the houses are better built than one would expect in a village at the end of the 17th century and there are no signs of the numerous hovels we know must have existed. The green was levelled off in 1791 [25] — here it already looks perfectly level. The earliest available reference to the Avenue of lime trees and the water-run parallel to it dates from the 1730's. In general the whole place is too neat and tidy; accounts show that even considerably later the streets and open spaces were covered in filth and rubbish and, apart from the feuars' houses, most of the dwellings were little more than heaps of rubble thatched with turf. Sir Walter Scott in 'Waverley' describes a typical lowland village of the early 18th century as follows:

'The village was more than half a mile long, the cottages being irregularly divided from each other by gardens — or yards as the inhabitants called them — which were stored with gigantic plants of kale, or colewort, encircled with groves of nettles, and exhibited here and there a huge hemlock or the national

thistle, overshadowing a quarter of the petty enclosure. The broken ground on which the village was built had never been levelled; so that these enclosures presented declivities of every degree, here rising like terraces, there sinking like tan-pits . . . In a few favoured instances there appeared behind the cottages a miserable wigwam, compiled of earth, loose stones and turf, where the wealthy might perhaps shelter a starved cow or sorely galled horse. But almost every hut was fenced in by a huge black stack of peat on one side of the door, while on the other the family dung-hill ascended in noble emulation.'

Since, then, the painting contains many inaccuracies, it would be foolish to put much reliance on it in trying to determine the position of the Paper Mill which was the next important addition to the village. In 1694 the second Earl of Tweeddale was made the first Marquess and in the same year was involved in founding the Scottish White Paper Company.[25] A mill was built at Gifford [26] and tradition has associated it with the site of the house on the corner of the Avenue; but it must have been nearer the stream. Is the painting correct in siting what is presumably the Paper Mill down by where the bridge was later built? Tradition also states that the first Bank of Scotland notes were produced there; that seems likely since the Marquess was also a founding subscriber to that venture in 1695. The paper mill lasted for 50 years but was never a great success,[27] and the Scottish White Paper Company soon backed out, leaving it to individual enterprise.

In 1697 the first Marquess died and was succeeded by his son who lost no time in acquainting himself with how things stood. A list of 'rests on tenants'[28] for the estate mentions, under the barony of Duncanlaw, five inhabitants of Gifford: John Douglas, mason, owed for his house £4-13-4 including unpaid past rents, Alexander Jack, dyer, £1-8-8, William Baxter for his house and 2 acres £2-0-0, Andrew Hunter, carrier, for 12 acres £9-7-8, John Hay £97-14-9. This disparity emphasises the dominance of John Hay in the community. Even William Cra for Yester Mill paid only a quarter of that sum — £24-13-5.

Armed with this and similar information, the second Marquess embarked on a series of major additions and improvements to Gifford. It is not clear how far these had been envisaged by his father. Certainly up to this point the growth of the village had been encouraged by the introduction of fairs and markets and the establishment of three mills — meal, waulk and paper — and a malt kiln but as far as planning goes one can say little more than that the houses had been built in a straight line.

But in 1699, the second Marquess, clearly a man of vision, aided by James Smith, the architect he was employing to build the new Yester House,[29] started on a programme which would transform the village from a row of houses into a coherent community. So it is at this stage that one can sensibly talk about a 'Plan for Gifford' and fortunately the records of these years are full enough for the stages of the plan to be clearly discernible. Chronologically the five stages were:

## THE DESIGNATION OF THE COMMON

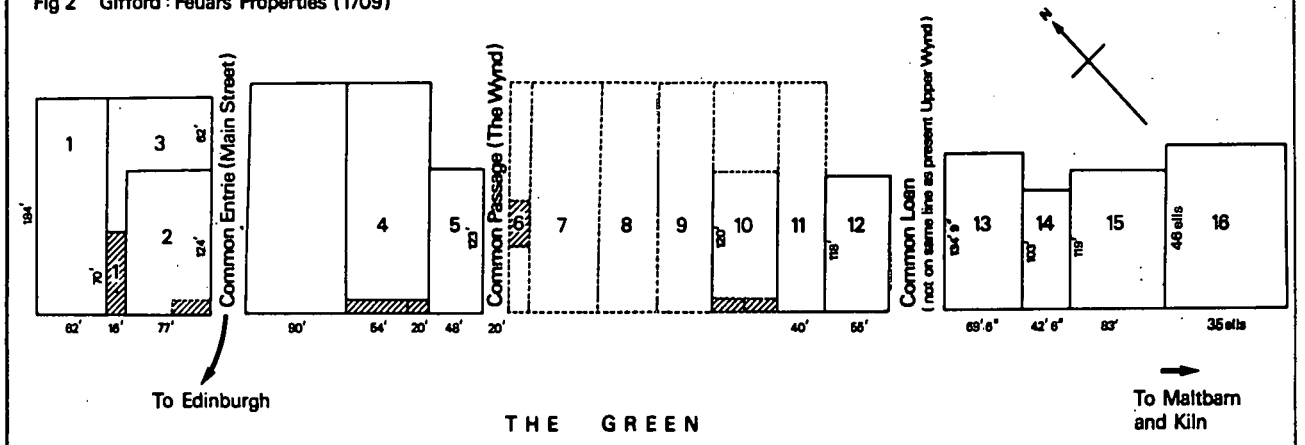
By a deed of September 23rd, 1699 the Marquess set aside as Common Land [30] what was described in a slightly later document [31] as 'the piece of muir lying on the north side of the town bounded as follows viz. from the way that goes up from Gifford to Duncanlaw 142 foot distance from the Churchyard wall till it comes to the way to Haddington and so along to Sandyford burn and then from it to the north as far as the precious land reaches and on the east from the foot of the Capland Syke all along the east side thereof to the head of it and from thence south to a March Stone in the hedge above the feuars' land and westward down the said hedge until it reach the forsaid way to Duncanlaw leaving the said way to Haddington and Duncanlaw thirty foot breadth'. This is almost identical with the 55 acres of 'Common' still in existence.

The 'Common' was rough moorland from which peat could be cut for fuel and turves for thatching; it also offered grazing of a sort. The right to use it was given to the feuars who were established from this date onward. The portion of feuars' land referred to in the document was arable and lay above Walker's Waird.

## THE DISPOSITION OF FEUAR'S RIGHTS

The documents relating to each feuar's rights were more or less identical to the one already quoted for Andrew Frame (1687) with the addition of rights to the Common. Each feuar had at least one house, yard and area of arable land. The chronological order of these early dispositions was as follows: George Burne and Robert Ayton (1699), Andrew Hunter, Thomas Martine, William Baxter and John Hay (1700), Andrew Hay (1701), George Douglas (1702), John Thomson and John Nicholson (1705), William Baxter the younger (1707). All these were still feuars in 1709 and the list for that year includes two others, James Sutherland and another John Thomson, though the exact dates of their elevation are not known. Through the Register of Sasines [32] it is possible to

Fig 2 Gifford : Feuars' Properties (1709)




1 William Baxter's House, smithy and yard
2 Robert Ayton's House and yard
3 Andrew Hunter's
4 John Hay's yard with Gifford Hall House and offices
5-8 George Burne's properties
9 John Thomson's (tailor)
10 William Baxter junior's double tenement and yard
11 John Nicholson's
12 John Thomson's (weaver)
13 Andrew Hay's
14 Thomas Martine's
15 James Sutherland's
16 Cornelius Douglas'

——— Continuous lines are used where lengths are known
--------- Broken lines are used where lengths are conjectural
▨ Houses are only marked where their relationship to the ground on which they stand is known

Ray Harris 8-84

establish exactly where these people lived and to glean various other facts about them. Some of them are, of course, names that have already occurred but to gather together what is known about each will give a clearer picture of the population. As their properties stretched in more or less a straight line, it will be more convenient to take them, not in the order given above, but in 'geographical' order as on the plan (Fig. 2).

William Baxter, the smith, was first mentioned as being in Gifford in 1672; with the exception of John Hay, he was the earliest inhabitant. He married Isobell Gray. Of his three children, Alexander, William and Isobell, the eldest Alexander became a dyer and it was William who continued his father's trade (see below). William Baxter, senior, had a house, smithy and barn and, to the north of his yard, his 1½ acres of land stretched as far as the bank of Gifford Water known as Whythaugh Braeheads.

Robert Ayton, the baker, took over what was called, as it had originally belonged to Andrew Frame, merchant, the Merchant's House. To this he added a bakehouse. Baking and brewing were closely allied occupations and there is little doubt that he ran an establishment where ale was available, so he can be seen as the originator of the present Goblin Ha' Hotel. In 1688 he married Joan Goolin by whom he had five sons and two daughters. It was the eldest, Charles, who continued the business.

Andrew Hunter and his wife, Helen Landells, lived round the corner in the only feuars' house fronting on to 'the highway or common entrie into the town'. He was the local carrier but, as he was renting 12 acres in 1697, it seems likely that he was a sheep farmer as well.

John Hay — usually known as 'John Hay in Gifford' to distinguish him from the other John Hays — occupied the 'great Inn' known as Gifford Hall House; his yard contained a brewhouse and he also possessed the 30 yards of open ground between his house and the main road (possibly this is the origin of the name 'Broadyards' mentioned earlier as belonging to him). There were also 4 acres of arable land behind his yard. There is no doubt that his establishment is identical with the Tweeddale Arms Hotel. He still ran the meal mill and the malt-kiln and barn and still had a tack on the 5 acre Whythaugh which he had held since he became the first recorded tenant of Gifford in the 1660's. By that time he had married Katherine Insh by whom he had four sons, David, Charles, William and Robert. David, born in 1660, took over the malt business on his father's death. By his second wife Joan Insh he had another son and two daughters.

George Burne had the property between Gifford Hall House and the Wynd. He also owned the strip of land along the other side of the Wynd on which were two cottages known as the Mill Houses. The next two houses and yards were also his, which seems to say something about the prosperity of weavers of which he was one of three in Gifford. Possibly the occupants of the Mill House cottages were workers at the waulk-mill; one of the witnesses of the Sasine was Robert Boll, waulker. George Burne married Janet Thomson by whom he had a son Patrick.

John Thomson, the tailor, came next. He may have been George Burne's brother-in-law, but there was also a John Thomson, weaver, (see below).

William Baxter, the younger, a smith like his father, took over the adjoining property of two houses and a yard from William Richardson who had previously rented it from the Marquess.

John Nicholson, another weaver, and his wife Agnes Stoddart owned the next house.

John Thomson, the third weaver, lived on the corner of the Upper Wynd which was known as Thomson's Wynd. He married Bessie Edmondson and had two sons, John and James. The presence of three weavers and a tailor emphasises the importance of the waulk-mill and the woollen trade.

Andrew Hay and his wife Euphaim Sibbald had the first property after Thomson's Wynd. William, the eldest of his three sons, was conceived out of wedlock as the Yester Kirk Session Records [33] state in no uncertain terms; but this does not seem to have prevented Andrew acquiring the respectability of feuarship. He was a wright or carpenter and is known to have done repairs to the waulk-mill in 1704.

Thomas Martine,[34] the slater, had worked on the House of Bothans in 1688. He was at that time an elder of the Kirk at Gladsmuir and, when he moved to Gifford in 1697, was elected an elder of Bara Kirk, becoming treasurer in 1700. He was appointed an elder of Yester in 1702 after the changes in parish boundaries and was later put in charge of the maintenance of the roofs of the new Kirk, Manse and School.

James Sutherland lived in the house beyond the Vennel previously rented by the Cockburns.[35] Marian Cockburn paid Hearth Tax in 1691 and her son, John, a wright, had been an elder of Bara Kirk since at least 1694. James Sutherland married into the Cockburn family and took over the property as a feuar. His wife, Helen, bore him a son, John.

George Douglas lived in the last house in the row. It seems probable that Beechwood still contains stonework dating back to this time. It was reckoned a substantial property with a large piece of ground and two cott houses. George had been Lord Tweeddale's grieve in 1681 and by 1690 was chamberlain or factor. He also was an elder of Bara who was transferred to Yester. On his death in 1709, the house passed to his son Cornelius who had married Grizell Smaillim. Their grandson, also called Cornelius, is mentioned in the minutes of the Feuars as a joiner in 1778, but the occupation of the first Cornelius is not known.

The arable land on which these feuars grew their corn lay in three areas — one behind what later became Main Street including the Minister's Glebe, one where Park Road now runs and one above Walker's Waird and the Wards. It is not possible to distinguish with any certainty the boundaries of any individual holding.

These, then, were the feuars and their houses in 1709. They and their families formed the nucleus of the village and their occupations reflect the most profitable kinds of employment in the area. It is perhaps appropriate to list other inhabitants, not already mentioned in the text, whose occupations are known: 3 masons, James Bennet, Robert Bennet, John Douglas; 2 maltmen, John Burrell, Andrew Caudsley; 2 servants of John Hay, Agnes Grieve, William Morton; 1 dyer, Alexander Jack; 1 tailor, William Grieve, 1 shoemaker, Thomas Hay; 1 wright, John Johnston; 1 shopkeeper, John Manners; 1 smith, James Miller; 1 carrier, Thomas Thomson; 1 miller, Adam Robertson; the Yester gardener, William Annandale and the Yester grieve, John Park. All of these were resident in Gifford around the turn of the century. Where they lived is not certain; some would have been cottars living in cott houses in the feuars' yards; another possible site for houses at this date is the east bank of the stream between the old bridge and the Bleachfield, the area which, it has been suggested, included the meal and paper mills.

## THE NEW BRIDGE, 1704

An important step in promoting the prosperity of the village was the construction of the second bridge over Gifford Water. The point of this was not to improve the route to Edinburgh — that link-up was not made for many years — but to open up readier access to the numerous farming communities to the south-west — Yester Mains, Newton Hall, Leehouses, Bankrugg, Kidlaw, etc., all of which existed at this time.

## THE TOWN HOUSE [36]

Built by 1705, this was often referred to as the Court House, School and Tolbooth, because it served all these functions. The size of the community now required the formal administration of justice and education. Within the barony, the Marquess had a baron court which gave him rights of criminal and civil jurisdiction of a limited kind. He appointed a Baron-baillie (normally his factor) and two baillies were elected from the feuars and influential inhabitants, e.g. John Hay and one George Millar described simply as an indweller. They administered the law of the land and in addition devised local laws which were written down in the Birlaw Book. They sat in the Court Room which was the first floor of what is now the Village Hall. The original building, of which the general appearance can be gathered from the Mackay painting referred to earlier, consisted of one room on each floor, measuring 27 foot by 17 foot 8 inches, so it went back only as far as the original depth of Greenfoot which was built at the same time. Dolphin Cottage seems to have been built a little later. Greenfoot was the Schoolmaster's house and its first occupant was Walter Gray who was also a baillie. He had been Minister of Garvald since 1685 and retired in 1702 when that parish was united with Bara. The school occupied the ground floor of the Town House and behind it was a thieves' hole. Originally the steps up to the Court Room door were in two flights going up from either side, with the Schoolroom door below. This, according to contemporary accounts, blocked out much light from the schoolroom, unless the door under the stairs was opened and that made it very cold! The alteration to the steps in 1762 is only one of many subsequent alterations, additions and changes of use.

It is a tribute to the qualities of the Marquess as a land-owner that he not only recognised the need for such a building but fulfilled it in such style. No doubt James Smith, the architect, had much to do not only with the design but also in the choice of site which commands the market-place and looks down the whole row of feuars' houses.

## THE CHURCH AND MANSE

The 'Plan for Gifford' was completed by the building (1708-1710) of the Church and Manse. This was perhaps foreshadowed by the adjustments to the parish of Yester attendant upon the amalgamation of the parishes of Bara and Garvald. The parish church of Yester was at that time the old church of St. Cuthbert at Bothans. Its Kirk Session Book (October 13th, 1702) lists several additions to the parish 'viz. the Town of Gifford, Duncanlaw, Sherriffside,

Broadwoodside, Woodhead and Windinlaw.' This entailed appointing members from the new places, so George Douglas and Thomas Martine of Gifford were transferred.

The Church, a fine early example of the T-shape employed in many post-Reformation churches, was begun in 1708 and completed in 1710. Its building and furnishings deserve a separate account. In the present context it will be sufficient to draw attention to its siting. As with the Town House, the positioning suggests the eye of the architect. James Smith wanted his church to dominate the village and to be a focal point from all sides, but he also saw that this was the natural direction in which the growing village must expand. The first Manse (1709), built on the corner where the plaque to John Witherspoon is now, was itself part of that expansion.

So, after ten years, The Plan was complete. No subsequent development has interfered with the basic skeleton so formed, but it is clear that Gifford was not conceived as a model village; rather, a model was imposed on what was little more than an orderly collection of houses which had grown up over more than 40 years. 1710 marks the beginning of the modern Gifford and, in one respect at least, the end of an era. In that year the village mourned the death of a resident who could well claim to be its founding father; [37] for while it was a John Hay, 2nd Marquess of Tweeddale, who gave to the village the structure and public buildings by which we recognise it today, the growth of the early settlement was to a large extent a tribute to the enterprise and life work of his namesake, the miller, inkeeper and feuar — 'John Hay in Gifford'.

## REFERENCES

The manuscript references are to the Yester Papers now preserved in the National Library of Scotland (NLS) or to Yester Writs and other documents housed in the Scottish Record Office (SRO). The printed material, with the exception of the first reference, can be found in the past numbers of the *Transactions of the East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalists' Society (T.E.L.A.F.N.S.)*


1. e.g. Colin McWilliam, *Lothian.*
2. T.E.L.A.F.N.S. Vol. V. W. Douglas Simpson, *Yester Castle.*
3. T.E.L.A.F.N.S. Vol. IX, James Bulloch, *Bothans Kirk.*
4. SRO GD/28/1777 James Thomson's Account for building Park Dyke, 1663.
5. SRO GD/28/1951 James Thomson's Account for building house of Giffart, 29th October, 1666.
6. SRO GD/28/1977 James Thomson's Account for building Park Dyke, 1666.
7. NLS 14747/13 John Hay's tack on Whythaugh.
8. NLS 14754/15 John Park's resignation of Whythaugh to the Marquess of Tweeddale, 1726.
9. NLS 14747 John Hay's Tack of Maltbarns etc., 1672.
10. NLS 14745/50 List of Rentalls, 1672.
11. SRO GD/28/2092 Account of George Johnston, for building Walkmyln at Giffert, 16th August, 1673.
12. SRO GD/28/2087 William Haitlie's Account, 11th June, 1673.
13. NLS 14747/52, NLS 14745/55,57,58 and 61 Lists of Rentalls, 1680.

14. NLS 14747/21 John Hay's tack on Broadyards, 1675.
15. SRO GD/28/2079 Discharge by William Baxter, 16th December, 1672.
16. NLS 14754/7 Reference to Orchard on site of Bleachfield.
17. SRO RS/27/64 Site of Malt Barn/Kiln.
18. NLS 14754/3 Institution of annual fairs, 1681.
19. NLS 14754/5 Feuing Disposition to Andrew Frame, 23rd January, 1687; NLS 14638/75, his employment by Lord Tweeddale.
20. NLS 14755/62 Directions for alterations to Long House, Gifford, 1687.
21. SRO E/69/9/2 Hearth Tax returns, 1691.
22. SRO GD/28/2193 Redemption of Andrew Frame's feu, 1690.
23. SRO CH/2/167/2 Bara Kirk Session, 1696.
24. The paintings — three from a set of five — hang in Yester House.
25. NLS 14694/51 William Brown's account for levelling the Green, 1791.
26. NLS 1913 Building of Paper Mill, 1694.
27. NLS 14754/27 Letter from Robert Watkins to Lord Tweeddale, 1746.
28. NLS 14653/140 List of Rentalls, 1697.
29. T.E.L.A.F.N.S. Vol. XIII, John G. Dunbar, *The Building of Yester House 1670-1878.*
30. SRO RS/27/62/32 Designation of Common.
31. NLS 14754/17 John Park's Tack, 1726.
32. SRO RS/27/60,62,63,64,69,70,76,77; NLS 14756/88-93; NLS 14653/212 — properties of early feuars.
33. SRO CH/2/377/2 Yester Kirk Session, 12th January, 1696.
34. NLS 14638/19 Information about Thomas Martine, employed by Lord Tweeddale, 1688; NLS 14665/140 employed on maintenance of Church roof 1712-1718.
35. NLS 14458/347 Information about Cockburn property.
36. NLS 14651/77 Account for building Town House, October, 1705; NLS 14754/34 Estimate for alterations to Town House, 10th April, 1762.
37. NLS 14653/209 List of tenants 1711.

Many names are taken from Yester Parish Register SRO OPR/725/1.

I would like to acknowledge the help of Dr Roger Kirby and the Department of Geography, Edinburgh University, in the production of the plans in this article.

# THE EARLY PRINTED MAPS OF EAST LOTHIAN 1630-1848

*by*
*JOHN N. MOORE*

Maps are very valuable sources of information for any district and old maps can provide much detail for local researchers on former patterns of drainage, settlement, industry and communications. Historians can trace the growth and development of a particular location and those studying place-names can follow the evolution of its toponymy through a series of its maps. The maps, in themselves, provide a rewarding area of study for students of cartography and design, by illustrating the advances made in the science over the centuries.

Scotland has a unique history of map-making, particularly after its resurgence in the late sixteenth century. Despite this, research on the resultant maps has been limited. It is over fifteen years since the first and, as yet, only reasonably complete carto-biblography of a Scottish area was published.[1] Such a listing for East Lothian gives a valuable example of the development of one county's cartography and should be of interest to any student of local history.

The listing includes only topographic maps which depict the county as a unit, either independently or as a major part of a larger area. Maps covering all Scotland have been avoided. No thematic maps have been listed, thereby excluding geological and soil surveys, separate town plans and, in particular, the excellent road strip maps in *'Survey and Maps of the Roads of North Britain or Scotland'* by George Taylor and Andrew Skinner (1776). However, few such specialist maps were produced in this period.

Each map is described and the major features indicated, notably where this affects accuracy. In general, it can be stated that, throughout the period, the more settled areas are better depicted while errors increase towards the uplands. Orientation and values of longitude and latitude tend to be regularly inaccurate.

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By the 1850's, the work of the Ordnance Survey and the publication of the First Edition one-inch maps after 1856, combined with the increase of commercially produced maps based on them, standardised cartographic representation. In consequence, the list closes just before this in 1848.

## 1. 1630

MERCATOR, Gerard and HONDIUS, Henricus. "A New Description of the Shyres Lothian and Linlitquo. Be T. Pont." Judocus Hondius caelavit sumptibus Andreae Hart. Serenissimo Potentissimoq Iacobo.I. Magnae Brittaniae Monarchae Franciae et Hiberniae Regi D.D. T.Pont Auct. Scala Milliarium Scotiae 5[=78mm] Scale 1":1.6mls. or 1:101,376. 365×539mm. In *Gerardi Mercatoris Atlas sive Cosmographicae Meditationes de Fabrica Mundi et Fabricati Figura.* Editio Decima. By Henrici Hondii. Amsterdam. Map 17, following p. 61.

This is believed to be the only one of Timothy Pont's maps engraved during his lifetime.[2] Andrew Hart, an Edinburgh bookseller (d. 1621), paid for the engraving and the signature of Hondius is in the form used by the father Jodocus (d.1612). Recent research has suggested that Pont's surveys were conducted between 1583 and 1601, probably ending before 1596.

The map bears the first large-scale depiction of the county but does not name it separately. In fact, the lettering of the 'Schyrefdome of Edenburgh' stretches eastward beyond Humbie. Much settlement detail is shown, with over 230 places located. Although it has no key, local centres, castles, country houses and their policies can be distinguished. The map is notable for indicating the Edinburgh-Dunbar road, with a branch to Haddington. Bridges cross the Tyne at Nungate, Abbey Mill and Linton. Care must be taken, however, in assuming accuracy. The orientation of the coastline, particularly east of North Berwick, is wildly inaccurate as is the alignment of rivers and their tributaries. Location of sites and distances between are variably imprecise, especially away from river valleys. Relief, by hill drawing, is poorly depicted, notably in the south, where only Spartleton Hill is indicated, whereas the Garleton Hills appear as a major ridge.

The title (bottom left) is in a decorated strapwork cartouche; the dedication (top right) is placed below the Royal arms with cherub supporters holding open books; to the left, a compass rose with rays stretching to the coast. Two ships under full sail lie off the coast and the scale bar is placed bottom right. The map was reprinted without alteration in 1631 (possibly) and 1632. A framed copy in the National Library of Scotland (N.L.S.) has a county boundary running south from Luffness via Nisbet to "The Edge Hills".

2a. 1633

HONDIUS, Henricus. Reprint of 1.
In *L'Appendice de L'Atlas de Gerard Mercator et Judocus Hondius* . . . and *Atlas ou Representation du Monde Universel, et des Parties d'Icelui* . . . By Henry Hondius. Amsterdam. Maps 3 and 17 respectively, following p. 109.

As in the 1630 edition, with the imprint 'Henricus Hondius excudit' replacing the signature of Judocus Hondius and Hart's imprint. This was reprinted in 1639 and 1642. A facsimile of this map is available from John Bartholomew & Son, Edinburgh, incorrectly dated 1630.

2b. 1636

HONDIUS, Henricus. Reprint of 1.
In *Atlas or a Georgraphicke description of the Regions, Countries and Kingdomes of the world* . . . Translated by Henry Hexham. By Henry Hondius and John Johnson. Amsterdam. Map 19, following p. 79.

The map's first appearance in an atlas in English. Variants appeared dated 1638 and 1641; German editions in 1636 and 1638; Latin in 1638; Dutch in 1637 and 1638. A facsimile reproduction, by Theatrum Orbis Terrarum Ltd., Amsterdam, was printed in 1968.

3. 1646

JANSSON, Jan. "Provincae Lauden seu Lothien et Linlitquo". Scala Milliaria Scotiae 5[=78mm] Scale 1":1.6mls. or 1:101,376. 365×538mm. In *Novus Atlas, Sive Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* . . . Tomus Quartus. By Joannis Janssonius. Amsterdam. Map 50, following p. 5. (The numbering is incorrect).

A second variant of the map originally in the 1630 edition of the Mercator-Hondius atlas, bearing a new sculptured cartouche (bottom left) depicting two labourers, one with adze, the other with spade, a bull and two sheep. The arms of Scotland, crowned, with a lion, replace the Royal arms (top right). Ships, 'Part of Mertch', the dedication and the imprint of Hondius have been deleted and a new scale bar is given (bottom right), with three cherubs, measuring chain and dividers in the cartouche. The map has part of the Latin text of Camden's Brittania on the back.

The whole atlas may have been hastily put together, with many errors in pagination and a poor quality of printing. The maps also appeared without text, being printed continuously (probably) from 1646. They were also reprinted,

without alteration in editions of the atlas in Latin (1647, 1659), French (1646, 1647, 1649, 1652, 1656), German (1647, 1649, 1652, 1658, 1659) and Dutch (1647, 1649, 1652, 1653, 1659). This map re-appeared, without alteration, in *Atlas Major* . . . Vol. 1. by Karel Allard (c. 1710) p 59 (See no. 5).

4. 1654

BLAEU. Willem and Joan. "Lothian and Linlitquo". Joh et Cornelius Blaeu exc. Illustrissimo ac Noblissimo D. Guilielmo Lothianae Comiti, Domino Kerr de Neubattle et Sedburg; Consilario Regio, et Scotici exercitus in Hibernia Praefecto, etc. Tabulam hanc D.D.D. J. B. Scala Milliarium Scotiae 5[=77mm] Scale 1":1.67mls. or 1:105,600. 380×545mm. In *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum sive Atlas Novus*. Pars Quinta. By Joannis Blaeu. Amsterdam. Map 8, following p. 37.

This work is recognised as the first atlas of Scotland. The map is another copy of the 1630 plate with some differences from earlier variants (e.g. Rontrybauch has been omitted, Pinkertoun and Crosshouse have exchanged locations). No new names are added. The exact siting and lettering of place-names varies occasionally, suggesting that this was a re-engraving rather than a revision. There are some changes in symbol use (e.g. Tyningham is smaller), the perspective hill drawing is quite different and the border is no longer chequered at top and bottom. A new title cartouche, sculptured with scrolls and feathers (bottom left), and dedication (top right), surmounted by the Lothian crest and motto, appear. A smaller compass rose is placed further east in the Forth estuary. In the bottom right is the scale bar in a smaller cartouche, with fruit, leaves and a beast's head, allowing 'Part of Merch' to re-appear.

The second edition of the atlas, in Latin, entitled *Geographiae Blavianae,* volume six, appeared in 1662. The map of the Lothians is similar to 1654 with the addition of 3 ships in the Firth of Forth and a re-setting of the text on the back. Dutch editions and re-issues came out in 1654 and 1664, French in 1654, 1663 and 1667, German in 1654, and Spanish in 1659 (possibly) and post-1662. Facsimile editions, by Theatrum Orbis Terrarum Ltd. and Thames and Hudson (of the British maps) appeared in 1967-68 and 1970.

5. [c. 1715?]

JANSSON, Jan. Reprint of 3.

This map is basically similar to the 1646 plate, with the imprint 'Typis Gerardi Valk et Petri Schenk Amstelaedami' added. Grid lines and a southern

boundary have been added but the county is still combined with Edinburgh. Other changes include a re-drawing of the town plan of Edinburgh and some alteration of topographic detail.

Jansson's plates were acquired by Pieter Schenk and Gerard Valk from auctions in 1694. Over the subsequent years, they added their imprint to them but never produced an atlas covering the British Isles. Maps were printed for sale separately and were added to various 'made-up' atlases (e.g. *Atlas Major* by Karel Allard). Comparison of the maps helps suggest a dating for the re-working of the plates. The National Library of Scotland has a copy of the above map, dated [c. 1690?] but it is likely that the imprint was added later than this.

6. [1725]

MOLL, Hermann. "Lothian contains the Shire of Linlithgow or West Lothian, the Shire of Edinburgh or Mid-Lothian and the Shire of Haddington or East Lothian. By H. Moll, G." Miles of Great Britain 10[=56mm] Scale 1":4.5mls. or 1:285,120. 198×275mm.

In *A Set of Thirty Six New and Correct Maps of Scotland Divided into its Shires, &.* London. n.d. Map 11.

Moll acknowledges a debt to Gordon, Pont and Adair in his introduction, but comparison with earlier maps shows this to be a poorer quality reduction. An inferior standard of engraving and smaller scale has led to fewer placenames (about 100 in the county). Little additional detail (only 4 more names) has come from "the generous informations of some curious noblemen and gentlemen that have assisted in this work", and, in one case, Loakney has been transcribed for Cockeny (Cockenzie). Again, castles, country houses and their grounds are distinguished, leading to the continued appearance (since 1630) of Fattlipps in Pressmennan Wood. The county boundary is quite inaccurate, particularly in the west where it follows the River Esk and includes Crichton within East Lothian. River alignment remains questionable (e.g. Biel Water runs south-north), causing locational distortion. However, the coastline is much improved, with an indication of rocks and sandbanks. There is a better depiction of the Lammermuirs but no representation of the Garleton Hills. One road, with distances between major centres, links Edinburgh and the south via Preston and Biel, with branches to Haddington and Dunbar. Overall, scale and distance are variably inaccurate.

Top left, the scale bar; bottom right, the title, plainly boxed. The map has no north point. The atlas was re-printed in 1745 under the title, *Scotland*

*Delineated; or thirty six new and correct maps of North Britain,* and a facsimile edition by R. S. Shearer, Stirling, was produced in 1896. In neither case was the map covering the Lothians changed.

7. [1736]

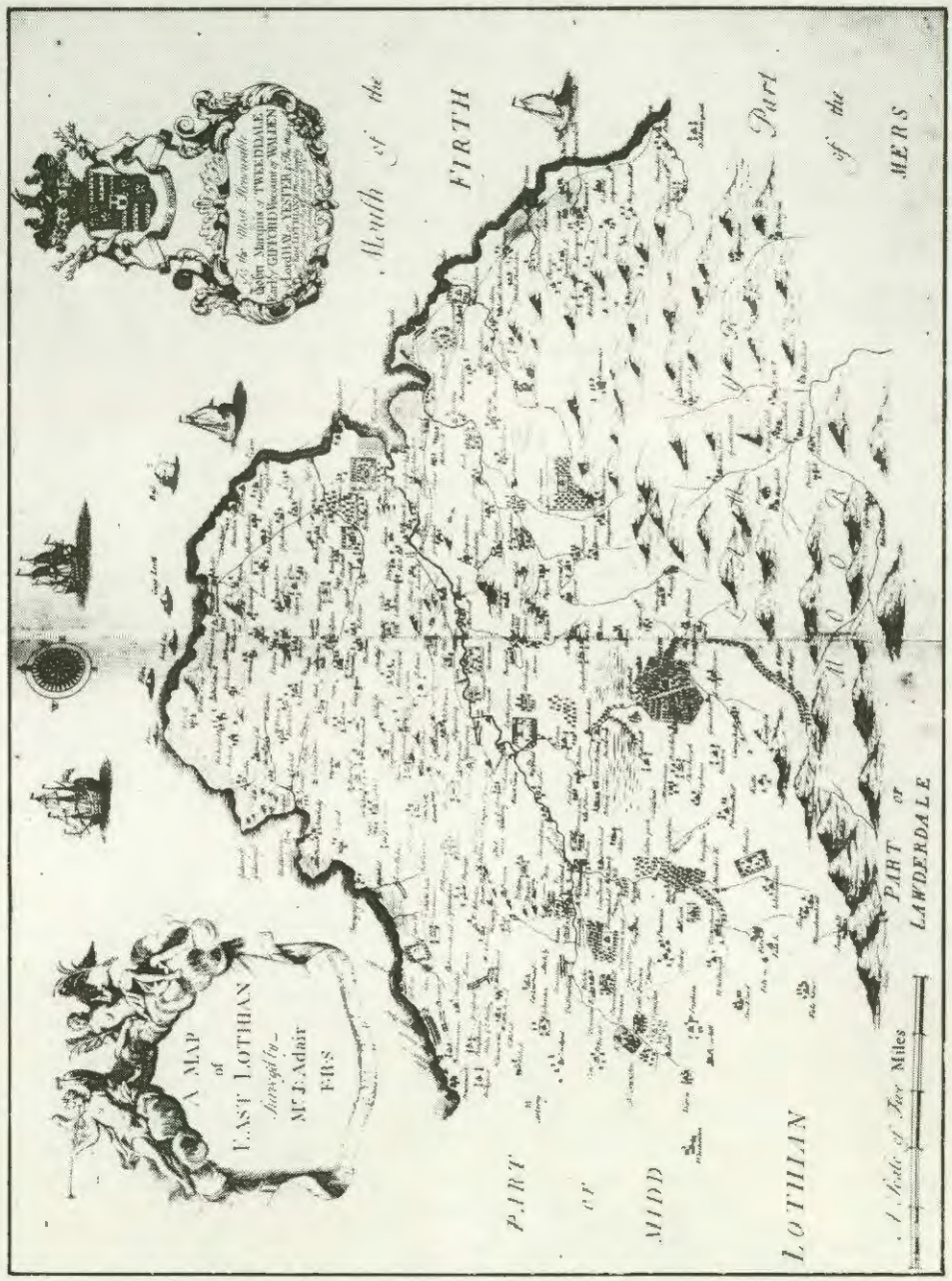
ADAIR, John. "A Map of East Lothian, survey'd by Mr. J. Adair F.R.S." A Scale of Five Miles 5[=147mm] Scale 1":0.86 ml. or 1:54,308. 482×675mm. Engraved by Richard Cooper.

The first proper county map of East Lothian with a boundary indicated only in the west between Drummore and Costerton. Adair completed his survey of the county in 1682, but financial difficulties and an unhappy business relationship with Sir Robert Sibbald prevented publication in his lifetime. The engraver followed closely the surviving manuscript (N.L.S. A.10) with few apparent updatings, except for one glaring error in the joining of the East and West Peffer Burns creating a continuous stream from Aberlady Bay to Pefferside. Cooper made some other changes to benefit neater production, which included omitting some settlements and offshore soundings. The coastline has been poorly transcribed but river alignment is better. This is a marked improvement on earlier surveys with less distortion of scale and distance. Major centres are depicted with some indication of town plan, including tenants' strips. More roads are shown, including one via Tranent with a branch to Pencaitland and a link between Longniddry and Haddington. Churches, mills, country houses and policies are displayed. Relief is by hill drawing and some attempt at showing relative height is made (e.g. North Berwick Law and Spartleton Hill rear up higher than their surrounds); however, some hills are more questionable (e.g. at Yellow Craig).

The title (top left) is as on a cloth fall surmounted by two winged cherubs recumbent on clouds, the left blowing a horn, the right bearing leaves. The scale bar lies bottom left while the dedication, to John Hay, 4th Marquis of Tweeddale, appears in a scrolled cartouche of leaves and fruit (top right), surmounted by the Tweeddale crest and motto. Four sailing vessels and a compass rose are engraved offshore.

8. 1744

ELPHINSTONE, John. "A New & Correct Map of the Lothians from Mr. Adair's Observations by John Elphinstone". Scale of miles 10, 12, 8 [=139mm] Scale 1":1.78 Scots miles or 1:126,976. 435×668mm. Engraved by Thomas Smith.


A MAP
of
EAST LOTHIAN
Surveyed by
Mr J. Adair
FRS
Mouth of the
FIRTH
PART
OF
MIDD
LOTHIAN
Part
of the
MERS
PART
OF
LAWDERDALE
Miles

This map is mostly a simplification of the three Adair maps engraved by Cooper at a smaller scale. In fact, an advertisement (top centre) indicates 'to serve the publick & do justice to Mr. Adair's surveys, were the intention of publishing this map of the three Lothians in one sheet wherein the mistakes of these already publish'd in three separate sheets are set to rights'. However, there are as many mis-spellings, no obvious improvements, and orientation is incorrect. The error with the Peffer Burns is continued and Fancy is transcribed for Fantasy (Phantassie). Features similar to Adair's are indicated and mosses (e.g. north of Gifford) are particularly noticeable. The county boundary is delineated but stretches too far to the south-east and is rather generalised. With the simplification, distortion of the linear scale occurs (e.g. Whittingham Water is badly surveyed) and many distances are out by over 50%.

The map is dedicated to the Earl of Hopetoun in an elegant cartouche (top left), decorated with trawl nets, scallop shell and the Hopetoun crest with winged supporters holding a crown above. Below lie two laureled Bacchi, one with pot and one with mug. Although dated 1744, the title (top right) is surrounded by the symbols of war — drums, cannons, swords — and is surmounted by a Union crest crowned with two recumbent figures, Britannia and a bugler. Furthermore, on the map itself, the site of the battle of Prestonpans is marked. The frame remains simple but now indicates longitude and latitude. Ten ships are engraved in the Forth and a grid based on longitude from Edinburgh, with a centrally placed compass rose, is marked. The scale bar, on a plinth (bottom right), indicates common Scots, computed Scots and Mr. Adair's miles.

9. 1745

MILLAR, Andrew. "A Compleat and Exact Map of the Lothians, containing the shires of Edinburgh, Haddington and Linlithgow; with a view of the country from Stirlingshire to Berwickshire: in which is mark'd out the different marches of the rebels & and their encampmts. in these countries: being the fullest & most particular of any map yet extant. Survey'd by Mr. Adair with some improvemts. by a gentleman". Scale of miles 10, 12, 8 [=140mm] Scale 1":1.78 Scots miles or 1:126,976. 430×675mm. Engraved by Thomas Kitchin.

Another map based on Adair's survey with many errors similar to Elphinstone (e.g. Fancy, the joint Peffer Burns). Although described as resembling the latter, there are some notable differences (e.g. the scales lie in a plain boxed border (bottom right), there are no ships in the Forth, compass rays extend to the coast and the coastal sand dunes (e.g. at Tyningham and

Gosford) are less emphasised. The distinguishing feature of the map is the depiction, by letter and table, of the events from 15th September to 23rd October surrounding the battle of Prestonpans.

In the top left, the title in a scalloped cartouche of acanthus, reeds and flowers. The dedication (top right) is to John, 2nd Earl of Stair, Commander in Chief of the military forces in south Britain, in a similar crowned cartouche of flowers.

## 10. 1749

KITCHIN, Thomas. "A Map of the Shire of Haddington surveyed by Mr. Adair". English miles 4[=27mm] Scale 1":3.75mls. or 1:237,600. 145×166mm. In *Geographia Scotiae: being new and correct maps of all the counties and islands in the Kingdom of Scotland.* [By T. Kitchin]. London 1749. Map 14.

This is claimed as the first pocket-sized atlas of Scotland, forming the second part of *Geographia Magnae Britanniae,* 1748. However, reduced size and scale have led to less detail depicted. Despite this, over 120 individual settlements are indicated, with some curious transcription errors (e.g. Granton for Garleton and the continued appearance of Fancy). The joining of the Peffer Burns remains and there is some distortion in location and alignment of rivers. A complete and more accurate county boundary is shown. Relief, by hill sketches, gives no indication of relative height (e.g. the ridge south of Dirleton Castle is no different from North Berwick Law), and some upland seems merely to fill gaps. A similarity of place-names suggests the atlas may be based on Elphinstone's map of Scotland (1745). Country houses, woodlands and five roads are shown. The map is drawn on a meridian based on Edinburgh.

Bottom left, the scale bar; top left, north point; top right, the title in an elegant scrolled cartouche, crowned, with laurels. Another edition without alteration, appeared in 1756.

## 11. 1759

ROBERT DE VAUGONDY, Didier: "Carte des Environs d'Edenburg qui comprend les Shires ou Comtés d'Edenburg, d'Haddingtoun, de Berwick, de Linlithgow, de Lanerk, de Stirling, de Clackmannan, de Kinross, de Fife &c". Geometric miles 14; Scots miles 11.67, Lieues marines 4.67 [=103mm] Scale 1":3 Scots mls. or 1:214,272. 460×582mm. Engraved by E. Dussy, Paris.

This map is acknowledged to have been taken from James Dorret's "General Map of Scotland" (1750) and covers the area between Berwick and Glasgow, and Jedburgh and Arbroath. Although Dorret's map was claimed as a great improvement on its predecessors, this copy is marred by many transcription errors, particularly in place-names (e.g. Wintingham, Barko (Bara), Lenypath (Stoneypath)). Drainage appears to be based on Kitchin, with a poor alignment of tributaries and the Peffer Burns joined. The headland at Belhaven has been exaggerated. The depiction of hills, by sketch, is very weak with the Garleton Hills, North Berwick Law and Traprain Law omitted. However, a hill east of Penston is taken straight from Dorret.

The title, top right, is in a square decorative cartouche with urns, shells, bales, foliage and flags; the scales lie bottom left.

## 12. 1763

KITCHIN, Thomas. "A New Map of Haddington Shire drawn from an actual survey by Thos. Kitchin Geogr." British Statute Miles 4[=31mm] Scale 1":3.2mls. or 1:202,752. 167×215mm.

In *The London Magazine,* vol 32, November 1763, opp p. 572.

Between 1752 and 1790, issues of the *London Magazine* contained, on occasion, maps of Scottish counties engraved by Kitchin. This is a slightly larger and clearer map than that of 1749, allowing greater information on settlement pattern, with over 100 more place-names than the earlier work. However, the upland areas are still sketchy, errors with place-names continue to exist and the Peffer Burns remain joined. Occasional corrections have been made (e.g. the position of Milnknow has been moved east of the confluence of the Faseny and Whiteadder Waters, and Mayshiel is found in the former's position). A better indication of the county's considerable stretches of sandy beach is given. Policies are now fenced rather than circumscribed and town symbols are replaced by heavy black lines. A new road appears to East Pencaitland and mills are indicated at Spott and Abbey Mill. Many rivers are now named and minor corrections in the alignment of the drainage pattern have been made (e.g. the line of the Spott Burn). More woodland is marked but some is questionable, as is the depiction of hills (e.g. the continued appearance of a hill east of Yellow Craig but no sign of North Berwick Law). The headland at North Berwick has been greatly exaggerated and the offshore islands are drawn now in profile. The orientation of the coast and river direction are occasionally out of line. Other differences include a new squarer title cartouche (top right), scrolled with leaves and flowers, a grid line (56°) running across the offshore area of the map and

longitude given from Edinburgh and London. On page 572 there is a brief account of the county which notes "In this shire are many fine seats of the nobility and gentry, who in general are hospitable and well behaved".

## 13. 1773

ARMSTRONG, Andrew and Mostyn. ". . . Map of the Three Lothians . . ." Statute miles 5[=124mm]; Geographical miles [=142mm] Scale 1":1ml. or 1:63,360. 855×1510mm. Engraved by Thomas Kitchin.

This map, dedicated to the counties' nobility, gentry and clergy, was originally produced on six self-contained sheets. It includes plans of the three county towns and exhibits a sophisticated use of symbols (e.g. different print types help distinguish between various categories in the key). A most impressive amount of detail is depicted (e.g. in the area east of the Biel Water, Thorter Burn, Whiteadder Water watershed, over 150 place-names are located). However, Kitchin's engraving does cause some confusion over names and their symbols, while the key suggests parish boundaries where none are delineated. Hills and offshore islands continue to be indicated inadequately by relief drawing, while woodlands, bogs, roads and ancient camps are given their best depiction so far. Individual houses and steadings are mapped and mileage from Edinburgh is posted at each mile. There is a notable improvement in the coastline. Latitude and longitude are based on observations by the Rev. Bryce of Kirknewton, a wide grid framework being created and lettered for use in conjunction with a published companion, being a gazetteer of towns and seats with a list of subscribers. The companion lists 292 subscribers — including 7 dukes, Henry Dundas, the City of Edinburgh and the surveyors, John Ainslie and John Tait — at 2 guineas each, a pre-survey assurance of over £600.

The dedication and title (bottom left) is in an elegant pictorial design of an overhanging rock with plants separated by a burn from a country house with a ruined arch. The plan of Haddington (top right) [Scale 1":500 ft. or 1:6000. c 160×180mm.], bears the burgh crest and locates the main streets, the cróss, Bell Inn, Town House, Post Office, Letimore Place and three mills. It is assumed that the surveying was conducted between 1768 and 1773 and was based largely on estate plans. Mostyn, the son, is often accused of poor quality work and, certainly, contemporaries criticised his efforts (see no. 15). However, this map is a competent and detailed survey, possibly strongest in the lowland and more populous areas.

## 14. [1777]

AINSLIE, John. "Map of the Country round Edinburgh". British Statute Miles 20 [=123mm] Scale 1":4mls. or 1:253,440. 580×575mm.

The map covers the district from Berwick to Glasgow and from Moffat to Arbroath, depicting settlement, drainage and the major roads. Distances by road from Edinburgh are marked to the nearest quarter mile. Despite Ainslie's reputation, the map is weak in the depiction of features. The East Peffer Burn and its tributaries are diverted to join the Tyne at Linton. Relief, by hachuring, gives only a general impression and detail is poor (e.g. no indication of the Garleton Hills or the upland south-west of Innerwick, only occasional mounds lie near Humbie and Hopes). Place-names may have been taken from the Armstrongs' map but only slightly more than 100 settlements are named.

It is dedicated in the title (top right) to James Stewart Mackenzie, Lord Privy Seal of Scotland, and has a grid based on each 30′ of longitude and latitude. The scale lies bottom left. Later issues appeared in 1778 (entitled "Map of the Environs of Edinburgh"), in 1801 and 1812.

## 15. 1777

ARMSTRONG, Mostyn John. "County of Haddington". Scale of miles 10[=45mm] Scale 1":5.71mls. or 1:362,057. 187×138mm. Engraved by H. Ashby. In *A Scotch Atlas; or description of the Kingdom of Scotland: divided into counties, with the subdivisions of sherifdoms;* . . . London. 1777. Map 16.

A small, attractive map indicating settlement, drainage and roads. Over 130 individual places are located and the map clearly shows Haddington as a route centre, with several roads to the south via Danskine and Bolton. Hills, in relief drawing, are an improvement on Kitchin but fail to give a true overall picture (e.g. the Garletons are again weakly portrayed). Unlike other maps in the atlas,[3] the coast and river system is markedly different from that of Kitchin, (e.g. the Peffer Burn error is corrected). The map is too small to carry much of the detail of the Armstrongs' "Map of the Three Lothians". Distortion of scale and orientation is notable, and the scale appears to be slightly smaller than that indicated.

The atlas was severely criticised in its own time, particularly by Richard Gough, who wrote, 'Armstrong's "Scots Atlas" is little valued: his pretension to actual survey is entirely chimerical: he copied others, ingrafting mistakes of his own, and run over the counties in a strange cursory manner. This atlas is indeed more neatly engraved that Kitchen's "Geographia Scotiae:" which yet is

better esteemed, though erroneous. Armstrong has attended to his own and the engraver's profits more than that of the public or their information'.[4] Certainly the atlas was not up to the standard of the day but, despite this, it was regarded as sufficiently useful to warrant re-issue in 1787 and 1794.

Top left, north point; top right, the title, plainly, in flowing script; bottom centre, scale bar. On the page opposite is a brief description of the county, which notes "At Preston Pans, is a manufactory of vitriol and aquafortis".

16. 1802

FORREST, William. "Map of Haddington Shire surveyed by Wm. Forrest, 1799". Scale of miles 5[=246mm] Scale 1":0.5ml. or 1:31,680. 1211×1460mm. Engraved by James Kirkwood and Sons.

This is, without doubt, the finest and most accurate of the early surveys of the county. It achieves a very high standard of precision in terms of orientation and distance and the detail portrayed is most impressive. In the introduction to his "Atlas of Scotland", John Thomson states "William Forrest, a land-surveyor of great experience, and no less industry, made another survey of this county which occupied him two years. The masterly manner in which this map is executed is at once a memorial of industry, skill, and enterprise seldom found in one individual. The noblemen and gentlemen's domains, the towns and villages, with the roads, the parish boundaries, the sea coast, the woods and rivers, are presented on paper as if reflected in a glass".[5] Despite such praise, there are some inaccuracies in the drainage detail of some southern streams. Furthermore, the hachuring of the hills, which is quite effective in the lower areas of the county, appears very artificial in the higher ground.

This is the first map to indicate parishes and it also depicts detached portions of the county. Names of proprietors are given against their estates and many interesting features are noted (e.g. the coastal dunes are marked 'Rabbit Warrens here'; on the Bass, 'great quantities of Solan geese breed here'). The map's great value is particularly noticeable in the portrayal of the settlement and road pattern. Individual farmhouses and buildings are indicated and named, while the larger sites have a clear depiction of their plans. In Spott parish, 45 place-names are shown, in Dirleton 55. For the first time Eyebroughy replaces Ibris.

Originally appearing in 4 sheets, it is dedicated (top right), in flowing lettering, to George, 7th Marquis of Tweeddale. The title (top left) appears on a rock with a water cascade and foliage. To the left, a view of North Berwick

Law and the coast, with several vessels offshore. Below, six reapers beside corn stooks. Seated below the title are two labourers with tools, cart, plough, wheelbarrow and dog. To the right, an illustration of the Abbey church and bridge above a water mill. Over the title sits the Haddington burgh crest. An alphabetical table of 29 routes, with distances, to Haddington lies in the bottom right corner. The longitudinal axis is taken from Haddington and is marked off in miles. Six ships lie of the coast. From similarities in the spelling of place-names, Forrest appears to have referred to the work of the Armstrongs but was no mere copyist.

17. 1805

THOMSON, John. "Haddington and Berwick". No scale. c. 1":10mls. or c. 1:633,600. 91×163mm.

In *The Traveller's Guide through Scotland and the islands belonging to it.* 2nd. edition. Edinburgh. opp p. 68.

A very small map of the two counties, with no scale and only 13 place-names for East Lothian. Surprisingly, the Peffer Burns appear joined again. The map is of little value, with marked inaccuracies of scale, distance and direction, but re-appeared in later editions of the guide. By 1808, (4th edition), borders had been added, the Peffer Burns corrected, the position of Linton altered and 11 additional names shown. There is only a rudimentary pattern of roads and rivers and their line of direction is most questionable. Later editions return to one Peffer Burn and feature a hill ridge running north-south from Garleton to Blackshiels.

The title lies top right on a plain block with the north point below.

18. [1807]

BROWN, Thomas. "A New and Accurate Map of Haddington Shire, from the latest survey". Scale of miles 6[=82mm] Scale 1":1.85mls. or 1:116,972. 288×332mm. Engraved by Hector Gavin and Son.

In *Atlas of Scotland, being a new set of county maps from actual surveys . . .* By Thomas Brown. Edinburgh. n.d. Map 3.

Recent research suggests that publication of this atlas began in 1802 and that the last maps were issued in 1807. Where there are watermarks, they lie between these dates. The Haddington sheet, however, lacks any watermark. In terms of accuracy, the atlas is a marked improvement on those of the eighteenth century, but occasional errors in the alignment of rivers and the coast

can be discerned. For an atlas map, Haddington has an impressive degree of detail in settlement and roads mapped. Although there is no indication of later issues or revisions, variations in copies of this map exist. Chubb lists the map as no. 10 in the atlas,[6] and the copy in Glasgow University Library has more roads (e.g. to Muirfield, and south from Congalton) and a few more places (particularly near Balgone House) than that in the National Library of Scotland.

The title (top right) is in flourished lettering on an oval plaque; the compass (top left) is in the form of a four pointed star with cross indicating eight directions; the scale bar lies bottom centre. The map is based on an Edinburgh meridian with the longitudinal axis marked as miles east of the city.

### 19. 1821

AINSLIE, John. "The Environs of Edinburgh, Haddington, Dunse, Kelso, Jedburgh, Hawick, Selkirk, Langholm and Annan making a Complete Map of the South East District of Scotland". Scale of English miles 13[=160mm] Scale 1":2mls. or 1:126,720. 1240×815mm.

Covering the area between Berwick and Livingston and from Kinghorn to Annan, this map, originally in 4 sheets, is a much improved, clearer work than his earlier depiction (no. 14). A greater number of places are named, based mainly on Forrest, and there is a better depiction of the hills, by hachuring, particularly in the south and south-east. However, the Garletons are again omitted and North Berwick Law and the Bass appear in profile. One notable error is the dating of the battle of Dunbar as 1606. A table of locations, with distances between, lies right centre and includes 6 places in East Lothian. The title (bottom right) is in flourished lettering. An earlier reduced edition, dated 1812, is believed to be held privately but may be based on his earlier work. It was issued by Thomas Brown. A later edition, by W. & A. K. Johnston, was issued with information dating from the 1850s.

### 20. 1822

THOMSON, John. "Haddington". Scale of British miles 3[=73mm] Scale 1":1.04mls. or 1:66,115. 502×673mm. Engraved by S. I. Neele and Son.
In *The Atlas of Scotland* . . . By John Thomson & Co. Edinburgh. 1832. Map 2.

Thomson's atlas was largely based on existing county and estate surveys and each map is attested by several reputable names. For Haddington, the Rev. James Wallace, D. Buist, factor to the Earl of Haddington, William Forrest and

William Johnston appear as guarantors. Although drawn by Johnson, the map is a reduced but close copy of Forrest (no. 16), with slightly fewer place-names and no proprietors indicated. This is acknowledged in the introduction of the atlas. The map is characterised by a high standard of engraving but, again, the hachuring tends to give a dark and heavy impression. Occasionally, an additional place-name is found (e.g. Steels Hospital, north of Tranent) which is not marked on Forrest. Johnson has also copied the Armstrongs' plan of Haddington without updating it. This lies top right as on a pinned scroll [Scale 1":500ft. or 1:6000. c 150×180mm]. The title, in a plain heading lies top left above the north point,, with a plain scale bar in the bottom right corner.

The atlas maps were individually issued between 1820 and 1830, Haddington appearing in 1822. This venture bankrupted Thomson and the plates were sold to W. & A. K. Johnston who re-issued the atlas in 1855 with William Blackwood and Sons. These later maps have the road network revised and railways have been added. They are differentiated in the title (e.g. "Johnston's Map of the County of Haddington"). In Haddington, rail links to North Berwick, Tranent and Port Seton are marked.

21. 1825

SHARP, Thomas, GREENWOOD, Christopher and FOWLER, William. "Map of the County of Haddington made on the Basis of the Trigonometrical Survey of Scotland. Surveyed in the years 1824 and 1825". Scale of miles 4[=88mm] Scale 1":1.14mls. or 1:72,411. 675×832mm. Engraved by John Dower.

A careful study of this map indicates that the designated scale is incorrect; the map is, in fact, drawn at a scale of one inch to one mile. Despite this oversight, it is a finely engraved, most detailed and reliable survey. The 'Trigonometrical Survey' referred to in the title has been suggested as the work of an Ordnance Survey team under Thomas Colby engaged in the area between 1820 and 1825[7]. However, according to Harley, "in his chosen field of the county map Greenwood surpassed his contemporaries, and has left an important legacy of ordered fact to students of the early nineteenth century".[8] Although the bulk of Greenwood's work was in England, maps of the shires of Berwick, Edinburgh, and Fife and Kinross were produced by this team. The map originally appeared in two sheets and gives much detail, particularly notable in the portrayal of relief, by hachuring, which, in places, tends to obscure some place-names (e.g. Meikle Sayers Law). No heights are marked for any hill. Road distances are given between local centres, each mile being posted. Boundaries are mapped and there is a proper depiction of drainage and road patterns. As in their other maps, the title (top right) is in a flowing lettering

style; the dedication (bottom right) is to 'the nobility, gentry and clergy' of the county; the explanation (bottom left) is as a scroll pinned to the map and the compass point is a fanciful eight-pointed star with a thistle and the motto, 'Nemo me impune lacesset'. The border is of a black keyboard pattern. The map may be based on Forrest's work (e.g. it copies the line of the road across Aberlady Bay and locates rabbit warrens) but has fewer place-names (e.g. in Dirleton parish only 23 locations are given).

22. 1827

LOTHIAN, John. "Haddington". Scale of miles 5[=41mm] Scale 1":3.08mls. or 1:194,954. 186×238mm.

In *Lothian's County Atlas of Scotland.* Edinburgh. Map 10.

Lothian's map depicts settlement and road patterns clearly, a high standard of engraving allowing much place-name detail to be mapped. Drainage is also well marked but suffers several minor inaccuracies. The map is weakest in its portrayal of relief with hachuring indicating only isolated mounds and giving a poor overall impression. Despite this, the atlas was a useful and handy work, well received in its time.

Lothian intended to produce the work in 1826, but the last maps were not ready until the following year. Later editions appear to have been issued in 1829, 1830, 1835 and 1838. However, dates were often changed on the maps, and as these were sold separately and in pocket cases, most atlases have differing dates throughout. A historical section was added in 1829 and a major revision appears to have been made for the wrongly numbered third edition of 1835. In this updating, a grid framework was added, along with additional place-name information, particularly at the coast. More hills are named and some heights marked (e.g. North Berwick Law, 940'!). The sands at Tyne Mouth are clearer and the race-course at Gullane is located.

23. 1828

KNOX, James. "Map of the Basin of the Firth of Forth, including the Lothians, Fife & Kinross, with parts of the adjoining shires". Scale of English and Geographical miles, 10[=125mm], 8[=115mm] Scale 1":2mls. or 1:126,720. 620×785mm. Engraved by Charles Thomson.

A detailed map of the Forth basin, including a depiction of the whole of East Lothian, with offshore soundings and sandbanks marked. Relief is emphasised, by hachuring, and many hills are named. A table of altitudes of

hills and seats (top right) gives only 5 places in the county. Owners of many of the larger houses are again named (e.g. Fountainhall, Sir T. Dick Lauder). In many respects, this marks a regression in delineation, particularly in the alignment of stretches of the coast and the drainage pattern. Although the road network is well shown, the map has far fewer place-names than, for example, Brown's map (no. 18). Eyebroughy has reverted to Ibris and Barracks (for Bara) has been copied from Brown. Parish boundaries are confusing, as lines disappear where boundaries follow roads or streams.

The title (bottom right) is again of a flowing lettered style; a table of distances from Edinburgh to various centres lies bottom left. The map was published in a pouch, dated 1827, by John Anderson and William Hunter in Edinburgh. Later editions were issued in 1832 and 1850.

24. [1832]

MURPHY, William. "Haddington S." Scale of miles 10[=48mm] Scale 1":5.33mls. or 1:337,920. 92×123mm. Engraved by W. Murphy.

In *Pocket County Atlas of Scotland.* Edinburgh: Alex. Macredie. n.d. Map 19.

This map, although small, is well engraved, with over 70 names recorded. However, there are several errors of transcription and location (e.g. Dirleton appears twice, Lennoxlove is located south-west of Haddington and North Berwick Law seems nearer Balgone House than the town). Relief is shown by hachuring but only the Lammermuirs and the Law are indicated. There are some marked distortions in distance and scale (e.g. the turnings of river beds are exaggerated). Again, the shape of the county boundary, the alignment of the coast and the drainage pattern are inaccurate. The map may be based on Lothian's delineation of the county (e.g. the similarity of the line of the coast).

25. 1838

BLACKWOOD, William. "Haddington Shire". British miles 5[=45mm] Scale 1":2.67mls. or 1:168,960. 193×238mm. Engraved by W. H. Lizars.

In *Blackwood's Atlas of Scotland: containing thirty-three separate maps of the counties, together with the Orkney, the Shetland and the Western Islands.* Edinburgh. Map 14.

Blackwood's maps were published expressly for the *New Statistical Account of Scotland* and, therefore, their primary purpose was to locate parishes. Drainage, settlement and the road network are also shown in some detail. Overall, the map is an accurate depiction of the county but is rather weak on

place-names (only 7 locations in Prestonkirk; in Ormiston, 3). A far better impression is given of the county's relief, by hachuring, which does not merely emphasise isolated mounds.

The atlas was re-issued in 1839, 1847, 1848 and 1853, in quarto and octavo sizes. Furthermore, the maps were sold separately and collectively in leather cases. The Haddington sheet also was printed, without alteration, in volume 2 of the New Statistical Account in 1845. In 1847, some additional roads and railway lines were added to the map, the lines being the North British Railway, links to Tranent, Cockenzie and Haddington, with a continuation to the main line near Linton.

### 26. 1842

LAWSON, John Parker. "Haddington Shire or East Lothian". British miles 5[=25mm] Scale 1":5mls. or 1:316,800. 100×150mm. Engraved by J. Brown.

In *The Descriptive Atlas of Scotland.* Edinburgh: The Edinburgh Printing and Publishing Co. opp p. 309.

A small but clearly engraved map of the county with an alphabetical index to parishes (top left), each numbered on the map. There is much place-name detail, particularly in lowland areas, with over 180 locations marked (although Bara again appears as Barracks). Hills are hachured and over 20 are individually named (e.g. Cocklaw Hill, Peat Law). More than a dozen rivers and burns are also named. Roads are mapped but not railways.

### 27. 1844

FOWLER, William. "Map of the County of Haddington made on the Basis of the Trigonometrical Survey of Scotland. Surveyed in the years 1824 and 1825 . . . Additions to 1844". Scale of miles 4[=99mm] Scale 1":1ml. or 1:63,360. 683×830mm. Engraved by John Dower.

This is a re-issue of number 21, with the addition of the North British Railway line from Edinburgh to the south and a branch to Haddington. In 1845, the map re-appeared, engraved by W. & A. K. Johnston, with additions to that date. The most notable feature of this later issue is the line of the proposed East Lothian Central Railway, marked on the south bank of the Tyne from East Pencaitland to the North British line opposite Linton.

28. 1848

BLACK, Adam and Charles. "Haddington". Scale of miles 5[=41mm] Scale 1":3.08mls. or 1:194,954. 188×236mm.

In *Black's County Atlas of Scotland, with the parochial divisions* . . . Edinburgh. Map 20.

This is a re-issue of the county atlas first published by John Lothian in 1827 (no. 22), with the same additions to the place-name and other detail that Lothian added to his third edition, 1838. All the maps in Black's atlas are dated 1847. Further additions include the delineation of railway lines and parish boundaries, with a numbered index (top left). However, Hopes and West Hopes have been marked in Gifford parish rather than Garvald. Some more river (e.g. Biel Water) and coastal names (e.g. Ravensheugh Crag) appear and more hills are named.

The map was again re-issued in 1852 in *Black's Tourist's and Sportsman's Companion to the Counties of Scotland.*

This list is as complete as I have been able to make it. However, it is very likely that, unintentionally, several omissions have been made, and I would be glad of information of any relevant maps missing here.

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# BIRTHS AND BAPTISMS: HADDINGTON IN THE MID SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

*by RAB HOUSTON*

Baptism is an ecclesiastical ceremony which can occur anything from a few hours to several years after the biological event of birth. The longer the lag between birth and baptism, the greater is the chance that the infant will die in the interval and will thus escape registration. The implications for demographic analysis are clear, and the authors of *Scottish Population History* have pointed out that in this respect mid eighteenth century Scottish parish registers are likely to be fairly reliable, since most children were baptised within a week of birth.[1] Both kirk and parents were keen to baptise children quickly, even to the extent of baptising privately, infants felt unlikely to survive long enough to await baptism in church.

It seems probable that baptism was even more prompt in the seventeenth century.[2] Evidence has been drawn from the mid seventeenth century baptismal register of the burgh of Haddington in East Lothian, which for 1653-8 is recorded in the kirk session register, to provide an example of practice at this time.[3] Less than 5% of entries for these years lack both birth and baptism dates, and the analysis which follows is based on 1061 cases. The register appears to be well kept, and the ratio of twin births to all births of 1:118, though slightly low, indicates reliability of registration. The sex ratio for single infants was 110 males per 100 females, again very believable in view of the short time period and the usual slight bias towards males among newborn infants.

The vast majority of children, 93%, were baptised within seven days of birth. Percentile values are one day, three days and five days (plus or minus half a day), or in other words a quarter of children were baptised within one day of birth, half had been baptised within three days, and three quarters of all infants had gone through the ceremony inside five days. Only 1.5% of children were baptised more than ten days on, of whom a disproportionate number were

illegitimate. Notorious examples of periods of years intervening are wholly atypical for this parish during these years. The usual practice was quick baptism. These intervals compare well with figures for England during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, suggesting that in this respect at least Scottish vital registration was not greatly inferior.[4] Differences in length of time elapsed may be related to weather (about which the register has some interesting remarks), residence of parents relative to the parish church and perceived health of mother and child — only more detailed local research can illuminate these matters.[5] It is however clear that there is no statistically significant divergence between intervals for boys and girls: the latter were as likely as the former to receive a prompt baptism even in this male dominated society.

While poor for some purposes, Scottish parish registers do not perhaps deserve the blanket condemnation they have received from nineteenth century reformers and some twentieth century historians. Each needs to be assessed on its individual merits, and the fullest possible use made in conjunction with other documents in order to throw more light on the workings of Scottish local society.

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# A SALTWORK AND THE COMMUNITY: THE CASE OF WINTON, 1716-1719

*by C. A. Whatley*

By the second decade of the eighteenth century, salt manufacturing was a long-established Forth-side industry, the first written records of which go back to the thirteenth century.[1] The establishment of a sizeable saltwork at Cockenzie in 1630, by George, third earl of Winton, was in part a response to the increased market opportunities for Scotland's low grade salt which had been opening up from the 1570s.[2] The Spaniards' successful conduct of economic warfare against the Dutch from 1621 provided additional and lucrative outlets for both English and Scottish salt producers as the Netherlands and other northern European states found themselves denied their supplies of preferred Iberian 'Bay' salt.[3] With its twelve pans Winton's Cockenzie works was one of Scotland's larger salt making establishments and, indeed, in the year from September 1716 more salt was sold from its girnels than any other north of the border.[4] It certainly stood out from the other saltworks in the vicinity of Cockenzie and Prestonpans, the vast majority of which were small, single or two-pan affairs. Whereas in the region of 20,000 bushels of salt were annually sold from Winton, most of the other works sold less than 4,000 bushels, with the nearest rival being William Morrison's Prestongrange works, which disposed of over 13,000 bushels. Winton remained an important producer through the eighteenth century and even managed to survive the repeal of the 160-year-old protective duties in 1823, with output being maintained, albeit on a reduced scale, until 1939.[5] However, rather than describing and accounting for the course of the works over time, this essay is concerned with the little-explored matter of day-to-day saltwork operation, in particular the role of the works as an employer and the interaction which occurred between the saltwork and the economic and social life of the surrounding community.

Little will be said about the actual process of making salt, which has been adequately described elsewhere.[6] The principal sources for this case study are the weekly output books and the oncost account books which have survived

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amongst the papers of the Forfeited Estates Commissioners, whose job it was to manage the pans, along with the rest of Winton estate, from 1716 until 1719.[7]

From July 1716 until the purchase of the estate by the York Buildings Company in 1719, the pans were managed by William Adam. Then 26 years old, he later involved himself in a wide range of business activities, and of course, became a notable Scottish architect.[8] As the salt grieve, Adam (who had married in 1716), was paid a weekly salary of £6 (Scots)*, as well as a corf of coals.[9] This was almost fifty per cent more than his counterpart at Winton's Tranent colliery, and was in part recognition of the onerous nature and responsibilities of saltwork management. It is likely too that the higher sum also reflects the raised status of salt as a life-sustaining and critical commodity in a predominantly grain consuming era, as well as the fact that saltworks, far from being offshoots or appendages of coastal collieries, had often been the latter's major customer, the sale of salt providing the financial means for their continued operation or even the primary cause of the commencement of mining operations.[10] It was later in the eighteenth century that most Scottish saltworks became the junior partners of the collieries with which they were often integrated.

Unlike the management structure of a colliery,[11] where the grieve or oversman was generally assisted by a number of intermediate functionaries such as hillsmen, day and night grieves and so forth, the salt grieve at Winton was solely responsible for the smooth and efficient running of the saltwork. The bare bones of his task were outlined in a report on Winton estate colliery and saltwork compiled sometime in 1716. He was:

> . . . to keep exact accompt of what wood comes down to Each pan weekly and to Receive Salt from the Salters for the Same weekly and to keep the pans in going Condition and to Sell and Dispose upon the Salt to the best advantage And to pay the Leaders punctually for the odd and magg wood led by them, This encourages them in their work and makes them pay their Servants honestly . . .[12]

Such a formal account however conceals the real complexity of the job. Its requirements can be converted into a lengthy list of modern day equivalents, as security officer, punctillious book-keeper, clerk of works, building and production manager, pay clerk, personnel officer and both sales manager and executive.

Winton saltwork, like others of its size, was, in terms of early eighteenth century Scotland, a major focus of employment for skilled and unskilled

* 1/12 the value of the £ sterling. All sums are expressed in £ Scots.

'industrial' workers, as well as for traditional craftsmen such as masons, smiths and wrights. Around seventy people from Cockenzie, Prestonpans and their neighbourhood made some part of their living directly from saltwork employment. Most were males, but there was a fair sprinkling of female workers, who like their colliery counterparts, were generally, but not exclusively, engaged on the more burdensome tasks. However, in contrast to collieries, as at Tranent where the bulk of the seventy-six workers were employed more or less full-time, saltworks, including Winton, relied heavily on part-time employment. As there was also a number of full-time employees there was a wide variety of types of contract of employment, some formal, others of the most casual sort. In consequence, labour management played a highly prominent role in the grieve's set of duties. It was a complicated business, the effective conduct of which depended upon considerable organisational skill in matching the immediate and continually changing needs of the saltwork with the identification, recruitment and control of suitable local labour.

In spite of the state's having instituted, in the seventeenth century, a legal framework for facilitating regular working at saltworks and several other types of enterprise,[13] perhaps the most striking feature of saltpan operation was its irregularity. In this Winton was no exception.[14] An analysis of the weekly output books in the year from the beginning of July 1716 reveals a series of lengthy interruptions to salt production. Indeed in only five weeks during that twelve month period, and for six during the following year, were all of the pans going at once. Theoretically, between them the twelve pans could have been producing salt in a total of 624 weeks (i.e. $12 \times 52$) but in fact production occurred in only 352 or 56 per cent of this. On average each pan was worked for 29.3 weeks (29.1 in 1717-18), although marked variations in performance did occur; salter Christopher Fleuchar made salt for 39 weeks, three times as many as his near neighbour John Donaldson. These breaks in production were due principally to the severe damage inflicted on the pans and panhouses by the saltmaking process itself, which caused harmful deposits of calcium sulphate to form on the pan bottom and sides, while the continuous presence of heat and flame buckled and burnt pan plates and cracked furnace hearths and lums. The buildings' exposed shore-side location made them especially vulnerable to the ravages of autumnal and winter gales. Damage from wear and tear and adverse weather conditions, and thus the need to effect repairs, accounted for 45 per cent of all stoppages of a week or longer. Repairing mainly fire-damage hearths and lums, and rusted and burnt pans, accounted for just under two-thirds of these. The remaining third were spent replacing pan roofs which had been torn off during a severe storm late in October 1716. Its effect was serious. David Balvaird was prevented from making salt in his pan for eight weeks, John Greig

ten, while the luckless John Donaldson was unable to recommence work until the following June because pan and hearth repairs were found to be necessary after the panhouse had been re-roofed. Serious storm danage was by no means confined to Cockenzie, nor was 1716 an exceptionally bad year.[15]

Repair work was generally done by local tradesmen, hired to carry out specific tasks. The materials were usually purchased for them by the grieve. Thus, to repair the storm damage done to David Balvaird's pan, Robert Burn, a mason, and a barrowman, were paid £6.6/-, for seven and five days work respectively, rebuilding the collapsed side wall of the panhouse. From Thomas Mathie, a Cockenzie merchant, Adam purchased the requisite quantities of wood. Three wrights were then employed, two for six days, one for five, and paid a total of £10.14/-, with an additional 16/- being allowed from saltwork funds, 'for roof ale as is usual.'

The tradesmen who were most extensively employed however were the smiths. Primarily this was because at least every two years, frequently more often, the pans had to be stripped down, the iron plates replaced, and rebuilt. The process was known as 'beiting'. As the whole operation could take six or eight weeks, for the salters concerned this was a period of temporary unemployment and considerable hardship, unless work was to be had labouring for the smiths or doing other odd jobs around the saltwork. For local smiths, on the other hand, this was an opportunity to obtain a significant quantity of work. Robert Barclay, for instance, a 'principal smith' was engaged on pan beiting for eight separate spells in the year from July 1716. These ranged from eight to twelve days and totalled eighty-three. His agreed daily rate was £1, and that for his six assistant smiths, 15/-, although the latters' wages were paid in the first instance to Barclay, who may conceivably have deducted fines for poor performance. Where an experienced and trustworthy master smith could be found, the sub-contracting of beiting work was judged to be superior to the employment of individual smiths, as the latter had 'opportunity to be slow in Working As Also of Abstracting the Iron both old and New', if not carefully supervised.[16] Considerable additional sums were paid to Barclay and his men for 'striking', or levelling and shaping the plates brought from the iron mill at Dalkeith. Unfortunately the accounts do not reveal how long the smiths were engaged on this task, although that on one occasion alone they were paid £30 suggests that several days' work was involved. Their labour costs for a pan beit lasting twelve days amounted to £66. As underemployment and irregular working patterns were commonplace in the early eighteenth century,[17] it seems highly likely that the time spent at the pans by Barclay and his assistants was sufficient to provide virtually the whole of their annual money incomes. This was certainly

so by 1718/19, although by that time Thomas Burn had replaced Robert Barclay. Burn was then described in the accounts as a 'pansmith', and in addition to striking and beiting work was paid £104.1.5d in November 1718, 'for mendings wrought by him upon the salt works of Cockenzie' during the previous nine months. Other smiths could also find employment at the saltwork, though far less frequently. In the heavily corroding atmosphere of the works, nails for floors, panhouse and girnel roofs, and the pans themselves, quickly rotted, leading to occasional requests for large quantities from at least two local smiths. In mid-September 1716 for example George Clark and James Paterson were paid a total of £17.12/- for an order which included double, flooring and plencher-nails. Even Peter Sibbald, a blacksmith in Seatown, received a modest £8.0.6d for 'shoeing the salt-horse' from Martinmas 1715 until December 1716.

Other regular and fairly full employment, for an average of two or three days a week, was found by a mason and a wright, although on several occasions more were hired. Both made use of assistants, the number of which varied according to the job. A typical payment for a mason was one made to Robert Burn, who received £1.15.4d for two days 'at Alex Mathieson's pan in helping the bosom of the lumb.' From this he had to pay a barrowman for one day's work. Wright work was rather more varied, ranging from a day's payment of 12/- (considerably less than the smiths) for 'mending Nicol Watson's pan spouts',* to the six days which was allowed for putting on a new panhouse roof. Exceptionally, longer periods were involved, as in September 1718 when Alexander Marshall spent ten days 'making pan wand and mending pan houses', for which he was paid £6. Several other categories of tradesmen also found employment at the pans, although for them this was unlikely to have been the main source of their income. At periodic intervals John Cannie, a tailor, was hired to make and repair salt 'pocks', the sacks in which salt was carried around the works. For mending Cannie was paid 9/8d a day, and although on average he was employed for two days a month, in March 1716 he spend 10½ days on this task. For making new pocks he was paid by the piece. For the 39 he made in May 1716 he earned £2.18.5d. In April a slater was paid £9.12/- for 'covering the Stable with tyles and Sclates and for mending several places in the lodging.' The upkeep of the salters' houses, as well as those of their servants, was the proprietor's responsibility. Their turfed and thatched roofs required annual attention and were regularly repaired and, when necessary, replaced. Between 1716 and 1719 this was mainly done by John Spears or Speirs, thatcher, with an assistant, at the rate of £1 per day, although on occasion he did manage to obtain a merk for a day's work, with half a merk for his man.

* Wooden pipes or troughs through which sea water ran into the pans.

In 1718 they took fifteen days to cover the houses of the salters with 8,000 turf divots. In spite of the length of time involved they were given no drink. It was usually only the major smith, mason and wright work connected with the pans themselves which was accompanied by generous quantities of ale.

In addition there were a host of opportunities for highly casual employment at the works. John Tweedale for instance was employed once, 'painting the numbers of the salt girnels' soon after Adam's arrival; periodically the salt pocks had to be washed, as at the end of June 1717 when £1.10/- went to 'the women the Salt bearers for washing the pocks thrice' — they were paid 2d per pock; late in October 1718 8/- was paid for '4 womens hyre that brought 72 Salt pocks from the Cuthels [Cuttle] for carrying salt to the Bremen ship', while earlier ten men had shared £1 for going 'to Catch and [sic] Oyster boat dragging in Cockenzie ground.' Other examples abound in the account books, pointing to the saltwork as an occasional but undoubtedly welcome source of marginal amounts of purchasing power in a society where opportunities for regular non-agricultural employment for the urban poor and unskilled were few, and where wages, at least in part, were often paid in kind.

Many of the materials used to repair and sustain the saltworks came from local sources, thereby further generating economic activity in the locality as well as forging close links between the saltwork and the surrounding area. Tiles, for instance, were brought from William Pearson, 'Master of the brickwork' at Prestonpans. Although John Spears sometimes arranged for the collection of turf roofing divots himself, more often than not Adam had to hire others to 'cast' and transport them to the works from the two most common sources, 'ye Moore of Tranent' and the Links. The cutting rate was 10/- per 1,000. An additional 1/6d was allowed for bread and ale for each cartload brought to the pans; in 1716 forty-four cartloads were required for the salters' houses alone. At least once a month Thomas Gray, 'tenant to my Ld Grange' was to be found quarrying and winning stone to replace one or other of the pan hearths, for which he was paid between £5.10/- and £11, depending presumably on the quantity of stones delivered. Carting them, as well as lime, clay and sand created further work. Thomas Gray benefited further by supplying odd quantities of 'white straw' for thatching purposes. Saltwork orders also went out for rope, thread, shovels, leather and wood. Even 'drogs' (drugs) for the salt horse, which included a mutchkin of vinegar, a chopin of ale and a peck of malt, were purchased from Dalkeith. By far the most expensive material however was iron, upon which almost £1,000, for just over 582 stones, was paid in 1716-17. This was usually imported by and purchased from the aforementioned 'Captain' Thomas Mathie of Cockenzie. Before it could be worked by the smiths it had

to be taken to the iron mill at Dalkeith where it was forged into shapes suitable for salt pan use. The crude plates were then carted back to the pans by Christopher Hyslop, who was employed more or less permanently at Winton, with much of his time spent on the round trip to Dalkeith, for which he was paid 6/-. Not all of the works' iron came from Mathie though, and in February 1719 for instance a carter was sent to Edinburgh for three iron bars for pan 'balks', or supports, from Baillie Halyburton.

Interruptions to the salt making process were not restricted to the damage done to plant and equipment by factors over which the grieve and salters had little control. Indeed, in 27 per cent of the weeks when no salt production occurred, human agencies were clearly implicated, either through a decision by an individual salter, or of the salters as a body, not to work. Their choice of course was not taken in a void, and custom and tradition, allied to the salters' perception of their role and obligations as members of a community outside their salt pans, affected their attitudes to work and leisure. Such factors equally constrained the choice of action open to the salt grieve in any attempts he made to improve attendance at the pans and rationalise working practices. This is a significant issue, not least because it has been assumed that salters, like colliers, labouring under the yoke of their servile status, could easily be managed, their every move monitored by the 'eagle eye' of the grieve.[18] Yet in recent years it has been demonstrated that the Scottish coal miners, with whom the salters had much in common, were a far from docile breed of men.[19] Recent research into labour relations in the salt industry in Fife suggests too that the view of the salters as an unskilled, isolated and quiescent group of workers should be discarded,[20] a revision which finds some further support from the evidence from Cockenzie.

Twelve master salters were employed, each of whom had an assistant or 'servant'. Between 1716 and 1719 turnover amongst the master salters was almost non-existent. Changes were confined to two instances where wives, Margaret Brown and 'widow Greg', had taken over the management of their husbands' pans, certainly in Greig's case because of his death.[21] They joined two other saltpan proprietors of their sex, Isobel Eason and Helen Cuthbertson, both at neighbouring Prestonpans.[22] Each master salter was provided with a house and a serviceable pan. For a weekly supply of 80 bolls of pancoal, called an 'evenwood', each salter had to make a chalder, or eighteen bolls, of salt. Any additional salt made, the 'superplus', was the property of the salter. In addition, for each boll of salt which was made with what is likely to have been inferior coal, 'oddwood', the salters were allowed a further six bolls with which to make salt for private sale as long as they delivered, annually, one 'castwood',

or two chalders of salt, to the grieve. The master salter was responsible for the supervision and payment of his or her assistant, although rent-free housing was provided by the proprietor. Salters in the Prestonpans vicinity, including those at Winton, also made use of their families' labour, principally for manhandling the vast quantities of sea water which were required by the boiling process.[23] Unfortunately, as there is no record of the size of their overplus, and as salters could still sell their salt privately — this was outlawed in 1735 [24] — it is impossible at this stage to say anything useful about their income levels. Their continued service at the works was partly assured by their acceptance of 'earnest money' early in each new year. This was £1.19/- for each master salter, along with £1's worth of ale shared between master and assistant. At Winton, as elsewhere in Scotland, this process was not simply a formality but involved frequent renegotiation of the terms of contract between the parties involved.[25] An indication of this can be seen in an entry from the oncost book in January 1719, when £12/- was paid to Ninian Cowan, 'Clerk' of Prestonpans, 'for writting a paper anent a new Agreement with Salters.' Other recipients of earnest money, and thus effectively permanent employees, were the 'leaders', one of whom was allowed to each pan,[26] and whose function was to carry coal from the pits to the pans. A dozen were paid 14/6d each at the beginning of 1716, with an additional £8 for ale to be shared between them. They were paid around 2/- for each boll of panwood carried down to the pans (3/- to Prestonpans), plus a weekly corf of coals. For every 40 bolls of coal taken to the pans they were entitled to a 'maggwood', one boll, for which, apparently, a cash equivalent of 3/- was paid. This group of workers, ten men and two women in July 1716, played a critical and easily overlooked role in the working of the salt pans. Over 15 per cent of the non-productive weeks were caused by the leaders absenting themselves, primarily to engage in seeding and harvesting operations. On average each salter lost four weeks production because of the more pressing concerns and, on occasion, failings of the leaders. The existence of this problem may have provided a secondary justification for the construction, in 1722, of the Tranent & Cockenzie waggonway.[27]

Both the salters and their leaders appear to have had considerable respect for the festive calendar, the salters especially so. Each year they abandoned the pans for two clearly identifiable periods. The first was generally late in October, for a week which coincided with Cockenzie's major annual fair. Most work at the saltworks ceased. The fair itself was clearly an event in which the saltwork played an important part, oiling the pivot upon which the community's celebrations turned. Custom, it seems, was the force which drove William Adam each year to search for and purchase a new saddle for the races, and in 1716 for instance, he paid the Edinburgh saddler Edward Bunkle £9.12/- for this

article. In the same year saltwork funds were used to pay a wright to set up the 'Stoups', while local carters had bread and ale worth 3/- for bringing 'two carts of coles for watch light at the fair here.' Proclamations too were paid for, as in 1718, when two 'Officers' shared £1.16/- 'for intimating the said Sadle & race at Haddington and other places.' Nor was sheer spectacle overlooked. In October 1718 £1.4/- was disbursed to 'ships boys for hoising [sic] their Colours on the Said fair day Conform to Custom.' For 'Goeing through w[t] ye Sadle the two fair days' the pipers of Longniddrie and Tranent shared 18/-.

While the grieve was prepared to countenance and indeed actively support the salters' participation in Cockenzie fair, their unwillingness to return to work after the New Year, something they shared with salters elsewhere,[28] was a matter of deep concern. Indeed in 1717 it was not until the first week in February when salt production was resumed. How the problem was resolved is not entirely clear. Labour management methods in this period could be brutal and notably, one of Adam's early actions had been to repair the works' prison or 'dog hole'. Sadly, records of its utilisation have not survived. It is unlikely though that the threat of temporary incarceration drove the salters back to work; the sheer numbers involved would have ruled out this option for Adam. He had to tread warily, without offending the body of salters who showed later that they were aware of the effectiveness of combination and even lengthy strike action.[29] It seems likely then that Adam's payment of a bonus for an early return to work may have had the desired effect. In 1719 James Brown was rewarded with a cash payment of 12/- 'for bringing in the first Salt', and this by the 12th of January. Whether the others responded to this incentive is not clear. Where production was not going to be materially affected, Adam seems to have been prepared to see work mingled with pleasure, and in May 1719 for example he recognised the King's birthday, the celebrations being warmed by the purchase of two barrels of ale, four bottles of claret and coal for a bonfire. The marriage of a master salter, Robert Donaldson, in October 1716 produced no such tributes from the grieve, although neither is there any suggestion that Donaldson's opting to cease work for the best part of the week surrounding that event brought any admonition, financial or otherwise.

The reasons for other stoppages are not so easily categorised, but add up to seven per cent of the total weeks lost. Adam failed to record the cause of lost production in only six per cent of cases. Amongst the less common causes was sickness, which in the twelve months upon which this analysis is based, lost only one salter, David Balvaird, one week's work. Robert Donaldson lost two weeks production in February 1717, three months after his marriage, as he had been caught 'running salt' and was imprisoned at the behest of the local

customs or salt officers. The imposition, from 1713, of a tax on Scottish salt which doubled the commodity's cost to the consumer provided an added incentive for salters to pilfer and sell the product of their labour, and what had been a troublesome but largely overlooked matter for employers, became a crime against the new state of Great Britain.[30] In the Prestonpans customs precinct alone, in the year from September 1715, there were 105 seizures of salt upon which duty had not been paid. The quantities involved however were invariably small, averaging perhaps a substantial sackful. It concerned Adam though, and in November 1716 he hired a smith to alter the '4 great locks' of the girnels. Two years later the 'Smiths at Cockenzie' were paid £1.7/- for 'making Staples & chains for padlocks when the keys were restyled by Mr Adam.' His concern for the security of the works however was not matched by his respect for the law and early in 1719 Adam was fined £27 by the Justices of the Peace of East Lothian for failing to pay duty on salt sold from Winton.[31]

Discussion of stoppages has so far centred on those which lasted for a week or more, the reasons for which were generally recorded. Yet in addition the pans were subject to a number of less serious but nonetheless frequent interruptions of perhaps a day or two, which added further to the irregularity of the salters' working lives. Of the weeks which they did work in 1716/17, 32 per cent were incomplete, in that some salters had been unable to utilise their basic allowance of 80 bolls of coal. As with the longer stoppages, the experience of the individual salters varied greatly. Of the 21 weeks when John Greig's pan was going, full output was only attained in 11, or 52 per cent of them, whereas Nicholl Watson managed this in 27, or 75 per cent, of the 36 weeks in which he worked. As Adam did not systematically note the cause of these 'short' weeks it is less easy to rank them in order of importance. However, it is clear that 'bucket pot' cleaning was frequently carried out. These were the reservoirs, one for each pan at Winton,[32] in which sea water was gathered prior to its being pumped into the pan, as necessary, during the 24 hour period which the manufacture of a 'full' of salt required. After gales, cleaning was a particularly costly business. In November 1718 nine of the twelve pots had to be cleared out at a total cost of over £26, 'their being filled by Ane Extraordinary Storm.' The usual sum paid for 'casting' a bucket pot was 16/-, with what was approximately two days work being done by the salters themselves. By so doing they were compensated for their lost salt production. Occasionally too repairs had to be carried out, as in September 1718 when 18/- was paid for a 'piece of wood for a pump to Ro[t] Donaldson's Bucket pott', in addition to a sum for two pounds of 'bend' or strong leather for a 'clap' or sluice gate. In this way was James Reid, shoemaker, brought directly within the orbit of the saltwork.

## A SALTWORK AND THE COMMUNITY

While the greatest part of the grieve's energies were directed towards ensuring that salt output was maintained and the works kept in sufficient order, some attention had to be paid to the disposal of the works' output. This posed both commercial and organisational problems. Winton saltwork exported an unusually high proportion of its output, far more for example than the other works in the Prestonpans precinct. In the customs year from September 1716 for instance, hardly a bushel of salt went overseas from the other pans at Cockenzie, or from Cuttle or Westpans.[33] The vast bulk of their output was purchased by cadgers who then sold it in smaller quantities in the large Edinburgh market. While Winton disposed of a considerable 38 per cent of its output in this way, and a further 22 per cent was shipped coastwise, 40 per cent went abroad. Unfortunately for Adam his period of management coincided with an exceptionally bleak passage in the industry's exporting fortunes, which had been faltering from the middle of the seventeenth century.[34] At Winton, stocks were high, and indeed at the end of the accounting year in 1718, in the case of nine of the twelve, girnels, none of the salt deposited in the previous twelve months had been sold. The response of most Scottish saltmasters to the closure of overseas outlets had been to direct their attentions towards the formerly rather neglected domestic market within Scotland.[35] As the most easterly of the saltworks on the south bank of the river Forth however, Winton's proprietors may have experienced less pressure to change direction, and relied on their more favoured location to maintain sales both to English east coast fishing boats on their way to the northern cod fishing grounds, and to vessels trading to north-eastern Europe and the Baltic. However, by the second half of the 1710s, these outlets had evidently lost some of their former buoyancy and Adam was clearly trying to expand his share of the local market. Cash inducements were offered, to 'the country people for encouraging them to buy Salt here from the first of November until this day' or to 'carriers to Incourage them to buy Salt'.[36]

Once purchasers had been found, or a ship lay at the harbour awaiting a cargo of salt, Adam again drew upon what was apparently a deep and willing pool of occasional labour. Depending upon the size of the order, two to five females were employed 'breaking up' salt, at 2/- each per girnel. This was effectively a day's wage. The salt was weighed by perhaps three 'mettsters', at the considerably higher rate of 7/- for each chalder if the salt was to be shipped, as well as an allowance of 2/- each for bread and drink. Landsale work was paid at the lower rate of 5/- per chalder, with no further allowances. This reflected the lower selling price of domestic salt as well as the far smaller quantities weighed at any one time. Shipped salt required Adam either to hire

carters to take salt to the vessel, at 5d per cartload, or to use his right, common to other grieves and lessees of saltworks in the vicinity, to temporarily draft in 'carters of the Estate', who were rewarded with only bread and drink.

How successful Adam's sales strategy was is not clear, principally as there is no indication of what proportion of the total landsales formed prior to his arrival. Certainly any increases were not sufficient to compensate for the loss of overseas sales. That small operating losses were made in each of the three years of his management cannot reasonably be considered to have been Adam's fault. His achievement was to maintain output and to fill the girnels: his misfortune perhaps was not to have been there late in 1721, when export opportunities were again beginning to flourish.[37] Contemporaries clearly recognised his worth as a saltwork manager: in 1744 for example, in a dispute involving the creditors of Prestongrange, the feasibility of clearing some of the debts by repairing the nine saltpans, and setting them going again was considered. It was William Adam, 'Architect' who was appointed by the Court of Session, 'To view and inspect the severall Salt pans and to report his opinion . . .' [38]

What general lessons, if any, can be learned from this study of the works' business books? Above all perhaps it points to the vitality and variety of experience which existed within the context of early manufacturing industry. While it must be borne in mind that this is one case study, dealing with a short period of time, it raises considerable doubts about traditional views of the saltworking communities. These have been described as 'peculiar', manned largely by bands of salter serfs who 'lived apart from the rest of the population for nearly two hundred years', until their liberation in 1799.[39] Business books of course are not a sufficient source upon which to base a sophisticated study of social structure. Nevertheless they do demonstrate that the saltwork played an integral part in the economic and social activity of the surrounding countryside. The proclamation of the saddle for Cockenzie races, paid for from saltwork funds, is perhaps a symbol of the close linkages which existed between the salter community of Winton, the burghs of barony of Cockenzie and Tranent and the inhabitants of the ancient royal burgh of Haddington. Serfdom, it has recently been argued, could be imposed on salters (and coal miners) because of the technical conditions of the industry, which combined 'isolation with concentration of the workforce', thereby making supervision easy.[40] Yet the works were open, and the constant stream of persons and materials, moving in and out, gives the lie to the concept of isolation. The twelve panhouse buildings were spacially concentrated it is true. But underneath each roof, and behind the virtually window-less stone walls which enclosed each one of them, the individual master salter was responsible for the operation of his salt pan. As has

been indicated their performances were by no means uniform. It was simply physically impossible, no matter how determined the grieve, no matter how firmly he fixed his 'eagle eye', to observe or control through the intimidation of a hostile stare, this aspect of the saltworks' operation.

Wittingly, the business books say little or nothing about the nature of salter serfdom. Unwittingly though, they point to much that is useful, if at this stage it must remain inconclusive or even speculative. Master salters at Winton, as elsewhere, tended to remain at the same works for long periods, even for generations, unlike their more mobile collier brethren. At Winton colliery in 1716 for instance, it was reported that, 'the Number of Persons . . . varys by Death and Sometimes by desertion & running away', yet the same writer gave no hint that this problem applied at the saltworks. It is of course true that the greater stability of the salters may point to a lack of alternative employment opportunities,[41] but it is at least conceivable that this is evidence of their relative satisfaction and of their ability perhaps, in their struggles with their masters and grieves, to maintain sufficient self-respect and command over their lives and conditions of employment. If further evidence is required to support this hypothesis, far less is necessary to conclude that the salter's work pattern was hardly distinguishable from many other workers in pre-industrialised Britain. It is in the circumstances of pre-industrial Scotland that his experience appears rather more anomolous. Admittedly the salters' periods of intense work, in the highly unpleasant atmosphere of the panhouse, were longer than most, but these were interspersed with both long and short breaks, a good proportion of which were clearly voluntary. With periods of enforced unemployment too, their work experience mirrors almost exactly the situation of every other trade in the country.[42] At the local level it seems highly unlikely that the salters worked for any more weeks in the year than the skilled — and free — artisans who repaired their equipment. Annual or period labour contracts, 'binding', was not restricted to the Scottish salt manufacturing or indeed the coal mining industries.[43] The flaw at present is that we know so little about wages. Nevertheless, it is not easy, on the basis of the evidence examined here, to share with any confidence the views of those historians who have been inclined to consider the salters as a 'caste' apart.

Finally, with good reason, much has been said here about the extent to which the pans at Winton generated local employment opportunities. However, if as seems to have been the case, around seventy jobs were created at a works which accounted for just over eight per cent of Scotland's salt sales, then crude calculation produces a total employment figure of 840 for the industry as a whole. This figure includes part-time workers but of course excludes the families

of the salters as well as the colliers who mined coal for the pans, the iron workers at Dalkeith who produced iron plates for most Scottish saltworks prior to Carron, the cadgers who transported salt inland, and others, as well as the multiplier effects of the cash which saltwork employment released into the economy. Directly, the industry can hardly have fully employed more than 500 workers. If this figure is anywhere near accurate, it serves to underline the smallness of Scotland's industrial sector in the early eighteenth century.

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21. As a James Brown had replaced Margaret Brown early in 1719, it may be that he had been ill. On the other hand, illness was usually recorded and it is therefore more likely, but not certain, that James Brown, junior, took over the pan. It was quite usual for sons to succeed their fathers or other relatives as master salters. At Cockenzie for example there were three master salters with the surname Greig, (John, Archibald and William), as well as John and Robert Donaldson and James and Nicoll Watson.

22. SRO E 536/3, Salt Charge Vouchers, Prestonpans precinct, 1716/17.
23. This practice was not universal. Before the end of the seventeenth century for instance, David, 2nd earl of Wemyss, had erected a wind pump at Methil to draw water into the pans.
24. 8 Geo. II c. 12, 1735. An Act for granting and continuing the Duties upon Salt . . . Contracts of Clerks and Apprentices.
25. Whatley, *That Important and Necessary Article,* p. 45.
26. The leaders could and did employ others to assist them. At one time seventeen leaders were taking coal to the pans.
27. The principal reason for its construction of course was the transportation of coal to Cockenzie harbour, for shipment. The most recent comment on this waggonway is to be found in C. J. A. Robertson, *The Origins of the Scottish Railway System, 1722-1844* (Edinburgh, 1983), pp. 6, 17.
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29. A. J. G. Cummings, 'The York Buildings Company: a case study in eighteenth century corporation mismanagement' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Strathclyde, 1981), 2, pp. 324-5. I am grateful to Dr Cummings for drawing my attention to this source.
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31. SRO E 536/9, Account of Fines actually levied by John Haldane, Collector, 3rd November 1715-29 September 1724 (Prestonpans precinct).
32. At some large works, as at St. Monance in Fife, the pans were served by one large reservoir.
33. SRO E 536/3, Salt Charge Vouchers, 1716/17.
34. T. C. Smout, *Scottish Trade on the Eve of the Union* (1963), pp. 229-231.
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36. The sums involved were only occasionally noted, and even then they were scored out. This suggests that these were not considered to be allowable expenses. Adam may have had to pay these himself.
37. Conditions could change remarkably quickly. In January 1721 John Horsley of the York Buildings Company was informed that the 'salt works will do no Frats.' By September demand in the Baltic was booming, largely owing to the outbreak of plague in France. SRO GD 1/ 170 714/3 33373 York Buildings Society Papers, correspondence between John Cockburn and John Horsley.
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# LONGYESTER FARM AND THE AGRICULTURAL REVOLUTION IN EAST LOTHIAN

*by Harry D. Watson*

That East Lothian was in the vanguard of the eighteenth-century "Agricultural Revolution" is a fact too well-known to require restatement here. In Professor Smout's words: "Lothian husbandry became the exemplar of Europe".[1] One case in point, and indeed a microcosm of what was happening in the county generally, was the parish of Yester, where, in 1835, the Rev. John Thomson could with justification point out that "At present, the state of husbandry is perhaps as perfect here as in any part of the country".[2]

Many factors combined to bring about this happy state of affairs. Successive Marquesses of Tweeddale had been alert to the advantages of the new English husbandry, and had encouraged innovations like the sowing of turnips and clover. The 6th Earl of Haddington had persuaded his reluctant tenantry that sowing grass-seed was not a total waste of good land.[3] *The Statistical Account* of 1791 describes how poor land, by judicious liming and dunging, had been made productive, and also how the independent-minded peasantry of the parish preferred to submit their differences to the arbitration of their neighbours in that peculiar institution, the Boorlaw Court, rather than trust to lawyers. The poor were supported in their own homes and given free medicine when ill, and the 5 heritors of the parish, all of whom were at least occasionally resident, had sold meal to the poor at less than the market price during the dearth of 1782.[4] By 1835 the employment situation was still reasonably good, while in nearby Ormiston the parish minister had to report that "There is a great want of employment for the labouring poor, especially in winter when many are thrown completely idle, and reduced to great straits".[5]

We are left, then, with an impression of Yester during this formative period from 1791 to 1835 as a parish where an enlightened proprietor-class enlisted the cooperation of a relatively sophisticated and contented peasantry to usher in a new era of agricultural progress which would be to their mutual benefit. How much of this progress was due to the theoretical knowledge of the proprietors,

and how much to the policy of letting experienced tenant-farmers have their heads? How much freedom did the individual tenant have to cultivate his lands as he himself thought fit? Had he yet, in late 18th/early 19th-century East Lothian, broken free of the tiresome seigneurial burdens of carriage and payment in kind? In order to answer these questions, we must examine in some detail the legal documents which set out the terms on which farm-leases ("tacks" or "sub-tacks") were granted. A good example of the genre, and one which pertains to Yester, is the sub-tack of Longyester farm and part of Hopes to Joseph and Thomas Stephenson (National Library of Scotland MS. 14755, f. 186-7), a partial transcript of which follows:—

*Sub-Tack of Longyester and part of Hopes (1792).*

It is contracted and agreed betwixt the partys following Viz. John Hay of hopes Esquire heritable proprietor of the part of the lands of hopes hereafter let and present Tacksman of the farm of Longyester belonging in property to the Most Honourable George Marquise of Tweedale on the one part and Joseph Stephenson at Allantoun in the County of Northumberland And Thomas Stephenson latly Residing at whitelee Both presently residing at Longyester on the other part In Manner following that is to say the said John Hay has set and subset . . . the said Joseph and Thomas Stephenson and their heris (etc.) . . . with the Special Consent of the said John Hay or his successers All & whole Arly Burn park and Knock hill of Hopes down to the road along the Sidling Brae lying in the parish of Garvald And Also All and whole the Easter & wester Farms of Longyester as presently possesed by himself under two tacks from the Family of Tweedale and lying in the parish of yester And the whole lying in the County of Haddington and Sherifdoom of Edinburgh and that for . . . all the years and space of thirteen years (unless in the Event After-mentioned) from and after the said Joseph & Thomas Stephenson their Entry to the pasture Grass and houses at the term of Whitsunday this present year One thousand and Seven hundred and Ninety two (Excepting the Cot houses barns and a stable for two horses which are to Remain in the posession of the Said John Hay till his Crop One thousand Seven Hundred and Ninety two is disposed of) and to the Arable land at the Separation of Crop one Thousand Seven Hundred and Ninety two from the Ground, declaring Always that if the said John Hay or his heirs Shall Continue to possess and enjoy the Lands of Longyester in Virtue of his present right thereto for the Space of Twenty years from and After Whitsunday one thousand Seven Hundred And Ninety two years then And in that Case these presents shall be extended to And Shall Continue And Subsist during all that period and if the Said John Hay Shall not predecease the Said term of thirteen years and shall decease at any time betwixt that period and the laps of the Said term of Twenty years then and in that

Event this Tack Shall Emediatly Cease and discontinue and Shall have no longer Endurance in the peaceable posession of all which lands in virtue of this Tack the Said John Hay binds and obliges himself and his heirs and successors to warrant to the said Joseph and Thomas Stephenson and their aforsaids at all hands and against all deadly as Law will And further the Said John Hay binds and obliges himself and his forsaids to allow to the said Joseph and Thomas Stephenson out of the first years Rent of the Said Lands the Sum of One hundred pounds Sterling in full for Reparing the dweling house at west Mains of Longyester.

. . . And on the other part the said Joseph Stephenson & Thomas Stephenson Bind & Oblige themselves and their heirs executers and secessors whatsoever Conjunctly and Severlly to Content and pay to the Said John Hay and his heirs and asignees in name of Rent for the Said Lands of hopes the Sume of twenty five pounds Sterling and for the farm of Longyester the Sum of Four Hundred & eighty five pounds Sterling Making Together the Sum of five Hundred & ten pounds sterling yearly at two terms in the year — Whitsunday and Martinmass . . . and also the Bind and oblige themselvs and their aforsaids to lead to the house of yester Fifty four Cart loads of Coals yearly if demanded or to pay two shillings Sterling for Each undelivered Cart load and likwise to pay and deliver into the house of Yester eight dozen of Good fat hens if demanded or to pay Sevenpence Ster. for Each undelivered hen in the option of the Marquise of Tweedale the proprieter whether to demand the Said Coals or hens in kind or at the Said Convertions And with Regard to the Croping and Management of the said lands of which about four hundred acres English are Inclosed in twelve parks as infield — including Arly Burn park below Arly Burn. the said Joseph & Thomas Binds and obliges themselvs and their aforsaids that the Shall never have three fourths of the said four hundred Acres in Tillage at any one period and a third of what part of it Shall be in Tillage always to be in Fallow and shall not take above one Crop of white Corn from it succesively exept from old Grass when two Crops may be takin and then Fallowed and sown down properly with Grass Seeds and with Regard to the outfield land none of it shall be Cropped except what is fallowed and not above three Crops to be taken from it succesivly and before it is soun off with Grass Seeds to be limed or fallowed and in Casse the Tenants Shall think it for their Advantage to labour the outfield land . . . they are to Manage & Crop it in the same way with the infield land as above Regulated and further the said Tenants Shall not have liberty to sow wheat upon any part of the said lands Except after Fallow or Clover dunged or limed and a Black Crop Shall next succeed the wheat and onley one Crop of white Corn after the Black Crop when it shall be fallowed and soun doun with Grass Seeds but if wheat Shall be soun after pease or Beans or Clover without Manure the land is to be imediatly fallowed and

Manured after the wheat and soun doun with Grass Seeds but no wheat is to be Soun the last Crop of this lease Except after Fallow and manured with dung or lime a Crop of turnips or potatoes is hereby declared to be considered as a fallow and likewise in case the Tenants Shall judge it more for their Advantage to alter the Method of Culter above laid doun or to deviat therefrom in any one or more years of this Tack without a writing under the hands of the said John Hay or his forsaids then and in that Case they shall be hereby bound to pay two pounds Sterling yearly for Each Acre of the inclosed Land and one pound Sterling yearly for Each acre of the outfield land that they shall have so managed and Cultivated Contrary to the Above Regulations now fixed and agreed upon and that for the first and every other year after their having deviated from or altred the said fixed Rules of Managment during the Remainder of the Tack which Aditional rent shall be payable at the Terms and by the proportions and under a penalty and with Interest as above expressed and along with the original Rent above stipulated and over and above the same and the Additional Rents shall in no wise be Considered as penal sums but as Exprest Stipulations and agreements of partys at Granting of this Tack and in Respect of the said Tenants having Entred to a Break of Fallow of the lands hereby let Consisting of about thirty two acres English Ready ploughed with dung to Manure it they hereby Bind and oblige themselvs and their aforsaids to leave at their Removal and equal Quantity of the Inclosed land in fallow once ploughed with the whole dung to Manure it and also to leave the whole straw upon the Farm at their Removal SteelBow they having Got the Benefit of the same at their Entry — And further it is Contracted and agreed that as the fences of forsaid four hundred acres English Inclosed land and the whole houses on the premises are putt in a sufficient fencible and Tenantable Condition by the said John Hay to the said Joseph and Thomas Stephenson they bind and oblige themselvs and their forsaids to Maintain and Keep the said dwelling house and whole other houses on the premises in good and tenentable repair wind and water tight and the said whole fences in good and suficiant fencible Condition during this Tack and to leave the whole houses in like good Condition wind and water tight and the fences in good order at their Removal [etc.] . . . On witness whereof these presents writers on this and the preceding pages of this paper by John Curie Clerk to Ja$^{s}$ Hay writer to the signet are subscribed the said John Hay Joseph & Thomas Stephenson at hopes the Twenty fourth day of May one Thousand Seven hundred & ninety eight years befor these Witnesses Jo$^{n}$ Ord Brother in law to Tho$^{s}$ Stephenson and patrick donaldson Servant to John Hay

John Ord witness
Peter Donaldson witness

Signed John Hay
Jo$^{s}$ Stephenson
Tho$^{s}$ Stephenson

There are several points of interest here: the division of the sizeable 400-acre farm into 12 "parks" or enclosed fields; the Marquess's cautious insistence on his right to choose between coals and poultry, or payment in cash; and, strikingly, the polite reassurance that additional rent due for infringing the agreed methods of cultivation "shall in no wise be Considered as penal sums"! Such a comment, however tactfully intended, only serves to emphasize the painstaking thoroughness of the pattern of husbandry outlined here. The indispensability of fallowing and not overburdening the ground is made crystal clear, and the references to "Black Crop" (peas and beans) are in keeping with the *Statistical Account's* remarks that such leguminous crops were particularly suited to the loamy soil of certain parts of Yester parish. That high-class quality crop, wheat, is only to be grown after the ground has been lovingly prepared for it, and although it is accepted that the tenants may have sufficient initiative to wish to cultivate the outfield, they are nevertheless obliged to conform to the methods of cultivation laid down for the infield. One is forced to agree with Smout that "the new farmers themselves were as deliberate and artificial a creation as the quick-set hedge and the Cheviot sheep. The eighteenth-century laird who set about improving his estate also set about improving his tenants".[6] Finally, it is interesting that no mention is made of thirlage, that burdensome form of servitude with its "multures" and "sequels" payable from grain ground at the proprietor's mill. Two years after the date of this lease, a writer in Aberdeenshire would complain bitterly that "there is not in this island such a compleat remain of feudal despotism as in the practice respecting (thirlage to) mills in Aberdeenshire".[7] The proprietor of Longyester was, it seems, more enlightened than his counterparts in the North-East.

Who *were* the new tenants of Longyester farm in 1792? Of Joseph Stephenson we are told only that he was a Northumbrian from "Allantoun" — a phonetic rendering of Alwinton, in upper Coquetdale — noted mainly for its annual Shepherds' Show. Thomas Stephenson is described as "latly residing at whitelee" — perhaps a reference to the farm of that name hard by the Scottish border in upper Redesdale, a remote location where that incorrigible Southerner, Dr Johnson, had been "repelled by the wide expanse of hopeless sterility".[8] In fact the two men were brothers, and a third brother, William, was the tenant of Quarryford Mill in the neighbouring parish of Garvald. All three men owed their tenancies to their father, William Stephenson senior, a successful and widely-respected "store farmer" who died in 1807 at Langburnshiels in the parish of Hobkirk, Roxburghshire. The present writer, William Stephenson's great-great-great-great-great-grandson, has pieced together the following account of the family from William Stephenson's testament and inventory in the Scottish

Record Office,[9] as well as from contemporary newspapers[10] and a history of Hobkirk parish.[11]

At the time of his death in 1807 at the age of 77, William Stephenson was worth some £10,000, and the list of his debtors stretched from Hawick to Morpeth. The whole burden of his will is that he wishes to provide for his young second wife and the sole child of this marriage: the children of his first marriage having already been well provided for. His sons Joseph and Thomas, he tells us, have been placed in the farms of "Shill[?], Langbridge and Barro" (par. of Garvald), and each has in addition been given £1,000 "for stocking and improving their farm at Longyester." His eldest son William has been placed in the farm of Quarryford Mill and advanced a similar sum for stocking and improving that farm. Moreover, he has ". . . assumed him (Wm. junior) a partner" in the management of various other farms in which he has an interest. Young William is to receive half the profits of Langburnshiels and Stonedge (par. of Hobkirk, Roxb.) and Snawdon (par. of Garvald, E. Lothian), giving his father in return half the profits of Quarryford Mill.

There are some indications that the father was not wholly convinced of his eldest son's competence as a farmer:—

"My said son William thereby became bound to pay to me or my heirs Interest at the rate of five per Cent for the half of the Stocking on the said farms *and he further became bound to manage these farms according to my directions and to make up his accounts when called for*". (my italics).

Perhaps the old man's estimate of his eldest son's abilities was not so very far off the mark, for in a history of the burgh of Haddington we read the following:—

"About the year 1812, Mr. Bogue, in conjunction with Mr. Francis Walker, farmer at Whitelaw, took from the Marquis of Tweeddale a lease of the large and extensive farm of Snawdon, *the greater part of which at that time was lying in a state of nature.* They resolved to bring such land into cultivation by burning the clay subsoil and turf. The cultivated part of Snawdon was at that time the highest arable land in East Lothian, lying close up to the Lammermuir hills".[12] (my italics).

By 1807 both Joseph and Thomas Stephenson were dead, so we shall never know how high they ranked in their father's esteem. Certainly their surviving families had little to hope for from the old man's will.

Shortly before his father's death William junior had obtained leases in his own name of the farms of Bushelhill and Barnside, near Abbey St. Bathan's, in Berwickshire. Gloomily reflecting that ". . . from my Old Age and declining State of Health . . . I am unable to attend to and give directions in the management of these several concerns", William senior resolved to appoint trustees for that purpose.

The overall picture that emerges, then, is of a dynasty of Border farmers whose string of tenancies stretched across three counties: the whole enterprise being overseen and funded by an experienced veteran farm-manager with an eye for "improvement". At the other end of the scale stands one of the country's most enlightened "improving" landlords. It is little wonder that this south-east corner of Scotland became the exemplar of modern farming techniques in the early nineteenth century.

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12. John Martine. *Reminiscences of the Royal Burgh of Haddington* (Edinburgh, 1883), pp. 384-5.


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The editor is preparing volume XVIII of our transactions and would welcome contributions. The Society continues its interest in various other projects and in particular the excavation at Spott Dod where Mr Roger. Mercer of the University of Edinburgh Department of Archaeology has discovered that there is a complex settlement of many phases probably of the first millennium B.C. Our support and encouragement has been much appreciated. We continue to keep a watch on planning applications, and to press for maintenance or improvements in service in ancient monuments.

Membership of the Society at present stands at 237. In addition there are 10 institutional members.